Citizenship Education and Foreign Language Learning: Deconstructing the Concept of Good Citizenship Embedded in Foreign Language Curricula in China and America

Juanjuan Zhu

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CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING:
DECONSTRUCTING THE CONCEPT OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP
EMBEDDED IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE CURRICULA
IN CHINA AND AMERICA

by

Juanjuan Zhu

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in
Education
(Curriculum and Instruction)

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2013
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ABSTRACT

Citizenship Education and Foreign Language Learning: Deconstructing the Concept of Good Citizenship Embedded in Foreign Language Curricula in China and America

by

Juanjuan Zhu, Doctor of Philosophy
Utah State University, 2013

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Amid a recent wave of revived interest in citizenship and citizenship education, foreign language education is emerging as an important but under-researched site for the education of citizens under conditions of globalization and massive social, economic, and political changes. This qualitative study deconstructed the concept of good citizenship embedded in China’s and America’s foreign language curricula during the past decade. The study presented a comparative critical discourse analysis of four interwoven data sets: (a) foreign language policies and/or curriculum standards bounded by the two contexts of this study: Shanghai in China and Utah in the U.S.; (b) EFL (English as a foreign language) and CFL (Chinese as a foreign language) instructional materials developed for the 1st through 3rd and 10th through 12th graders in Shanghai and Utah, respectively; (c) media accounts relating foreign language education with citizenship
education in the two countries; and (d) relevant academic publications. Together with a body of critical literature on ideology in curriculum, a two-dimensional citizenship matrix consisting of nationalism, cosmopolitanism, neoliberalism, and Confucianism assisted in the identification and comparison of the country-specific sociopolitical and sociocultural meanings associated with being a good citizen in China and the U.S. Three sets of findings were reported in response to the three research questions. First, among a jumble of meanings and expectations, the most widely shared imaginary embedded in China’s EFL curriculum is an individual whose allegiance is to the nation and the market, whereas the second popular perception is someone who observes Confucian moral principles and adopts a global perspective. Second, the dominant good citizenship notion embedded in America’s CFL curriculum is characterized by a marked neoliberal orientation. Third, the two cases demonstrated two chief differences and two major similarities. Due to the unique social contexts, cultural institutions, and global power differentials of China and the U.S., the good citizenship discursive fields of two cases were qualitatively different both in terms of intent and belonging. The discursive fields were similar in that the neoliberal-nationalism discourse was prevalent and the officially preferred good citizenship notion was oppressive in nature in both cases.

(251 pages)
PUBLIC ABSTRACT

Citizenship Education and Foreign Language Learning: Deconstructing the Concept of Good Citizenship Embedded in Foreign Language Curricula in China and America

by

Juanjuan Zhu, Doctor of Philosophy

Utah State University, 2013

Under conditions of globalization and massive social, economic and political changes, the world in the last two decades has witnessed a wave of revived interest in citizenship and citizenship education as well as the emergence of foreign language education as an important but under-researched site for the education of citizens. In this study, I critically examined the concept of good citizenship embedded in current foreign language curricula in China and the U.S. to see what it means in the two different contexts. I conducted a comparative critical discourse analysis of four data sets: (a) foreign language policies and/or curriculum standards implemented in Shanghai in China and Utah in the U.S.; (b) EFL (English as a foreign language) and CFL (Chinese as a foreign language) instructional materials developed for the first through third and tenth through twelfth graders in Shanghai and Utah respectively; (c) media accounts relating foreign language education with citizenship education in the two countries; and (d) relevant academic publications. The following questions were used to guide this study: How is the concept of good citizenship portrayed in China’s EFL curriculum? How is the concept of good citizenship portrayed in America’s CFL curriculum? Where and why do the two cases converge and diverge significantly?

Three sets of findings were yielded in response to the three research questions. First, in the case of China, the most popular good citizen image refers to an individual whose allegiance is to the nation and the market, whereas the second popular perception is someone who observes Confucian moral principles and adopts a global perspective. Second, in the case of the U.S., the dominant good citizenship notion refers to someone who is market oriented, whether the allegiance is to the nation or the entire human family. Given the particularities of the historical and contemporary social contexts that China and the U.S. are situated in, it makes sense that different citizenship notions are valued in the two countries. Even when the same notion appears to be prioritized in both
cases, that notion indeed embodies context-specific connotations. That said, there are still some common features that the good citizenship notions embedded in China’s EFL curriculum and America’s CFL curriculum share. For one thing, a patriotic entrepreneur is considered a good citizenship norm in both cases, which testifies to the tenacity of nationalism and the popularity of a promarket mentality in the present-day world. For another, however different the social contexts are, the preferred good citizenship notion embedded in official documents works in the best interest of the power elite in each society and takes maintaining this group’s social control as its hidden agenda.

I expect that findings from this study could stimulate more theoretical research and practical debate at various venues such as language classrooms, mass media, and academic publications on the roles foreign language education should play in the education of good citizens, with the topic of good citizenship itself meriting critical discussion.
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Juanjuan Zhu
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUBLIC ABSTRACT</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION, CONTEXT, PROBLEM, AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminology Clarifications</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem Statement</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance Statement</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Questions</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Structure</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Summary</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideology in Curriculum</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalism</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitanism</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neoliberalism</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confucianism</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Summary</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemological Stance and Positionality</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Design</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Selection</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Collection</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical Discourse Analysis</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedures</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Summary</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IV. FIRST SET OF FINDINGS: THE GOOD CITIZENSHIP CONCEPT EMBEDDED IN CHINA’S EFL CURRICULUM</strong></td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Language Policy and Curriculum Standards</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL Instructional Materials</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Accounts</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic Publications</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Overview of the Good Citizenship Notion Embedded in China’s EFL Curriculum</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Summary</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>V. SECOND SET OF FINDINGS: THE GOOD CITIZENSHIP CONCEPT EMBEDDED IN AMERICA’S CFL CURRICULUM</strong></td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Language Curriculum Standards</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFL Instructional Materials</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Accounts</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic Publications</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Overview of the Good Citizenship Notion Embedded in America’s CFL Curriculum</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Summary</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VI. THIRD SET OF FINDINGS: WHERE AND WHY DO THE TWO CASES DIVERGE AND CONVERGE?</strong></td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where and Why Do the Two Cases Diverge?</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where and Why Do the Two Cases Converge?</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Summary</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VII. DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS</strong></td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Summary</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Four discourses of good citizenship on two axes</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Analysis of foreign language policy and curriculum standards</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Analysis of EFL instructional materials</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Analysis of media accounts in the case of Shanghai, China</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Analysis of academic publications in the case of Shanghai, China</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Analysis of all four data sets in the case of Shanghai, China</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Analysis of foreign language curriculum standards</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Analysis of CFL instructional materials</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Analysis of media accounts in the case of Utah, the U.S.</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Analysis of academic publications in the case of Utah, the U.S.</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Analysis of all four data sets in the case of Utah, the U.S.</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION, CONTEXT, PROBLEM, AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Introduction

The past two decades has witnessed “a revival of interest” (Turner, 1990, p. 190) in citizenship worldwide. A confluence of social, economic, cultural and political changes may have called for this rethinking and reimagining of citizenship. For instance, political apathy abounded and youth criminal activity increased in some well-established Western democracies; nationalist movements resurfaced in East Europe after the breakdown of communism; the notion of “supra-nationalism” entered into official and popular parlance with the establishment and expansion of the supra-national polity of the European Union; economic recession struck a host of Asian countries during which some experienced political turmoil; transition to democracy occurred in places like South America that used to be ruled under dictatorships; and many nations in Asia, Africa and the Middle East won their independence from former colonial powers (Arthur, Davies, & Hahn, 2008; Beiner, 2003; Cogan & Derricott, 2000; Cogan, Morris, & Print, 2002; Isin & Turner, 2002; Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; W. O. Lee & Fouts, 2005; Shafir, 1998; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). Globalization, in particular, has played an essential role in revitalizing the citizenship debate in various parts of the world as the opportunities and constraints related to its intensifying effects are fostering new visions on the shifting landscape of citizenship (Arthur & Davis, 2008; Camcia & Franklin, 2010; Castles & Davidson, 2000; Cogan & Derricott, 2000; Cogan et al., 2002; Isin & Turner, 2002; Law, 2010; Reid, Gill, & Sears, 2010).
In tandem with this revived interest in citizenship is a renewed emphasis on citizenship education. Indeed, an increased level of concern as to how to prepare young people for their citizenship roles and responsibilities in a world of massive changes and enhanced interconnectedness has been expressed around the world since the 1990s, as evidenced by the publication of a plethora of government policy documents in a number of countries, such as the U.S. (Bahmueller, 1991, 1994; National Assessment of Educational Progress [NAEP] Civics Consensus Project, 1996), England (Crick, 1998; National Curriculum Council, 1990), Australia (Civics Expert Group, 1994; Kemp, 1997), and China (State Education Commission, 1990; Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, 1994, 1996). An equally powerful manifestation of this upsurge in citizenship education programs is described by Arthur and colleagues (2008) as “exponential growth in scholarship on citizenship education both within and across national borders” (p. 5). Since the end of last century, voluminous empirical research and theoretical analysis has been conducted to examine current citizenship conceptions, citizenship curriculum issues and citizenship educational practices, the most notable ones being a few large-scale, cross-national studies (e.g., Cogan & Derricott, 2000; Cogan et al., 2002; Cummings, Tatro, & Hawkins, 2001; Grossman, Lee, & Kennedy, 2008; Hahn, 1998; Kerr, 1999; W. O. Lee & Fouts, 2005; W. O. Lee, Grossman, Kennedy, & Fairbrother, 2004; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Despite its essentially contested nature (Kerr, 1999; McLaughlin, 1992; Parker, 1996), citizenship education will be construed in this study broadly as “the contribution of education to the development of [a set of] characteristics of being a citizen” (Cogan, 2000, p. 14) or more specifically, “the
knowledge, skills, values and dispositions that, ideally, citizens should possess” (Cogan, 2000, p. 2; Cogan et al., 2002) to navigate the shifting and increasingly interconnected terrains of the global community. However, it should be pointed out that as the result of my broad search and inclusion of literatures, the term “civic education” may appear in some of the citations I used in this dissertation as a synonym of citizenship education.

Noticeably, amid this recent wave of revived interest in citizenship and citizenship education, the long-established discipline of foreign language education is emerging as an important site for the education of citizens (Arthur & Davis, 2008; Osler & Starkey, 2000, 2005), largely because globalization calls for more foreign language teaching and learning which is “a necessary condition for interaction across national boundaries” (Byram, 2002, p. 45) and also because a more sophisticated perception of language is gaining ground that links language inextricably with notions of identity, culture, society and the way we live with each other (Audigier, 1998; Bakhtin, 1981; Blades & Richardson, 2006; hooks, 1994; Wittgenstein, 1953). Just as Audigier (1998) stated plainly:

While the social sciences have an obvious place, other subjects are sound supports for EDC (Education for Democratic Citizenship).... This is the case with modern languages and artistic education, everything that concerns creation and cultural exchanges. To learn a language is also to learn a culture, another way of categorising and qualifying the world, of expressing and thus of constructing one’s thoughts and emotions. (as cited in Arthur & Davis, 2008, p. 50)

Given this trend, it is unfortunate, however, that little research has informed us about the specific contributions foreign language education makes to citizenship education. With a view to filling the gap in literature, my study sheds light on the roles that foreign language education plays in citizenship education by deconstructing the good
citizenship concept embedded in the foreign language curricula developed for 1st to 3rd and 10th to 12th graders in China and the U.S.

**Terminology Clarifications**

As Fouts and Lee (2005) have succinctly pointed out, “Citizenship literature often includes reference to the ‘good citizen’” (p. 33). Dynneson (1992) defined the “good citizen” as “a label commonly used to describe people who consistently do the right thing according to a formal or informal list of values and behaviors” (p. 55). In a similar vein, Tupper (2006) asserted, “Often, the terms ‘good’ and ‘responsible’ are used synonymously to designate certain desirable characteristics that individuals ought to engage in as citizens of a state or nation, or even of a classroom or school community” (p. 47). Along this line, I take the good citizenship concept in this study as the notion that there exist a set of values and behaviors “that are desirable for individuals within a particular setting” (Fouts & Lee, 2005, p. 33), which, in this case, are China and the U.S., respectively.

In terms of foreign language curriculum, I selected the English as a foreign language (EFL) curriculum implemented among public elementary and high schools in Shanghai, China, and the Chinese as a foreign language (CFL) curriculum carried out among some public elementary and high schools in Utah, the United States as the two comparative cases in this study. It should be noted that at the elementary level, unlike Shanghai’s EFL education, which follows a more traditional language teaching approach by taking the target language of English simply as its subject material, the CFL
curriculum is encompassed in Utah’s Chinese Elementary Dual Immersion Program which treats the Chinese language more as a teaching tool. To be more specific:

In the Utah Chinese Elementary Immersion Programs, instruction is divided between two high quality, creative classrooms: one English and one Chinese. Students enjoy the advantage of two caring, qualified teachers. The English-speaking teacher uses half of the instruction day to teach English language arts and other elements of the curriculum; the Chinese-speaking teacher uses the other half of the day to teach Chinese language arts and portions of the math, social studies, science, and other topics from the grade-appropriate level of the Utah State Core Curriculum. (“Utah’s Chinese Dual Immersion,” 2012, p. 1)

For the purpose of this study, my focus is not on the entire Utah’s Chinese Dual Immersion Program. Rather, what interests me is the Chinese language learning component within the program. This focus enables me to identify a comparable counterpart of Shanghai’s EFL curriculum with the Utah case.

Besides these two clarifications, two other terms need to be defined which capture the essence of this study. By using the term “deconstructing,” I mean “the effort to take this limitless context into account, to pay the sharpest and broadest attention possible to context, and thus to an incessant movement of recontextualization” (Derrida, 1988, p. 136). A critical dismantling of the meanings of a text through relating it to other texts and to various contexts with the understanding that such meanings are intense, sophisticated, shifting, and, oftentimes, contradictory (Culler, 1994; Lye, 1996), deconstruction is commonly taken as forms of philosophical and literary analysis (“Deconstruction,” 2011).

Related with deconstruction is another central concept in this study: discourse, because discourse analysis is a form of deconstruction. Discourse is defined in this study as groupings of utterances, texts, and statements as socially constructed and constitutive
(Fairclough, 1995; Mills, 1997). Davis views discourse as “one revealing focus of analysis” for the purpose of “deconstructing language to surface the hidden ideologies and vocabularies of motive that give language its power” (1999, p. 136). More detailed discussions of discourse, discourse analysis, as well as critical discourse analysis will be provided in the section called “Critical Discourse Analysis.”

**Context**

This section presents the specific background pertaining to the two cases in this study. The reason for doing so can be approached from the following two aspects. First of all, contextualization is indispensable for critical qualitative research as the contextual information and clarity can explain and underscore the distinctiveness of each case study. In the case of this project, the unique historical, political and social contexts of China and the U.S., and more specifically, Shanghai and Utah illustrate the unique quality and interpretation of the good citizen concept in each case.

Another assumption of this section is that the context of history provides the critical lens for uncovering and understanding power relations as evidenced in the portrayal of the good citizenship concept embedded in both China’s and America’s foreign language curriculum. Hébert (2010) well explained the underlying rationale:

> The impact of state politics, not only on schooling in general, but especially on civics or citizenship education as this subject serves the state by creating the kinds of citizens preferred by the reigning political party. This means that schooling is organized, structured and practiced by the state to serve particular versions of what it means to be a citizen in a particular democracy at specific historical moments in accordance with the prevailing government’s ideology and in light of the country’s political legacy and its conception(s) of the learner over time. (p. 231)
In other words, for the sake of understanding how “civic education can be interpreted as an attempt by elites to maintain their hegemony in the face of demand from individuals and groups to exercise their rights” (Morris, Cogan, & Liu, 2002, p. 185) in both China and the U.S., the historical and contemporary contexts regarding social, political, and economic relations in the two countries must be presented and examined. Such contextualization sheds light on the meaning of “critical” in the critical theory, “which attempts to uncover the influence that normally hidden contexts have upon knowledge construction, maintenance, and deconstruction” (Camicia, 2007b, p. 11).

Given that this study involves two cases (i.e., Shanghai in China and Utah in the U.S.), two historical accounts will be provided in the following. The first deals with the national and local contexts that have implicitly or explicitly influenced the concept of citizenship in Shanghai, China. Likewise, the second gives an account of the national history and local setting that have both set the context for the specific citizenship notion prevalent in Utah, the U.S. These accounts proffer background information central to the understanding of the historical trends and events that have impacted the good citizenship concept embedded in foreign language curriculum in the two cases respectively.

**Historical and Contemporary Context Related to the Case of Shanghai, China**

**China.** Before the full dawn of the 20th century, China had been a feudalist society for more than 2,000 years. Economically, ancient Chinese people largely depended on agrarian farming as their main source of income although trading with other cultures was not totally unheard of. Politically, successive imperial families reined in the
country through institutionalizing centralized bureaucratic systems. The highly hierarchical nature of the Chinese society was manifested in the extensive acceptance and use of the notion *chenmin*, as far as the relationship between the state and its residents was concerned. This notion, which literally means “subjects under the jurisdiction of feudal or vassal states” gained currency and was predominantly used after Qin Shihuang unified China into an empire in 221 B.C. The notion of chenmin requires that subjects conform to their rulers on the condition that the rulers fulfill their commitments to social stability and popular welfare (Wong, 1999). In other words, what is suggested in chenmin is a hierarchical relationship between the morally proper government and its rightless people (S.-H. Liu, 1996). Though it should be considered an antithesis of the citizen notion, chenmin, with its exclusive emphasis on responsibilities not rights and morality not law, had been deeply engrained in people’s mentality. Even in today’s China, the lingering effect of chenmin can still be felt.

It is not until the turn of the 20th century that some citizenship awareness was aroused in China in the course of a great many dramatic social changes. After experiencing a series of natural disasters, internal rebellions and military failures and concessions to European powers and Japan, the Qing dynasty, the last feudal regime of China, began to crumble. Several reforms were thus initiated by the central government as coping strategies. One particular reform with an aim to modernize China by making sweeping political, economic, educational and social changes was the Hundred Days’ Reform undertaken by Emperor Guangxu and his liberal-minded supporters, such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao in 1898. It is worth mentioning that the latter were
responsible for the (re)use of several citizenship-related terms in the Chinese language. For instance, Liang borrowed the Chinese characters \textit{guomin} (literally “nation-state people”) back from Meiji Japan where the term had been adopted to capture the new ideas of citizenship imported from the West (Shen & Chien, 1999, as cited in Feng, 2006) and redefined it in China’s context when the country was faced with increasing encroachment from Western imperial powers. In an article published in October 1899, he stated:

\begin{quote}
Guomin means treating the country as the public property of the people…the people of the country are to run the affairs of the country, make laws for it, think in the interest of it, and defend it in terms of disaster. The people must not be insulted and the country must not perish. That is the meaning of citizenship. (Liang, 1984, p. 116)
\end{quote}

Concerned with China’s survival, Liang employed the term guomin with a focus on promoting nationalist and patriotic spirits among the Chinese people and his view had a far-reaching impact on the citizenship conceptions in China. Though quickly crushed by powerful conservatives in the imperial court, the Hundred Days’ Reform nevertheless gave great impetus to revolutionaries who mounted the Chinese Revolution in 1911, overthrew the Qing dynasty, and established the Republic of China in the following year. China’s Republican era from 1912 to 1949 was marked by incessant conflicts among the Guomin Dang, the then ruling Party which got its name from the term guomin, numerous warlords, the Communist Party of China (CPC), and Japan. After the Anti-Japanese War was concluded in 1945, the widening differences over nation-building between Guomin Dang and CPC led to the retreat of the Guomin Dang to Taiwan, leaving the mainland under the control of CPC.
In 1949, the People’s Republic of China (PRC) was founded on the mainland, which opened a new chapter in China’s history. As a regime of proletarian dictatorship, PRC is a one-party state ruled by CPC. During PRC’s early history from 1950s to 1970s, the focus of the government had centered on “establishing [CPC’s] legitimacy as the new ruler of the Chinese nation” (Fairbrother, 2004, p. 31), “consolidating the party’s ideological and political control” (Fairbrother, 2004, p. 30; Jones, 2002), and accomplishing the country’s socialist transition (Chen & Reid, 2002). Accordingly, political, ideological, and moral education were carried out relentlessly to educate “heirs to the cause of proletarian revolution” (Chen & Reid, 2002, p. 61) who would demonstrate a strong sense of community, patriotism, selfless loyalty to communism, commitments and cooperation (Chen & Reid, 2002; Gilliom, 1978). Along this line, it is not hard to understand why renmin (literally “the people”) gained wide currency in Mao Zedong’s time (1949-1976), a term that carries the strongest political implication but immensely complicates the conceptions of “citizen” in China’s context. According to Zhou Enlai, the first premier of PRC, there were two types of citizens, renmin and their enemies (X. Z. Yu, 2002). Both of them should perform duties as citizens, but the latter category was deprived of legal and political rights allegedly enjoyed by the former, i.e., renmin (Feng, 2006). Although in the post-Maoist era, the distinction between renmin and gongmin (the most commonly used equivalent of the English word “citizen” in today’s China) became blurry, X. Z. Yu concluded after a close examination of the provisions for citizenship in PRC’s all four Constitutions (1954, 1975, 1978, and 1982) that dividing citizens into “the people” and “the enemies” and using the terms “[the]
people” and “citizens” interchangeably to refer to those with PRC nationality “confused the idea of citizenship and prevented the development of citizenship consciousness in China” (p. 293).

Then came the year of 1978, a year of great significance for the Chinese. On the Third Plenum of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee, reform and opening up was formulated as a long-term basic state policy, representing a major shift in CPC’s working emphasis from class and ideological struggles to social and economic development (Chen & Reid, 2002; W. O. Lee & Fouts, 2005; Lee & Ho, 2008; Lee & Zhong, 2007). Since then, China has experienced dramatic changes in multiple aspects.

One most noticeable change has occurred in the economic field. Official records showed that China’s economy skyrocketed after the implementation of the reform and opening up policy and especially after Deng Xiaoping’s visit to South China in 1992, which marked further economic liberation in China. As officially endorsed by the 14th CPC National Congress that was also held in 1992, CPC’s overall goal in terms of economic reform is to gradually shift China’s economic system from a planned economy to a market-oriented economy, or a “socialist market economy” in official terms. The implication of this economic system shift for the development of China’s citizenship concept is significant. Lee and Ho (2008) argued that “the rise of a socialist market economy has led to new demands for citizenship qualities, such as a global perspective, an orientation towards achievement, open-mindedness and democratic awareness, for example” (p. 140). Besides the above-mentioned landmark events, China’s entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in December 2001 seemed to have ushered in another
phase of economic change. In the face of the increased competition stimulated by WTO, the restructuring of the state’s management of the economy was inevitable (Fewsmith, 2001). It was clear that “China could only opt for further marketization and privatization” (Lee & Ho, 2008, p. 145) by shaking up the state sector and funneling more support to private businesses.

The same period since 1978 also witnessed some shifts in the political climate. As mentioned before, class struggle was no longer at the top of CPC’s agenda, though enhancing its legitimacy and maintaining its control has always been CPC’s most essential concern. Oscillating between expanding the freedom of expression and setting boundaries from 1978 to 1989 (Franklin, 1989), CPC nevertheless reasserted its authoritarian control through the June 4th incident in 1989. In the years to follow, Lee and Ho (2005, 2008) identified several other distinct events up to 2002, among which two will be discussed here. First is the return of Hong Kong and Macau to the Chinese sovereignty in 1997 and 1999, respectively. Lee and Ho (2008) argued that the handover of these two places brought about the revival of nationalism in China. The second concerns China’s WTO accession in 2001. The political implication of this event, according to Lee and Ho (2008), is the increased embrace of the opening up mentality and the global outlook in the Chinese society, especially as far as citizenship education is concerned. Similarly, an event happening seven years later, namely, the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, also promoted China’s openness to and interconnection with the rest of the world, though Law (2010) contended that “the Chinese state continues to be a key actor in defining citizenship and citizenship education by promoting nationalism and
nation-specific elements of citizenship education while linking its people to an increasingly interconnected world” (p. 343). One final event worth mentioning here is the promotional campaign for the building of a socialist harmonious society advanced by President Hu Jingtao in 2007 (Y. Hu, 2007). The significance of this campaign lies in the fact that for the first time in history, CPC claimed that “education about citizenship should be enhanced and socialist concepts of democracy, the rule of law, freedom, equality, equity and justice should be established” (Xinhua, 2007, see also Geis & Holt, 2009). This remark conveys an important and heartening message that the CPC is about to pay due attention to citizenship education embodying democratic values to meet the needs of a market economy (S.-H. Liu, 1996) under conditions of globalization.

Alongside the massive economic reform and some political shifts are enormous social changes in China. On the one hand, people’s living standards and conditions have been greatly advanced as evidenced by possession of more material products and more openness to the outside world. On the other, however, social tensions have been worsening in an era of rapid domestic GDP growth and globalization (Boswell, 2007; Han, 2008). For instance, the widening economic gap and the uneven and unfair distribution of wealth has become an acute social problem over the years (Han, 2008; Lee & Ho, 2008). Also while people in China were enjoying the benefits brought about by reform and globalization, they were increasingly plagued by unemployment, increased crime rate, poisoned food, deteriorated environment, inadequate social security system, and rampant government corruption.

Moral decline has been a major social phenomenon in post-reform China.
Encouraged by Deng’s famous saying “White or black, as long as the cat can catch mice, it is a good cat,” more and more Chinese preoccupy themselves with no other life goals but money making, the result of which is “the weakening of individual character, family ethics, occupational ethics (the society filled with fake goods), collectivism, social ethics, patriotism and sense of national dignity” (Chen, n.d., as quoted in Nan, 1995, p. 36). Consumerism, materialism, and hedonism are also on the rise (Lee & Ho, 2008). For instance, according to a study conducted in Shanghai, more respondents chose “to live happily” rather than “to make a contribution to society” as the most important thing in one’s life, and “life is short, enjoy it while you can” other than “treasure your time, work as hard as possible” as the meaning of life (Chu & Ju, 1993, p. 185). In Lu’s (1998) words, the value of li (an important concept meaning benefits, profit, and utilitarianism in Confucianism, which is a belief system that will be discussed in detail in Chapter II) has overshadowed the value of yi (also an important concept in Confucianism meaning benevolence, righteousness, and faithfulness) in Chinese society. Ten years later, Han (2008) was under the same impression that “the society had lost its basic values and behavior code” (p. 146).

In response to the prevalence of perceived moral decadence, both the intellectual and political circles responded and developed a solution. Around 1992, a group of Chinese scholars known as “neo-conservatives” proposed to reinstate the Confucian tradition, with an emphasis on its moral code and sense of social responsibility (Chen, 1997). They reasoned that Confucianism is “the best foundation upon which to rebuild Chinese cultural identity” (Lee & Ho, 2008, p. 144) and an effective way to fight against
“the emergence of an ideological vacuum and the moral decline in the process of modernization and marketization” (p. 144). Interestingly, more than a decade later, the CPC initiated a similar morality drive. On October 11, 2006, the 16th Central Committee of the CPC adopted a resolution that specifically addressed “major issues concerning the building of a socialist harmonious society” (Communist Party of China, 2006). Within the framework of the socialist harmonious society concept, the government has also developed a set of moral values called “Socialist Concepts on Honors and Disgraces,” or “Eight Honors and Eight Shames” in March, 2006. Noticeably, both the concept of harmony and a large part of eight honors and shames embody Confucian ideals and moral virtues. Take “Eight Honors and Eight Shames” as an example. Among the eight pairs of opposing moral codes with rhyming poetic lilt in Chinese, “make no gains at others’ expense” and “be honest and trustworthy” are both congruent with the teachings of the Analects, which is the collection of Confucius’ sayings and ideas; also “live plainly, work hard; do not wallow in luxuries and pleasures” are what Confucianism advocates. Thus, though termed as “building a socialist harmonious society” and “Socialist Concepts on Honors and Disgraces,” both propaganda campaigns are deliberate efforts made on the part of CPC to tackle the problem of the loss of human virtues and morals in today’s Chinese society (Communist Party of China, 2006) by invoking Confucianism.

Shanghai. Situated within this broad national context, it is not possible for Shanghai to be exempted from the economic, political and social changes mentioned above. However, Shanghai as one of the four province-level municipalities in PRC does exhibit some distinctive features of its own. Due to its favorable port location, Shanghai
grew from a fishing and textiles town to one of five foreign trade centers in China in the wake of China’s failure in the first Opium War and the subsequent signing in 1842 of the Treaty of Nanjing, which led to the establishment of international settlement in Shanghai. Then the city kept thriving as an international financial center under constant heavy influence from the outside world, especially the Western world, until the founding of PRC. After more than four decades of waned growth, Shanghai reemerged as a city with international influence in the 1990s. Nowadays, Shanghai is recognized as China’s financial hub and an international metropolis boasting the highest GDP per capita in the nation (Dongfang Daily, 2012). According to China’s National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), the next step is to build Shanghai into “a global center for innovation, transaction, pricing and clearing of RMB denominated financial products by 2015” (Xinhua, 2012).

Shanghai people can also claim a historical past of being the first Chinese to experiment with democratic procedures, articulate citizens’ rights, and claim political representations in modern Chinese history (Goldman & Perry, 2002; Goodman, 2002; Wasserstrom, 2002). According to Goodman, during the late 1910s and early 1920s, several key institutions and voluntary associations in Shanghai, such as the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce consisting of small shopkeepers, started some democratic innovation by drafting constitutions, claiming to represent “the public,” and improvising voting procedures. Also in the Republic period, the Shanghai people demanded to use the public parks in its international settlement and participate in the governing of the enclave, which is a perfect example showing an emerging civic consciousness in Wasserstrom’s
eyes. Although their struggle for citizenship was limited in time and scope and did not fully institutionalize democracy, Shanghai people nevertheless are given the credit for initiating legal, political, and social rights claims in modern China and for providing valuable experiences for their fellow citizens to learn (Goldman & Perry, 2002; Goodman, 2002; Wasserstrom, 2002).

Besides economic development and political consciousness, contemporary Shanghai also leads the nation in many other aspects. Education is one such field. Many educational experiments took, or are taking place, in Shanghai before they could be popularized to other provinces and cities in China, including the one on citizenship education (Law, 2007; Y. Liu & Zhang, 2008). With the most advanced teaching facilities and richest teaching resources, Shanghai is currently pioneering English education reforms. While the Ministry of Education required all elementary schools in China to start EFL education from the third grade in 2001, Shanghai took a step ahead and made EFL education compulsory throughout all grade levels in its public schools. Thus, even the first graders in Shanghai have access to English education and the total English class hours in Shanghai’s primary schools increased from 1,200 to 2,500 a year beginning in the fall of 2001 (“Shanghai Leads in English Education,” 2001). Therefore, it is understandable why the curriculum standards imposed on Shanghai’s high schoolers are more demanding than the national average.

**Historical and Contemporary Context**
**Related to the Case of Utah, the U.S.**

The U.S. Compared with China, the U.S. is a much younger nation with a less
convoluted history. The fact that the U.S. is deemed one of the model democracies in the world (Castles & Davidson, 2000) while China is seen as an authoritarian state also sets the two countries far apart. As shown in the following overall summary of early 19th-20th century events, the economic, political, cultural, and educational dynamics that provide the context for the specific notion of good citizenship in the U.S. appear more stable than those of China, though there did exist some noticeable shifts and landmark events.

The American Revolution is undoubtedly one of the most significant episodes in American history. Occurring during the late half of the 18th century, the revolutionary era witnessed the breaking free of 13 colonies in North America from the British Empire and the founding of an independent new nation. Historians like Bernard Bailyn and Gordon Wood hailed the American Revolution as a radical event that has exerted a profound impact on world affairs by setting the example of the first successful challenge against the inherited aristocracy common in Europe at that time and the first successful establishment of a Republic with democratically elected representative government.

It should be noted that concepts of liberty, democracy, and republicanism were strong motivating forces behind the American Revolution. As Marquette and Mineshima (2002) contended, “liberal notions of individual rights, civil society and the market, predominantly found within British writers such as Hobbes and Locke, but also Rousseau and Aristotle among others” (p. 539) greatly influenced the political thinking of the Founding Fathers. Along this line, Turner (1981) explained the implication of the liberalist ideology for civic education in the U.S. by saying, “From the time of the founding of the American republic, it seems that twin orthodoxies—Lockean liberalism
and capitalism—have largely determined the content of citizenship education” (pp. 50-51).

Besides liberalism, the founding fathers such as Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and John Adams were at the same time strong advocates of republic values, which consider civic duty and public obligations more important than personal desires and interests (Marquette & Mineshima, 2002; Turner, 1981). An example of the popular subscription to republicanism during the revolutionary era is that in the Revolutionary War, “the citizen soldiers of the Revolution fought to fulfill[l] his personal obligation to the state, an obligation believed to be held by all” (Marquette & Mineshima, 2002, p. 539), in contrast to the paid mercenaries who accounted for the majority of the British army. Janowitz (1983) further argued that “military experience [during the war] operated as a form of civic education in support of the democratic polity” (p. 17).

Successfully fusing liberalism with republicanism, the founding fathers, however, feared mob rule. They reasoned that democracy and popular government would not materialize if the citizenry were uneducated and unenlightened (Himmelmann, 2006; Marquette & Mineshima, 2002; Parker, 2000). Thus, the “civic mission of public schools” was envisioned from early on (Gilreath, 1999). In other words, America’s civic education can be traced back to the founding of the U.S. (Himmelmann, 2006; Marquette & Mineshima, 2002). Indeed, as evidenced by the writings of Alexis de Tocqueville, the French political thinker, in his book Democracy in America, civic education in the subsequent years after the Revolution promoted civic participation and patriotism among the Americans to an extremely successful degree (Marquette & Mineshima, 2002), thanks
to great contributions from personalities like Horace Mann (Marquette & Mineshima, 2002; Parker, 2000) who is credited as the “father of the common school movement.”

The Civil War marked the next unforgettable event in America’s collective memory. As the deadliest war in the country’s history, the Civil War brought about tremendous casualties alongside social, economic, and political changes in the American society. Chief among the consequences were the abolition of slavery and the rethinking of equality and freedom for all.

With the advent of the 20th century, many new problems began to surface in American society. Immigration was one such issue. The massive influx of immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th century dramatically changed the demographic composition of the U.S. In light of this, nativist and assimilationist sentiments gained ground and resulted in considerable prejudice against the newcomers (Banks, 2002). Opposition to “hyphenated Americans” reached one of its peaks when former President Roosevelt (1915) proclaimed during WWI that

there is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism…. Americanism is a matter of the spirit and of the soul. Our allegiance must be purely to the United States. We must unsparingly condemn any man who holds any other allegiance. But if he is heartily and singly loyal to this Republic, then no matter where he was born, he is just as good an American as anyone else. There is no such thing as a hyphenated American who is a good American. The only man who is a good American is the man who is an American and nothing else. (as cited in Davis, 1920, pp. 648-649)

Roosevelt’s speech was not without critics. John Dewey, a philosopher of great influence in the field of education, argued for the opposite by contending that “Unless our education is nationalized in a way which recognizes that the peculiarity of our nationalism is its internationalism, we shall breed enmity and division in our frantic
efforts to secure unity” (Hickman & Alexander, 1998, p. 267). Indeed, the ideas and writings of John Dewey may have brought about the growth of civic education in the U.S. with an emphasis on “education for democracy” (Himmelmann, 2006). However, as Marquette and Mineshima (2002) noted:

This period of history, involving massive social change, depression and a world war, produced a flexible, ad hoc but largely effective civic education system. It was inclusive, limited in scope and backed by a society that could still exercise effective control and censure over individuals’ behavior.... Americans remained politically and civicly [sic] active and patriotism rode high. (p. 545)

Another noticeable issue at the time was the rise of corporate capitalism, accompanied by urbanization and industrialization. As a result of a U.S. Supreme court ruling in 1886 that claimed a corporation to be a natural person and granted it the same rights as a person, corporate capitalism soon flourished in the U.S. (Robbins, 2010). In addition, as Arrighi (2000) argued, the state’s participation in wars, such as WWI and WWII, would greatly benefit corporations through increasing their wealth and political influence.

Because it is always easier for corporations to accumulate wealth than other entities, they are thus more capable of influencing the government and dominating public discourses through means such as controlling the mainstream media, financing political candidates, lobbying legislatures, supporting influential think tanks, creating “citizen” groups, and establishing educational institutions, all in their own best interest (Robbins, 2010). Moreover, “this influence also led to cultural and economic ideologies known by numerous names such as neoliberal, libertarian economics, market capitalism, market liberalism etc.” (Shah, 2002, ¶ 8). Noticeably, neoliberalism is all the more influential
today with the expansion of corporate powers under conditions of globalization.

The years after WWII witnessed waves of social struggles staged by marginalized
groups who demanded increased minority rights and equality. At the same time,
skepticism towards the government and politicians ran high in the wake of Vietnam War
and Watergate scandal, creating a disturbing phenomenon of “civic malaise” among the
Americans (Cogan, 2000; Himmelmann, 2006; Marquette & Mineshima, 2002; Parker,
2000). The voter turnout rate was declining, participation in community was decreasing,
and standards of behavior in both schools and society were dropping.

In response, there have been calls for increased attention to civic education.
Following the publication of the report entitled A Nation at Risk in 1983, a decade-long
discussion took place that “focused on the schools’ role in helping the nation regain a
competitive edge in the international marketplace” (Parker, 2000, p. 84). Besides a return
to the study of more fundamental and primary school subjects, a reemphasis on
citizenship in a democratic society seemed to equally important for the upgrading of
America’s educational performances (Cogan & Pederson, 2002). These two focuses were
reaffirmed at the “education summit” attended by President Bush and the nation’s
governors in Charlottesville, Virginia in 1989 when two out of the six national goals put
forward to guide America’s educational reform toward the year 2000 specified
“responsible citizenship as necessary to the attainment of the reform agenda” (Parker,
2000, p. 84). The two goals read as follows: “every school in America will ensure that all
students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible
citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy”;
“every adult American will be literate and possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship” (as cited in Parker, 2000, p. 84).

To address the growing concern to cultivate a workforce that is competitive worldwide in the era of globalization, another strategy seems to have gained some popularity in recent years, that is, promoting the learning of another language besides English among America’s public schools. According to a study published by American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL, 2011), from 2004-2005 to 2007-2008, 300,000 more K-12 public school students were enrolled in foreign language courses, leading the total number of foreign-language-learning students to 8.9 million in the U.S., although that still only represented 18.5% of all students.

Utah. Among the states, Utah represented the highest percentage of growth in the enrollment of foreign language learners, which is estimated at 120.48% (ACTFL, 2011), the only three-digit growth percentage among all the 50 states. Among all the languages being taught, Chinese enjoyed the largest percentage growth, increasing by 195% (ACTFL, 2011), due to the rise of China.

As the U.S. has a highly decentralized system of education that leaves the direct control of schooling and curricula to the individual states, local municipalities, and school districts instead of the federal government, there have been various kinds of Chinese language learning programs across the states. For instance, Mandarin Chinese Immersion in Portland Public Schools is structured on the total language learning approach incorporating three key elements: content-based instruction, explicit language instruction,
and experiential learning practices (“PPS Mandarin Chinese Immersion,” n.d.). In Utah, where Chinese learning started to boom when the Chinese-speaking Jon Huntsman Jr. served as governor, the Chinese elementary dual immersion program is widely adopted. In this program, students spend half the day with one teacher teaching subjects in English and half the day with another teacher teaching subjects exclusively in Chinese. With the support of the current governor, Gary Herbert, Utah is now leading the nation in Chinese learning programs because one third of America’s elementary schools that teach Mandarin Chinese are located in Utah (Wimmer, 2011). Moreover, at higher grade levels, Utah had 85 secondary schools offering Mandarin Chinese lessons during the school year of 2009-2010 (Crawford & Roberts, 2009).

To sum up, this section has attempted to add the foundation for the critical analysis of the good citizenship concept embedded in both China’s and America’s foreign language curriculum during the past decade. The historical illustration of the economic, political, social, and educational conditions in the cases of Shanghai, China and Utah, the U.S. helps build a critical understanding of how and why the good citizenship notion portrayed in the two cases exhibit specific features and meanings and where and why the specifics sometimes converge and sometimes diverge. The information provided in this section is indispensable for critical discourse analysis conducted and findings reported in Chapters IV-VI.

Problem Statement

Although there is a growing consensus that sources like families, religious
organizations, media, government agencies can all exert influence on youth civic development (Audigier, 1998; Kerr, 1999; Schwille & Amadeo, 2002), schools and formal curricula nevertheless serve as an essential venue for citizenship education (Carnegie Corporation of New York and CIRCLE, 2003; Cummings, Hawkins, & Tatro, 2001; Parker, 1996; Reid et al., 2010). As Cogan (2000) noted, formal educational programs in public schools have traditionally been charged with the preparation of citizens. In a thematic analysis of citizenship education across 16 countries to enrich the International Review of Curriculum and Assessment Frameworks Archive, Kerr (1999) found that “citizenship education and its related issues are addressed in the formal curriculum across the whole age range [from 5 to 16/18] in every country” (p. 13). From a more critical lens, schools are actively involved in the discursive production of “good” citizens (Fouts & Lee, 2005; Tupper, 2006) with curricula sending out powerful messages to students as to what a good citizen is (Cogan, 2000; Crick, 1998; Pinar, 2004).

Traditionally, the curriculum for civics or civic-related subjects such as history, language and literature, geography, and general social studies offerings has been the place where the bulk of such messages can be located (Carson, 2006; Cogan, 2000; Cogan et al., 2002; Parker, 1996). However, recently this boundedness of citizenship education has been called into question because there is growing recognition that “civic education is ubiquitous—potentially everywhere in school” (Schwille & Amadeo, 2002, p. 107). Diverse curriculum approaches, such as allowing civic education to permeate the entire curriculum (Kerr, 1999; Schwille & Amadeo, 2002), have been adopted to “enlarge the space of the possible” (Sumara & Davis, 1997) in citizenship education.
It is along with this general trend to decanonize the traditional location of citizenship education (Blades & Richardson, 2006) that foreign language classrooms are given their due recognition as influential in the preparation of young people to undertake their citizenship roles. In addition, a more profound and critical understanding of language is gaining ground. Just as Allen (2011) asserted, “A primary medium for communicating power is language, which helps to spread ideologies and reinforce hegemony” (p. 35). Moreover, increased intercultural communication also helps relate foreign language education more closely with citizenship education (Alred, Byram, & Fleming, 2006). It has been argued that language education should go beyond achieving linguistic competence (Doye, 1993, as cited in Starkey, 1995) and that foreign language education can contribute to democratic and global citizenship education by promoting critical cultural awareness and challenging “otherness” (Byram, 2006, 2008; Guilherme, 2002; Starkey, 1995, 1999). Foreign language curriculum, therefore, opens another window for us to perceive and critically examine the good citizenship notion embedded within it in response to a world that has been massively changed and intricately interconnected.

This said, research examining foreign language education in relation to citizenship education has attracted little attention in places other than Europe. During the past two decades, a handful of publications, either in the form of research papers (e.g. Byram, 2002; Guilherme, 2007; Osler & Starkey, 2000), book chapters (Starkey, 1995, 1997; Starkey & Osler, 2003), or books (e.g. Alred et al., 2006; Byram, 2008; Guilherme, 2002; Osler & Starkey, 2005; Trim, 1997) have been produced that explored from
different perspectives how foreign language education has contributed to or confounded
democratic and cosmopolitan citizenship in the region of Europe. For instance, after
critically examining language education policies and course materials for teaching French
as a foreign language in Britain, Starkey (2005) concluded that “language learning to
promote intercultural competence is a key component of education for democratic
citizenship” (p. 38). Guilherme’s (2007) study on a group of high school EFL teachers in
Portugal led her to believe that a critical pedagogy of English as a global language (EGL)
was a powerful vehicle for the preparation of active cosmopolitan citizens.

Outside Europe, however, research that relates foreign language education with
citizenship education is still in its infancy. This is particularly the case with China and the
U.S., two of the most powerful nation-states in the world. So far, no empirical studies and
only a few opinion papers (e.g. X. H. Zhang, 2011; Zhou, 2004) can be found in China
that call for a heightened awareness among foreign language teachers of their citizenship
education responsibilities. As for the U.S., the literature available in educational
discourses only includes about ten publications that linked foreign language learning with
world citizenship (e.g., V. Stewart, 2007; Met, 2008), global perspective (e.g., Christian,
Pufahl, & Rhodes, 2005; Cutshall, 2005; P. Liu, 2004) or America’s global leadership
(Committee for Economic Development, 2006) and a comparative piece written by
Starkey (2007) where he criticized the language teaching textbooks and methods in
England, France, and the U.S. as reinforcing a stereotypic view of a homogenous national
culture while claiming that the language education policies of these nations were
conducive to promoting intercultural communication.
Significance Statement

I consider it a meaningful endeavor to investigate the EFL curriculum in China and the CFL curriculum in the U.S. because of the importance of the two languages and the two countries involved in this study. As “a global language” (Crystal, 2003), English is spoken by the majority population of the U.S., which is undeniably the superpower in today’s world. Mandarin Chinese is the official language of PRC, which is becoming one of the biggest economies globally. Little wonder that both English and Chinese are among the popular foreign languages to learn in the countries of China and the U.S., respectively. It is thus of practical significance to study China’s EFL and America’s CFL curricula.

Moreover, as stated in the preceding section, not much research has been done that intersect foreign language education with citizenship education in China and the U.S. Given the dearth of existent literature approaching foreign language education from a citizenship education perspective in the two countries, I seek to deconstruct the concept of good citizenship embedded in China’s and America’s foreign language curricula in this study, the result of which may provide grounds for further research and a growing understanding concerning how foreign language education contributes to China’s and American’s context-specific citizenship education endeavors in globalizing times.

I expect that my study can make contributions in two aspects. Theoretically, documenting how the good citizenship concept is portrayed in China’s and America’s foreign language curricula and analyzing where and why the two cases resemble and differ will contribute to a dearth of national and international discourses that approach
foreign language education from a citizenship education perspective. This study may initiate more comprehensive and refined research on the role that foreign language education plays in the preparation of good citizens for their citizenship roles, with the topic of good citizenship itself meriting critical discussion as it concerns what kind of future we will have.

Moreover, findings from this research may “assist in the development of educational institutions and practices” (Noah, 1985, p. 869) in China, the U.S. and beyond. This study has the potential to empower foreign language curriculum developers and practitioners to exercise their political praxis and creative agency while distancing themselves from their possible complicity with hegemonic citizenship conceptions. Other stakeholders, such as parents and business leaders also need to reflect on their positions regarding good citizenship when their views are circulated via mass media. Altogether, language curriculum workers and educators, media, and the academia worldwide can “borrow” and “lend” from each other (Hahn, 2006) in a concerted effort to cultivate citizens who can effectively and conscientiously navigate the shifting terrains of cultural and economic formations at different levels of the global community.

**Research Questions**

The following questions will be used to guide this study:

1. What concept of good citizenship does China’s EFL curriculum tend to endorse as exemplified by the case of Shanghai? And how is it portrayed in Shanghai’s EFL curriculum?
2. What concept of good citizenship does America’s CFL curriculum tend to endorse as exemplified by the case of Utah? And how is it portrayed in Utah’s CFL curriculum?

3. Where and why do the two cases converge and diverge significantly?

4. Answers to these questions are expected to raise the critical consciousness of educators, curriculum workers, and policymakers in China and the U.S. regarding the specific roles foreign language education has played and will continue to play in the making of citizens who are products of diverse milieus needing to navigate an increasingly globalized world. The third question, in particular, is designed to enable international dialogue on and insights into “the comparative expression” (Arthur et al., 2008, p.1) of foreign language education in relation to citizenship education.

Chapter Structure

There are five chapters in this dissertation. This first chapter sets the stage for and contextualizes this study. I begin with a brief introduction of the field of citizenship and citizenship education since the 1990s and the emergence of the long-established discipline of foreign language education as an important site for the education of citizens. I then clarify four terms that are critical for this study. They are: the good citizenship concept, foreign language curriculum as distinct from foreign language immersion curriculum, deconstruction, and discourse. Next, I present the historical and contemporary contexts that have impacted implicitly or explicitly the meaning of good citizenship conveyed in foreign language curriculum in the cases of Shanghai, China, and
Utah, the U.S., respectively. The contextual information provides the structure necessary to understand the findings chapters. Chapter I continues with the Problem Statement, Significance Statement, and Research Questions. After these three sections, I communicate the overall structure of this dissertation by introducing and outlining each chapter. Chapter I concludes with a short chapter summary.

Chapter II presents the theoretical framework of this study. I build this framework on five bodies of literature. The first comes from the critical literature on ideology in curriculum, which examines different types of curriculum and how curriculum reflects the ideologies of the power elite within each society. The other four literatures constitute a two-dimensional citizenship matrix for this study. This analytical matrix is developed to describe, analyze, and interpret the concept of good citizenship as it is influenced by discourses of nationalism, cosmopolitanism, neoliberalism, and Confucianism. Altogether, my theoretical framework assists me in the identification and comparison of the country-specific sociopolitical and sociocultural meanings associated with being a good citizen in China and the U.S.

Chapter III details the research methodology of this study. I first discuss my critical epistemological stance and acknowledge that my positionality as a former EFL teacher, Chinese in nationality now studying in America, influences my findings. I then describe my research design, which is an embedded, multiple-case (or comparative) design (Yin, 2009) with two steps: two embedded, single-case designs and then a cross-case comparison. In terms of sample selection, purposeful sampling with maximum variation (Koro-Ljungberg, Yendol-Hoppey, Smith, & Hayes, 2009) guided my efforts to
select Shanghai, China, and Utah, the U.S., as the two samples because I assume that they can provide the widest possible range of data on the concept of good citizenship. When it comes to data collection, documents and archival materials (Koro-Ljungberg et al., 2009) represents the sole form of data that came from four interwoven sets in this research project: (a) foreign language policies and/or curriculum standards implemented in Shanghai, China and Utah, the U.S.; (b) EFL and CFL instructional materials developed for the 1st to 3rd and 10th to 12th graders in Shanghai, China and Utah, the U.S., respectively; (c) media accounts relating China’s and America’s foreign language education with their citizenship education; and (d) academic publications approaching foreign language education from a citizenship education perspective in China and the U.S. Finally, I end this chapter by detailing how critical discourse analysis (CDA) is employed to guide the description, analysis, and interpretation of data in this study. CDA helps me “find intertextual connections between data sources, identify the influence of discourses upon data sets, and analyze asymmetrical power relations between discourses” (Camicia, 2007b, p. 6) so as to deconstruct the global or national grand “good citizenship” narratives that are orthodox, monolithic, and oppressive in nature.

Chapters IV to VI report the three sets of findings of this study. I wish to reemphasize here that all these findings are the result of CDA, the method of which is described in Chapter III, as the good citizenship concept in either case is embedded in a web of interrelated texts and shaped by complex historical and contemporary contexts. I present my first set of findings concerning the good citizenship concept embedded in China’s EFL curriculum in Chapter IV. As is demonstrated in the two dimensional
theoretical matrix, the good citizenship concept in the case of China reflects a jumble of meanings and expectations against the backdrop of seismic social changes. The most widely shared imaginary is an individual whose allegiance is to the nation and the market whereas the second popular perception is someone who observes Confucian moral principles and adopts a global perspective.

In Chapter V, I detail the second set of my findings as to where the good citizenship concept endorsed by America’s CFL curriculum is located in the matrix. Like in the case of China, multiple views on the meaning of good citizenship present themselves in America’s CFL curriculum standards, instructional materials, media accounts, and academic publications. However, as a result of the entrenched culture of market-centeredness and the conventional practice of excluding the moral dimension from citizenship preparation discourses, the dominant good citizenship notion in the case of the U.S. is characterized by a marked neoliberal orientation. More specifically, the most favored citizen imaginary is a patriotic entrepreneur, immediately followed by that of a multiculturally competent, globally positioned individual.

Chapter VI is devoted to the third set of the findings, i.e., the major discrepancies and similarities between the good citizenship concepts embedded in China’s and the U.S.’s foreign language curriculum. In the first section, I present two major discrepancies and argue that both of them are related to the particularities of the historical and contemporary social contexts in which the two cases are enveloped respectively. First of all, as far as intent is concerned, the discourse of neoliberalism predominates the discursive field of good citizenship endorsed by America’s CFL curriculum due to a
deeply-entrenched national conviction in market forces whereas Confucianism and neoliberalism function as two equally powerful good citizenship discourses in China’s EFL curriculum with a view to tackling China’s domestic and international challenges. The second difference occurs along the line of citizenship belonging. Though nationalism and cosmopolitanism seem to be close competitors in both cases, they are competing in qualitatively different discursive fields, which result from the unique historical positioning and global power differentials of China and the U.S.

Then in the second section of Chapter VI, I examine two major similarities that the good citizenship concepts portrayed in China’s and the U.S.’s foreign language curriculum share. First, in both cases, the most popularly perceived good citizen image is a neoliberal-nationalistic individual, that is, a patriotic economic soldier of the nation. The tenacity of the nationalism discourse and the popularity of the neoliberalism discourse in both countries, I believe, can be attributed to the essentially nationalistic purpose of schooling, the irresistible trend of globalization, and the historically contingent local contexts. The second similarity is drawn based on the comparison of the first two data sets (i.e., foreign language policy and/or curriculum standards, and instructional materials in both cases). I focus on these two data sets because they are officially formulated documents. The preferred good citizenship concept conveyed in these documents in the case of China is essentially the same as that in the case of the U.S., in the sense that they are both hegemonic, suppressive in nature. In other words, the officially preferred good citizenship notion in whatever country belongs to the technology of governance.
Chapter VII adds concluding remarks to this study. First, I discuss the implications of this study that emerged out of the findings. In light of the finding that the dominant narrative of good citizenship is consistent with that of the power elite in each society, I propose that some truly liberating discourses such as democratic cosmopolitanism should be elicited to guide future citizenship education endeavors. I also suggest foreign language teachers, mass media, and the academia exercise their critical agency and political praxis in search of a more equality oriented, empowering citizenship concept. I then talk about the limitation of this study. As a qualitative case study, this research project takes a snapshot, instead of the entire picture, of the complex discursive field of the good citizenship notion embedded in foreign language curriculum. This chapter ends with a conclusion of the whole study.

Chapter Summary

In 1999, Kymlicka made the following observation: “There has been an explosion of interest in the concept of citizenship amongst political theorists” in the past twenty years (p. 80). More than a decade later, this interest has spread widely to fields such as education, under conditions of globalization and considerable social, economic, and political changes. With the recognition that foreign language classrooms are an important yet under-researched venue for citizenship education, this study seeks to fill the gap in literature by deconstructing the good citizenship concept embedded in the foreign language curriculum developed for the 1st to 3rd and 10th to 12th graders in Shanghai, China, and Utah, the U.S., during the past decade.
Historical and contemporary contexts for the two cases are presented that provide a critical lens for understanding the specific good citizenship notion that the EFL curriculum in Shanghai and CFL curriculum in Utah tend to endorse respectively, as well as the similarities and differences between the two. Findings from this study may stimulate more theoretical research on the roles foreign language education plays in the education of good citizens with the topic of good citizenship itself meriting critical discussion. Moreover, this study has the potential to inspire important stakeholders, such as foreign language curriculum developers and practitioners in China, the U.S., and beyond, to exercise their critical agency in a concerted effort to cultivate active, responsible, and conscientious future citizens.
CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework used in this study comes from five literatures. The first examines different types of curriculum and provides a basis for considering how curriculum conveys the ideologies of the power elite within each society. The other four literatures (i.e., nationalism, cosmopolitanism, neoliberalism, and Confucianism) constitute a two-dimensional citizenship matrix for this study and is an adaptation of what Parker and Camicia (2009) constructed in their study of movement intellectuals’ perceptions of the new international education movement in the U.S. In the matrix adapted for this study (see Figure 1), the horizontal x axis represents the continuum of identity and belonging with two poles, nationalism and cosmopolitanism. The vertical y axis denotes the continuum of interest and purpose ranging between neoliberalism and Confucianism. Altogether, the four bodies of literature help me identify and compare the country-specific sociopolitical meanings and assumptions associated with being a good citizen in China and the U.S. Below I provide a brief review of each of the five literatures.

Ideology in Curriculum

Because my proposed study entails analysis of China’s and America’s foreign language curriculum, it is helpful to define the term “curriculum.” According to Cuban (1992), “Over 1,100 curriculum books have been written since the turn of the
Broadly speaking, curriculum encompasses all of the experiences children have at school. In this study, curriculum is described as “a series of planned events that are intended to have educational consequences for one or more students” (Eisner, 2002, p. 31). Eisner further claimed that schools provided not one but three types of curricula: explicit, implicit, and null. The explicit curriculum embodies “certain publicly explicit goals” (p. 87), such as the imparting of literacy, mathematic skills, and national history. The implicit curriculum involves “the way in which the culture of both the classroom and the school socializes children to values that are a part of the structure of those places” (p. 88).
For instance, the established routine of raising their hands before being called on sends students an implied message about compliance. Finally, Eisner defined which is left out of schools or their educational materials as the null curriculum, stating:

> It is my thesis that what schools do not teach may be as important as what schools do teach. I argue this position because ignorance is not simply a neutral void; it has important effects on the kinds of options one is able to consider, the alternatives that one can examine, and the perspectives from which one can view a situation. (p. 97)

As Eisner suggested, curriculum is never a neutral, value-free document (Apple, 2004; Carr, 1993; Grossman, 2008; Ross, 2002). Indeed, every curriculum form, textbooks being the dominant one, carries with it its “latent ideological content” (Apple, 2004, p. 6), or “a notion of what body of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values students should gain in order to live in a particular social order” (Wood, 1998, p. 177). In other words, curriculum is an ideological statement made by its originator(s) about what knowledge each society considers “official” (Apple, 2000a), true, good, and legitimate (Camicia, 2007b).

Some may ask, at this point, what ideology means specifically. Apple (2004) acknowledged the contested nature of this term and defined one aspect of ideology as “comprehensive world-views” (p. 18). Hall (1986) seemed to agree with this view. He stated, “Ideologies are the frameworks of thinking and calculation about the world—the ‘ideas’ that people use to figure out how the social world works, what their place is in it, and what they ought to do” (p. 97). Along this line, curriculum ideologies are “beliefs about what schools should teach, for what ends, and for what reasons” (Eisner, 2002, p. 47). According to many, ideology is often conveyed both in the explicit and null
There have been studies that identified curriculum as a source of ideology on terrorism (Hess & Stoddard, 2007), immigration (Camicia, 2007a), national identity (De Cillia, Reisigl, & Wodak, 1999), and wellbeing (Soutter, O’Steen, & Gilmore, 2012), and so forth.

That said, not every ideology carries the same weight and receives the same treatment. Typically, ideologies of the power elite have the highest chances to attain the highest status and tend to be embedded in the school curriculum in every society (Apple, 2004; Reid et al., 2010). As Banks (2002) noted, “Groups with the most power within society often construct—perhaps unconsciously—knowledge that maintains their power and protects their interests” (p. 11), as well as “influence what knowledge becomes legitimized and widely disseminated” (p. 22). Approached from another perspective,

Knowledge, no matter how thoughtful and logical, usually fades when it goes against powerful political and economic forces. Knowledge is viewed as most influential when it reinforces the beliefs, ideologies, and assumptions of the people who exercise the most political and economic power within a society.” (Banks, 2002, p. 12, emphasis in original)

Thus, as purveyors of pedagogical form and sources of “official knowledge” (Apple, 2000a), textbooks and other curricula devices are important windows into the ideological stances serving the best interest of the most powerful in each nation state. In other words, textbooks and the like enable us to look into “the roots the curriculum field has in the soil of social control” (Apple, 2004, p. 61).

There have been considerable numbers of studies that testify to the hegemonic nature of ideology conveyed in curriculum. For instance, through comparing the civic education curriculum as presented in the textbooks in the 1950s and 1990s to junior high
students in mainland China and Taiwan, Fairbrother (2004) concluded that “curricular content is selected and organized in the interest of the nation’s dominant powers” (p. 30). In their case study of civic education across six societies in the Asia-Pacific region (Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, Thailand, the U.S., and Australia), Morris and colleagues (2002) found that in Thailand, the roles of monarchy and Buddhism are stressed in civics classes; whereas in America’s schools, the core values of democracy, pluralism, diversity, and free market economics are promoted. Also, as evidenced in the cases of Hong Kong and Taiwan, once the prevailing political ideology shifts, curricular policies will change correspondingly to reflect the alteration. They thus contended that “Overall, in terms of the sorts of content and values promoted through the formal school curriculum, these broadly reflect the prevailing political ideology of each of the societies” (p. 175).

In this vein, it is understandable why foreign language education materials become a valuable site for ideological inculcation, debate and interrogation. Like all other subjects, foreign language education is “imbued with social, political and moral values” (Byram, 2002, p. 47) in the service of those possessing the most power. After examining language textbooks, policies, and other curricular materials in various countries, Byram (2008), Gilherme (2008), and Starkey (1995, 2007) have revealed that foreign language curriculum is not just oriented towards a technical objective of gaining language skills or competence but towards a more ambitious, state-sanctioned goal with political and moral dimensions.

Because curriculum of most, if not all, societies is permeated with objectives and
intentions which, in turn, embody values and advance interests of the most powerful group in that society, ideologies embedded in the curriculum of different countries may share some similarities in that social control is among the major concerns of any curriculum work (Apple, 2004; Young, 1971). Meanwhile, however, such ideologies cannot be identical as different countries feature their own history, culture, and context (Reid et al., 2010). Thus, the first body of literature on a critical understanding of ideology in curriculum will assist my analysis as to why the good citizenship concept embedded in China’s and America’s foreign language curriculum will converge as well as diverge.

Before I conclude this section, another distinction should be made between the intended and implemented curriculum, or in Eisner’s (2002) terminology, “intended and operational curriculum” (p. 32). The intended curriculum is the planned curriculum that is “overtly chosen to support the intentional instructional agenda of a school” (Wilson, 1997, ¶ 2); whereas, the operational curriculum is “the actual curriculum that is delivered and presented by each teacher” (¶ 3). Acknowledging that there is a huge gap between the two and that what is planned officially is not always what is actually being taught (Cogan et al., 2002), this study, however, focuses on examining the intended curriculum of foreign language education in China and the U.S. as a first step to fathom the politically informed and charged parameters of being a good citizen conveyed through foreign language education in the two contexts.

Eisner’s distinctions concerning the curriculum are particularly meaningful for this study because they help us understand what categories of the curriculum are being
researched. In one aspect, what is (explicit) and is not (null) included in the two countries’ foreign language curriculum are at the heart of this study, which is committed to investigating the ideology behind the good citizenship concept through critical discourse analysis of curricular documents. In the other aspect, the focus of this study is also on the ideology behind the foreign language curriculum’s intended outcome in relation to citizenship education. This critical examination of the intended curriculum can show to foreign language teachers some “wiggle room” where they can exercise their agency to educate critical and responsible young citizens when the classroom door is closed.

Nationalism

The emergence of the nation-states in Western Europe and North America from the 17th century onwards put a premium on the development of a nationalistic discourse of citizenship (Castles & Davidson, 2000; Hébert, 2010). Since then, the nation state has usually functioned as the point of departure and return for all actions (Camicia & Zhu, 2011). This development, not necessarily liberating, is premised on the understanding of the import of nation-states. What follows are the various definitions of nation-states taken from different schools of thought.

Smith (1991), a representative of Anglo-American ideology believed: “A nation can be defined as a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members” (p. 14). “A firm ethnic base” or a dominant ethnic
“public culture” (Smith, 1995, p. 107) is the underlying principle that engenders and maintains a nation (Castles & Davidson, 2000).

Somewhat different from his is the continental European view that the nation is a political project focusing on a universalistic, common public sphere that displays homogenous political wills and general interest, with individualistic cultural difference and particularity kept to a private sphere (Castles & Davidson, 2000; Hall, 2000). Also noteworthy is that Renan added the principle of common history and culture alongside that of common wills (Castles & Davidson, 2000).

Upon closer examination, it is clear that however varied these assertions seem to be, they strike a common chord, that is, a nation-state is an imagined community (Anderson, 1991, 2005) with political authority and territorial sovereignty (Hall, 2000), “built on a myth of national homogeneity and cultural identity” (Osler & Starkey, 2010, p. 88), or in Bromley’s (2009) words, “a territorially bounded polity governing a homogenous citizenry with a common culture” (p. 35). From a nationalistic perspective, citizenship is equated as nationality (Castles & Davidson, 2000; Heater, 1999). Thus it is often construed as “membership of a nation-state” (Enslin, 2000, p. 151) and requires a bond involving “a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilisation which is a common possession” (Marshall, 1964, p. 92).

The discourse of nationalism can be approached from two aspects. Within national boundaries, nationalist discourse is characterized by presenting a nation’s culture as a monolithic, common narrative (Kymlicka, 2003a; Osler & Starkey, 2010). The intrinsic exclusionary nature of nationalism asserts a normative, discursive power that
coerces and subjugates various individual identities to a national whole. Often, the powerful myth of a culturally homogeneous state that is characterized by a uniformed history, a canon mythology, a military, a media, and an economic, legal and educational system, and, sometimes, a national language (Bottery, 2003), helps to establish a dominant position for the mainstream culture group (Carrington & Short, 2000) whereas groups with alternative culture, language, ethnicity, race, gender, sexual orientations, ability, class, and so on, are marginalized, suppressed and even erased. In Bhabha’s eyes, the narration or imagination of nationalism negates the fluidity, plurality, heterogeneity, and hybridity of every identity (Huddart, 2006).

Outside the borderline or, as Smith (1998) described, “the single red line,” nationalism has given rise to the uncritical patriotism, which elevates the fatherland into “the object of the citizens’ adoration” (Oldfield, 1990. p. 73). Admittedly, sometimes, this patriotism can lead to a unified resistance in the face of foreign invasions or pooled efforts in the construction of a new nation. But for most of the time, in its most extreme form, the nationalist discourse can be an absolutist, ethnocentric speech that lauds the superiority of a national family to others and renders no criticism of the nation itself. What is usually established in the discourse of nationalism is an antagonistic binary between those belonging to the national community and those who do not (Torsti, 2007). Throughout human modern history, the sentiments of national exceptionality has been conveyed by way of insular talks about the nation’s glorious past, or blinkered concerns for the nation’s global competitiveness, or even chauvinist exhortations of citizens to partake in nations’ conflict, with the worst case scenarios of the two world wars.
Numerous researchers have attested to the privileged position a national model of citizenship has in school curricula across the globe (e.g., Byram, 2008; W. O. Lee et al., 2004; Reid et al., 2010; Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999). It is not uncommon to find that the school curricula, textbooks included, serve as the venue where a nationalistic discourse is promoted that demands an uncritical identification with a monolithic and often times exceptional national culture and history. Indeed, as Green (1997) argued, education systems in countries like Germany, France, Italy, and the USA were designed “to spread the dominant cultures and inculcate popular ideologies of nation-hood, to forge the political and cultural unity for the burgeoning nation states, and to cement the ideological hegemony of their dominant classes…” (p. 35).

Consider a few nation-states as examples. Two groups of researchers, Martin and Feng (2006) and Baildon and Sim (2010), both noticed that inculcating a strong sense of belonging to the nation through constructing the national story or portraying a highly defined national identity is the focus of the national curriculum of Singapore. In Japan, though there are struggles to internationalize the curriculum, which educators believe “has been insular and chauvinist,” “nostalgia for homogeneity and exceptionalism” still is palpable (Parker, Grossman, Kubow, Kurth-Schai, & Nakayama, 2000, p. 151). Half a planet away, scholars examining the school curriculum in the U.S. and the U.K. (Foster & Crawford, 2006) also found that “the curriculum has traditionally served nationalistic intents by promoting worldviews of national exceptionality and a nationalistic understanding of community” (Camicia & Franklin, 2010). Of course, the above-mentioned countries are not the only ones that witness the unquestioned identification
with the nation-state and its particular sets of values. Research conducted in other countries like China (Feng, 2006), Spain (Garcia, 2006), Bosnia and Herzegovina (Torsti, 2007), Mexico (Ryan, 2006), France (Osler & Starkey, 2001, 2009) all testified to the established dominance of the nationalistic discourse in school curricula as a norm that runs counter to the irresistible trend of globalization while excluding marginalized views and encouraging ethnocentric stances.

Foreign language curriculum is one of the important sites where “the flag of banal nationalism” (Billig, 1995) is hanging in a dominant but unnoticed way. Despite its great potential to approach a non-parochial ideal through promoting intercultural communication and critical cultural awareness (Byram, 1997), foreign language curriculum reinforces popular commitment to national institutions. In his analysis of the language education policies and curriculum documents in Japan, France, and England, Byram (2008) discovered that none of the three countries embraces an enriched view of language learning that “goes beyond linguistic competence to include ‘tertiary socialization,’ i.e., acquiring perspectives that challenge those of the nation state and prepare young people for a different sense of belonging in the world” (p. 41). In a similar vein, Starkey (2007) criticized foreign language teaching textbooks and methods as exoticizing the target culture as a uniform one and thus reinforcing a view among the language learners that their own national culture is also unproblematic and homogenous. Though his analysis of language education policies in the U.K., the U.S., Scotland, and at the European level led him to believe that language learning policies are conducive to promoting intercultural communication, Starkey nevertheless recommended language
teachers to break out of the lingering bicultural nationalistic paradigm that underlies teaching materials and acquire an alternative global perspective in their teaching practices.

The discourse of nationalism, however, presents many difficulties in an increasingly diversified and globalized society. Morris and colleagues (2002) claimed that since the beginning of the new millennium, the trends of multiculturalism and globalization have exerted and will continue to exert internal and external pressures on the classic notions of a citizen and the nation-state, echoing McGrew (1992), Enslin (2000), and many others. Along the line, Bottery (2003) questioned the overriding claims of the nation-state by stating:

The nation-state, as a concept, then, is fluid, and historically and geographically contingent, and is not—as some would see it—a natural part of the political landscape. A growing awareness of this artificiality and of its claims to citizen allegiance is increasingly one of its weaknesses. (p. 103)

Darling (2002) also reported that “Nussbaum goes so far as to say that self-definition by reference to one’s country is reference to a morally irrelevant characteristic” (p. 234). Clearly, the vision that the nation-state is a privileged locus for political participation, citizen allegiance and solidarity has been challenged (Kymlicka, 2003b), though whether the nation-state will remain extremely powerful is still an issue for debate for the years to come.

As far as this study is concerned, national affinity is expressed when foreign language education is considered to be a contributor to the construction of a patriotic, assimilationist good citizenship image. Though students are exposed to a new language and culture, they will still take the motherland as the anchor point of all their activities
and concerns if nationalistic emotions permeate in the official foreign language curriculum.

**Cosmopolitanism**

It may strike some as surprising that cosmopolitan thinking long predates nationalistic ideology (Appiah, 2006; Heater, 1996, 2002; Nussbaum, 1996). In effect, the concept and ideal of cosmopolitan citizenship has been in human consciousness for two and a third millennia (Heater, 1996, 2002). According to etymological analysis, the term that is now rendered as “a citizen of the cosmos/universe” was probably first coined by Diogenes of Sinope. A contemporary of Aristotle, Diogenes challenged ‘the narrow conventions of the polis’ (Heater, 2002) by asserting that man is a multicultural, not political, animal. What Diogenes was implying was a negation of one culture norm for all humanity and an open-mindedness to embrace all others as fellows.

Based on Diogenes’ preliminary work, Stoicism was fully developed as “an extraordinarily durable philosophical support for the cosmopolitan idea” (Heater, 2002) at around 300-200 B.C. Later, this stoic tradition of cosmopolitanism ebbed and flowed in five waves, namely, Old Stoa, Middle Stoa, Late Stoa, Renaissance Neostoicism, and the Enlightenment (Heater, 1996, 2002). During these waves, all characterized by expanded geographic awareness and intensified cultural exchanges, great thinkers like Cicero, Bacon, Locke, and Kant have contributed to the discourse of cosmopolitanism around the core belief in an interconnected humanity.

Despite the fact that the discourse of cosmopolitanism has been overpowered by
the discourse of nationalism since the 19th century (Osler & Starkey, 2005), cosmopolitanism experienced a recent sudden burgeoning in the 1990s. The revival was considered by some as a function of a confluence of factors, such as the end of the Cold War and the accelerating economic-environmental crisis (Heater, 2002; Pogge, 1992). Notwithstanding, globalization is often cited as the most significant factor (e.g., Camicia & Franklin, 2010; Castles & Davidson, 2000; Giddens, 2000; Hall, 2000; Heater, 2002; Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2005). Specifically, Enslin (2000) listed out the following enabling conditions for the resurgence of the cosmopolitan ideal in the era of globalization:

…recent developments in international law which recognizes powers and rights that transcend the authority of nation-states, the internationalization of political decision-making and of security structures, the transnational reach of contemporary systems of production, distribution and exchange, and the impact of new technologies on production and the location and movement of money. (p. 171)

Adding on to that, Morris and colleagues (2002) also mentioned the freer and easier flow of populations across borders as an unmistakable trend in global times. All these point to the fact that globalization has rendered and will continue to make the nation-state-bound geopolitical, economic, legal, ethnic, and cultural borders porous, blurred, and shifting, thus allowing a possibility, a tolerance, and a realization of hybrid, multiple, and heterogeneous identities. Citizens, in this context, find operating in multiple terrains, either wittingly or unwittingly, the reality of their daily life. A vision of a multi-layered global community is called for where individuals can live comfortably and equally with each other and embody a wide array of identities, while engaging in “three forms of mobility responding to globalization: mobility of mind, body and boundary” (Hébert,

As a complex term, cosmopolitanism defies one definition (Fine, 2007; Heater, 2002; Hébert, 2010). In other words, the discourse of cosmopolitanism has many modes, or “windows” (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). During the recent proliferation of literature, different conceptualizations of cosmopolitanism have been invoked that demonstrate a great variety of epistemological understandings of human relations, levels of concern, and contextual specializations (Camicia & Zhu, 2011; Fine, 2007; Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). For instance, Vertovec and Cohen argued:

Cosmopolitanism can be viewed or invoked as (a) a socio-cultural condition; (b) a kind of philosophy or worldview; (c) a political project towards building transnational institutions; (d) a political project for recognizing multiple identities; (e) an attitudinal or dispositional orientation; and/or (f) a mode of practice or competence. (p. 7)

Also, some researchers make clear distinctions between “cosmopolitan” and terms like “global,” “international,” “transnational,” and “intercontinental.” For example, Abowitz and Harnish (2006) distinguished cosmopolitanism from transnationalism, defining the former as “an ethical formulation that focuses on the philosophical implications of fostering love and compassion with people beyond one’s domestic state” (p. 676), and the latter as “a belief that the world would benefit from a legal, social, economic, and ideological intermingling of cultures and societies” (p. 676). To Gaudelli (2009), cosmopolitanism is a concept and heuristic of global citizenship.

For the purposes of this study, I use the terms “cosmopolitan,” “global,” “international,” “intercultural,” and “transnational” interchangeably, though cosmopolitan is always the preferred word. Not much different from the
“transnationalism” in Abowitz and Harnish (2006)’s terminology, cosmopolitanism is construed as an ideal where people’s allegiance is to “the worldwide community of human beings” (Nussbaum, 1996, p. 4), “idealizing equality, compassion, democracy, universalism, and humanism” (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006, p. 676). The discourse of cosmopolitanism advocates for a global citizenship (Nussbaum, 1996) that “recognizes our common humanity and expresses solidarity with others at all levels,” from local and national to regional and global, while “accept[ing] and valu[ing] diversity at all these levels” (Osler & Starkey, 2010, p. 119). According to McLaughlin (1992), cosmopolitanism is a maximal interpretation of citizenship in terms of citizen virtues, where

> citizens are seen as having a responsibility to actively question and extend their local and immediate horizons in the light of more general and universal considerations such as those of justice, and to work for the sort of social conditions that will lead to the empowerment of all citizens in the sense referred to above. (p. 236)

Under conditions of globalization, cosmopolitanism poses a legitimate challenge to the nationalistic rhetoric. A cosmopolitan frame of reference directs individuals to be agents equally possessing human rights; while at the same time, it enables the identities and equality of diverse groups to be fostered in society (Bromley, 2009). To be specific, supra-nationally, cosmopolitan citizenship recognizes the polyphony of contexts from local to global within which national citizenship is just nested (Heater, 1990) on one level and thus educates students with multiple perspectives and belongings. Acknowledging the existence of “the dark side of nationalism” (Smith, 1995, p. 159), cosmopolitanism tries to steer extreme nationalist talk away from generating terror, division,
destabilization, and destruction. Subnationally, cosmopolitan citizenship can “at least partially help resolve the internal conflict of every democratic multicultural society — balancing diversity of multiculturalism and uniformity of citizenship” (Rapoport, 2009, pp. 27-28). As an inclusive and transformative framework, cosmopolitanism encourages citizens to think of differences as assets and empowers marginalized groups to fight for equity and social justice that they deserve (Rapoport, 2009). In a word, as it becomes increasingly common for people to find themselves operating daily in “overlapping communities of fate” (Held, 2001, as cited in Osler & Starkey, 2003): local, regional, national, and international, instead of just within their national community, cosmopolitanism is expected to guide people to exercise and orchestrate their citizenship at all levels in the principles of peace, equality, human rights, and social justice in this globalized world (Noddings, 2005; Osler & Starkey, 2003).

With the proliferation of theoretical debates on and conceptualization of cosmopolitanism, research about cosmopolitan citizenship education in programmatic narratives is also on the rise. For instance, in their book, Hoerder, Hébert, and Schmitt (2005) collected many studies that documented young people’s eager participation at a global level well beyond national borders. However, Gaudelli (2009), Rapoport (2009), and many others also acknowledged the lack of cosmopolitan curriculum and practitioners. For instance, W. O. Lee and Gu (2004) concluded after a questionnaire survey in Shanghai about the perceptions of secondary teachers and principals of the provision of global education that global education was insufficient, especially in terms of teaching materials. Much more still needs to be done to truly incorporate cosmopolitan
perspectives into citizenship education programs in schools worldwide.

With regard to this study, cosmopolitan affinity is expressed when foreign language education is framed as one of the important venues for the cultivation of citizen identities and belongings at different levels from local to global. Good citizens are those who utilize the language and cultural skills they learn to solve problems that affect some portion of the world or the whole of it.

**Neoliberalism**

The term “neoliberalism” was first coined by a group of economists in post-World War I Germany to refer to a market-driven program that aimed at reviving neoclassical liberalism (Steger & Roy, 2010). Since then, neoliberalism has gradually become “the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in and understand the world” (Harvey, 2005, p. 3). The last three decades, in particular, witnessed the prevalence of neoliberal doctrines in the two major Western economies (i.e., America and Britain; Jakubiak, & Mueller, 2011; Kymlicka, 1999). Nowadays, the pervasiveness of neoliberalism is still very much palpable with the expansion of corporate powers and market at global scales, though criticism towards it has been forever mounting. Duggan (2003) explained the apparent attractiveness of neoliberalism:

[Neoliberalism] is usually presented not as a particular set of interests and political interventions, but as a kind of nonpolitics—a way of being reasonable, and of promoting universal desirable forms of economic expansion and democratic government around the globe. Who could be against greater wealth and more democracy? (p. 10)

A broad, and often contested label, neoliberalism is approached in this
dissertation as an economic and political doctrine that extols the efficiency of open
markets, private businesses, and free trade while seeking to diminish state control in
economic and associated political affairs. In Jakubiak and Mueller’s (2011) words;

The world order as envisioned under neoliberalism is one in which publicly
funded, social service provisions are reduced or non-existent, economic growth is
promoted at all costs, and the primary role of the nation-state is to regulate market
so as to promote the unfettered, global movement of capital. (p. 352)

It is clear that economic growth has been highest on the agenda of the neoliberal regime.
Indeed, market growth, not quality social services, has been the primary measurement of
government work, marking a shift from an egalitarian ideal (Apple, 2000b). In the
educational arena, in particular, where government is expected to play the major role, the
implicit and explicit language of market, efficiency, competitiveness, accountability, and
standardization permeate the mainstream discourse, indicating the enormous impact of
neoliberalism. Take the specific field of foreign language education as an example.
Terms with a decidedly neoliberal bent such as standardization and competitiveness have
found their way into educational policies, documents, and curricula in many countries
such as Japan (Byram, 2006), Britain (Starkey, 2007), and Singapore (Martin & Feng,
2006).

Apparently, a steadfast belief in the market is at the center of the neoliberal
ideology. According to neoliberals, the market is “the ultimate arbiter of social
worthiness” (Apple, 2000b, p. 64), with economic rationality (i.e., efficiency and cost-
benefit analysis) being the more powerful rationality than any other. That is to say,
efficiency and cost-benefit analysis, not politics, are the most reliable source for decision
making and social transformation (Apple, 2000b). A prime example of this neoliberal
rationality can be found in the stress over competitiveness and standardization, which are two forceful arguments for the inevitability of educational reforms in many countries such as the U.S. Both standardization and competitiveness are derivative of the concept “efficiency” because standardization is hailed as the surest means to achieve educational efficiency while competitiveness at personal, regional, national, and international levels is the ultimate measurement for efficiency of the education enterprise.

As neoliberals see it, the attractiveness of the market also lies in its strong connection with democracy. In neoliberals’ eyes, “the free market is equated with freedom—indeed, with shared democracy (or equal opportunity)” (Jakubiak & Mueller, 2011, p. 352), thanks to the existence of multiple choices available in unfettered market. As “the world in essence is a vast supermarket” (Apple, 2000b, p. 60), it provides citizens with countless products in the same category, such as cars, food, and even education, to enable optimized choices based on the consumer’s own will. In other words, under the regime of neoliberalism, consumer choice is seen on a par with civil liberty, which in turn is equal with democracy (Harvey, 2005). Along this line, there should be little wonders why widespread proposals and support for voucher and choice programs exist in education, a field that is heavily attacked by neoliberal ideology (Apple, 2000b), despite the obvious loophole in the market-democracy equation, that is, choices are only limited to those with money (Apple, 2000b; Bottery, 2003; Jakubiak & Mueller, 2011; Kymlicka, 1999).

Needless to say, with its seemingly irresistible charm and ever-growing impact, neoliberalism is restructuring the economic, political, cultural, social and ideological
relations in numerous ways. As Harvey (2005) stated:

The process of neoliberalism has…entailed much ‘creative destruction,’ not only of prior institutional frameworks and powers…but also of divisions of labor, social relations, welfare provisions, technological mixes, ways of life and thought, reproductive activities, attachments to the land, and habits of the heart. (p. 3)

In particular, neoliberalism, is reframing the way we view citizenship. According to Audigier (1998), Bottery (2003), Kymlicka (1999), Ong (2006), and many others, the traditional, more community oriented and publicly concerned idea about civic participation seems to be discouraged in neoliberal logic. What is on the rise is a more market oriented and privately concerned form of civic engagement. Butcher (2003) offered a detailed description as to what the change is like:

Traditional political channels increasingly invite cynicism, and many feel alienated from the institutions of government. Other institutions, through which individuals related to their society, have also declined—church, community and family. All this has strengthened, by default, the more individual form of politics—consumer politics. Far from the discredited institutions of government, it is as consumers that we are, apparently, free to exercise our choice in pursuit of a better world. (p. 105)

Butcher’s last sentence strikes an alarming note here. Under the auspices of neoliberalism, citizenship is being defined through consumption; or in other words, people are turned into “consumer citizens” (Bottery, 2003; Jakubiak & Mueller, 2011), citizens who are self-reliant, self-regulating, and self-expressive in accordance with and only with the principles and values of the market in society. Moreover, “in the final analysis, if this individual does not produce market value, in one way or another, as producer or consumer, he is useless to society” (Audigier, 1998, as cited in Arthur & Davis, 2008, p. 37).

Jakubiak and Mueller (2011) have deplored the prevalence of consumer
citizenship in the U.S. since the Reagan administration. Their observation of the dramatic decline of long-standing forms of collective, public action and community participation as opposed to a rise in a more individually oriented form of engagement through color-based purchasing led them to believe “U.S. citizens are consumer-citizens, a people who practice their politics through the purchase of goods and services” (p. 352). Bottery (2003) also predicted the emergence of a new brand of citizens—consumer citizens in the 21st century worldwide. In a slightly different way, he defined consumer citizens as those who treat citizenship as “another consumer good, to be designed, displayed, marketed, and sold” (p. 119) and thus demand competition among different nation-states (and other levels of governance) for their patronage. Bottery further expressed his concern that if such trends continue, there will be “less talk of allegiance and duty, and more of proprietor and customer” (p. 117), less collective civic participation, but more individualized, disaggregated voting with feet if service is not satisfactory, and less voice but apathy and exit, points also stressed by Jakubiak and Mueller (2011), Kymlicka (1999), and Peters, Marshall, and Fitzsimon (2000).

Besides the label of consumer citizens, there have been other names coined to describe the qualities of good citizens viewed from a pro-market and anti-big government ideological stance. For instance, Apple (2000b) saw that students nowadays have been trained as human capital, future workers and producers who “must be given the requisite skills and dispositions to compete efficiently and effectively” (p. 60). Teitelbaum (2011) believed that personally responsible citizens can perform comfortably within pervasive neoliberal ideology. According to him, “this kind of citizenship has a lot to do with
actions at the individual level and includes primarily limited involvement in the needs of local community, with little focus on the larger social structures and institutions of which the local is ostensibly a part” (p. 18). He may forget to mention that another legitimate reason for such citizens to be named as personally responsible citizens is that they are the only ones responsible for their education performance and employment prospects, since “neoliberal reasoning is based on both economic (efficiency) and ethical (self-responsibility) claims” (Ong, 2006, p. 11). So whatever the name is, they all point to some citizenship features encouraged by the neoliberal rationality, with the major one demonstrating maximum concern for economic efficiency and growth, not social justice.

As far as this study is concerned, a neoliberal intent is expressed when foreign language education is seen as an important venue for the cultivation of competitive producers and consumers in a global marketplace. Good citizens are those who learn a foreign language and culture for the sake of “survival, prosperity, corporate viability and individual achievement” (Parker & Camicia, 2009, p. 55)

Confucianism

Confucianism is an ancient and immense East Asian tradition originally developed from the teachings of the early Chinese sage Confucius more than 2,500 years ago. Over the years, Confucianism keeps refining and adapting itself to the changing circumstances with contributions made by early Confucians such as Mencius and Xun Zi and Neo-Confucians such as Zhu Xi or Master Zhu. As a belief system of “great subtlety and complexity” (Littlejohn, 2011, p. x), it has exerted a far-reaching impact on the
ethics, history, education, government, business management, life philosophy, and social relations in countries like China, Korea, Japan, and Singapore. Tu (1996), an eminent scholar of Confucianism, acknowledged the great difficulty in identifying Confucianism’s specific roles in the above-mentioned societies:

We must not underestimate the complexity of the methodological issues involved in addressing the Confucian role in East Asian societies, itself as fine art, because that role is both elusive and pervasive. We are, on the one hand, at a loss to identify and define how the Confucian ethic actually works in economic organization, political ideology, and social behavior. And yet, on the other hand, we are impressed by its presence in virtually every aspect of interpersonal relations in East Asian life. (p. 5)

Like neoliberalism, Confucianism refers to many different things to different people (Ivanhoe, 1993; Rozman, 1991; Tu, 1996). For instance, S.-H. Liu (1996) identified three approaches to the Confucian tradition: (a) Confucianism as a philosophical insight; (b) Confucianism as a political ideology; and (c) Confucianism as a storehouse of popular values. Tu (1996) and Reed (2004) have both argued that Confucianism may function as a corrective strategy to the dissemination and imposition of western ideologies and values worldwide in the process of globalization. As far as citizenship education is concerned, Confucianism is adopted here as a counter-narrative to the market-centered agenda and a discourse that “serve[s] as a common denominator for public morality, for the civil conduct of public affairs, and for the work ethic that is needed to sustain a high level of economic growth” (De Bary, 1998, p. 3). In other words, I take Confucianism as a morally oriented discourse committed to values such as self-cultivation, communal spirit, family ethics, and moral governance (De Bary, 1998; Lee, 2004a; Reed, 2004; Steiner-Khamsi, 2002; Tu, 1996; Yao, 1999).
First of all, concern for self-cultivation is undoubtedly one of the distinct features of Confucianism (De Bary, 1983, 1998; Lee, 2004a; Reed, 2004; Tu, 1996; Yao, 1999). Many may question this emphasis as being reflective of an individualistic orientation. However, Lee (2004a) contended that self-cultivation represents individuality, different from individualism and that the individual and the collectivity are the “two sides of a coin in terms of citizenship” (p. 27) in Asian countries. He continued that “the two can be mutually reinforcing, or related to each other in a continuum” (p. 27). The reason for him to say so is that in the Confucian tradition, the self is often attached to a positive sense (De Bary, 1983, 1998; King, 1992), which underscores “the worth and dignity of the person,” “shaped and formed in the context of a given cultural tradition, its own social community, and its natural environment to reach full personhood” (De Bary, 1998, p. 25).

Yao (1999) had an elaborate explanation concerning the meaning of self and its relation with family and community:

Confucian ethics insist that the self be the center of relationships, not in order to claim one’s rights but to claim to be responsible; and that a sense of the community of trust must be modeled on the family, not in a way that excludes others but in a way that extends one’s family affection to a wider world. According to Confucian understanding, daily behavior must be guided by an established ritual, not merely for restricting individuals but more for cultivating the sense of holiness and mission in their hearts. Education is essential for building up a good character, not primarily for building-up one’s physical power to conquer what is unknown, but for the ability co-operate with others and to be in harmony with nature and the universe. (pp. 34-35)

As implied in Yao’s quote, the value of self is so important that the cultivation of the self is “the foundation of being a human, and the fundamental requirement of attaining order and harmony of human relationship” (Au, 1994, as cited in Lee, 2004a, p. 27). De Bary (1998) seemed to agree with the above statement, arguing that “[self-
cultivation] does affirm a strong moral conscience, shaped and formed in a social, cultural process that culminates, at its best, in a sense of self-fulfillment within society and the natural order” (p. 25). As a word that has both a moral and a collective dimension (Lee, 2004a), self-cultivation is Confucianism’s primary tool through which “one’s inner strength of assuming responsibilities for oneself, for one’s family and for society at large” (Yao, 1999, p. 37) is developed. Reed (2004) further argued that “the Confucian ideal of education for self-cultivation might encourage a rethinking of the nature and purposes of education” (p. 250) under conditions of corporate and market expansion. Lee’s study on citizenship perceptions among Asia’s educational leaders confirmed that self-cultivation and individual character development were deemed the highest on the agenda of citizenship education in this region.

Closely related with the feature of self-cultivation is another Confucian tradition: the emphasis on communal spirit (Rozman, 1991; Tu, 1996). As stated in the preceding paragraph, the relationship between self-cultivation and communal spirit is not one of contradiction where communal spirit is perceived as indicative of a collectivist culture, while self-cultivation sounds to be more of an individualistic orientation. Rather, these two complement each other and reflect a balanced treatment of self-development and group interest in Confucianism. Qualities such as consensus seeking, deference, interest in harmony, recourse to third party mediation to avoid direct confrontation between rivals, and an expressed concern for group solidarity are more commonly seen in East Asian countries than in countries where individual rights and benefits are prioritized. In De Bary’s (1998) words, “moral cultivation and consensual social rituals, rather than
legal compulsion” are the way to solve human problems in cultures heavily influenced by Confucianism. This observation that Confucianism emphasizes communal spirit is supported by Grossman’s (2004) study on student-teachers in Guangzhou and Hong Kong. His findings revealed that the “ability to work with others in a cooperative way” topped the list of items that the respondents from both cities agreed to be important to teach. Tu further remarked that despite a noticeable trend of burgeoning hedonism and intensifying individualism among industrial East Asian countries, the power of the communal spirit does not seem to have been fundamentally undermined.

According to Hawkins, Zhou, and Lee (2001), K. Y. Lee (1994), and Tu (1996), “familism or the extraordinary preoccupation with family solidarity and interests” (Rozman, 1991, p. 30) in East Asian societies is undoubtedly another noticeable feature of Confucianism. In the opening passage of the Great Learning (Daxue), one of the classical Confucian readings, it is clearly stated that only after families are regulated are states governed. Tu noted that the family plays “[a] supreme role in capital formation, power politics, social stability and moral education in all East Asian communities,” “not only as a basic social unit but as a metaphor for political culture” (p. 8). Indeed, the Chinese phrase for “nation-state” is exactly the combination of “country” and “family.” In this sense, Shih (2002) may be right in asserting that “according to classical Chinese political theory, the state should be an extended family” (p. 233), though Tu thought that the metaphor of the family had been extended to all forms of social organizations, such as schools, workplaces, and religious communities. Unlike Western-style civil societies that are based on voluntary associations, countries of a decidedly Confucian brand are noted
for the salience of family-style connectedness, which is “noncontractual, extralegal and ascriptive” (Tu, 1996, p. 8) in nature. Little wonder that “fostering family values” has been expressed as a common concern among the Asian educational leaders surveyed in a study on Pacific-Basin values education (Cummings et al., 2001). Clearly, families are the fundamental building blocks of society and family virtues are central to social stability and solidarity in East Asian countries (Tu, 1996).

The final point worth mentioning here is that moral governance is a political ideal spelt out in Confucianism. By moral governance, I mean a strong government that rules with moral authority. Contrary to their western peers who customarily harbor an entrenched distrust towards the government, people in East Asian societies consider government leadership “indispensable for a smooth functioning of the domestic market economy” (Tu, 1996, p. 7) and responsible for translating, with high moral standard, the general will of the overwhelming majority into reasonable policies on health care, social welfare, and education, and so forth (Tu, 1996). In this sense, Confucianism belongs to what Apple (2000b) called neoconservatism because

unlike the neoliberal emphasis on the weak state, neoconservatives are usually guided by a vision of the strong state... It is largely, although not totally, based on a romantic appraisal of the past, a past in which ‘real knowledge’ and morality reigned supreme.... (p. 67)

Indeed, there emerged a group of scholars known as “neo-conservatives” in China nearly two decades ago who proposed to revive the Confucian tradition to save China from moral decline in the process of marketization. Along this line, political leaders in countries honoring Confucianism are often considered to “possess a commanding influence in the public sphere” (Tu, 1996, p. 7) in a way that members from all other
sectors, such as the mass media and the business circle, cannot compete. Reminding us of the tradition that Imperial China selected officials from those who were educated as scholars of the Confucian classics and experts in morality, Xiong (2011) indicated that government officials in today’s China are still expected to serve as role models and authorities with high morality. Ordinary people, at the same time, also receive a heavy dose of Confucian values and traditions in their daily life and/or school education. They, too, are expected to subscribe to the Confucian morality and act accordingly. Ideally, the Confucian society is built upon “human moral relationships” (De Bary, 1998) with the “‘moral autonomy’ of gentlemen” (Law, 2011, p. 20).

With regard to this study, a Confucian intent is expressed when foreign language education is for the nurture of morally upright citizens, who subscribe to values such as self-cultivation, communal spirit, family ethics, and moral governance through learning a foreign language and culture. In other words, the discourse of Confucianism is well reflected when a good citizenship image emphasizing the moral dimension is constructed in the foreign language curriculum.

To conclude, the four discourses that shape the meaning of citizenship—nationalism, cosmopolitanism, neoliberalism, and Confucianism, each with its distinctive set of theoretical underpinnings and curricular implications, will assist in my description, analysis, and interpretation of the concept of good citizenship embedded in China’s EFL curriculum and America’s CFL curriculum, respectively. They are also important tools for me to address the first half of the third research question, which requires comparing the range and meaning of concepts of good citizenship captured in the two cases.
Chapter Summary

I have presented five literatures that serve as a background for examining the good citizenship concept embedded in foreign language curriculum in China and the U.S. First, a critical literature on ideology in curriculum was presented to understand how curricular documents, textbooks being the dominant form, are expressive of the hegemonic ideological stance of the power elite in each society. Such ideology is evident by what is (explicit) and is not (null) included in curricula for all subject areas, including that for foreign language education. Also, I have made it clear that the intended curriculum is the focus of this study. Examining the underlying goals and assumptions that drive the intended curriculum in relation to citizenship education is the first step for us to understand how the concept of a good citizen is constructed and utilized in the best interest of the most powerful group in the contexts of China and the U.S. Given that the operationalized curriculum is not always the same as the intended curriculum, the findings of this study can inform educators who work as gatekeepers of how those intentions are implemented about places where they can transform and make a difference.

Next, a two-dimensional analytical framework was presented to describe, analyze and interpret concepts of good citizenship as these concepts are influenced by discourses of nationalism, cosmopolitanism, neoliberalism, and Confucianism. Concerning the dimension about the location of belongings, nationalism bounds citizenship and loyalty within national borders and articulates visions of a monolithic, uniformed nation-state who is exceptional and superior to other nations. In contrast, cosmopolitanism is taken here as an ideal where people’s allegiance is to “the worldwide community of human
beings” (Nussbaum, 1996, p. 4) at all different levels, from local, national, to regional and global. Along the other dimension about purpose, neoliberalism, featured with the implicit and explicit language of weak state, free market, efficiency, and competitiveness is held responsible for the churning up of producer and consumer citizens who take economic growth, wealth, and competitiveness, instead of equality, freedom, and social justice as their goals. In comparison, Confucianism is adopted here as a counter-narrative to the market-centered agenda and a discourse committed to educating moral citizens with self-cultivation, communal spirit, family ethics and a trust in a powerful government.

On the whole, all five literatures, including the critical perspective of ideology in curriculum and the two-dimensional framework consisting of the four citizenship discourses, will be crucial as I seek to explain how the country-specific sociopolitical and sociocultural meanings associated with being a good citizen in China and the U.S. are portrayed in the two countries’ foreign language curricula respectively, where and why the two cases resemble and differ considerably. These critical perspectives will inform my identification and description of the good citizenship concept conveyed, first, in the case of China’s EFL curriculum and then, in America’s CFL curriculum, and will guide my analysis and interpretation of where and why the significant differences and similarities exist between the two cases.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

I conducted a comparative critical discourse analysis of EFL instructional materials for students from Grades 1 to 3 and 10 to 12 in Shanghai, China and CFL instructional materials for students from the same grade levels in public schools in Utah, America to examine the way that the four discourses of good citizenship introduced in the previous chapter function. Recognizing that multiple texts are interwoven with the instructional materials, I also examined foreign language policies and/or curriculum standards, media accounts, and academic publications to enable a plural interpretation of the good citizenship notion conveyed through foreign language curricula in the two countries. I made critical comparisons of the findings from the two cases and explained where and why the notions of good citizenship promoted in China’s and America’s foreign language curricula converge and diverge. Below I describe my positionality and epistemological stance, the research design for this study, the sample selection and data collection, the method of critical discourse analysis, and the procedures of analysis involved in this study.

Epistemological Stance and Positionality

This study aligns with the critical qualitative research paradigm. In terms of ontology, this paradigm assumes that human perception of reality is “shaped by social,
political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender values” (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 195) that are historically specific and highly contextualized. There should be plural realities with each being a partial, situated account of a local culture (Powers, 2001). In terms of epistemology, the critical qualitative paradigm assumes that research findings are not value-free but “value-mediated” (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 195). Findings cannot be claimed totally objective and detached from the researcher’s lived experiences, assumptions, and positionality. When it comes to methodology, the critical paradigm considers the methodological approaches dialogic and dialectical in nature (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). The investigator and the subject of inquiry are engaged in a dialogue throughout the research process to “understand how unjust and oppressive social conditions came to be reified as historical ‘givens’” (Cannella & Lincoln, 2009, p. 54) and to “transform ignorance and misapprehensions into more informed consciousness” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 110). Language has appeared as a frequent focus of inquiry in critical research. Critical perspectives have inquired deeply into the functions of language and the circulation of discourses to see how language is complicit in power relations. In Cannella and Lincoln’s (2009) words, “Language gives form to ideologies and prompts action, and consequently, is deeply complicit in power relations and class struggles” (p. 55).

In keeping with the three assumptions of the critical qualitative paradigm, I recognize, ontologically, that the concept of good citizenship will be portrayed differently in China’s and America’s foreign language curricula due to the diverse culture and history the two peoples have experienced. Meanwhile, I acknowledge that both being a
localized interpretation delimited in a particular context, the two perceptions are equally meaningful and sensible.

Epistemologically, I am aware that my positionality as a former EFL teacher, Chinese in ethnicity and nationality, now studying in America, will influence my findings. According to Byram (2006), such an experience as a cultural broker enables one to
decentre from one’s own culture and its practices and products and to gain insight into another. With the help of a comparative juxtaposition, one is able to apprehend what might otherwise be too familiar in one’s own culture or too strange in another. (p. 117)

My interpretation, with the imprint of my values, identity, and experience, is among the many subjective renditions attached to the essentially contested concept of citizenship (Carr, 1991; McLauglin, 1992; Parker, 1996).

Methodologically, I conduct critical discourse analysis to deconstruct the global or national grand narratives that are orthodox, monolithic, and oppressive in nature. On the whole, my work is not an “objective depiction of a stable other” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 53); rather it is a subjective, interactive interpretation of a concept that is essentially contested. My intention is to reveal how the discourses of good citizenship conveyed in the two countries’ foreign language curricula have functioned to shape or avoid a dulled or misled citizenry and to inform people of places where they can exercise their critical agency. In other words, by making explicit the oftentimes unspoken position on citizenship that reflects a certain political, most likely hegemonic idea about the role of the individual within society, I want educators, foreign language educators in particular, as well as other stakeholders, such as curriculum writers and policymakers, to
be aware of their responsibilities to empower students.

**Research Design**

The research design I employed for this study was an “embedded, multiple-case (or comparative) design” (Yin, 2009). According to Yin, this design can be broken down into two steps: multiple embedded, single-case designs and then a cross-case comparison. Therefore, as far as my study is concerned, there were two embedded single-case designs, one examining the good citizenship concept portrayed in China’s EFL curriculum and the other examining the good citizenship concept portrayed in America’s CFL curriculum, followed by a comparison between the findings from the two cases.

First of all, to each case, the rationale and method of an embedded, single-case design applies (Yin, 2009). This means the two cases in my study were examined independently concerning how one is embedded in the social context of China and the other in the social context of the U.S. Yin (2009) further suggested that a single case study “may involve more than one unit of analysis” (p. 50) and each unit can be divided into subunits. Therefore, each case study in this research project dealt with four primary data sets, or four principal units of analysis. These units are: (a) foreign language policy and/or curriculum standards (EFL language policy and curriculum standards in the case of China, and CFL curriculum standards in the case of the U.S.); (b) instructional materials (EFL instructional materials such as textbooks, teacher’s reference books, student’s exercise books in the case of China, and similar CFL instructional materials in the case of the U.S.); (c) media accounts (e.g., newspaper articles and blog postings
concerning English learning in the case of China, and similar materials concerning Chinese learning in the case of the U.S.); and (d) academic publications (e.g., journal papers, book chapters and books relating English learning with citizenship education in the case of China and similar materials relating Chinese learning with citizenship education in the case of the U.S.). Every single document within the units is a subunit.

In addition, the embedded, single-case design gives structure to the research by noting the need to purposefully bound the case. The two cases in this study were delimited by time, the past decade from 2001-2011; and place, public schools in Shanghai, China and Utah, the U.S., respectively. The reason for the time delimitation is because English education starting from Grade 1 among Shanghai’s public schools was initiated in 2001 (Shanghai Primary and Secondary Curriculum and Teaching Materials Reform Commission [SPSCTMRC], 2004), 7 years earlier than the commencement of the Chinese immersion program in Utah’s elementary schools. An exception to the delimitation of place was that the media accounts and academic publications to be collected may not be written for students in these two geographic areas only; rather, these accounts may talk about the issue of foreign language education in relation to citizenship education in a much larger (national or international) arena.

After the two embedded, single case studies were finished, I conducted a cross-case comparison. The rationale for me to add this step is based on my assumption that “the analytic benefits from having two cases may be substantial” (Yin, 2009, p. 61). Thus, the two cases in this study were compared to see if there are significant similarities or differences in terms of how the good citizenship concepts are portrayed in foreign
language curricula. An attempt was also made to interpret the possible sociopolitical and sociocultural reasons accounting for the similarities and differences. The comparative phase of this study ended up with highlighting those educational practices that China and the U.S. can “borrow” and “lend” from each other (Hahn, 2006) and places where they should both improve to promote an empowering citizenship notion through foreign language education.

**Sample Selection**

Purposeful sampling with maximum variation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Koro-Ljungberg et al., 2009) guided my efforts to select the samples for this study. This strategy led me to choose Shanghai, China, and Utah, the U.S., as the two settings where this comparative study takes place.

Patton (2002) considered purposeful sampling as leading to “selecting information-rich cases for study in depth” (p. 46). For my research, I purposefully selected Shanghai, China, as one case and Utah, the U.S., as the other because I assumed that they could form what Glesne (2006) called maximum variation and provide “the widest possible range of data on the category” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 61), which, in this study, is the concept of good citizenship. The following is a brief depiction of the two cases, although a fuller account can be found in the first chapter.

China is currently governed by an authoritarian communist regime (Grossman, 2008) after experiencing more than 2,000 years of feudalist control and a failed brief experiment to import Western democracy in the early 1900s (Goldman & Perry, 2002).
All through the years, the citizenship consciousness among the public has been rather weak (Goldman & Perry, 2002; Wong, 1999). It has only been recently that there has been some expressed interest in the political and academic circles in China to discuss what citizenship is and promote citizenship education (e.g., Feng, 2006; Wang, 2006). This is attributed to increased interaction with other parts of the globalized world and the perceived mounting social tensions. As one of the most cosmopolitan cities in China, Shanghai is among the test beds where most educational experiments take place, including the one on citizenship education (Law, 2007; Y. Liu & Zhang, 2008). History has it that Shanghai staged the earliest massive campaign for political rights and local control in modern Chinese history (Goldman & Perry, 2002). With regard to EFL education, Shanghai is also taking the lead nationwide as witnessed by its popularization of English learning from the 1st grade, two grades earlier than in many other parts of China (“Shanghai Leads in English Education,” 2001).

The U.S. has been, in many ways, considerably different from China—it is hailed as one of the model democracies in the world (Castles & Davidson, 2000); the notion of citizenship has been under heated debate for years (e.g. Dewey, 1916/1944; Parker, 1996) and foreign language education has not received much enthusiasm in a decentralized education system. However, Utah is an exception in terms of foreign language learning. According to a recent news report, Utah is leading the nation in dual immersion programs (Wimmer, 2011). Chinese language learning in particular is thriving, largely because its former governor Jon Huntsman has strongly advocated for it. In the academic year of 2008-2009, the first eight elementary schools in Utah started Chinese dual immersion
programs (Conley, 2009). Currently, one third of America’s elementary schools that teach Mandarin Chinese are in Utah (Wimmer, 2011). Besides that, Chinese learning in high schools is also prospering in Utah. According to Crawford and Roberts (2009), world language specialist in Utah State Office of Education, as early as the 2009/2010 school year, Utah had over one third of secondary schools offering Mandarin Chinese classes, which was by far the highest percentage of any state in the nation. To sum up, the cases of Shanghai and Utah shed light on the phenomenon of EFL and CFL education in China and the U.S. in a unique way. The two places are the trailblazers of the two countries in terms of foreign language learning.

Data Collection

Documents and archival materials (Koro-Ljungberg et al., 2009) represented the sole form of data in this research project. I drew from four different data sources that were interwoven to provide a snapshot of how the concept of good citizenship is portrayed in China’s and America’s foreign language curricula as exemplified by Shanghai’s EFL and Utah’s CFL curricula, respectively. The four sets of documents included: (a) foreign language policy and/or curriculum standards adopted in Shanghai’s EFL education and Utah’s CFL education; (b) instructional materials used in the two places; (c) media accounts relating foreign language education with citizenship education in China and the U.S.; and (d) academic publications approaching China’s and America’s foreign language education from the perspective of citizenship education. Below I describe each of these data sources as well as the procedures involved to identify
Foreign language policy and/or curriculum standards was the first major set of valuable data sources for this study, because they are authoritative documents “directed by an administrative authority to achieve certain [language education] goals” (Kam & Wong, 2003, p. xxxii). As Morris and colleagues (2002) see it, examination of government policies enables researchers to “identify and compare the nature of the knowledge and values that were promoted in the intended curriculum” (p. 174). Just as Byram (2008) modeled in his analysis of the language education policies in Japan, France, and England, I also utilized foreign language policy and/or curriculum standards in Shanghai and Utah to examine the underlying ideologies and hidden agendas (Ricento, 2000; Shohamy, 2006) of the two places’ ruling elite regarding foreign language education in relation to citizenship education.

As a matter of public record, foreign language policy and/or curriculum standards can be obtained from electronic resources. Concerning the case of Shanghai, I searched the website of Ministry of Education (MOE) of China and that of Shanghai Education Commission to look for policy documents and curriculum standards at both national and municipal levels. The reason for my doing so is because on the one hand, China is currently engaged in reforming its educational system by means of decentralizing curriculum, and encouraging local autonomy and innovation (G. Hu, 2005a, 2005b; Zhao, 2009); while on the other, the grips of the central government is still tight (Law, 2007). In
other words, Shanghai’s elementary EFL curriculum standards are penned within the parameters set by the central government’s foreign language policies and the national elementary EFL curriculum standards.

The search has produced the following five pertinent sources, which I listed chronologically by date of publication: 《教育部关于积极推进小学开始英语课程的指导意见》 [The Ministry of Education Guidelines for Vigorously Promoting the Teaching of English in Primary Schools] (MOE, 2001a); 《小学英语课程教学基本要求(试行)》 [Basic requirements for Elementary English Teaching (Trial Version)] (MOE, 2001b); 《全日制义务教育、普通高级中学英语课程标准（实验稿）》 [Full-Time Compulsory Education & General High School Curriculum Standards: English Curriculum Standards] (Experimental Draft) (MOE, 2001c); 《普通高中英语课程标准》（征求意见稿） [General High School English Curriculum Standards](Trial Draft) (MOE, 2002); 《上海中小学英语课程标准》（征求意见稿） [English Curriculum Standards for Shanghai’s Primary and Secondary Schools] (Trial Draft) (SPSCTMRC, 2004).

Concerning the case of Utah, because there is no official foreign language policy in the U.S. (Cutshall, 2005; Met, 1994), I only sought to identify the curriculum standards for Chinese learning established nationally and especially in the state of Utah. According to the official website of American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st Century (3rd edition; ACTFL, 2006) was published nationally, which defines “content standards—what
students should know and be able to do—in foreign language education” in America (ACTFL, 2011). At the state level, I searched on the website of Utah Education Network and located the Core Standards of World Language (Utah State Office of Education [USOE], 2009a). Later, I found a 36-page document called World Languages Standards and Guidelines: The 5 C’s (USOE, 2009b) at the USOE World Language (2008) home page. However, after a close reading of both documents, I found they are basically the same. Therefore, I selected the latter as the curriculum standards to be study at the state level.

**EFL and CFL Instructional Materials**

The second primary set of documents for this study was comprised of EFL and CFL instructional materials developed for the 1st to 3rd and 10th to 12th graders in public schools in Shanghai and Utah from 2001-2011. I have designated these six grades as the focus of inquiry because EFL and CFL education were available to these but not necessarily other grade levels in the contexts of Shanghai and Utah, respectively, at the time my dissertation started. Also, my preliminary search has found that instructional materials from just elementary or high school levels may not reveal enough information, whereas including both enables a more comprehensive study that illustrates the two ends of the spectrum. The instructional materials collected in this study included textbooks, which is “the primary curricular artifact—and in many places, in essence, the curriculum” (Apple, 2008, p. 26; Lebrun et al., 2002) and supplemental materials such as teachers’ guide and students’ exercise books.

I purchased the instructional materials from the publishers. In the case of
Shanghai’s EFL curriculum, I first consulted the official website of Shanghai Education Commission and identified two sets of textbooks and their corresponding supplement materials predominantly used among elementary schools in Shanghai. Although I had exhausted all the resources I had, I could not find the exact number or percentage of students using the textbooks. The fact that these textbooks are the only ones that were uploaded onto the official website of Shanghai Education Commission may testify their wide usage. They are: Oxford English (Shanghai Edition; Wen, 2000), which is adapted from textbooks produced by foreign publishers to suit Shanghai students’ learning needs by SPSCTMRC; and New Century English (Trial edition; Dai, 2007), which is compiled under SPSCTMRC’s supervision by a team of Chinese professors who taught English at Shanghai International Studies University.

At the high school level, New Century Senior English (Trial edition; Dai, 2006) and its supplementary materials were also purchased after I consulted the website mentioned above. Compiled by the same group of professors in accordance with the English curriculum standards set by MOE of China and Shanghai Education Commission, this set of instructional materials is one of the most widely used among Shanghai’s high schools. Although another set of high school textbooks, Oxford English (Shanghai edition), could also found in the official website of Shanghai Education Commission, I did not include the set in the study because various versions of it published in different years caused confusion in data collection and analysis.

In the case of Utah’s CFL curriculum, I have developed personal contacts with teachers and administrators involved in Utah’s Chinese immersion program and was
informed that there have been two state adopted sets of Chinese textbooks used at elementary levels (T. Dahl, personal communication, August 23, 2011). The first set, called *Step by Step*, was created by Brigham Young University’s (BYU) Chinese Flagship Center (2008, 2010) but has not been widely used. Therefore, *Step by Step* was not studied in this project. The other set of textbooks that gain popularity in Utah and thus were selected for analysis are produced by BetterChinese, Ltd., an organization founded by educators from Columbia University and the U.N. Currently, Utah’s Chinese immersion schools are using two series of BetterChinese products with full multimedia curricula, including readers, storybooks, workbooks, audio CDs, animated CD-ROMs and additional classroom teaching aids: *My First Chinese Words* (L. Yu, 2009a), designed for preschoolers and lower elementary students; and *My First Chinese Reader* (Vol. 1-4; L. Yu, 2009b), designed for elementary students from beginning to intermediate levels.

Besides the above-mentioned textbooks and related materials for the regular spring and fall semesters, I have identified another curriculum for a week-long summer learning program offered to the first to third graders in Utah named The Utah China Kids STARTALK Program. A national initiative in 2006, STARTALK provides creative and engaging summer learning experiences of critical languages, such as Arabic and Chinese, among school students in America (“About STARTALK,” n.d.). According to the U.S. Department of State, critical languages are those for which more trained speakers are needed than are available in the U.S. (“Critical Languages,” 2012). Also such languages are “critical for U.S. national security and economic competitiveness” (“Critical
Languages,” 2012, p. 1). In the state of Utah, a STARTALK program that focuses on Chinese learning and teaching has been ongoing since the summer of 2009 to “begin and improve students’ Chinese language skills as they enter a full Chinese immersion classroom environment and help them become aware of the influence of China in their own Utah community” (STARTALK-PROGRAMS IN UT, n.d.). The curriculum, lesson plans, assessment tools and other supplement materials for the 2011 program were available at the Utah Chinese Dual Immersion website.

To the 10th to 12th graders who select to learn Chinese in Utah, the textbook series called *Magical Tour of China* may sound familiar. According to its producer (i.e., BetterChinese, n.d.), the series is intended for the intermediate and advanced level young adult learners with SAT2 level proficiency. Currently, *Magical Tour of China* is adopted by Utah’s Department of Education and starts to be popularly used in the state’s high school Chinese classes. I purchased all four volumes of the series’ textbooks and teacher’s guides for analysis in this study.

**Media Accounts**

The third data set (i.e., media accounts), encompassed newspaper articles, magazines, blog postings and even audio/video clips. The rationale for this data source is that they are able to gauge and convey popular awareness of the interplay between foreign language education and citizenship education. Offering various renditions of the good citizenship concept, media accounts can be compared and contrasted with official foreign language curriculum. In particular, media accounts can allow key education stakeholders such as students, parents, teachers, administrators, and curriculum
developers to voice their views as a way to expound, debunk, validate or challenge the hegemonic ideologies (Apple, 2004; Banks, 2002) of the dominant cultural groups.

I employed Binder’s (2002) and Camicia’s (2007b) document selection methodology to select public accounts that are related to foreign language learning in China and the U.S. from 2001 to 2011. Relying on electronic document recovery, I selected data from Google News and Google Videos by first searching with key phrases such as “English learning in China” or “Chinese learning in the U.S.” in both Chinese and English. I also cultivated functional synonyms to expand the search for additional documents (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). After the document was identified, I browsed through it to decide if it had anything to do with citizenship education or alluded to any citizenship concept. I only kept those that I considered relevant. Searching continued until no new documents could be found. For audio and video materials, I included their transcription as data sources. Approximately eight pertinent media accounts were found in the case of China (see Appendix A) and another 12 in the case of America (see Appendix B).

Academic Publications

Finally, I collected data from academic publications. Like media accounts, scholarly writings in the form of journal articles, book chapters or books also enabled me to deepen my analysis of the underlying good citizenship concept within foreign language curricula because they provided important points of comparison and contrast relative to the official interpretation of good citizenship conveyed in school curriculum. Especially given that many academic writings may adopt a critical lens, they can serve as
counterpoints of school curricula, which, according to my theoretical framework, embody the ideology of the power elite.

Again, I utilized Binder’s (2002) and Camicia’s (2007b) document selection methodology to locate relevant academic writings that were published during the past decade and related foreign language education with citizenship education in China and the U.S. Using the key phrases of “Chinese learning in the U.S.” or “English learning in China,” and “citizenship,” I did some advanced electronic searches of Utah State University’s Merril-Crazier Library. To garner the largest number of publications possible, I also expanded search terms to functional synonyms. Similar searches were conducted within a Chinese digital database (i.e., Vip Periodical Full-text database) so that publications in Chinese could be identified.

The results of the search included two papers relating China’s EFL education with its citizenship education and citizenship concepts (see Appendix C). Concerning America’s CFL education, there are nine publications that were somewhat interfaced with citizenship education, together with a comparative paper (Starkey, 2007) that approached America’s language policy and pedagogy from the perspective of cosmopolitan citizenship (see Appendix D).

**Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was employed to guide the description, analysis, and interpretation of data in this study. Though CDA as a multidisciplinary research paradigm is more than just a method, I used it here as a qualitative research tool,
undergirded by post-structural theory. CDA used in this study not only recognizes the importance of social and historical contexts in the creation, maintenance, and re-creation of discourse, but highlights the notion that such contextual information is indicative of power relations.

Before proceeding, an operational definition of discourse is necessary. From a post-structural perspective, discourse can be considered language used as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1995). According to Mills (1997),

A discourse is not a disembodied collection of statements, but groupings of utterances or sentences, statements which are enacted within a social context, which are determined by that social context and which contribute to the way that social context continue its existence. Institutions and social context therefore play an important determining role in the development, maintenance and circulation of discourses. (p. 11)

Clearly, discourse is not a collection of semiotic symbols that are indifferent to social circumstances; rather it refers to “a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts” (Wodak, 2001, p. 66) that are socially constructed and constitutive. In other words, there exists a dialectical relationship between the discourse and the specific social and situational settings where it is embedded (Wodak, 2001). Discourse is a product of social and historical contexts while at the same time it shapes our understanding of and influences our action in the world (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Camicia, 2007b; Fairclough, 1992). Along this line, discourse analysis is taken as a constant exploration of the interactive and mutually informing relationship between context and language. According to Gee (2005), in this process:

We gain information about a context in which a piece of language has been used and use this information to form hypotheses about what the piece of language means and is doing. In turn, we closely study the piece of language and ask
ourselves what we can learn about the context in which the language was used and how that context was construed (interpreted) by the speaker/writer. (p. 14)

Thus, discourse analysis is used to understand discourse in terms of its content, implication, formation, and accomplishments as a regulated product in a specific historical period, institution, and locality (Parker & Camicia, 2009).

As the name suggests, CDA stresses approaching discourse from a critical, liberating, and power-conscious perspective. Aligned with poststructuralist theories to a great extent, CDA perceives discourse as being “both an instrument and an effect of power” while at the same time being able to “undermine and expose it” (Foucault, 1976/1978, p. 101). In other words, discourse produces a relationship between power and knowledge (Camicia, 2007b; Foucault, 1976/1978). CDA “allows us to understand how knowledge, truth, and subjects are produced in language and cultural practice as well as how they might be reconfigured” (St. Pierre, 2000, p. 486) through examining the rules that influence the connection between power and knowledge.

Moreover, discourse is also multifaceted and contingent (Camicia, 2007b; Foucault, 1976/1978) from a poststructural perspective. It is not uncommon to find discourses whose meanings are contradictory, diverse, hybrid, blurry, and shifting in the context of a discursive field. This understanding is well explained by Parker and Camicia (2009) when they cautioned that, “CDA pays particular attention to the social positions of speakers and listeners and to the political purposes and effects of discourse” (p. 53). The same discourse can embody and convey varied messages to different individuals in diverse contexts.

That said, the “critical” feature of CDA has its root in critical theory outlined by
the Frankfurt School and expresses a deep concern for the emancipation and liberation of humanity. Fairclough (2001) stated, “Critical is used in the special sense of aiming to show up connections which may be hidden from people—such as the connections between language, power and ideology” (p. 4). In this vein, CDA is responsible for revealing to marginalized individuals and groups how language is used to reify structures of oppression. As essentially a power analysis, CDA “accounts for the social production of identities and institutional orders that frequently are assumed to be natural”; “aim[s] to free individuals from essentialist identities that constrain behavior”; “strive[s] to unearth submerged alternative languages to describe experiences and open[s] up new possibilities for social identification and behavior” (Seidman, 1992, as cited in Powers, 2001, p. 61).

To conclude, CDA enables researchers to “take into account the insights that discourse is structured by dominance; that every discourse is historically produced and interpreted, that is, it is situated in time and space; and that dominance structures are legitimated by ideologies of powerful groups” (Wodak, 2001, p. 3).

As far as this research project is concerned, CDA is an appropriate tool for me to critically examine how the concepts of good citizenship are constructed in different social contexts that reflecting diverse political ideas through the medium of foreign language curriculum. First of all, citizenship is a discursive practice that is shaped by varied and often competing political agendas and interests. Just as Abowitz and Harnish (2006) alleged, “A speech, article, or curriculum articulating a position regarding civic membership, identity, values, participation, and knowledge constitutes an expression of belief about citizenship” (p. 655). They continued that “Such expressions, by the very
language and ways of thinking they employ, construct meanings of citizenship, privileging some meanings over others by means of choices of language, logic, or rhetoric” (p. 655). Given these understandings, CDA enables me to comprehend how certain interests are shaping the meaning of good citizenship and uncover what is the overarching interest conveyed in the good citizenship discourse. Also, within the analysis of each case, CDA allows me to accept the messiness of the discursive field where there may be diverse interpretations as to what good citizenship is. Moreover, CDA enables me to explain in my cross-case analysis the differences between the case in China and the other in the U.S. by referring to their distinct social, historical, and institutional factors. Finally, the findings I obtain through CDA should have emancipatory effects on those who have been unaware of the manipulating power of the good citizenship discourses constructed by and serving the best interest of the power elite in each society.

**Procedures**

What follows is a description of the procedures for this study in accordance with the pattern set forth by Wolcott (1994). I described, analyzed, and interpreted the data that I collected to examine and compare how the good citizenship concepts are conveyed in the two countries’ foreign language curricula. First of all, in the descriptive phase of the qualitative discovery, I asked the question “What is going on here?” (Wolcott, 1994, p. 12). This means that I reported available information as to what form of data the material belongs to, who the author is, and when and where it was published.

The next phase of data transformation involved analysis, or the identification of
key categories and emerging themes (Glesne, 2006; Wolcott, 1994) within each case study. According to Wolcott, in this stage, the researcher “addresses the identification of essential features and the systematic description of interrelationships among them” (p. 12). There were two steps involved. First of all, I conducted systematic coding and memo writing (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glesne, 2006). Informed by my theoretical framework, I coded each of the collected documents for evidences of nationalist, cosmopolitan, neoliberal, or Confucian concepts of citizenship, using the method explained by Krippendorff (2004).

I then located each coded subunit of the four data sets on the citizenship matrix I constructed in my theoretical framework, using cluster analysis (Krippendorff, 2004). Depending on the meaning it conveyed, each coded document was placed along one of the two lines denoting belonging and purpose respectively or into one of the four quadrants representing the combination of nationalism and neoliberalism, nationalism and Confucianism, cosmopolitanism and neoliberalism, or cosmopolitanism and Confucianism (see Figure 1). I arrived at each text’s coordinates based on a combined consideration of two measures: the frequency that a certain mentality (e.g., nationalism, cosmopolitanism, or Confucianism), neoliberalism is expressed; the emphasis that is given to a certain mentality. The first is a little bit easy to count while the second one is hard to quantify. Thus, I tried to give a detailed description of the raw data in terms of how and where a certain mentality is expressed before I draw my conclusion as to which mentality prevails. During this iterative process, I sometimes moved the point after initially locating a coded text on the grid if other data sources related to that text indicated
that such a repositioning was necessary. A concentration of the textual data within one part of the matrix is indicative of a predominant ideological stance. At the same time, a lack of textual information in any part of the plane is indicative of the null curriculum. As discussed in the previous chapter, the null curriculum is as important an indicator of the mainstream ideology and power relations as the explicit curriculum. Through the null curriculum, the dominant force in society sends a powerful message about things that they do not value and thus reifies versions of reality that favor and serve their interest.

I repeated the procedures to map out the good citizenship concept portrayed in China’s EFL curriculum and the U.S.’s CFL curriculum respectively. I wrote a summary for each case study, including a reading of the texts in relation to one another and in relation to the larger sociocultural context. This signifies a move from data analysis to data interpretation, which, in Wolcott’s (1994) definition, occurs when the researcher “transcends factual data and cautious analysis and begins to probe into what is to be made of them” (p. 36). I asked questions such as “what does it all mean?” and “what is to be made of it all?” (p. 12). By referencing my theoretical framework and employing CDA, I was able to answer the first two research questions concerning how the good citizenship concepts are portrayed in China’s EFL curriculum and America’s CFL curriculum.

After I dealt with the two cases one by one, I made a cross-case comparison to answer the last research question as to where and for what reason the two cases converge and diverge significantly. By comparing the two matrixes drawn previously, I first described the major similarities and differences presented in the matrixes. I then employed CDA and my theoretical framework to analyze and interpret those similarities
and differences through highlighting the diverse social and historical contexts of China and the U.S. as well as uncovering the sometimes similar hegemonic political intentions underlying the good citizenship concepts in both countries.

Chapter Summary

Aligned with the ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions of the critical qualitative research paradigm, I employed an “embedded, multiple-case (or comparative) design” for this study. I purposefully selected Shanghai, China, and Utah, the U.S., as the two settings where this comparative study takes place because I assume that they can form significant and even maximum variation. Four interwoven data sets were included: (a) foreign language policies and/or curriculum standards bounded by the two contexts of Shanghai, China and Utah, the U.S., respectively; (b) EFL and CFL instructional materials developed for the first to third graders in Shanghai, China, and Utah, the U.S.; (c) media accounts; and (d) academic publications. The examination of the four data sets enabled a plural interpretation of the good citizenship notions conveyed through foreign language curricula in the two countries.

CDA was employed for data analysis. I chose it because it can unveil the connections between the texts of all four data sets, identify the function of discourses upon data sets, and analyze asymmetrical power relations between discourses on a discursive field. Together with the theoretical framework that I detailed in the previous chapter, CDA guided me through the three steps (i.e., description, analysis, and interpretation of the data), in the process of qualitative discovery.
CHAPTER IV
FIRST SET OF FINDINGS: THE GOOD CITIZENSHIP CONCEPT EMBEDDED IN CHINA’S EFL CURRICULUM

This chapter is devoted to answering the first research question: What concept of good citizenship does China’s EFL curriculum tend to endorse? And how is it portrayed in China’s EFL curriculum? Because I collected four sets of data, I dealt with them one by one in the order as follows: foreign language policy and curriculum standards, EFL instructional materials, media accounts, and academic publications. It should be noted that emphasis is given to the first two data sets, whereas the latter two data sets are treated as supplementary materials. Within each data set, I coded and analyzed each text as a subunit before locating it in the two dimensional analytic citizenship matrix. I quoted at length those texts that I have chosen to illustrate the findings, and my analysis will be descriptive in nature. After the four data sets were located in the matrix respectively, I merged them together to form a comprehensive picture of the good citizenship concept embedded in China’s EFL curriculum. Finally, I made an effort to summarize the distinctive features of the good citizenship notion.

Foreign Language Policy and Curriculum Standards

The first data set, foreign language policy and curriculum standards, are important and valuable materials for analysis because they provide an official framework within which schools operate. This is particularly true in the case of China where schools are required to conform to government-sanctioned language policies and curriculum
standards and use textbooks compiled accordingly. Studying government-issued language policy and curriculum standards first enables me to have a better understanding of instructional materials in China. In what follows, I will describe and analyze five government documents that have set the parameters within which Shanghai’s EFL education is expected to perform at both national and municipal levels before locating them on the two-dimensional citizenship framework. My intention is to identify and examine any beliefs about good citizenship that have been expressed explicitly or implicitly in these documents through choices of language, logic or rhetoric.

教育部关于积极推进小学开始英语课程的指导意见》[The Ministry of Education Guidelines for Vigorously Promoting the Teaching of English in Primary Schools]

Issued on January 18, 2001, at the onset of China’s basic education reform in the 21st century, the Ministry of Education Guidelines (hereafter referred to as the Guidelines) articulated the state’s decision to actively push forward English course provisions among elementary schools nationwide. The first sentence states the purpose for this decision, which is the one and only place throughout the whole document that suggests a covert relationship between English education and citizenship ideals. The following is the translation of the relevant original text.

…to further implement the strategic guideline that “education should be oriented to modernization, the world and the future,” the Ministry of Education decides that providing English courses in elementary schools is an important component of the basic education curriculum reform at the beginning of the 21st century.

As the text indicates, the move to promote English education in elementary schools is in compliance with the government’s education philosophy that “education should be
oriented to modernization, the world and the future.” First appearing as an inscription written by Deng Xiaoping in 1983, the “three orientation” statement not only serves as the guideline for China’s basic education and curriculum reform, but also specifically alludes to the state’s hidden agendas for citizenship education (Shang, 2001). According to this statement, the basic education in China (from Grade 1-9) should be reformed so as to cultivate citizens with three orientations, namely, citizens who are modernization oriented and can contribute to China’s fast economic development and modernization drive with the most updated knowledge and skills; who are world oriented, concerned about international issues, competent in intercultural communication and cooperation, and globally competitive; and who are future oriented and can adjust themselves to the rapid science, technology and economic development of the future society (“Deng Xiaoping Proposed Three Orientations,” 2012).

At first sight, the citizenship ideal spelt out here can be located near the cosmopolitan end of the affinity continuum because being world oriented is the essential quality of cosmopolitan citizens. However, a closer reading of the text suggests that the three orientations are indeed weighted with a nation-bound concern about China’s survival and development in a fast growing and unforgiving global marketplace. In other words, the cosmopolitan spirit conveyed in the statement is tangled with a nationalist rationality. Therefore, instead of being located at the far end of cosmopolitanism, the good citizen notion embedded in this document should be positioned somewhere in the middle of the affinity continuum, signifying a cosmopolitan sentiment tinted with nationalistic considerations (see Figure 2 shown and discussed later in this chapter).
As far as purpose is concerned, the citizenship ideal communicated here is unambiguously neoliberal. The three orientations are underscored by market rationality as evidenced by the repetitive use of such terms as “economic development,” “modernization” and “competitiveness” in the document. Therefore, the good citizenship notion should be located near the neoliberal end of the neoliberalism/Confucianism continuum.

《小学英语课程教学基本要求(试行)》
[Basic Requirements for Elementary English Teaching] (Trial Version)

As an attachment to the above-mentioned document, the Basic Requirements for Elementary English Teaching (hereafter referred to as Basic Requirements) lays out specific requirements to guide the implementation of English teaching among China’s primary schools. Again the first two paragraphs explain the rationale behind the move. It is stated:

…The informationization of social life and globalization of economic activities has made foreign language, English in particular, an increasingly important tool for China’s opening up and international communication. It is a basic requirement for citizens in the 21st century to learn and master one foreign language.

…In order to fully advance quality education and meet the needs to improve Chinese people’s comprehensive quality in the 21st century, the Ministry of Education decides to actively promote the provision of English courses in elementary schools from fall, 2001….

This text makes it clear that the reason why English is highly valued in China is because it is conducive to China’s interaction with the rest of the world in both economic and social terms. Promoting English education from elementary levels on is thus considered an important measure to nurture citizens capable of effectively navigating the globalized
terrain and more importantly, facilitate China’s global participation.

Besides this part, the section on textbooks and other instructional materials also sends an implied message about the role EFL education should play in China’s citizenship education. The following is the excerpt:

…Elementary English instructional materials should help students learn the culture and customs of English speaking countries, and conduce to a correct attitude towards foreign cultures. Moreover, instructional materials should also help cultivate students’ ability to communicate and do things in English as well as promote their thinking capacity and ability to know the world….

As noted in the text, the kind of citizens that EFL education is expected to cultivate are those with some knowledge of the culture and customs of English speaking countries, a correct attitude towards foreign cultures, and the ability to know the world. To most, if not all, students in China, these expressions have been a common refrain in the classroom talks, emphasizing a cautionary official position that students need to keep the essence and discard the dross when showing their openness to cultures other than their own.

Both excerpts in the document appear to communicate an inclination toward a cosmopolitan citizenship notion, as far as affinity is concerned. Evidence can be found in the supportive attitude the document expresses toward “China’s opening up and international communication,” and “students’ ability to know the world.” However, how far along the affinity axis should this stance be located from the cosmopolitan end is still the question. Indeed, the citizenship notion embedded here, though seemingly globally oriented, is limited in its focus and commitment. A good command of English is considered an important quality Chinese citizens should possess because it can contribute to China’s opening up. Also an incorrect attitude towards the world’s other cultures is
discouraged, an attitude that would pose the risk of total westernization and undermining the legitimacy of the current government. Therefore, like in the previous document, the good citizen image constructed here should be located somewhere in the middle of the affinity continuum, and indeed with a little proximity to the nationalism end, indicating an ostensible cosmopolitan disposition underpinned by nationalistic concerns (see Figure 2 shown and discussed later in this chapter).

Along the intent continuum, the neoliberal discourse is once again overriding the Confucianism discourse. As stated at the beginning of the document, English is important for China’s opening up and international communication, under the condition of economic and information globalization. In other words, English education is vigorously promoted more for the training of economically competitive individuals and less for the cultivation of communally spirited and ethically strong citizens (see Figure 2 shown and discussed later in this chapter).

《全日制义务教育、普通高级中学英语课程标准（实验稿）》[Full-Time Compulsory Education and General High School Curriculum Standards: English Curriculum Standards] (Experimental Draft)

The *Full-Time Compulsory Education and General High School Curriculum Standards* (hereafter referred to as the National English Curriculum Standards) is another key document issued by the MOE in the year of 2001 concerning China’s English education. As the name suggests, it sets specific curriculum standards for English teaching from the 1st grade to the 12th grade with a focus on the first 9 years of compulsory education. Compared with the previous two government directives, this one
is much longer, more comprehensive and more detailed, thus meriting an in-depth probe.

The National English Curriculum Standards consist of four parts: preface, curriculum goals, content goals, and implementation suggestions. The preface provides some telling information about the embedded good citizenship notion along the dimension of intents and interests. Quite similar to that in Basic Requirements, the opening remark in the preface claims that, as one of the most important information carriers, English has become the most widely used language in human life “because of informationalization of social life and economic globalization.” English curriculum reform is considered necessary in China because “English education falls short of the needs of China’s economic construction and social development.” Clearly, the economic concern is central here. To cultivate citizens needed in China’s economic and social development under conditions of globalization and China’s opening up becomes the underlying driving force for English curriculum reform in this country.

However, it is still too early to locate the implied good citizenship notion near the neoliberal end of the intent axis. Just a few sentences later, it is stated:

English learning is a process not only for students to acquire English knowledge and skills, and improve their language competence, but for them to foster noble spirits, sharpen their will, broaden their horizons, develop personal character, and improve humanistic quality.

Instead of relating English learning with economic concerns, the quote above associates English learning with character training and moral education. In other words, English education is considered to be able to facilitate the cultivation of noble, strong-willed, and moral citizens.

The stance that English education should contribute to citizenship education in its
moral dimension is reaffirmed in another place. In the last part of the National English Curriculum Standards, where implementation suggestions are put forward, there is a section devoted to textbook compilation and use. It is advised that “ideological and moral education should be infused into English textbooks, with a view to assisting students in forming a correct outlook on life and values.” Though the text does not specify what kind of values is acceptable, it is natural for most Chinese to think of some of the core values in Confucianism, such as communal spirit, family ethics, and benevolence that have been advocated by the government in its everyday propaganda campaign.

To conclude, as the National English Curriculum Standards imply, a good citizen that China’s English education is expected to mold should be both economically competitive and ethically sound. Different from the previous two documents, the National Standards tend to convey a good citizen image that is not simplistically neoliberal but more complex and balanced. Since more emphasis has been given to the moral dimension rather than the economic consideration, the good citizenship notion embedded in the National English Curriculum Standards is slightly tilted towards the Confucianism end of the purpose continuum in the citizenship matrix (see Figure 2 shown and discussed later in this chapter).

When it comes to citizens’ sense of belonging, the National Standards also seem to favor a balanced view. As early as in the preface, it is claimed that the task of English teaching is multifarious. Besides developing students’ language skills and knowledge, English education should also “enable students to learn the world, appreciate cultural differences between the east and west, broaden horizons, and cultivate patriotism,” to
name just a few. A literal reading of the text leads to the interpretation that having some world knowledge while maintaining the love for their country are both expected of Chinese students through their English learning. Indeed, this is one of the many times that the Standards try to strike a balance between world orientation and nation-bound loyalty.

The first two other places where similar rhetoric can be found are in the second and third part of the Standards. Here nine different levels of curriculum and content standards are offered for five interrelated components of students’ overall language ability, namely, language skills, language knowledge, learner affect and attitude, learning strategies, and finally, cultural awareness. Among them, the third and fifth elements, learner affect and cultural awareness, touch upon citizens’ sense of belonging and scale of allegiance. To be specific, when addressing learner affect, the Standards require that English curriculum should “enhance students’ awareness of the motherland” and “promote international perspectives.” The Standards further provide sample progress indicators for Level 2, 5, and 8. For example, at Level 8, among other things, learners should be able to introduce Chinese culture to others in English, and learn and respect other cultures in the spirit of international cooperation. As far as the fifth element, cultural awareness, is concerned, the Standards also claim that learning the culture of English speaking countries should be conducive to a deeper understanding and appreciation of the culture of our own country and beneficial to the development of world awareness. Again at Level 8, it is expected that learners should “learn world cultures and develop world consciousness through learning English.” At the same time, learners at this level should “deepen their understanding towards the Chinese culture through cross-
The fourth part of the Standards on implementation suggestions also contains expressions that emphasize a balanced treatment of both Chinese traditional culture and foreign cultures. In the first section entitled “Suggestions for Teaching,” teachers are advised to “help students learn foreign cultures, especially cultures of English-speaking countries” while “deepening students’ understanding towards their own culture” and “develop students’ cross-cultural communication awareness and capacity.” This point is reiterated in the fourth section on textbook compilation and use. It is suggested that English textbooks should both reflect Chinese traditional culture and facilitate students’ understanding of the quintessence of foreign cultures. In other words, English education is expected to cultivate citizens who are effective cultural brokers with desirable knowledge about both Chinese traditional culture and foreign culture(s).

On the surface, the Standards present an official stance that seems to accommodate both a national and global sense of belonging. This stance is reflected by the stress over patriotism, awareness of the motherland, an appreciation of Chinese traditional culture on the one hand, and repeated advocacy for world perspectives, world awareness, and learning foreign cultures on the other. However, while there is a parallel appeal for both a nation-bound love and a world-oriented consciousness, the real focus is on the former. First of all, because a world-oriented consciousness is always mentioned in passing with no clear definition, the concept sounds too vague for teachers to implement in their classroom teaching. Indeed, according to the context in which it appears, it is doubtful that the world perspective would refer to anything beyond some
world knowledge and cultural understanding of English-speaking countries. Compared with cosmopolitanism that takes mankind’s prosperity towards emancipation as the ultimate goal, acquiring the world perspective mentioned here is too shallow a commitment. Also, even when learning foreign cultures is encouraged, the concern is still there that “foreign cultures will have impacts on students’ life philosophy, world outlook and sense of values”; therefore, “textbooks should guide students to improve their discernibility” MOE, 2001c). To anyone who is familiar with CPC’s western peaceful evolution talk, the word “discernibility” echoes a familiar ring and implies a deep concern about the threat foreign cultures may pose towards a stable CPC regime. Taking all these into consideration, I, therefore, decided to position the good citizenship notion embedded in the National English Curriculum Standards near the nationalistic end along the affinity continuum, despite an ostensibly balanced appeal for both nationalism and cosmopolitanism presented in the document (see Figure 2 shown and discussed later in this chapter).

The General High School English Curriculum Standards (hereafter referred to as High School Standards) came out in 2002, a year after the issuing of the above-mentioned document (i.e., the National English Curriculum Standards for both basic education and general high schools). As the name suggests, High School Standards are in many aspects the intensified version of the National Standards for senior high school English education in China. What follows is a brief account of the good citizenship
notion embedded in this document viewed from my theoretical framework.

First of all, similar to what has been expressed in the National English Curriculum Standards, High School Standards also seem to encourage a balanced treatment of nationalism and cosmopolitanism. It is stated that “high school English curriculum should help students further develop their world perspectives, whilst enhancing their patriotic spirit and sense of duty for their nation.” However, like in the National Standards, national interest is the point of departure and return because “high school English curriculum standards are formulated to meet the needs of China’s opening up and its comprehensive national strength increase.” In other words, “It is a must to gradually popularize high school English education in China for the sake of improving Chinese citizens’ quality and realize China’s sustainable development.” Given these statements, it is without doubt that the good citizen notion conveyed in the document is nation-bound and thus should be located in proximity to the nationalism end of the affinity axis in the citizenship matrix (see Figure 2 shown and discussed later in this chapter).

When it comes to citizenship intents, the document contains several statements that express neoliberal sentiments. For instance, in the preface, the document conducts a background analysis and considers that high school graduates’ English proficiency needs improving urgently given China’s social development, economic construction, and, especially, the new situation China faces after its entry into WTO. It even asserts that many countries are enhancing and reforming English education before the advent of knowledge economy. Statements such as this indicate that China’s English education was reformed with a view to cultivating citizens capable of ensuring the country’s economic
viability and prosperity in a knowledge economy. As for Confucianism, there are some passing mentions of it. For instance, the document states high school English education should help students establish a correct outlook on life and the world. On the whole, when located in the citizenship matrix, the good citizenship notion implied in the High School Standards should sit a little bit closer to the end of neoliberalism along the vertical axis (see Figure 2 shown and discussed later in this chapter).

《上海中小学英语课程标准》（征求意见稿）
[English Curriculum Standards for Shanghai’s Primary and Secondary Schools] (Trial Draft)

As the only document formulated at the municipal level, the English Curriculum Standards for Shanghai’s Primary and Secondary Schools (hereafter referred to as Shanghai’s Curriculum Standards) were issued in 2004 to guide English curriculum reforms in the city’s primary and secondary schools. While conforming to the above-mentioned state-issued policies and curriculum standards, Shanghai’s Curriculum Standards also take into consideration local contexts and make adjustments accordingly. In what follows, I will elaborate on those places that reflect the document’s unique characteristics and stances with regards to the good citizenship notion.

Shanghai’s Curriculum Standards are composed of two parts. The first part lays out the overall curriculum plan for Shanghai’s elementary and secondary schools. This plan delineates the general parameters within which Shanghai’s English Curriculum Standards specified in the second part were formulated. In both parts I find some interesting information that is helpful for the identification and location of the embedded good citizenship notion along the neoliberalism/Confucianism continuum.
To begin with, in the preface of the first part, it is declared that “Shanghai’s overall curriculum plan intends to construct a curriculum system that centers on moral education and emphasizes cultivating students’ innovative spirit and practical ability…”

In the following section entitled “Curriculum Rationale,” the same point is reiterated and some implementation suggestions are offered. According to the overall curriculum plan,

Based on the premise that an emphasis should be placed on the cultivation of students’ moral character and codes of conduct, schools should reinforce teaching national spirit that keeps patriotism as the core, and carry forward Shanghai’s city spirit which reads “start undertakings with painstaking effort, dare to be the trailblazer, embrace diversity and welcome difference, and respect science”… (SPSCTMRC, 2004, p. 2)

At the same time, “schools should improve moral education methods, open up more channels for moral education, and emphasize moral education in various content areas…” The general objective of the curriculum plan is “…to cultivate citizens who have lofty ideals, moral integrity, a better education and a good sense of discipline.”

Accordingly, Shanghai’s English Curriculum Standards in the second part require that English textbooks should be compiled following the principle of infusing ideological education into English education. Concerning classroom teaching, the Curriculum Standards also state that English education must improve students’ comprehensive qualities, which includes morality, emotions, willpower, and taste.

As evidenced by the quotes above, Shanghai’s English Curriculum Standards refer frequently to the moral dimension of English education. The ideological and moral education function that English teaching contains is emphasized repeatedly with an ultimate goal of cultivating citizens who, like what is stated in the overall curriculum plan, “have lofty ideals and moral integrity.” In contrast, neoliberal sentiments are not
evident. There were no mention of terms such as globalization, economic construction and development. Moreover, no concern about Shanghai’s economic competitiveness in global markets was expressed throughout the document. Instead, all the statements quoted above are suggestive of an embedded good citizenship notion located at the Confucianism end of the purpose continuum in the two-dimensional matrix (see Figure 2 shown and discussed later in this chapter).

When it comes to citizens’ affinity and sense of belonging, Shanghai’s English Curriculum Standards also present some valuable information that reflects a constant struggle between nationalistic and cosmopolitan ideologies. At the very beginning of the first part, it has been made clear that the guiding ideologies of Shanghai’s overall curriculum plan are “three orientations” and that “Education must serve the needs of socialist modernization, be integrated with productive labor, and train builders and successors who are well developed morally, intellectually and physically.” Then when talking about “Curriculum Rationale,” the overall curriculum plan considers that “schools should reinforce teaching national spirit that takes patriotism as the core, and carry forward Shanghai’s city spirit which reads ‘start undertakings with painstaking effort, dare to be the trailblazer, embrace diversity and welcome difference, and respect science’.” Further, in the section about curriculum objectives, very much in line with the wording of the National English Curriculum Standards, the document regards “to educate students to embody both a national spirit and international perspectives” as one of its general objectives. More specifically, for elementary school students, “love the class collective, love the hometown” is one of the objectives; for middle school students, they
are expected to “love the country, love the excellent culture(s) and fine traditions of the Chinese nation”; for high school students, the objectives are a bit more complex: They should “be able to voluntarily defend national dignity and interest, love CPC, love socialism; inherit the fine traditions of the Chinese nation, carry forward the national spirit and Shanghai’s city spirit; appreciate and respect cultural diversity, and be good at absorbing the excellent achievements in diverse cultures.”

Moreover, Shanghai’s English Curriculum Standards also encourage students’ identification with municipal, national, and global communities. In the preface, it is asserted that “Shanghai is in the process of being a cosmopolitan city. Foreign language proficiency can be used to measure a city’s comprehensive strength and internationalization level. English is an important carrier of modern information and a bridge to the world…A command of English is one of the basic qualities that citizens in Shanghai should have.” Given this understanding, one of the rationales for Shanghai’s English Curriculum is “to lay a solid foundation for the improvement of students’ communication abilities in a multicultural context.” The general objective for English Curriculum is to, among other things, educate students to openly and willingly accept excellent cultures in the world. More specifically, elementary school students are expected to be able to or at a higher accomplishment level, love to learn some foreign culture traditions; middle school students are expected to be able to or at a higher accomplishment level, take some initiative to accept foreign cultures and understand some basic cultural differences between the east and the west; high school students are expected to have some cross-cultural awareness, respect foreign cultures, and exhibit
national self-respect, and, at a higher accomplishment level, have strong cross-cultural awareness, respect and embrace foreign cultures, and exhibit national self-respect. To accomplish these goals, English textbooks should “take in the strengths of excellent textbooks wherever they are published, home or abroad.” At the same time, English teachers should “instill in students an awareness that they need to learn the quintessence of cultures of other nations.”

As we can see from the quotes above, Shanghai’s English Curriculum Standards, for the most part, align well with the National English Curriculum Standards. A balanced attitude is encouraged towards both national and world cultures, demonstrating a blending and tension between nationalist and cosmopolitan sentiments. However, a close reading of Shanghai’s English Curriculum Standards together with a historical understanding of Shanghai’s time-honored tradition of opening up suggests something deeper. As one of the most cosmopolitan cities in China, it badly needs cosmopolitan citizens to ensure its unique position and strong presence in both national and global arenas. Therefore, while assuring the central government of its loyalty through explicitly requiring local students to love the country and love CPC, Shanghai’s English Curriculum Standards are indeed advocating for a less nation-bound, but multi-leveled sense of belonging. Evidence of this can be found when the document asks students to carry forward both Shanghai’s city spirit (which is itself very cosmopolitan) and national spirit, while embracing excellent cultures in other world civilizations. In other words, Shanghai’s Curriculum Standards encourage its citizens to be identified with “overlapping communities of fate” (Held, 2001, as cited in Osler & Starkey, 2003): local,
national, and global. Moreover, the document acknowledges and appreciates cultural diversity as one of the essential features of present-day society. It is the only document among this data set where multiculturalism is not only recognized but embraced. Given these two reasons, despite the fact that equality, human rights, and social justice are still not on the agenda, the good citizenship concept embedded in Shanghai’s English Curriculum Standards should be located slightly closer to the cosmopolitan end along the nationalism/cosmopolitanism continuum (see Figure 2).

An Overview of Foreign Language Policies and Curriculum Standards

After analyzing and identifying the good citizenship notion embedded in each of the five documents in the first data set, I present a graphic representation of the findings (see Figure 2).

![Graphic representation of foreign language policy and curriculum standards]

Note. Numbers represent documents in the order of appearance.

Figure 2. Analysis of foreign language policy and curriculum standards.
As is shown in Figure 2, all five documents cluster in the middle interval of the nationalism/cosmopolitanism continuum. None of the documents is located either at the far end of nationalism or the far end of cosmopolitanism. This indicates that nationalistic and cosmopolitan ideologies are engaged in an intense and constant tension as far as China’s citizenship education performed in English classrooms is concerned. Generally speaking, the nationalistic discourse is overpowering the cosmopolitan discourse as evidenced by the location of a higher percentage of documents at the former’s side. Indeed, among the five documents in this data set, four are positioned in proximity to the end of nationalism. Interestingly, these four are all state-issued documents. The overriding nationalistic sentiments embedded in these documents suggest that national stability and prosperity are still the prioritized concern of the central government. The only one that favors cosmopolitan sentiments is the document formulated and issued by Shanghai’s local authorities. Given that Shanghai is uniquely and historically positioned as one of the most cosmopolitan cities in China, it makes sense that the good citizenship notion it advocates is more globally oriented than those embedded in national uniform policy documents and curriculum standards.

Figure 2 also demonstrates a wide distribution of the documents along the vertical neoliberalism/Confucianism continuum. The ones that are located closer to the neoliberalism end of the continuum are the two foreign language policy documents. As their major function is to provide policy guidelines, these two do not go into details as to how English teaching should be implemented in real classrooms and what performance standards should be, and are thus less likely to specify the moral dimension of the English
teaching in relation to citizenship education. The other three documents that have a more visible Confucianism presence are all curriculum standards. In these documents, there is enough space for a citizenship ideal, both economically competitive and ethically sound, to be elaborated. It is noteworthy, however, that the fifth document, Shanghai’s English Curriculum Standards, is again an outlier. This may also be explained by Shanghai’s unique position. Ranked as the most open city in China (“Shanghai Ranked as China’s Most Open City,” 2012), Shanghai is at the same time at the forefront of the western peaceful evolution threat. To fend off this danger, local educational authorities are counting on strong traditional moral principles underscored by Confucianism as a countervailing force for complete westernization in its citizenship education efforts in English classrooms (Law, 2011).

On the whole, the majority of the documents in the first data set are located in the upper left quadrant, favoring a nationalistic neoliberal citizenship ideal. The good citizen image portrayed here is mainly a patriotic producer and consumer whose allegiance is to the nation and the market. In other words, English education is perceived as an effort to train competitive “economic soldiers” (Parker & Camicia, 2009, p. 63) who fight for national security and economic prosperity.

**EFL Instructional Materials**

Compiled in conformity with foreign language policies and curriculum standards, EFL instructional materials are the second important data set for this study. I selected three sets of EFL textbooks together with their corresponding supplementary materials
and analyzed the good citizenship notion embedded within them. Among the three, the first two sets are used at the elementary levels. Given the age of their targeted audience, however, these two sets are not as informative as were expected. In comparison, the last set, used by senior high school students in Shanghai, China, serves as a better and richer site for me to elicit findings concerning the embedded good citizenship notion. In what follows, I will describe and analyze each set before presenting an overview of my findings.

**Oxford English (Shanghai Edition; Trial Edition)**

Based on textbooks originally published by Oxford University Press, Oxford English (OE) is a set of instructional materials that was adapted by Shanghai Primary and Secondary Curriculum and Teaching Materials Reform Commission (SPSCTMRC) and Oxford University Press (China) Limited to meet the needs of Shanghai’s English curriculum reform. Since 2000, this set has been widely used by Shanghai’s elementary school students. For the sake of this study, I chose to analyze six student books with their corresponding workbooks and teacher’s books from Grades 1-3.

A close look at these materials finds that a limited citizenship notion has been vaguely constructed. Given students’ age, the themes of the materials are limited to daily life and routines, which makes it very hard to identify a citizen image beyond children’s immediate communities, such as home, school, and the city they live. For instance, Unit 1 of Textbook 2A suggests a locally-oriented citizenship identity. Entitled “Where I live,” this unit encourages students’ identification with Shanghai through introducing the
explicit expression that “I love Shanghai” and inventing an activity that asks students to locate their home in a map of Shanghai. The materials do, however, encourage a love and care for the nature through teaching about “Animals,” “In the Park,” and “Insects and Plants,” which may be conducive to the growth of a cosmopolitan orientation in students’ future development. But as far as these instructional materials themselves are concerned, I tended to locate them near the nationalism end along the axis of belonging (see Figure 3, shown and discussed later in this chapter).

As regards the vertical axis of intent, this set of instructional materials demonstrates an inclination to neither neoliberalism nor Confucianism. Language knowledge and skills seem to be the exclusive focus of classroom teaching, as the teacher’s books manifest. Given this void of the vertical dimension, I located this set of books just on the horizontal x axis of belonging in the two-dimensional citizenship matrix (see Figure 3, shown and discussed later in this chapter).

New Century English (Trial Edition)

The New Center English (NCE) is a set of instructional materials that was compiled by a team of English professors at Shanghai International Studies University. After being censored by SPSCTMRC, it began to be used by a large number of elementary school students in Shanghai in 2007. I also collected six student books with their accompanying workbooks and teacher’s books from Grades 1-3 for this study.

Compared with OE, NCE seems to be more willing to acquaint students with knowledge of the world beyond students’ immediate communities. For instance, the Unit entitled “The Bund” in Book 1B takes “leading students to learn Shanghai and love
Shanghai” as its goals. However, the teachers’ book suggests instructors to introduce to students other famous landscapes around the world after evoking students’ identification with Shanghai by showcasing pictures of the city’s famous buildings. A semester later, in Book 2A, a unit entitled “A New Boy?” further helps students fortify their knowledge about the capitals and major cities as well as the landmark buildings of some countries around the world. A map of the U.S.A. appears in the dialogue, followed by pictures of Tiananmen Square in Beijing, Big Ben in London, Eiffel Tower in Paris, and Sydney Opera House in Sydney. In another section called “Listen and Talk,” there is also a picture of West Lake in Hangzhou, which is a neighboring city of Shanghai, as well as a picture of the Statue of Liberty in New York. It is stated in the teacher’s book that showing these pictures can arouse students’ interest in foreign cultures. Clearly, the compilers of NCE do not want to confine students to their immediate community. Instead, they want to encourage students’ interest in and identification with multi-level communities from local to global. The presence of the picture of the Eiffel Tower is particularly meaningful. Since France is a non-English speaking country, a picture of its landmark building may direct student to expand their horizons and make approaches to other non-English speaking cultures. In his research, Starkey (2007) strongly recommended that foreign language educators introduce students to cultures other than the target one as a way to break away from a bicultural nationalist paradigm. Along this line, I located NCE near the end of the cosmopolitan discourse along the horizontal axis of affinity and belonging in the citizenship matrix (see Figure 3, shown and discussed later in this chapter).
When it comes to the intent dimension with neoliberalism and Confucianism being the two ends, the teacher’s books in NCE prove to be a valuable source of information. In the “Compilation Explanation” of each teacher’s book, it is explicitly stated in Chinese that education about life, ideology and morality, and nations belongs to the teaching of emotions and attitudes, which, together with knowledge and skills constitute the three dimensions of NCE’s teaching objectives. Accordingly, at the beginning of each unit, there is a table that lists out the specific teaching objectives in the three dimensions pertaining to that unit. For example, again in the Unit “A New Boy?,” the teaching objectives include language knowledge and skills objectives in terms of alphabet, word, sentences, listening, speaking, reading and writing; structure and function objectives such as asking for information; and emotions and attitude objectives that are concerned with guiding students to form the good habit of welcoming others in English and treating guests with good manners, and helping students learn the capitals and major cities as well as their landmark buildings of some countries. Neoliberal sentiments, on the other hand, are only touched upon in the few units about shopping, occupation and fashion. Therefore, I located NCE closer to the end of Confucianism in the citizenship matrix (see Figure 3, shown and discussed later in this chapter).

**New Century Senior English (Trial Edition)**

As the continuation of the New Century Senior English (NCE), this set of instructional materials is targeted towards senior high school students. Compiled by the same group of professors, NCSE started to be widely adopted by Shanghai’s senior high schools in 2006. I add NCSE into my sample of analysis with the belief that it can supply
me with more ample and vivid information concerning the good citizenship concept conveyed in China’s English textbooks because both the national and local curriculum standards provide a wider range of topics that makes more visible the political, economic and moral dimensions of English learning. Again, I selected six student books with their accompanying workbooks and teacher’s books used by Shanghai’s 10th-12th graders.

First of all, NCSE encourages a national pride and patriotism. It has been clearly stated in the teacher’s books that inculcating students with a love for the motherland is one of NCSE’s guiding principles. This principle is reflected in several study materials available in students’ books. For instance, in a passage entitled “The Olympics” in Unit 4 of Book 3, China’s recent achievements in sports are acclaimed. The paragraph reads as follows:

It was not until the late twentieth century that Chinese athletes began to amaze the world with their excellent performance at the Olympics. Though once marked as “the Weaklings of East Asia,” the Chinese have always been looking forward to achieving the dream of becoming a sports giant. After continuous efforts for years the dream is gradually coming true, and it is understandable why the Chinese let out cries of joy the night Beijing’s bid to host the 2008 Olympics was approved!

Lauding China’s extraordinary progress and recent active presence in international sports arena, the excerpt quoted above has the effect of evoking students’ sense of national pride and identification with the nation as a strong sports power. Another example presents itself in a unit about space exploration in Book 6. In the text that talks about the historic events in the history of man’s exploration into outer space, there is a paragraph introducing China’s achievements in this regard. It is asserted that after the successful launch of Shenzhou 5 spaceship on October 15, 2003, “China became the third nation in the world to launch a man into orbit and this signaled its emergence as a leading space
power.” Once again, students are incited to be proud of being Chinese after reading the text. Later in the unit, pictures of Shenzhou 5 are displayed in a listening exercise and students are asked to talk about their feelings concerning the event. Obviously, the compilers seek to utilize as many opportunities as possible to enhance citizenship education that calls for nation-bound pride and loyalty.

That said, NCSE also makes great effort to expand students’ world knowledge and perspectives. For instance, in a unit that concerns festivals and holidays, two texts are chosen. The first one talks about holidays and festivals in the U.K. while the second one expands its touch and discusses the multiple ways that different cultures around the world celebrate the New Year. It is of great significance that NCSE selects and arranges materials in this way. Instead of confining students to the cultures of the two major English-speaking countries, the U.K. and the U.S., NCSE purposefully de-couples language teaching from a single national culture by introducing students to other English-speaking countries such as Australia and even non-English-speaking countries, such as Thailand. Examples of this nonbicultural, cosmopolitan attitude can also be found when texts about personalities of various nationalities are selected (e.g., Pele from Brazil, Toscanini from Italy), and literature works written by authors from diverse cultures are included (e.g., *Around the world in Eighty Days* written by French writer Jules Verne). Through exposing students to cultures of both English-speaking countries and in particular, non-English speaking countries, NCSE encourages students’ openness to and appreciation of diverse cultures, dispels an old parochial outlook, and promotes acceptance of difference and equality. Indeed, in an introductory passage about the
world’s ethnic food, there is this concluding remark that reads “variety is the spice of life!” This sentence sends to students a powerful message that diversity is something to be embraced instead of being opposed.

The cosmopolitan disposition that NCSE conveys is also reflected in a more profound way. Unlike many language instructional materials that tend to portray cultures as idealized, romanticized, and unproblematic, NCSE does not avoid the mention of tensions and conflicts within and across societies. For instance, in a passage named “Adjo,” the American author recalls her broken relationship with her white friend because of race. In Book 5, two whole units are devoted to the theme of war and peace, with the inclusion of reading materials such as an excerpt of Anne Frank’s Diary and a war survivor’s reflection on his life as a Japanese prisoner. Through presenting stories as such, NCSE pushes students to move beyond merely language imitation and start to think about complex social issues such as race, disability, war, peace, and environmental pollution, etc. With the careful direction of teachers, students can be stimulated to work on solutions and learn to exercise their citizenship in a more responsible way in the principles of peace, equality, and social justice at all levels. A cosmopolitan citizen is thus in the making.

In sum, though NCSE promotes sense of national belonging, it also facilitates students’ affiliation to other domains at different levels, especially global. Indeed, national identity is within the multi-leveled identities that NCSE encourages students to adopt, despite the fact that patriotism still attracts considerable emphasis. Given the depth and width of the teaching materials contained in the set, NCSE should be located in
proximity to the cosmopolitan end of the nationalism/cosmopolitanism continuum in the citizenship matrix (see Figure 3, shown and discussed later in this chapter).

When it comes to the vertical axis of intent, NCSE demonstrates an inclination towards the end of Confucianism as far as the embedded good citizenship concept is concerned. The teacher’s book has made it clear that NCSE strives to improve students’ ideological, moral, and ethical standards. This emphasis on moral education is reflected in many of the themes NCSE selects to address. For instance, concerning the theme “success stories,” NCSE presents several pictures of personalities known for their success through perseverance and hard work. Later in the unit, a story of a blind X-ray technician is provided with the intention to tell students that even an ordinary person can be considered successful if he/she has a goal for life and makes contribution to the society. Even when dealing with themes that do not seem to have a moral dimension at first sight, NCSE equips students with morally loaded materials. For example, in the unit called “Career Preparation,” the text is about a person “who applied dignity to his work.” Through the story, the compilers want to convey to students the message that “All work is noble.” Like this one, many stories with a moral overtone can be found in NCSE.

Regarding the neoliberal dimension, there are a few articles that help students get prepared for their future participation in a market economy. For instance, the last text in Book 6 advises students as to how to choose the right career for themselves. However, such articles are far outnumbered by those that promote students’ moral characters. In other words, neoliberal sentiments are not as distinctly expressed as moral concerns in NCSE. Therefore, NCSE should be placed near the end of Confucianism along the intent
axis in the citizenship matrix (see Figure 3, shown and discussed later in this chapter).

**An Overview of EFL Instructional Materials**

After analyzing the three sets of EFL instructional materials separately, I placed them on the same citizenship matrix. Figure 3 illustrates the findings of this second data set.

The first set of instructional materials (i.e., OE) is located exactly on the horizontal axis of belonging closer to the nationalism end. The meaning of this placement is two-fold: for one thing, the good citizenship notion embedded in this set takes national or even local interest as the overriding concern; for the other, the good citizenship notion has neither economic nor moral dimensions.

![Diagram]

*Note.* Numbers represent documents in the order of appearance (i.e., OE, NCE, NCSE).

*Figure 3.* Analysis of EFL instructional materials.
The other two sets of instructional materials (i.e., NCE and NCSE) are both located in the cosmopolitanism-Confucianism quadrant. Because they are compiled by the same team of scholars, this placement is understandable. The inclination towards Confucianism, in particular, can be explained by the cultural background and upbringing of the group of compilers, who are Chinese in nationality. However, the emphases of the good citizenship concept embedded in the two sets are still slightly different. Given that elementary school students, in this case, first to third graders are NCE’s target audience, it might be a more age-appropriate practice to encourage students’ affinity toward domains not too far beyond their immediate community while inculcating traditional moral values. NCSE, on the other hand, is designed for senior high school students who, with an established value system, have had a scope broad enough to more fully embrace cosmopolitanism. It should be noted that the neoliberal rationality, though visible in both sets, is overwhelmed by the Confucianism ideology as far as citizenship education is concerned.

**Media Accounts**

As mentioned earlier, the third data set is not the focus of this study. Media accounts are chosen because they prove to be an important and easily accessed conduit for the general public to voice or expound their views. Results from this data set supplement my findings in the previous two sections. In what follows, I will briefly report my findings after analyzing eight media accounts that relate China’s English education with citizenship education. Figure 4 is a graphic illustration of the findings.
To begin with, I need to mention that I had difficulty collecting media accounts that approach English education from the aspect of citizenship education. A vast majority of accounts were not selected because they have an exclusive focus on either English education or citizenship education. I located eight accounts that related English teaching with citizenship education in even a remote way. The eight texts are located in all four quadrants of the citizenship matrix, representing a diversity of viewpoints conveyed in media accounts concerning the type of good citizens that English education should cultivate.

Of the eight, half are located in the upper left quadrant, demonstrating a relative prevalence of a nationalistic neoliberal mentality with regard to the good citizenship concept. Some of the sample keywords are “facilitate China’s participation in global
competition,” “meet the needs of China’s economic construction and social
development.” In other words, a good citizen that the four media accounts believe
China’s English education should educate is someone who has a competitive edge in the
job market and works for the prosperity of the nation with a good command of English.

Two media accounts are located in the upper right quadrant. The good citizen
image portrayed in these two is globally oriented and economically competitive as
reflected in keywords such as “doing international business,” “compete in global
market.” Such citizens can navigate the global market with ease, thanks to a high English
proficiency. The rest two media accounts both advocate for a moral dimension of
citizenship education in English teaching. What tells them apart is that one appeals for a
nation-bound loyalty while the other encourages citizens’ devotion to a peaceful and
socially just world.

**Academic Publications**

Like media accounts, academic publications are also supplementary materials to
the first two data sets. I chose academic publications as the fourth set of data based on the
assumption that they may provide perspectives different from those uttered in official
documents and school curriculum with regard to the good citizen that English education
should aim to educate. Figure 5 is the graphic representation of the findings from this
data set.

It may surprise many that only two academic publications were selected into this
data set. Indeed, these two are the only peer-reviewed papers I could find that explicitly
Figure 5. Analysis of academic publications in the case of Shanghai, China.

examine the citizenship education function of China’s EFL teaching. My failed effort to locate more publications indicates that there has been a severe dearth of debates and discussions in academia that approach China’s English teaching from the perspective of citizenship education. It seems that citizenship education has not been the concern of most English teachers in China.

With their acute awareness of China’s EFL teachers’ citizenship education responsibility, the two papers in this data set both advocate for a cosmopolitan citizenship ideal. One of them also emphasizes the moral dimension of China’s citizenship education. Both articles argue that China’s English education should no longer be confined to the training of a workforce fluent in English and contributing to China’s national development; instead, it should be committed to the cultivation of global
citizens, who work for the betterment and happiness of the humanity so that “the world can become more peaceful and just” (Zhou, 2004, p. 83).

**An Overview of the Good Citizenship Notion Embedded in China’s EFL Curriculum**

After an in-depth analysis of each of the four data sets, I combined the findings together and generated an all-inclusive picture of the good citizenship notion as conveyed in China’s foreign language policy and curriculum standards, EFL instructional materials, media accounts, and academic publications. Figure 6 illustrates this picture.

*Figure 6*. Analysis of all four data sets in the case of Shanghai, China.
Several distinctive features present themselves in Figure 6. First of all, Figure 6 depicts a complex, noisy, and messy discursive field as regards the good citizenship concept embedded in China’s EFL curriculum. “Farrago” (Parker & Camicia, 2009) is an appropriate word to describe the citizenship matrix as presented. Texts from the four data sets are located all over the analytic plane, reflecting the presence of diverse viewpoints regarding the meaning of good citizenship in present-day China.

This wide spectrum and motley collection of opinions may be explained by the highly intricate and tangled social ecology and power structure of China, which, in turn, is caused by the seismic shift the society is experiencing right now. The unprecedented economic and sociopolitical changes have brought about a myriad of conflicts, several major ones being rapid economic growth versus deteriorating moral values, national identity crisis versus increasing global presence. Good citizenship notions in China need to address these issues. At the same time, the dramatic changes have provided favorable conditions for a multiplicity of opinions to be expressed and heard. Pressure coming from both international and domestic communities has forced the ruling party, CPC, to gradually relax its tight control of the society (Law, 2007). Even where the hold is still tight, global information exchange through porous borders in both physical and virtual spaces has made freer expression in China possible. For instance, the internet has shown the potential to be a fertile site for knowledge construction and information dissemination in China, though the views appearing there are still under rigorous censorship. As Shih (2002) observed, “The Chinese state is slowly expanding the parameters of political participation, but selectively allowing certain voices into the process while continuing to
exclude others” (p. 258). This may help explain why the third data set, media accounts, can be found in all four quadrants in the citizenship matrix but with a noticeable concentration in the national-neoliberal zone where the majority of government documents rest. A more detailed discussion of this enormous contextual change and its impact on the conceptualization of good citizenship in China will be offered in Chapter VI.

When the matrix is placed under scrutiny, however, it is found that the majority of documents analyzed in this study concentrate in two quadrants: the upper left quadrant which I call neoliberal national and the lower right quadrant that I call Confucian cosmopolitan. This interesting distribution of documents indicates that two types of citizens are commonly considered good citizens in China. The most popular perception is someone who has his/her allegiance to the nation and the market whereas the second widely shared imaginary is an individual who abides by Confucian moral principles and adopts a global perspective.

To be specific, eight texts are located in the neoliberal-national quadrant, including two national foreign language policy documents, one national English curriculum standards, four media accounts as well as one local instructional material sitting on the nationalism axis. Portrayed in these documents is a good citizen image that is patriotic and enterprising. In other words, these documents believe English education in China should aim at cultivating citizens who work for China’s national economic security and prosperity. It is these citizens, as the national English curriculum Standards assert, that China can count on to gain and secure a competitive edge in an urgent,
increasingly expanding, “flat” (Friedman, 2005) global marketplace.

The second crowded quadrant is the Confucian-cosmopolitan quadrant. Located here are six texts including the Shanghai English curriculum Standards, two locally compiled textbooks, one media account, and two academic publications, one of which sits on the cosmopolitan axis. Conveyed in these texts is a citizenship ideal that is globally oriented and morally conscientious. These texts hold that English education in China is responsible for the nurture of citizens who act with high morality and care for the global common good. Instead of taking national interest as the point of departure and return, these citizens make moral choices that have the potential to benefit the whole human family. That said, I need to point out that the morality endorsed in the documents is of the Confucian brand. How much it is compatible with and can thus make contributions to a pure cosmopolitan ideal that is committed to equality, social justice and human rights in China’s context is a question that we will discuss later.

In sum, in the backdrop of dramatic social changes, the good citizenship concept embedded in China’s EFL curriculum encompasses a jumble of meanings and expectations. Four sets of documents, consisting of foreign language policy and curriculum standards, EFL instructional materials, media accounts and academic publications, seem to scatter in the two-dimensional citizenship matrix in a disorderly way. On this perplexing discursive field, two citizenship ideals stand out, however. The first is a patriotic producer and consumer, followed by a globally oriented Confucian. These two imaginaries are the two most popular good citizenship narratives conveyed in China’s EFL curriculum.
Chapter Summary

Chapter IV is the first of the three chapters of findings. In this chapter, I focused on analyzing the good citizenship concepts embedded in China’s EFL curriculum as is reflected in the two dimensional theoretical matrix. At first sight, a rather messy discursive field presents itself in the two dimensional plane where four sets of data are located. However, a closer look at the plane demonstrates that concerns for national interests still take precedence over cosmopolitan considerations along the horizontal axis of belongings whereas along the vertical axis of purpose, a balance is roughly built between neoliberalism and Confucianism. To be specific, in terms of belonging, China’s EFL education is aimed at cultivating citizens who study the English language more for the benefit of their motherland than for the world community. Though rhetoric such as educating students for world peace and enhanced intercultural communication is present in China’s EFL policy documents (Y. N. Yu, 2006), such pleas appears rooted in a national identification concern first, a finding echoing K. J. Kennedy and Fairbrother’s (2004) discovery in their review of a collection of citizenship education studies in Asia. Then in terms of purpose, China’s EFL learners are expected to act both as a responsible citizen who cares about and takes an active participation in a communal space of some sort and as a capable entrepreneur who competes successfully in a world market for resources and capital. The moral and enterprise intents as embodied in Confucianism and neoliberalism respectively seems to complement each other in an ambitiously constructed China’s EFL curriculum.
CHAPTER V
SECOND SET OF FINDINGS: THE GOOD CITIZENSHIP CONCEPT EMBEDDED IN AMERICA’S CFL CURRICULUM

This chapter seeks to answer the second research question: What concept of good citizenship does America’s CFL curriculum tend to endorse? And how is it portrayed in America’s CFL curriculum? Similar to what I did in the preceding chapter, I approached four sets of data in the following order: foreign language curriculum standards, CFL instructional materials, media accounts and academic publications. Greater attention was also paid to the first two data sets because they serve as the major sources of information. Within each data set, I coded and analyzed each text as a subunit before locating it in the two dimensional analytic matrix. After four matrices were constructed respectively based on each data set, I combined them to form a general picture of the good citizenship concept embedded in America’s CFL curriculum. The chapter ends with a summary of the salient characteristics of the good citizenship notion in the case of Utah, U.S.

Foreign Language Curriculum Standards

Unlike China, the U.S. government has no official foreign language policy (Cutshall, 2005; Met, 1994). Thus, curriculum standards mapped out at both the national and state levels are the sole source of information in the first data set in the case of Utah. The importance of curriculum standards is undeniable because they serve as the gauge against which Utah’s CFL education performance is measured. In what follows, I will describe and analyze two curriculum standards, one nationally circulated and the other
adopted in the state of Utah, with a view to identifying the hidden belief about good
citizenship expressed within them before locating the standards on the two-dimensional
citizenship framework.

**Standards for Foreign Language Learning**
in the 21st Century (3rd edition)

Under the auspices of the US Department of Education and the National
Endowment for the Humanities, the curriculum standards were first published in 1996
with an identification of five goal areas (i.e., communication, cultures, connections,
comparison, and communities—the five C’s of foreign language education). As the
American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL, 2006) claims, this
document “defines content standards—what students should know and be able to do—in
foreign language education” and “represents an unprecedented consensus among
educators, business leaders, government, and the community on the definition and role of
foreign language instruction in American education” (ACTFL, 2006, p. 1).

I approached the document first from the lens of citizenship allegiance. My search
within the standards pinpoints two statements that articulate, by the very expression and
ways of thinking they employ, a nationalistic stance on language education for America’s
future citizens. The first is found in the introductory paragraph about “the less commonly
taught” languages in America. According to the standards, languages such as Chinese,
Arabic, Russian and Japanese “are the languages of communication among peoples with
whom the United States has important relationships in terms of economic ties, strategic
interests, and increasing cultural awareness....” Specifically about Chinese, the standards
state that “The promotion and development of Chinese language education is of critical importance to the United States in terms of both economic advantages and the national interest in the dynamic global community of the 21st century.” In both statements, the significance of foreign language learning is interpreted to the degree that language is affecting the nation in both economic and strategic terms. Expressed and encouraged here is national affinity because foreign language education is framed as benefiting the nation.

In contrast to the two statements mentioned above, expressions that relate foreign language education with a cosmopolitan citizenship ideal permeate the document. The cosmopolitan mentality is manifested in numerous ways. For instance, the standards discourage viewing America as having a monolithic, homogeneous national culture. As early as in the statement of philosophy, it is declared that “The United States must educate students who are equipped linguistically and culturally to communicate successfully in a pluralistic American society and abroad....” (ACTFL, 2011, p. 7). Along this line, the standards also prevent stereotyping the target culture as one uniform, exotic, unproblematic, and unchanging entity. For instance, when talking about the characteristics of the Chinese language and cultures, the standards stress that “China is a land of many languages, dialects, and cultures” and that “recognizing China’s ethnic and linguistic diversity, the term ‘Chinese culture’ presented in this document is understood to include the diverse cultural perspectives, the social practices, and the products of Chinese-speaking societies” (p. 165). Starkey (2007) argued that statements as such defied a bicultural nationalist paradigm. He also observed that four of the five C’s in the standards were “all pluralised, suggesting a multiplicity of perspectives” (p. 60).
On top of that, the standards encourage American students’ access and allegiance to the various levels of communities. For instance, one sample progress indicator for the 12th graders is that students discuss topics such as worldwide health issues and environmental concerns in the target language. The standards consider it important to acquire competence in more than one language and culture because it enables people to “look beyond their customary borders” (ACTFL, 2001, p. 7), “combat the ethnocentrism that often dominates the thinking of our young people” (p. 47), and “realize the interdependence of people throughout the world” (p. 63). Clearly, the standards make an effort to decenter the nation as the locus of American students’ identification and affiliation. Instead, the standards define students as members of the “global commons” (Parker & Camicia, 2009). In view of the overpowering cosmopolitan sentiments readily visible in the standards, I located this document near the cosmopolitan end of the affinity axis in the citizenship matrix (see Figure 7, shown and discussed later in this chapter).

I then approached the standards from the lens of citizenship intent. Throughout the document, there is little, if any, mention of citizen morals and virtues as an important consideration of foreign language education. What is underscored is a neoliberal mentality and there is ample evidence to show that. For example, the document twice invokes criticism from the economic community about students’ lack of ability to conduct international transactions as the argument for preparing students with foreign language competence, leaving readers the impression that business is the central concern for language learning. The following quote also well reflects the underlying market rationality:
Recognizing the need for a productive and competitive work force, many schools are emphasizing a curriculum that better prepares students for the school-to-work or school-to-college transition. These educational efforts extend to the language classroom, preparing competent and self-confident students for work in the multilingual communities around the globe. A changing American society and a world of instant global communications require a strong work force that meets the needs of consumers who may not speak English. Knowledge of another language and culture puts workers in a better position to serve the needs of a global society. (ACTFL, 2011, p. 63)

In this quote, American students are defined as workers competing for a big share in a free and “flat” global market while foreign language education is deemed as the chief means for producing such workers. The purpose for foreign language education is decidedly entrepreneurial rather than moral because it is aimed at cultivating a capable, productive, aggressive, and multilingual workforce. Like in the quote, the neoliberal intent is expressed throughout the standards. Between the neoliberal mentality and Confucian morality, the standards demonstrate an indisputable proclivity towards the former. Therefore, I located the standards at the tail end of neoliberalism along the intent axis in the citizenship matrix (see Figure 7, shown and discussed later in this chapter).

**World Languages Standards and Guidelines: The 5 C’s**

Approved by the Utah State School Board in January 2009, this document is Utah’s core standards of world language (Utah State Office of Education [USOE], 2009b). As the name suggests, it is written in alignment with the five goals stated in the ACTFL’s national standards. Thus, it bears a close resemblance with the national standards as far as the embedded good citizenship concept is concerned.

First, in terms of the scale of identification, like the national standards, Utah’s
standards promote students’ affinity towards the world community. Two of the “intended learning outcomes” are that students become able to “look beyond their own customary border” and “participate more fully in the global community and marketplace” (USOE, 2009b, p. 3). Attention to global issues that concerns humanity is encouraged. For instance, students are expected to “report orally or in written form in the target language on worldwide health problems” or “debate the pros and cons on the use of nuclear energy using resources from the target culture” (p. 36) at the highest level of instruction (i.e., Level 6). With the recognition that “the world moves toward a global community” (p. 7), the standards highly value students’ ability to “retain [for a life time] the cross-cultural skills and knowledge, the insight and the access to a world beyond traditional borders” even if they never speak the language after leaving school (p. 6).

The document also incites students to be open to “the multiple ways of viewing the world” (USOE, 2009b, p. 6). In particular, it encourages students to recognize “contributions in the multiple countries and regions where the [target] language is spoken” (p. 8) and “discuss and propose possible solutions on controversial issues of significance to the target culture” (p. 33) when they reach Level 6. This approach, as Byram (2002) and Starkey (2007) argued, could help students obtain a more realistic view of the target culture, and by extension, their own culture, both of which are heterogeneous and non-monolithic. The intention is to train future citizens who could be more sensitive to various cultures especially marginalized cultures in each society and act in more responsible and socially just ways.

On the whole, Utah’s standards promote a sense of cosmopolitan citizenship.
Instead of encouraging a nation-bound or local-bound allegiance, it helps students develop identities and feelings of belonging beyond the state and the nation, which is precisely one of the attributes that cosmopolitan citizens possess. Judging from its attitude toward the world community and treatment of the target culture, I decided to position this document in proximity to the end of cosmopolitanism along the horizontal axis in the citizenship matrix (see Figure 7, shown and discussed later in this chapter).

Then in terms of citizenship intent, Utah’s standards are also underscored by market rationality. As quoted above, one of the intended learning outcomes is to enable students to “participate more fully in the global community and marketplace” (USOE, 2009b, p. 3). Also, it is claimed that “learning a world language opens doors to a greater variety of career options” (p. 11). Students are encouraged to “identify occupations in want ads and Internet job searches for which the target language would be helpful” (p. 16) at Level 1 and “write and share a résumé and cover letter intended for a prospective employer” (p. 34) at Level 6. Expressed in these quotes are concerns for economic interests such personal employment. The ultimate purpose of foreign language education, as indicated in the quotes above, is none other than educating a competitive transnational, multilingual workforce. For this reason, I placed Utah’s standards near the neoliberal end along the vertical axis of purpose in the citizenship matrix (see Figure 7, shown and discussed later in this chapter).

An Overview of Foreign Language Curriculum Standards

After analyzing both the national standards of foreign language education and
Utah’s core standards of world language, I present Figure 7 to illustrate the findings. As is seen in Figure 7, both documents are located in the upper right quadrant, portraying a citizenship ideal that combines both neoliberal intent and cosmopolitan affinity. To put it in another way, foreign language education is expected to educate a transnational workforce whose allegiance is to the global market. Parker and Camicia (2009) believed that this ideal resonated with a significant portion of the public.

More specifically, Utah’s standards are more cosmopolitan than the national one, maybe because as a state in a federation, Utah feels loosely tied to the anchor point of the nation and is thus less concerned about fighting for national interest than the nation itself. Another noteworthy point is that both documents are located at the tail end of

Note. Numbers represent documents in the order of appearance.

Figure 7. Analysis of foreign language curriculum standards.
neoliberalism along the Confucianism/neoliberalism continuum, demonstrating a complete dominance of a neoliberal mentality. As Cogan and Grossman (2012) observed, in many western societies there is at least a rhetorical tendency to exclude the moral dimension from the discourse of preparing citizens. This may help explain the absence of Confucianism in the citizenship discourse embedded in America’s foreign language curriculum standards.

**CFL Instructional Materials**

Well aligned with the national standards for foreign language learning—the 5C’s and the explicit Utah standards, four sets of CFL instructional materials were selected to form the second data set in the case of Utah. Among them, the first three sets are designed for k-6 students while the last set is used by senior high school students. These instructional materials, consisting of textbooks and their corresponding supplementary materials, provide rich information for me to elicit findings concerning the embedded good citizenship notion. In what follows, I will describe and analyze each set before presenting an overview of my findings.

**My First Chinese Words**

My First Chinese Words (MFCW) is a set of instructional materials designed by BetterChinese, a publisher of Chinese language learning materials. The creators and editors of the set are people with Chinese ancestry, as their names suggest (L. Yu, 2009a). MFCW includes 36 storybooks that are meant to be used for preschoolers and lower elementary students. Each storybook covers a topic that is relevant to children’s
everyday life (e.g., family, food, and animals). To ensure an in-depth analysis, I also purchased the Teacher’s Guide in the hope that some valuable information can be obtained to assist me in identifying the embedded good citizenship notion, if any.

After a close reading of the materials, I found MFCW makes an effort to broaden students’ horizons and expand their knowledge scope beyond their national borders. This is evidenced by the two books on nationality. Both Book 7 and Book 20 introduce to students various country names in Chinese (e.g., the U.S., China, Korea, the U.K., France, Japan, and Canada). The teacher’s guide even goes a step further and suggests activities that encourage students’ familiarity and bonding with cultures and peoples from different parts of the world. For instance, in Book 7, students are asked to make national flags of various countries and survey their family about all the countries from which they have friends. Also, in Book 20, there is a chanting activity that is entitled “Friends around the World.” Given that the intended users of MFCW are preschoolers and early elementary students whose expected scales of identification are only at the levels of school, neighborhood, Utah, and the nation, as Utah’s social studies core standards so require (Utah Core Standards of Social Studies, 2009), it is commendable that MFCW introduces students to a knowledge about the world beyond their local and national communities. Though cosmopolitanism is much more than world knowledge, what is offered in MFCW is conducive to the upbringing of citizens whose allegiance is to the global community rather than the nation. Thus, I decided to place MFCW near the end of cosmopolitanism along the nationalism/cosmopolitanism continuum as far as citizenship belonging is concerned (see Figure 8, shown and discussed later in this chapter).
Then, regarding citizenship intent ranging between Confucianism and neoliberalism, the student books seem to support neither of these citizenship discourses. The Teacher’s Guide, however, provides some helpful information in this regard. In each unit, there are two sections called “Points of Inquiry” and “Socio-Emotional Development Objectives” that together suggest a possible moral dimension for Chinese language education. In Book 1 “I Love My Family,” for example, one point of inquiry is that “Families are a basic unit of organization in many cultures.” Based on this understanding, the “Socio-Emotional Development Objectives” ask students to consider: why is it important to get along well with your family? How do you express your feelings and emotions? The answers, as I surmise, may well touch upon values that emphasize familial love and bond. Indeed, starting the whole set of storybooks with a unit on family is itself a strong indication as to how family relations are valued in Chinese culture. That said, I am still cautious to avoid stretching too far to make interpretations. Therefore, I located MFCW tilted toward the end of Confucianism on the vertical axis of intent and purpose in the citizenship matrix (see Figure 8, shown and discussed later in this chapter).

**My First Chinese Reader**

Also produced by Better Chinese, *My First Chinese Reader* (MFCR; L. Yu, 2009b) is targeted at elementary students from beginning to intermediate levels. There are four volumes altogether with 12 lessons in each volume. Because at the time of this analysis, Utah’s Chinese immersion program was available up to the 3rd grade, I only selected the first two volumes for analysis. With student-centric themes, MFCR depicts characters interacting in familiar everyday situations.
Like MFCW, the first two volumes of MFCR contain several units that facilitate students’ understanding of countries other than their own. For instance, in Unit 4 which is entitled “What’s Your Nationality?” students are taught the Chinese way of addressing six different nationalities: Chinese, Australian, British, American, Canada, French and Japanese. In addition, the student book also presents other information about the countries concerned in its illustrations. For example, in an illustration is the Chinese character for Australia and pictures of the country’s map, the national flag, and the national symbol, kangaroo. This way, MFCR is motivating students to become knowledgeable, not just in linguistic terms, about the world. Students are intrigued to extend beyond the confines of the nation where they happened to be born or naturalized, which is a very first step towards becoming cosmopolitan citizens. Another noteworthy feature of MFCR that may positively affect students’ acceptance of people different from themselves is the visual presentation of the characters in the books. Instead of depicting figures from one particular race, MFCR pays attention to drawing characters with different physical features, such as skin color, hairstyle, and clothes. This inclusive portrayal of people may help students get accustomed to the diversified nature of the human family and instill in them from early on the cosmopolitan ideal that “combines …an assumption of human equality, with a recognition of difference, and indeed a celebration of diversity” (Kaldor, 2003, p. 19).

That said, nationalistic expressions are not totally non-existent in MFCR. In Unit 5 of Volume 1, there is an exercise on the sentence structure: someone is… (nationality). He/She loves… (that country). The two examples read: I am Chinese; I love China. Wang
Dazhong is French; He loves France. Simple as they read, embedded in these sentences are the taken-for-granted presupposition that it is natural and normal for a person to love his/her country and that patriotism and nation-bound allegiance is “the common-sense imperative of our era” (Parker & Camicia, 2009, p.64). Rather than discourage it, this exercise seems to reinforce the nationalistic mentality within students who have been indoctrinated with the ubiquitous I-love-my-nation talk since day one of their schooling.

On the whole, however, the cosmopolitan sentiments prevail over the nationalistic feelings. Hence, I located MFCR in proximity to the end of cosmopolitanism in the horizontal axis of belonging (see Figure 8, shown and discussed later in this chapter).

When it comes to the vertical axis of citizenship intent, MFCR is similarly positioned as MFCW. The Teacher’s Guide of MFCR still contains the two sections of “Points of Inquiry” and “Socio-Emotional Development Objectives,” which indicate the underlying concern of the compilers for the fostering of moral behaviors and attitudes among students. I thus located MFCR closer to the end of Confucianism along the Confucianism/neoliberalism continuum in the citizenship matrix (see Figure 8, shown and discussed later in this chapter).

The Utah China Kids STARTALK 2011 Program

STARTALK is a national project under the National Security Language Initiative that, since 2006, seeks to expand and improve the learning and teaching of strategically important world languages that are not yet widely available in the U.S. (G. Hu & Wang, n.d.). In Utah, a STARTALK program that focuses on Chinese learning and teaching has
been ongoing since the summer of 2009 to provide students and teachers in K-16 settings with creative and engaging summer experiences that help them learn the language and “become aware of the influence of China in their own Utah community” (STARTALK-PROGRAMS IN UT, n.d.). I collected the curriculum, lesson plans, assessment tools and other supplement materials for the 2011 program, in which I participated.

The theme of 2011 STARTALK was “Marco Polo—Discovering China.” As they followed Marco Polo’s travels to China, students were expected to learn about varying aspects of the similarities and differences between eastern and western cultures in the week long program (STARTALK, 2011). More specifically, the first graders were expected to be able to answer “what was the same and what was different?” when they learned to add and subtract in the Chinese way. The second graders learned how some Chinese inventions such as the abacus, kite, and fireworks influenced western cultures. Besides investigating the inventions, the third graders explored the trade that evolved between the east and the west after Marco Polo’s historic journey.

The whole curriculum of STARTALK (2011) has a decided focus on the economic dimension of citizenship education. This is most evident in the teaching content designed for the 3rd graders. As mentioned above, international trade was the central topic for this grade level and students needed to learn four sets of trade-related concepts. They are: (a) trade, buy, sell, and merchant; (b) cheap, expensive, and travel; (c) import and export; (d) clothes, food, and toys. In the teaching demonstration published online, teachers modeled the use of these terms by applying them to the real life situation of the U.S.-China trade. Given that STARTALK is only a weeklong
program under the auspices of the National Security Language Initiative, the paramount attention that the topic of trade receives sends a powerful message as to how much it is valued in the political, business, and educational circles in America. The training of a multilingual workforce who can successfully navigate the global market and excel in world competition while helping the U.S. retain its competitive edge and gain an upper hand in international business transactions is the underlying, central concern of the STARTALK program. The neoliberal intent is thus conveyed (see Figure 8, shown and discussed later in this chapter).

STARTALK (2011) also promotes an intercultural understanding and appreciation. Through introducing to students some impactful ancient Chinese inventions, STARTALK encourages students to be open to a “different and exotic world” and “learn to love the people in China” as Marco Polo did centuries ago (STARTALK, 2011). The appreciation of other cultures and the extension of friendliness towards other peoples are among the essential features of cosmopolitan citizenship. Hence, STARTALK should be located on the cosmopolitan side of the intent continuum in the two-dimensional citizenship plane (see Figure 8, shown and discussed later in this chapter).

Magical Tour of China

*Magical Tour of China* (MTC) is another series of Better Chinese’s products, intended for the intermediate and advanced level young adult learner with SAT2 level proficiency. There are four volumes in the set with nine story-based episodes per volume. The whole series follows the story of three families who visit Beijing for the first time,
starting from planning the trip to returning back home. Students are given varied
authentic content, such as road signs and newspaper clippings, to experience Chinese
language and culture. I analyzed all the four volumes of textbooks and their
corresponding workbooks to see what kind of good citizenship notion is embedded in this
set of instructional materials.

Unfortunately, the approaches MTC takes fall into what Starkey (2007) called the
bicultural nationalist paradigm. As mentioned above, MTC is designed based on a story
line of three imaginary families who visit Beijing together. In the series, the characters
are portrayed as uncritical, first-time tourists enthralled by 4Fs of the Chinese culture:
food, fashion, festival, and folklore (Banks, 2002, as cited in Diaz-Greenberg & Nevin,
2003). Starkey (2007) criticized such approaches as being “a reductive representation of
an exotic other” that “either reinforce a view of an unproblematic and homogenous
national culture or exoticise other cultures” (p. 58). He reasoned:

Culture as “daily life and routines” does not excite learners if the features of the
routines are identical to their own. The topic consequently invites an exotic or
folkloric treatment and this will very often build on stereotypes and a view of
culture as in some respects monolithic and unchanging. Indeed, by placing the
learner in the role of uncritical tourist, language teaching textbooks often
stereotype the learner as much as the inhabitants of the country studied. (p. 58)

Indeed, embedded in MTC is “an implicit view of [some] monolingual learners in a
homogeneous society focused on a similar homogeneous society of native speakers”
(Byram, 2002, p. 43). In other words, the actual heterogeneous nature of both China and
the U.S. is not part of the image promoted within MTC. The closest MTC ever gets to the
diversified nature of the Chinese society is in the unit entitled “Is he Speaking Chinese?”
In this episode, the three families are talking about the existence of various dialects in
China. An excerpt of the dialogue reads as follows.

**David:** Since China has so many dialects, how troublesome it would be if people from one place speak a dialect that people from other areas cannot understand!

**Wang Dali:** That’s why everyone is learning Mandarin nowadays. There will be no more problems when everyone speaks the standard Chinese.

**David:** Are we speaking Mandarin?

**Linda:** Yes.

**David:** Knowing a dialect is not a bad thing, after all.

**Linda:** Why would you say that?

**David:** I can speak the dialect when I call my good friends. Moreover, since Mom and Dad don’t understand, I have no need to worry about any of my secrets!

As is expressed in the dialogue above, the fact that various dialects are spoken in China is not highly appreciated. What is valued is a standard language, and by extension, a nation in uniformity. Such a view is clearly at odds with the justice-oriented, diversity-cherishing cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism.

Contents that align with a cosmopolitan vision are not totally non-existent in MTC, however. Some units do embody cosmopolitan sentiments. The best example is the last unit of Volume 4, which ends the whole series of MTC with a passage on “A Harmonious World.” Though the intention of the article is to introduce Confucius’ thoughts on harmony, it does mention that the harmony that Confucius envisions shares a lot of similarities with the present-day cosmopolitan discourse.

That said, the overall design and underpinning rationale of MTC have their limitations. Though MTC works hard towards promoting Chinese language and culture in
America and in some case advocates for a broader, cosmopolitan ideal, it nevertheless exemplifies a bicultural nationalist ideology that is limited in scope and socially unjust to non-dominant cultures. Consequently, I located MTC on the nationalistic side of the affinity axis in the citizenship matrix (see Figure 8, shown and discussed later in this chapter).

When it comes to citizenship interest and intent, the culture-rich and story-enriched approaches that MTC takes does not land it on the neoliberal side of the neoliberalism/Confucianism continuum. The discourse of Confucianism, however, is evoked and even explicitly talked about on quite a few occasions. For example, there is a unit that spends a whole section introducing Confucius and the belief system named after him. It reads:

Confucius (551-479B.C.) is the most influential and important philosopher and teacher in Chinese history. His philosophy lays out a system of social organization based on harmony, benevolence, love, fidelity and respect for tradition. Confucius puts great emphasis on education and on individuals finding their place in an orderly and harmonious society.

Many other units in the series focus on a specific element of Confucius thoughts and introduce related words and phrases. For instance, Unit 5 in Volume 1 teaches students about the importance of courtesy and explains the meaning and use of the expressions such as “courtesy goes back and forth,” “the very courteous are never blamed.” Unit 13 in Volume 2 brings in the topic of respect. Phrases such as “to respect the teacher and his teachings,” “to honor the elder and respect the wise” are presented and practiced. Most note-worthily, the whole series ends with a unit on “a harmonious world.” In the section of “Chinese Culture” of Unit 36, there is a long passage that talks about the political ideal
of a harmonious society originated from Confucius.

The predominant presence of Confucianism in MTC is unquestionable. As evidenced above, Confucianism overshadows the neoliberal sentiments that are underscored by market rationality and economic concerns. What is implicitly conveyed in MTC is a good citizenship ideal aligned with Confucian thoughts and beliefs. Therefore, I positioned MTC at the end of Confucianism along the vertical axis of intent in the matrix (see Figure 8).

**An Overview of CFL Instructional Materials**

After analyzing the four sets of CFL instructional materials, I placed them on the citizenship matrix. Figure 8 illustrates the findings of this second data set in the case of Utah.

\[ X=\text{belonging} \]
\[ Y=\text{purpose} \]

*Note.* Numbers represent documents in the order of appearance (i.e., MFCW and MFCR, STARTALK, and MTC).

*Figure 8.* Analysis of CFL instructional materials.
As is shown in the matrix, the first two sets of CFL instructional materials (i.e., MFCW and MFCR) are located in the lower right quadrant enclosed by cosmopolitanism and Confucianism. Embedded in these materials is the image of a good citizen who is morally conscientious and not confined within their domestic territories. The image, however, is still some distance away from the cosmopolitan and Confucian ideal. The third set (i.e., STARTALK) sits in the upper right quadrant that I call neoliberalism-cosmopolitanism quadrant. The good citizenship notion captured in this set emphasizes competitiveness in the global market. The last set (i.e., MTC) can be found in the lower left quadrant with nationalism and Confucianism being the two borders. In other words, MTC tends to promote notions of being morally upright and nationally oriented citizens.

To be specific, along the horizontal nationalism/cosmopolitanism continuum, MTC is the only set that is located at the nationalism side. This is mainly because MTC adopts a bicultural nationalist approach in its presentation of the Chinese language and culture, which is a reductive approach that romanticizes and homogenizes the target culture while reinforcing a view of “an unproblematic ‘we’ in opposition to the exotic ‘other’” (Starkey, 2007, p. 58). In other words, the good citizenship notion embedded in MTC tends to favor uniformity and homogeneity at the cost of diversity within the national borders. At the regional or global level, the good citizenship notion endorsed by MTC tends to set the speaker’s native culture in opposition to other cultures.

Then along the vertical neoliberalism/Confucianism continuum, STARTALK 2011 is the only set that is located near the end of neoliberalism. The different placement in this aspect has a lot to do with the positionality and cultural upbringing of the textbook
producers. Since MFCW, MFCR, and MTC are all created by people of Chinese origin who tend to consider Confucianism an essential component of Chinese culture, it makes sense that they attach greater importance to and align more with Confucianism than neoliberalism.

On the whole, the four sets of instructional materials display a diversified stance on what a good citizen should be like in the context of Utah, the U.S. This multiplicity of viewpoints is not erratic, however. Rather, it can be explained by factors such as the producer’s cultural background.

**Media Accounts**

Similar to my treatment of Shanghai, I also sought after media accounts that relate America’s Chinese education with citizenship education to complement my findings of the first two data sets in the case of Utah. I selected twelve media accounts that reflected viewpoints from a wide variety of stakeholders, including Utah’s world languages specialist, Utah’s government officials, the business community, parents, teachers, and students. Because media accounts are just the auxiliary data set, I will briefly report the result of my analysis. Figure 9 is a graphic illustration of the findings.

Reflected in Figure 9 is a discursive field dominated by the neoliberal discourse. Eleven media accounts are located at the side of neoliberalism, with the 12th one sitting on the horizontal axis that runs through the midpoint of the neoliberalism/Confucianism continuum. To be specific, eight accounts dwell in the upper left neoliberalism-nationalism quadrant with six of them clustering at the tail end of nationalism. The reason
Figure 9. Analysis of media accounts in the case of Utah, the U.S.

the six documents are located there is because they encourage a locally-oriented, or in this case, state-bound allegiance to the market. The quote from Gregg Roberts (Conley, 2009), world languages specialist USOE serves as a case in point. During an interview entitled “Utah is Dedicated to Creating a Global Workforce,” he made the following remarks.

Utah is a small state, so for us, economic development and participation in the global community are vital. With this in mind, we realized that developing global citizens is a requirement for Utah students. We selected Mandarin Chinese, French, and Spanish because they are three really important international business languages. (¶ 1)

Roberts (Conley, 2009) mentioned specifically the reason for promoting Chinese in Utah’s public schools:

Then Gov. John M. Huntsman, who is fluent in Mandarin and now serves as the Ambassador of China, really wanted Utah to focus on economic development with China. To accomplish this, we realized that we need to create a workforce that is proficient in Mandarin Chinese. (¶ 2)
Clearly, Roberts and Huntsman are not the only people concerned about Utah’s survival and economic prosperity in a competitive, unforgiving global market. In a poster about Utah’s Chinese dual immersion program 2011-2012, Howard Stephenson, Utah State Senator, Dr. Larry K. Shumway, Utah State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Lew Cramer, President World Trade Center Utah, are all quoted stressing the significance of Chinese language education to the training of an advanced multilingual workforce for the state of Utah. Because the state is defined as the scale of ultimate concern in the six media accounts, I located them at the very end of nationalism, based on the understanding that an uncritical identification with the state is nationalism with an even narrower, more parochial focus.

In comparison, the other two media accounts in the neoliberalism-nationalism quadrant are taking the national economic interest as the port of departure and return. Addressing the larger, nationwide audience, these two define Chinese language education as a means to bring up language users the nation needs to “conduct its global business and diplomacy” (Dillon, 2010, Jan. 10, ¶1). The nation, not the state becomes the ultimate scope of allegiance in this case. To make the distinction, I thus moved the two nationally-oriented media accounts a little toward the middle of nationalism/cosmopolitanism continuum, away from the previous six locally-confined texts.

Three media accounts are situated in the neoliberalism-cosmopolitanism quadrant. Expressed in these accounts is a take on America’s Chinese language education as a key to cultivate global producers and consumers with high viability and mobility. As one account reports, “many parents think it’s very important for their children to study
Chinese starting in primary school so that they can adapt to the diversity of a big city and an environment of globalization” (“Promoters,” 2008, June 26, ¶7).

There is one account that embodies a pure cosmopolitan spirit, not tinted by either neoliberalism or Confucianism. Quoted in this account is a remark made by Jon M. Huntsman, Jr., former governor of Utah. He stressed a global perspective as the very foundation of policy making in a global context these days.

To conclude, the media accounts collected in Utah’s case demonstrate a marked proclivity towards the neoliberal discourse. In other words, Chinese language education is perceived as contributing to the training of a state-bound, or nation-bound, or globally oriented workforce.

**Academic Publications**

Ten academic publications constitute the last data set that I analyzed in the case of Utah. Like media accounts, academic publications are also supplementary to the first two data sets, enabling a plural reading of the good citizenship concept embedded in Utah’s Chinese language education program. In what follows, I will briefly report the findings from this data set as is represented in Figure 10.

Although only 10 papers were selected, there are 13 diamonds in the figure with six of them in a lighter red color than the other seven. The six diamonds are actually representative of three papers that are located in both the neoliberalism-nationalism quadrant and neoliberalism-cosmopolitanism quadrant. The reason that I placed these papers in both quadrants is because they do not make the distinction between foreign.
language education for a global-oriented workforce and foreign language education for patriotic entrepreneurs. For instance, in the article entitled “Teaching Chinese as Tomorrow’s Language” (Chmelynski, 2006), the author cited Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley by saying “[providing Chinese language programs is] part of our mission to help prepare children to be productive and enterprising world citizens” (p. 60). However, later in the article, she spent a section talking about the needs to build America’s capacity in languages considered critical to national security. Because it was not clear with which the author takes a side, a national neoliberal sentiment or a cosmopolitan neoliberal mentality, I had to position the article, together with two other ones, in the two corresponding quadrants.

The other seven papers are more explicit about their views. Among the seven,
four consider that having a bilingual or even multilingual population of citizens is one important measure to “keep America’s economy competitive” and “America safe” (Committee for Economic Development, 2006). Only one article expresses a neoliberal cosmopolitan sentiment. According to the author, foreign language education helps cultivate successful global citizens, workers, and leaders (V. Stewart, 2007). The other two articles relate foreign language education in America with a cosmopolitan ideal. For instance, Met (2008), author of the article “A Cure for Monolingualism” argues, “Although globalization may be evolving as a major impetus in the United States at the moment, there are compelling reasons for foreign language study beyond the world marketplace and political arena” (p. 36). She agrees with Starkey (2007) that foreign language education should aim at preparing students for their responsibilities as global citizens.

To conclude, like media accounts, academic publications in the case of Utah are also predominantly located at the side of neoliberalism along the axis of intent in the citizenship matrix. Confucian tradition and beliefs especially in the aspect of moral behaviors and personal traits at the other end of the continuum were not mentioned by any of the authors as a central feature of good citizenship in the context of America.

**An Overview of the Good Citizenship Notion Embedded in America’s CFL Curriculum**

After an in-depth analysis of the four data sets, I merged the findings together to form an all-inclusive picture of the good citizenship concept embedded in America’s
foreign language curriculum standards, CFL instructional materials, media accounts and academic publications. Figure 11 shows a graphic representation of this picture.

Figure 11 presents a rather orderly picture of the discursive field regarding the good citizens America’s CFL education should be committed to educate. Though documents can be found in all four quadrants, they are positioned in clusters rather than “scatters.” Compared with the case of China, the good citizenship notion embedded in America’s foreign language curriculum is less polyvalent and less contentious along the vertical axis of intent and interest. The difference may be accounted for by two factors that are so characteristic of the American landscape: the entrenched conviction in market and the conventional practice of excluding the moral dimension from citizenship preparation.

Note. Numbers represent documents in the order of appearance in the first two data sets. Shapes without numbers represent documents in the third and fourth data sets.

Figure 11. Analysis of all four data sets in the case of Utah, the U.S.
discourses. An in-depth discussion can be found in the following chapter entitled “Where and Why the Two Cases Diverge?”

The most striking feature of Figure 11 is that a vast majority of documents in the case of Utah, America are located at the side of neoliberalism along the neoliberalism/Confucianism continuum as far as the intent and interest of citizenship education is concerned. This concentrated placement of documents is sensible given America’s long-time commitment to a neoliberal discourse of market-mindedness and competitiveness. In this country that is steeped in the neoliberal, enterprising culture, market rationality is underscored, propagated, and normalized, which helps explain the inscription of neoliberalism in media reports, academic publications, and educational documents as evidenced in my analysis. It is thus not surprising that the good citizenship notion embedded in America’s CFL education has a decided neoliberal orientation. A good citizen that America’s CFL education strives to produce is a multilingual, marketable, competitive and enterprising self. After all, “[CFL education is] all about economics, economics, economics” (Roberts, as cited in Fidel, 2011).

A closer look at Figure 11 further reveals that the predominant neoliberal mentality is more often combined with a nationalist sentiment than a global orientation in the case of the U.S. As is shown in the figure, the largest number of documents gathers in the upper left national-neoliberal quadrant. These documents include six media accounts that cluster at the tail end of nationalism, and two other media accounts and seven academic publications that move a bit to the middle of the nationalism/cosmopolitanism continuum. Both groups are adamant advocates for a nation-bound market-minded citizen
image, though the former group expresses a narrower, Utah-state-bound focus. State-
wide or nationwide Chinese language education, according to these documents, should
aim at producing loyal citizens who are able to doing business with people from other
cultures.

The cosmopolitan-neoliberal good citizenship notion is also commonly shared as
evidenced by the ten documents congregating in the upper right quadrant of the matrix.
The presence of the national and Utah State’s foreign language curriculum standards
together with a set of CFL instructional materials carries a lot weight and sends a
powerful message as to how a globally oriented, transnational workforce is valued in
Utah and America.

To conclude, the good citizenship notion embedded in the country’s CFL
curriculum is characterized by a marked neoliberal orientation, which has left a big
footprint in American cultures and traditions. More specifically, a patriotic entrepreneur
is the most favored citizen image in the overall discursive field, immediately followed by
that of a multiculturally intelligent global citizen. Confucianism, in comparison, is rarely
subscribed to in the good citizenship debate that occurs in America’s Chinese language
classrooms.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I reported my second set of findings concerning the discursive field
of the good citizenship concepts endorsed in America’s CFL curriculum. In the two-
dimensional citizenship matrix, the slightly overriding nationalistic sentiments and a
marked orientation towards neoliberal concerns are the most salient points. In terms of affinity, though strong advocacy for global belonging could be sensed in many instructional materials and curriculum standards, the vast majority of media accounts and academic publications express nationalistic or even more parochial, state-bound feelings. Chinese language classrooms are still generally considered an important venue for the reinforcement of national identity. Then in terms of intent, the purpose of educating competitive citizens along the neoliberal line is unequivocally expressed in America’s CFL standards, media accounts, and academic publications, eclipsing the Confucian-style communitarian, moral concern touched upon in some Chinese instructional materials.
CHAPTER VI

THIRD SET OF FINDINGS: WHERE AND WHY DO THE TWO CASES DIVERGE AND CONVERGE?

Where and Why Do the Two Cases Diverge?

I started this chapter with a discussion of the discrepancies between the case of Shanghai, China and that of Utah, the U.S. because the differences they demonstrate are more conspicuous and glaring than the similarities. I believe two major findings are warranted in this section, both related to the particularities of the historical and contemporary social contexts in which the two cases are enveloped respectively. In what follows, I will detail the two findings, each followed by a tentative explanation of the underlying reason(s).

Treatment of Neoliberalism and Confucianism

The first finding is concerned with the different treatment that neoliberalism and Confucianism receive in each case. To help with the explanation, I refer back to Figures 6 and 11, which are the graphic representations of the good citizenship discursive field perceived from the lens of my theoretical framework in the case of China and the U.S. respectively. At first sight, the quality of the discursive field that each case presents is decidedly different. Four data sets in Figure 6 disperse all over the two-dimensional citizenship matrix in a rather disorganized and disorderly way, reflecting a messy discursive field concerning the good citizenship concept embedded in China’s EFL
curriculum. In comparison, Figure 11 is illustrative of a less jumbled and less complex
discursive field that the U.S.’s good citizenship notion is located in. Though documents
can also be found in all four quadrants of the citizenship matrix, they appear in clusters
rather than in scatters. A closer look at the two figures reveals that the difference indeed
lies in the vertical dimension. Along the neoliberalism/Confucianism continuum, the
documents in the case of China spread in a wide range between the two poles whereas in
the case of America, documents dwell mainly at the tail end of the neoliberalism. It
seems clear that the good citizenship notion is addressed from a more varied spectrum of
intentions in the case of China than in the case of the U.S.

This different extent to which the meaning of good citizenship is polyvalent and
contentious along the vertical axis of intent can be attributable to the discrepant
circumstances where the good citizenship notion is constructed. Because China and the
U.S. have very different social contexts and cultural institutions, the ways that the
discourses of neoliberalism and Confucianism function in these two locations are bound
to be divergent. As far as the case of Shanghai, China is concerned, the varied interests
that the good citizenship discourses claim is the country’s and sometimes the city’s
response to the relatively unstable circumstances and challenging domestic and
international changes with which they are faced. In the following, I will explain how the
discourses of neoliberalism and Confucianism are invoked to answer certain contextual
needs during periods of social transition in China’s case.

As I have detailed in the first chapter, China has undergone a series of
unprecedented changes in economic, political, and social terms, since its adoption of the
opening up and reform policy in 1978. One remarkable and often the most referenced change is the country’s gradual shift from a socialist planned economy to “a socialist market economy” since the early 80s. Through incorporating market into China’s socialist system, the government expects to rejuvenate the country’s economic performance after three decades of stagnant growth and rise to the challenge of economic globalization (Law, 2007). Despite the “socialist” modification, this market economy is also featured with market-centeredness and underscored by market rationality (W. W. Zhang, 2000) because Deng Xiaoping the mastermind of China’s economic reform, argued that the market does not belong exclusively to the capitalist economy. China’s determination to further marketize its economy is reinforced when it joined WTO in 2001. The implication of this economic system change for the development of China’s good citizenship notion is tremendous. Law (2006) acknowledged that “The market is one element selected from the changing economy for defining the new socialist citizenship” (p. 602). Echoing his view, Lee and Ho (2008) pointed out that a global outlook, an orientation towards efficiency and personal achievement are some of the desirable citizen qualities in present-day China. Clearly, the shift towards a socialist market economy and the consequential economic boom has demanded that neoliberalism become one officially endorsed and commonly recognized good citizenship discourse and that market-mindedness be the essential trait of a good citizen in China’s context.

The rapid domestic GDP growth, however, has brought with it some serious social problems. For one thing, the widening economic gap and the uneven distribution of wealth have triggered social tensions and unrest between different social strata and
different regions (Boswell, 2007; Geis & Holt, 2009; Han, 2008; Lee & Ho, 2008). According to a study conducted by Cheng (2007), in 2005 China’s income disparity was the worst in the world. For another, the loss of human virtues and morals has been a disturbing social phenomenon (Han, 2008; Lee & Ho, 2008). The Chinese society is plagued with faked products, crimes, corruption, consumerism, and deteriorating environmental pollution, and so forth, which can all be ascribed to citizens’ lack of social responsibilities and morality in their desperate pursuit of economic interests (Lee & Ho, 2008). In light of the soaring complaints from the general public, the government sought to restore traditional Chinese values and virtues represented by Confucianism. For instance, in the Implementation Outline on Ethic Building for Citizens (issued by CPC Central Committee in 2001) and the Socialist Harmonious Society Platform proposed by then president Hu Jintao in 2006, moral virtues with a clear Confucian inscription were stressed “as an internal impelling force to address social problems and the declining party ethos” (Law, 2011, p. 210). In the process of China’s modernization and marketization, Confucianism is taken as a vital discourse that can counter the side effects incurred by market (Chen, 1997).

In his book, Law (2011) further argued that the CPC-led government turned to Confucianism also to cope with international challenges under pressure from globalization. With the country’s increased openness to and communication with the outside world, the Chinese government feels a strong need to (re)build and reinforce China’s national cultural identity, which tended to be diminished in China’s humiliated history of the past century. It is acknowledged that the Chinese traditional culture is “a
key foundation of ethnic solidarity and unity in ethnically diverse China” and “a bridge between China and other countries in an ethnically diverse world” (p. 206). The CPC-led government’s deeper intention, however, is to count on “the traditional Chinese virtues to resist Westernization and peaceful evolution after the infiltration of unwelcome Western political ideas, values and ways of life” (p. 206) in China’s opening up process. “As in the past, the CPC central committee and the Ministry of Education (2004, Article 2) still hold that ‘adversary forces of western countries plot to Westernize and disunite China and ‘compete for its next generations’” (p. 206), Law (2011) noted, which indicates that “the CPC-state is still affected by the legacy of a bipolar worldview and a cold-war mentality” (p. 206). The traditional culture and values that Confucianism embodies is thus expected to boost up the Chinese people’s confidence and loyalty towards their motherland when they are engaged in dealings with foreign people and cultures.

It is out of the two above-mentioned concerns, one about addressing the escalating domestic social conflicts and moral decadence and the other about maintaining China’s unity and integrity, that Confucianism is invoked as an important citizenship discourse in China. While socialism, China’s state orthodoxy, demonstrates decreased appeal and market value (Law, 2011; Lee & Ho, 2008), Confucianism is upheld as a powerful, countervailing discourse against destabilizing factors at home and abroad that spring up in China’s social transition.

I wish to stress here that the Confucian discourse appears to have an overpowering dominance in the case of Shanghai. As is declared in all three locally-issued documents which include one curriculum standards and two sets of instructional
materials, Confucian-style moral education is an integral part of the city’s educational endeavors. Given Shanghai’s geographic location and strategic status as one of the most open and developed and by implication, most westernized cities in China, the concern is high that Shanghai is the number one target for western peaceful evolution plots. Thus, the municipal government of Shanghai is very explicit about their intention to use Confucianism as a ploy to confront “adverse western influences.” At the same time, through upholding Confucianism, the local government wants to ensure Beijing that it will keep subordinated to the central authorities, which is a conventional practice honored in the Confucian legacy.

To conclude, in response to urgent domestic needs and international challenges, the discourses of neoliberalism and Confucianism are invoked to express sometimes competing and sometimes fused intentions on the discursive field of the good citizenship concept in China’s context. As evidenced by the roughly equal number of documents located at each side, the competition between neoliberalism and Confucianism is close and intense. Approached widely from a sheer economic consideration to a pure moral concern, the good citizen notion embedded in China’s EFL curriculum could refer to someone who is savvy and competitive in market or someone who abides by Confucian morality and ethics or someone who has a bit of both.

In comparison, the two good citizenship discourses function in a less convoluted way in the case of Utah, the U.S. On the discursive field of this location, the discourse of neoliberalism overwhelms that of Confucianism. Or in other words, the concern for training a competitive, efficient workforce trumps the concern for cultivating a morally
sound citizenry. In most of the documents that I analyzed, expressions such as “global competition,” “American’s economic prosperity,” “a bi/multilingual workforce,” “business opportunity,” “America leads a competitive edge” appear in high frequency, indicating Chinese language education is just “temporary ventures and practice fields for the more important realm of the market” (Camicia & Franklin, 2011, p. 320). The discourse of Confucianism, on the other hand, is rare. The only occasion that Confucianism is invoked and cherished is in the three series of Chinese textbooks whose producers are with clear Chinese cultural upbringing. The overpowering dominance of neoliberalism in this case, I believe, has everything to do with the U.S.-based context.

Unlike China that is currently going through drastic changes in its economic, political, and cultural fabrics, the U.S. has long established a relatively stable social system. This system is featured with the enshrinement of free market and individual rights. As Turner (1981) observed, since the founding of the U.S., liberalism and capitalism have been the twin state orthodoxies. Harvey (2005) and Jakubiak and Mueller (2011) argued, however, that between the two, capitalism realized through open market and free trade is more fundamental because the unfettered market often implies unconstrained consumer choices, which is further equated with civil liberty and democracy. Therefore, capital accumulation and economic growth premised on a free market have always been the top priority of the country as well as the states, including Utah.

More recently, under conditions of economic globalization and corporate power expansion, the market is considered all the more important at global scales. With a view
to ensuring America’s sustained economic growth and competitiveness in the global market, neoliberalism, a more aggressive promarket and anti-big government ideology, gains currency in America. The neoliberal doctrine underscores market rationality embodied in concepts such as standardization, competition, and efficiency and reaffirmed the deeply seated conviction in the supremacy of free market economics in the American mentality. In effect, the dominating impact of neoliberalism has led many critical theorists (e.g., Apple, 2000b; Camicia & Franklin, 2011) to believe that market rationales have colonized the discursive fields of not only the state but of the civil society in America. As far as the concept of good citizenship is concerned, American citizens are commonly perceived as essentially self-reliant, self-motivated consumers and entrepreneurs who compete in the market, either in service of the state, the nation, or the world, in the neoliberal regime (Bottery, 2003; Jakubiak & Mueller, 2011; Parker & Camicia, 2009).

As for the rarity of the Confucianism discourse in America’s case, some may argue that it is because Confucianism has never been part of America’s traditions and cultures. The statement is true in general terms. However, given that I am analyzing Chinese language curriculum standards and instructional materials where Confucianism is normally introduced as the hallmark of Chinese culture, the presence of Confucianism, if any, should not be too curious in this study. The overshadowed imaginary of a morally upright citizen cherished in Confucian tradition in the case of America, I believe, can be ascribed to “the power of social institutions” (Kennedy, Lee, & Grossman, 2010), that is, the conventional practice to exclude or at least rhetorically separate the moral dimension.
from the discourses of citizenship preparation in America (Cogan & Grossman, 2012).

The finding about the absence of the moral elements in America’s citizenship education is not new. In a comparative overview on civic education across six societies, Morris and colleagues (2002) concluded that in the U.S., minimal reference is made to values that should be explicitly taught; as opposed to Japan and Taiwan where “civic education was seen to focus on providing education about citizenship and an understanding of the values and dispositions of a citizen as a moral rather than a political actor” (p. 181). Most recently, Cogan and Grossman (2012) devoted a whole book to probing into the moral/civic divide in citizenship education efforts across societies in the Asia-Pacific region, including the U.S.

There have been some good discussions as to why the moral dimension is missing in America’s education regime. A contextual analysis of the American society is helpful. According to Morris and colleagues (2002), promoting moral education is at variance with America’s commitment to pluralism and devolution. Because America is a pluralist society with no federal provision for the direct control of curriculum, textbooks, and examinations, it is extremely hard for different groups and sects to reach consensus on what moral values should be taught in schools. For fear of moral indoctrination that not everyone agrees upon, it is argued that moral education is best left to the child’s family and religious institutions instead of public schools (Johnson, 2010). Thus, the discussion of social justice and equality is often stripped of the moral and ethical aspects, whatever the brand name is, in America’s classrooms. Because of this social institution, which in turn results from America’s unique societal features, the good citizenship concept
embedded in America’s CFL curriculum is rarely inscribed with the discourse of Confucianism.

To conclude, depending on the contexts/regions in which they operate, the discursive field of good citizenship presents unique characteristics along the vertical axis of intent ranging between neoliberalism and Confucianism in the case of Shanghai, China and Utah, the U.S. While both discourses are influencing the good citizenship concept embedded in Shanghai’s EFL and Utah’s CFL curriculum, they function in context-specific ways. In China, the seismic social changes call for a good citizenship notion that addresses the tension and mixing of economic interests and moral concerns, thus leading to a competition between the neoliberal and Confucian discourses. In the U.S., neoliberalism is the preferred good citizenship discourse due to the entrenched conviction in the superiority of free market economics and the conventional practice of foreclosing the moral dimension from the preparation of citizens in this country.

**Function of Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism**

My second finding is concerned with the interplay of nationalism and cosmopolitanism along the horizontal axis of allegiance in the cases of Shanghai, China, and Utah, the U.S. Though in both contexts, nationalism and cosmopolitanism are engaged in a heated battle with the former slightly overtaking the latter, the two discourses indeed function differently, due to the unique historical positioning and global power differentials of the two locations. In other words, national and cosmopolitan discourses mean different things in China and the U.S.
As reflected in the contextual description that I presented in the first chapter, over China’s long history before 1978, nationalism had been the overriding and sometimes the solely working discourse in China’s nation building and citizenship preparation along the dimension of belonging. For instance, before the demise of the country’s last dynasty at the turn of the 20th century, China had been a proud nation that took itself as the center of the world. Later in PRC’s early history, strong nationalistic feelings were evoked for the building of the New China under CPC’s leadership, after the whole nation survived a century of foreign invasion and domestic turbulence.

The year of 1978, however, witnessed a drastic shift in PRC’s foreign policy when CPC decided to reform and open the country to the outside world. In the following years, China appeared to be rather adamant in its opening up position and even made attempts to assert a stronger international presence, although the legacy of nationalism could still be felt at all times. It seems that today’s China is caught up in the dilemma between the aspiration to increase its integration with the international world and the concern to safeguard its solidarity against unwanted foreign influences.

To be specific, the intense competition and entanglement between nationalism and cosmo-politanism staged in the post-Mao China can be approached from two vantage points. On the one hand, opening up is an imperative for China given both international conditions and the national context. Globally, the irresistible trend of globalization has brought the whole world together into a web of close connections. No country can be virtually isolated from or immune to foreign influences. China, in particular, cannot afford to close itself up again. According to Deng Xiaoping (1998), the designer of
China’s opening up policy, China’s experience as a secluded and backward country encroached by foreign colonial powers in the past century demands that it expose itself to the outside world for national growth and global competitiveness. Taking Deng’s words to heart, the current Chinese government holds up high the banner of opening up through, for example, joining WTO in 2001. Indeed, with China’s soaring GDP growth and very likely a revived national superiority mentality, the central government even aspires to play a more active role in international affairs as evidenced by Beijing’s hosting of the Olympics in 2008 and Shanghai’s hosting of the World Exposition in 2010. In this context, cosmopolitanism is invoked by those who wish to educate more globally oriented Chinese citizens who will be able to successfully navigate the dynamic and complex international economic, political and cultural terrains. In the city of Shanghai, the discourse of cosmopolitanism is particularly attractive as the city urgently needs competent “world citizens” (Nussbaum, 1996) to enable more international exposure and integration and facilitate its growth into a cosmopolitan city acknowledged worldwide.

While China increases its participation in the global economy and international community, the CPC-led government is also vigilant towards the growing influence from other countries that China is exposed to, especially those “adverse influences” from western countries that may threat the country’s integrity and solidarity. To avoid the recurrence of the national tragedy and insult that China suffered in its modern history, educating loyal and patriotic citizens is still high on the agenda of the current government. For instance, Beijing has successfully turned a few national and international events such as Hong Kong’s and Macau’s return to the mainland China at
the end of last century into “teachable moments” about nationalist pride and loyalty (Law, 2011; Lee & Ho, 2008).

It should be noted, however, that this expressed concern for China’s threatened national sovereignty and solidarity also reflects the CPC-led government’s deeper concern for CPC’s loss of control over China. In this one-party state, CPC claims full ownership towards the nation and state power. Although the Chinese people are rhetorically phrased as the “masters” of the country, CPC is rationalized as their representative and agent to exercise the ruling power (Law, 2011). Given that China is considered CPC’s property, any threat towards China’s solidarity and sovereignty are, in effect, challenges to CPC’s legitimacy and leadership. Along this line, the citizenship ideal that the CPC-led government promotes entails loyalty to both the nation and the CPC. To put it another way, nationalism in China’s context refers not only to strong patriotic sentiments but also to faithful expressions to the ruling party.

Law (2011) believed that this Chinese cultural mentality of treating the nation and state power as belonging to the ruling class can be traced back to the Chinese monarchy. He explained: “In imperial China, the founding emperor of a dynasty, often considered the conquered Chinese territories, people and state power as rewards of war and thereby his family’s private properties” (p. 192). Clearly, CPC maintains this mentality and monopolizes state power. What’s more, the policy of reform and opening to the world since the late 1970s may have helped the CPC reinforce Chinese citizens’ allegiance towards the nation and the CPC through, for example, emphasizing the country’s economic and social achievements after opening up and reform.
In sum, referring to both a nation-bound and party-bound loyalty, nationalism competes with cosmopolitanism for the different scales of belonging that CPC-led government deems appropriate for Shanghai’s English-learning students to develop. The meaning of good citizenship is complicated by a tension and fusing between the two discourses within the shifting context of China, a country that is enmeshed in a complex psychology between a strong sense of national inferiority in recent history and a deep-seated national pride since ancient times (Law, 2011).

When it comes to the case of Utah, America, the discourses of nationalism and cosmopolitanism compete on a discursive field that takes on a different quality than that of China. This is because, for one thing, America is historically and contemporarily positioned as “a colonial power in all but name” (Alred et al., 2006, p. 7), although under conditions of globalization and threats of terrorist attacks, this power could be and in some cases has been challenged; for another, the steadfast belief in market and the corresponding democratic political system has been a defining element that underscores the U.S.’s nationalist and cosmopolitan discourses. In what follows, I will explain the unique functioning of nationalism and cosmopolitanism within the context of America.

Unlike China, the U.S. has a short but “glorious” past. In less than 250 years, it has grown from a coalition of 13 former colonies into the world’s largest economy (United Nations, 2011) and model democracy (Castles & Davidson, 2000). Given its sheer size, wealth as well as the considerable power and influences it wields in international affairs, the U.S. has gained the status tantamount to “the world hegemon” (Kaldor, 2003). According to P. Kennedy (1987), the establishment of the American
empire starts from the mid-20th century. Following the two world wars, America overtook Britain and became the leading power in noncommunist world, which experienced a new phrase of industrialization characterized by the mass production and mass consumption (Goldstein, 1988). Several decades later, with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, America won the Cold War and has thereafter become the world’s only superpower. In light of these achievements, school curriculum in the United States has been found to be consistently loaded with nationalistic sentiments, as is reflected in the proud language that lauds the national exceptionality and superiority of America over other nations (Camicia & Franklin, 2010; Camicia & Zhu, 2011; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997; Zimmerman, 2002).

In recent years, however, the metanarrative of America’s exceptionality has been seriously challenged under conditions of globalization and terrorist attacks. As evidenced by the rise of a recent wave of the “international education” movement in America’s schools (Parker & Camicia, 2009), globalization and terror are causing a reflection on the American ego and a reconceptualization of America’s international relations. Interestingly, both nationalism and cosmopolitanism are invoked by various stakeholders to sponsor two diverse reactions to the challenges that globalization and terror pose.

First of all, as a process that is perceived by Held and McGrew (2002) as “the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of transcontinental flows and patterns of social interaction” (p. 1), globalization has formed a powerful and, in some cases, defining context of our era. The impact of globalization is often approached from a neoliberal perspective. Sparke has made this clear in his book on
globalization.

[Int]he same way as the labels “patriotic” and “unpatriotic” are used in partisan ways to make citizens accept particular national policies like war, so too is the discourse of Globalization used to turn the facts about interdependency into much more biased lessons about the need for free trade, privatization, and tax cuts. (Sparke, 2012, as cited in Parker & Camicia, 2009, p. 43)

As stated above, despite its far-reaching effects on many aspects of our life, globalization works, first and foremost, to facilitate the establishment of the neoliberal regime underscored by the free market rationale. There has been such a great tendency to associate globalization with neoliberalism that the two literally become synonyms.

With this logic, Americans generally react to globalization by invoking two hybrid discourses: national neoliberalism and cosmopolitan neoliberalism. According to national neoliberalism, the biggest challenge globalization poses to America is the loss of the nation’s economic security and competitiveness in the “flat,” unforgiving global market, which, in turn, threatens America’s hegemonic power in the world. Thus, school education, foreign language education included, should be committed to the training of patriotic, bi/multilingual, and competent consumers and producers who can help America regain its competitive edge and maintain its economic prosperity. Cosmopolitan neoliberalism, on the other hand, views the world as a huge, borderless marketplace. The biggest challenge globalization poses is to everyone who is engaged in the competition for the free flowing capital and labor in the global market. Hence, the paramount task for America’s schools is to educate independent, self-motivating, and globally oriented entrepreneurs who excel themselves in the pursuit of economic interests worldwide.

While globalization challenges America’s leading position in the world market
and by extension, international affairs at large, the 9/11 terrorist attack presented yet another major threat to the America-led world order (Kaldor, 2003). In the wake of the tragedy, two different reactions emerged that again reflect a fierce competition between the nationalistic and cosmopolitan perspectives in the American society.

Parker and Camicia (2009) reported the prevalence of “terror talk” (Katz, 2006, p. 108) in the post-9/11 America. Upon the occurrence of 9/11, the U.S. government took a hard line in its fight against terrorism. In less than 2 months, the Patriot Act was passed. One and a half years later, the invasion of Iraq was launched as part of America’s war on terror. In the educational sector specifically, actions were taken that aimed at enhancing students’ uncritical loyalty towards the U.S. For example, a growing number of states passed laws that require recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance in schools (Piscatelli, 2003). A great many 9/11-related curriculum materials were developed that portrayed America as the victim instead of encouraging students to critically examine the roots of the attacks (Hess & Stoddard, 2007). With a view to enhancing national security, the National Security Language Initiative was launched in 2005 and the federal government started to provide funding for the instruction of strategic languages in schools beginning in 2008, both of which are particularly good cases in point as to how the discourse of terror is getting things done. To a great extent, the terror talk as reified in the actions mentioned above has successfully evoked strong nationalistic sentiments in America. Indeed, “a jingoistic form of nationalism” (Hess & Stoddard, 2007, p. 231) seems to be the prevailing response to terrorism. Accordingly, a multilingual citizen-soldier (Parker & Camicia, 2009) seems to be the preferred citizenship image.
There have been, however, efforts made to look for other solutions. With a strong belief in our common humanity and shared goal for equality, peace, and freedom, a group of people mainly from the scholarly and political circles advocate for a cosmopolitan and humanitarian approach in the face of terrorism and all other forms of human conflicts. According to them, “compellance [sic]” (Schelling, 1966, as cited in Kaldor, 2003) in the form of military actions would not work in today’s world; rather, “only a cosmopolitan vision can, at least, contain the new sources of violence” (Kaldor, 2003, p. 21). Through accepting and valuing diversity and emphasizing what connects us instead of what divides us, we could offer our principal loyalty to the humanity of all human beings and resort to negotiation instead of confrontation when conflicts arise (Camicia & Franklin, 2010, 2011; Nussbaum, 1996; Osler & Starky, 2010). In other words, cosmopolitan citizenship should be taken as the citizenship ideal in an increasingly interconnected yet diversified world. As evidenced by copious publications on cosmopolitan citizenship (e.g., Hansen, 2008; Nussbaum, 1996; Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2010), and heated discussion on global citizenship education methodologies (e.g., Dunn, 2008; Merryfield, 2001; Noddings, 2005), the discourse of cosmopolitanism is gaining traction in official and popular parlance to countervail the nationalism discourse in the contingency of terrorist activities.

In sum, while both nationalism and cosmopolitanism are active discourses in the discursive field of the good citizenship notion embedded in China’s EFL and America’s CFL curriculum, they appear to operate differently within different cultural and global locations and contexts. In the context of China, which is emerging as a noticeable global
power and economy from a previously semicolonized status, nationalism means loyalty to the country and the ruling party whereas cosmopolitanism functions to further promote its opening up and strong international presence. In the context of the U.S., which is historically positioned as the world superpower but contemporarily challenged, nationalism works to maintain its existing privilege and power while cosmopolitanism helps expand the market’s monopoly when combined with neoliberalism and delineates a new way for America to relate with other countries.

**An Overview of the Major Differences**

In this section, I reported two major differences between the good citizenship notions embedded in China’s EFL and America’s CFL curriculum. These differences are exhibited in noticeable or sometimes less obvious ways in the two good citizenship matrices (see Figures 6 and 11). Along the vertical axis of citizenship interest, I found Confucianism and neoliberalism are invoked almost equally frequently as valid good citizenship discourses in the case of Shanghai, China; however, in the case of Utah, U.S., neoliberalism plays an overriding role in the discursive field of good citizenship. This striking difference can be attributed to the two countries’ discrepant social contexts and institutions. Under conditions of social transition, the Chinese society needs both moral citizens and enterprising ones to deal with domestic tensions and international challenges. In the U.S., where economic growth has always been the nation’s priority and where the moral dimension has been conventionally separated from the civic dimension of citizenship preparation, competitiveness is the overly emphasized citizenship trait.
Along the horizontal axis of citizenship belonging, the good citizenship notions in the two cases differ in a less conspicuous way. Although in both matrices nationalism appears to hold a marginal lead over cosmopolitanism, the two discourses compete, combine, and morph into different cultural, economic, and political formations in the context of China and the U.S. Depending on the state’s preferences and global power differentials related to the historical and contemporary positioning of the two locations, one as the emerging power and the other as the challenged hegemon, nationalism and cosmopolitanism are invoked for different emphasis and purpose. In the case of China, nationalism means guarding against adversary western influences that threaten national solidarity and CPC’s leadership, while cosmopolitanism means aspiring for more international presence. In the case of the U.S., nationalism means helping the nation maintain its hegemonic power through ensuring its economic prosperity and national security whereas cosmopolitanism could mean being competitive in the global market or enabling an increasingly diversified human family to thrive towards equality, emancipation, and peace.

**Where and Why Do the Two Cases Converge?**

In this section, I presented two common features that the good citizenship notions embedded in China’s EFL curriculum and the U.S.’s CFL curriculum share. First, as evidenced by the two citizenship matrices (see Figures 6 and 11), neoliberal-nationalism is the most preferred good citizenship discourse in both cases. This finding speaks to “the tenacity of nationalism” (Parker & Camicia, 2009, p. 67) and the popularity of
neoliberalism in the present world. Second, the officially preferred good citizenship notions in both cases, whether it is neoliberal-nationalism, neoliberal-cosmopolitanism, or Confucian-cosmopolitanism, are nothing but regulatory tools for those in power to maintain their hegemonic control and best interest. In what follows, I will offer a detailed discussion of the two findings.

The Prevalence of the Hybrid Neoliberal-Nationalism Discourse

To begin with, in my analysis of the good citizenship notion embedded in the case of China’s EFL curriculum, I have found that the upper left quadrant (i.e., the national-neoliberal quadrant of the two-dimensional citizenship matrix) attracts, though not by a big margin, the largest number of documents (see Figure 6). Likewise, in my study of the good citizenship notion embedded in America’s CFL curriculum, I have a similar finding (see Figure 11). The attractiveness of the hybrid national-neoliberal citizenship discourse seems to be a common feature shared by the two case studies I conducted in this project.

Two messages are conveyed in this slight dominance of the neoliberal-nationalism discourse in both China’s and the U.S.’s discursive fields of good citizenship. For one thing, nationalism is still the most commonly sought-after discourse in citizenship education efforts staged in China and the U.S., a finding that has been highlighted by many other studies, such as Law’s (2011) erudite study on China’s citizenship education, and Parker and Camicia’s (2009) award-winning critical investigation into America’s “international education” movement. In effect, the strong and tenacious grip of nationalism is not just a feature unique to China’s and the U.S.’s
citizenship education, but a rather common phenomenon. For instance, in their comparative examination of civic education in six Asia-Pacific nations, Morris and colleagues (2002) concluded, “[O]verall, governments see education as a key means of transforming individuals into members of the nation-state…and expect them[students] to be inculcated with a common body of knowledge and attitudes, which serve to define them as part of the collective national identity” (p. 184).

Morris and colleagues (2002) further argued that cultivating nation-bound, patriotic citizens is an essential component of school education worldwide because schools are built to facilitate nation building and advance national interests (Davies, Evans, & Reid, 2005; Green, 1990; Hahn, 1999; Parker & Camicia, 2009; Schwille & Amadeo, 2002). This is certainly a legitimate reason that explains the strong appeal of the nationalistic discourse to the public in general and educational authorities in particular since the establishment of modern schools. At the same time, however, globalization and the contingency of the current historical moment may also be held responsible for the preference that nationalism enjoys today.

As many (e.g. Heater, 1996, 2004; Kaldor, 2003; Law, 2006, 2011) have argued, globalization is a double-edged sword. While it allows increasing societal interdependence, freer flows of capital, labor, and information across borders and the development of multiple sites of power and locations of allegiance at sub-national and supranational levels, it also enables a revival of ethnic awareness and reassertion of local and national identities. Quite contrary to globalists’ views that nation-states have been undermined and weakened by the globalization process (Fukuyama, 1992; Waters, 1995),
nation-states remain the primary locus of people’s allegiance and loyalty (Delanty, 2000; K. J. Kennedy, 2010) at present, though there have been an increasing number of loci joining in. Therefore, it would be too quick to say that nation-states would demise under conditions of globalization and that the traditional, parochial nationalistic discourse is negated by globalization. Instead, as transnational interaction increases, people may work harder to identify with the local and national cultures so as to countervail the encroaching forces of globalization (Touraine, 2000). This is particularly true for citizens of nations that are located at a disadvantageous position in global power differentials because nations as such are at a high risk of being overwhelmed and assimilated by more powerful national cultures. The rise of nationalistic sentiments in China is partly because of this concern.

Moreover, other factors may also contribute to the prevalence of the nationalism discourse in various social contexts. Banks (2011) observed that there has been a backlash of nationalism since the late 1990s due to, for example, the increased global immigration, worldwide economic crisis and terrorist activities. In the U.S., the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001 triggered the sudden upsurge of nationalistic expressions. Thus, the tenacity of nationalism as demonstrated in the citizenship matrices of both China and the U.S. in this study is attributable to the common nation-building function of the education system in each country, the larger context of globalization, and the local, historically contingent social thickets of each society.

The attractiveness of the hybrid good citizenship discourse of neoliberal-nationalism in both cases in this study also testifies to the prevalence of neoliberalism at
the present time. As Harvey (2005) noted, China’s transition from a socialist planned economy to a socialist market economy happened to coincide with the United States’ turn to the neoliberal solutions. In other parts of the world, the pro-market and anti-big government neoliberal doctrine also has large numbers of supporters (Camicia & Franklin, 2010, 2011). Globalization may have facilitated the establishment of a common consumer culture and a steadfast belief in the open market (Fukuyama, 1992; Waters, 1995) worldwide because globalization enables the more flexible flow of capital, labor, information, and product. However, the question as to what indeed leads to the worldwide marketization is complex and, therefore, worthy of an article of its own.

The Oppressive Nature of the Officially Preferred Good Citizenship Notion

My second finding debunks the essentially oppressive nature of the officially preferred good citizenship notions in both cases. By officially preferred good citizenship notions, I mean those most frequently referenced in the first two data sets (i.e., foreign language policy and/or curriculum standards and instructional materials) that were the official documents analyzed in each case. I am doing this for the rigor of my finding because the first two data sets best represent the official stance, while the other two data sets (i.e., media accounts and academic publications) reflect the viewpoints of various stakeholders. Endorsed by either China’s or the U.S.’s official foreign language curriculum, these notions, without exception, “communicate national leaders’ economic and sociopolitical goals as students’ aspirations,” and “prepare students for future sociopolitical behaviors” (Law, 2011, p. 205). In other words, they function as a
hegemonic and normative tool wielded by those in power for social control.

In the case of China, neoliberal-nationalism and Confucian-cosmopolitanism are the two officially preferred good citizenship discourses embedded in Shanghai’s EFL curriculum. As evidenced by Figure 6, out of the eight official documents which include five policy documents and curriculum standards and three sets of instructional materials, three are located in the upper left neoliberal-national quadrant and another three reside in the lower right Confucian-cosmopolitan quadrant.

I have mentioned in my previous finding that neoliberal-nationalism is the most popular good citizenship discourse in the discursive field of both China and the U.S. Indeed, the nationalist and neoliberal discourses work, either in separation or combination, in the best interest of the most powerful in society. From a critical perspective, it is not hard to see that both nationalism and neoliberalism meet the hidden agenda of the power elite in each society, which is to train a loyal, obedient citizenry.

The discourse of nationalism works most effectively in China, where a citizenry loyal to the CPC-dominated state is of paramount importance to the ruling party (Law, 2011). One effect of the nationalist discourse is to construct and perpetuate a national myth (i.e., a common, monolithic national culture and history that is deemed appropriate by the ruling class). Not only does the myth negate the multiplicity and hybridity of personal identities but it also defies criticism from both inside and outside the national borders, especially in times of national crisis (Kymlicka, 2003a; Osler & Starkey, 2010). Through subsuming various individual identities under a national whole and maintaining imagined consensus in the name of national unity and security, nationalism realizes its
suppressive function (Bhabha 1994; Camicia & Franklin, 2011). In China, in particularly, where the nation is considered property of the ruling party (Law, 2011), the nationalist discourse has successfully deflected any criticism towards the CPC through characterizing such comment making as a betrayal of the nation, which is itself framed as a shameful action.

Neoliberalism also serves the interest of the most powerful in each society. Foucault pioneered the critical analysis of neoliberalism in this regard through coining the concept of governmentality though he never used the word neoliberalism directly. In an interview entitled “truth and power,” Foucault (1980) elaborated on the operation of governmentality at times when a market rationality and neoliberal mentality holds sway.

How, from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries onwards, there was a veritable technological take-off in the productivity of power. Not only did the monarchies of the Classical period develop great state apparatuses (the army, the police and fiscal administration), but above all there was established at this period what one might call a new ‘economy’ of power, that is to say procedures which allowed the effects of power to circulate in a manner at once continuous, uninterrupted, adapted and ‘individualised’ throughout the entire social body. These new techniques are both much more efficient and much less wasteful (less costly economically, less risky in their results, less open to loopholes and resistances) than the techniques previously employed which were based on a mixture of more or less forced tolerances (from recognized privileges to endemic criminality) and costly ostentation (spectacular and discontinuous interventions of power, the most violent form of which was the “exemplary,” because exceptional, punishment). (p. 119)

According to Foucault, the neoliberal seed has been planted since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the market became the decisive power in economic and political policy making (Foucault, 2007). As a result, the new economy of power or the new form of governmentality emerged as an alternative and better mode of regulation because compared with the old controlling technique, the new one seemed more efficient,
more economic, more effective, and less provocative. However, Foucault did not see the establishment of this new mode of governance as a signal of the retreat of the state from the role in regulation as it appears. Instead, he argued that it is a deceptive and strategic maneuver of the state, the governing mechanism, to shift its role from “that of directing to one of enabling” (Camicia & Franklin, 2010, p. 98) and trick individuals into self-governance while the controlling power is as forceful, if not more, as before. Echoing Foucault’s view, Ong (2006) confirmed that “in contemporary times, neoliberal rationality informs action by many regimes and furnishes the concepts that inform the government of free individuals who are then induced to self-manage according to market principles of discipline, efficiency, and competitiveness” (p. 4).

The making of a self-governing, market-minded citizenry is indeed in line with the best interest of those with the most power because such a citizenry often shows little interest in civic and communal activities that could often pose challenges to the power elite’s hegemonic control. Human history is not short of examples where the government introduces the neoliberal doctrine with a hidden intention to produce a politically apathetic citizenry, who, in turn, would facilitate the rule of the existing government. Interestingly, the CPC-led state is resorting to this strategy to reinforce the ruling party’s leadership. As Lee and Ho (2008) observed, the government’s overwhelming focus on economic development is just “a disguise of an apparent reinstatement of political control” (p. 144). In a similar vein, Law (2011) noted that the CPC frequently cited China’s achievements in a market economy as important evidence to demonstrate its ability to make China strong and thereby bolster its legitimacy of leadership. In light of
these remarks, it is fair to say the neoliberal discourse functions to maintain CPC’s monopoly of power in China by constructing a market-oriented good citizen image. Together, the discourses of nationalism and neoliberalism facilitate the training of nation-bound economic soldiers who would hardly challenge CPC’s leadership. In other words, neoliberal-nationalism helps China’s power elite maintain the status quo and social control.

Beside neoliberal-nationalism, Confucian-cosmopolitanism is the other preferred official good citizenship discourse in China. As many have recognized, cosmopolitanism is “a floating signifier with a diversity of competing meanings” (Camicia & Franklin, 2010, p. 101) or “windows” (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). Depending on the context and location, the discourse of cosmopolitanism often displays different qualities and intents. For instance, in their studies, Camicia and Franklin (2010, 2011) have repeatedly found that themes of neoliberalism and occasionally democracy are central to the understanding of cosmopolitanism in places like the U.S., the U.K., and the Philippines.

In the context of China, Confucianism provides a new lens for understanding the complexity of cosmopolitanism. Like all other brands of cosmopolitanism, the Confucian cosmopolitan discourse upholds an allegiance to the global community; but unlike others, it emphasizes personal moral behavior and attributes, communal spirit, and social harmony. I do recognize that there are some creditable elements in the Confucian-cosmopolitan discourse. For instance, Confucian-cosmopolitanism could provide a countervailing alternative to a money-centered orientation. However, given the repressive role Confucianism has traditionally played in China’s nation building, Confucian-
cosmopolitanism is but a new strategy designed by the current government to promote order, discipline, and obedience among China’s citizens under conditions of globalization.

Law (2011) well explained Confucianism’s contribution to the making of a submissive citizenry in imperial China since 156 B.C. According to him, the imperial state of different dynasties in the Chinese monarchy upheld Confucianism as the state-supported orthodoxy to “legitimize and consolidate its rulership, and to maintain social stability and harmony, by using it to justify socio-politically hierarchical relations” (p. 194). Both Confucianism and Confucian education “played important roles in fostering and reproducing a traditional Chinese citizenry that was submissive to the emperor and the ruling class” (p. 19).

Though eradicated as a feudal legacy during Mao’s era, Confucianism has been re-invoked by the CPC-led government in recent years. For instance, the harmonious society platform promulgated by the CPC central committee in 2006 is with a clear Confucian inscription. Many (e.g., Camicia & Zhu, 2011; Geis & Holt, 2009) have argued that the platform is promoted by the power elite with the intent to ensuring a firm centralized control, because harmony as a key element of Confucianism is just “a veiled reference to assimilation” (Banks, 2011, p. xii). In Law’s (2006) words, the Confucian traditions and virtues function as “an internal, self-impelling force of social conformity” (p. 604), as they did in the long history of the Chinese monarchy. Though the contingency of the current historical moment has required the infusion of a global outlook and orientation, the traditional repressive nature of Confucianism has not been
changed in China’s context. Thus, through promoting a submissive, obedient good citizenship imagery, Confucian-cosmopolitanism is another important discourse for the ruling party to cite to maintain its rule in China.

When it comes to the case of America, the preferred official citizenship discourse in this context also protects the best interest of those in power in the American society. I need to stress again that I am only referencing the first two data sets here because they represent the official stance while the other two data sets include viewpoints from stakeholders such as students and parents. As demonstrated in Figure 11, the majority of the official documents in the first two data sets dwell in the neoliberal-cosmopolitan quadrant, indicating that neoliberal-cosmopolitanism is the favorite official good citizenship discourse in Utah’s CFL curriculum.

Like Confucian-cosmopolitanism, neoliberal-cosmopolitanism is one of the many “windows” of cosmopolitanism. Camicia and Franklin (2011) defined the neoliberal-cosmopolitan discourse as “emphasis[ing] a global community that is best related by market rationality” (p. 314). They further argued that “Students and workers are most efficiently related in this global community through technologies of standardisation, surveillance and accountability” (p. 314).

Indeed, under the discourse of neoliberal-cosmopolitanism, students and workers are portrayed as global entrepreneurs subjected to what Foucault (1980) called governmentality, which is often exercised in the form of standardization, surveillance, and self-responsibility. As I have discussed before, governmentality does not mean no or a weak mode of regulation. Quite on the contrary, it is a stronger, more efficient, and less
conspicuous form of governance than the old controlling technique. Despite the illusion of freedom and democracy that neoliberalism offers, no one is as free as the market promises them to be. Rather, people are enslaved by the market, which is in effect controlled by those with the most money and power. Just as Camicia and Franklin (2011) put it, “neoliberal discursive dominance ensures contemporary and future relations of domination and subjugation” (p. 321). Thus, in the context of America where neoliberalism attracts a large group of adherents, the preferred good citizenship discourse of neoliberal-cosmopolitanism functions to maintain the existing privilege enjoyed by the most powerful group in society.

**An Overview of the Major Similarities**

This section is devoted to a discussion of the two major similarities that the good citizenship notions embedded in China’s EFL and America’s CFL curriculum share. The first common feature that both cases display concerns the attractiveness of the neoliberal-national discourse. As evidenced by the distribution of the four data sets in each good citizenship matrix (see Figures 6 and 11), the image of a patriotic, competitive good citizen appeals to the largest number of stakeholders in both the case of Shanghai, China and that of Utah, the U.S. The underlying reason, I believe, is related partly to the tenacious grip that nationalism displays as a function of public schools’ nation-building purpose, the pressure from globalization, and the local contingencies, and partly to the popularity that neoliberalism enjoys with the accelerated pace of globalization. The second important finding reveals the repressive nature of the officially preferred good citizenship notions in both cases. In the context of China, neoliberal-nationalism
and Confucian-cosmopolitanism are the two most often-cited good citizenship discourses in official documents, which include foreign language policies and curriculum standards and instructional materials. Both discourses operate to maintain CPC’s hegemonic control in China. In the context of the U.S., neoliberal-cosmopolitanism is endorsed by the largest number of official documents. Likewise, it also serves the best interest of the power elite in American society.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I reported my third set of findings, which is concerned with the major differences and similarities that the good citizenship notions embedded in China’s and the U.S.’s foreign language curriculum demonstrate. There are two sections in this chapter. The first section centers on the two major discrepancies I have found existing between the discursive fields of good citizenship in the cases of China and the U.S. As the two discursive fields are regulated within discrepant social thickets—the broader enveloping social context (Snow, 2004) which include historical positioning, state orthodoxy, political structure, economic system (at least as the two countries claim to be different), and educational practices, etc., the good citizenship notions cherished in two countries are bound to be different in important ways. First of all, along the vertical axis of intent, America’s CFL curriculum tends to be overwhelmingly neoliberal-oriented because of a deeply-entrenched national conviction in market whereas Confucianism and neoliberalism are almost equally valued in China’s EFL curriculum as a way to respond to China’s domestic and international challenges. Also, along the horizontal axis of
belonging, nationalism and cosmopolitanism are competing in qualitatively different
discursive fields in the cases of China and the U.S., as a result of the unique historical
positioning and global power differentials of the two locations.

I devoted the second section of Chapter VI to discussing two major common
features that the preferred good citizenship notions in the two cases share and explaining
the underlying reasons for the similarities. First, it seems clear that both China’s EFL
curriculum and America’s CFL curriculum prioritize a neoliberal-nationalistic view of
good citizenship. This dominance of the neoliberal-national citizenship discourse is
attributed to a confluence of factors which include the essential nationalistic purpose of
schooling, globalization and the local, historically contingent social thickets. Second, a
look into the first two data sets in both cases reveals that neoliberal-nationalism and
Confucian-cosmopolitanism are the preferred official good citizenship discourses in the
context of China whereas neoliberal-cosmopolitanism is the officially preferred discourse
in the context of the U.S. These discourses are similar in the sense that they are all part of
the hegemonic controlling mechanism that the powerful in each society construct and
operate in their best interest.
CHAPTER VII
DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

Discussion

Yes, citizenship—above all in a society like ours, of such authoritarian and racially, sexually, and class-based discriminatory traditions—is really an invention, a political production… Citizenship implies freedom…citizenship is not obtained by chance: It is a construction that, never finished, demands we fight for it. It demands commitment, political clarity, coherence, decision. For this reason a democratic education cannot be realized apart from an education of and for citizenship.

Paulo Freire (1998, p. 90)

In the preceding chapters of findings, I have examined the meanings of good citizenship embedded in China’s EFL and the U.S.’s CFL curriculum. Fouts and Lee (2006) have long recognized that there is a lack of a clear understanding of the term “good” citizens, which is often approached from diverse perspectives in various contexts. My study confirms their finding. Viewed from the lens of the two-dimensional citizenship framework that I constructed, good citizenship could mean different things with varied emphases and implications to the Chinese and the Americans. Even within each case that I studied, the good citizenship concept appears to be associated with a multiplicity of sociopolitical preferences and interpretations, a result that makes me realize that my initial plan to pinpoint the exact meaning of good citizenship in each context is not feasible. There are multiple, instead of just one, notions circulating in the discursive field of good citizenship, whether in the case of China’s EFL curriculum or America’s CFL curriculum.

Among the many competing good citizenship notions with some being more
powerful than others, I scarcely find ones that are “an unambiguously emancipatory, empowering institution” (Wood, 2008, p. 25). The vast majority of the good citizenship concepts embedded in the two countries’ foreign language curriculum function as technologies of governance. Instead of enabling humanity to thrive towards emancipation, these conceptions facilitate the society’s most powerful group to maintain the status quo and hegemonic control.

As discussed in the preceding chapters, the dominant good citizenship narratives in each case are anchored to the national home base. Regardless of the national settings, an uncritical identification with the nation-state is often taken as an essential good citizenship quality. Such a good citizen image is advanced for a hidden and repressive purpose because an uncritical patriot is always easier to control. The power elite in each society intentionally equated consensus and compliance with love of the nation so as to discourage criticism towards the state and, in China’s case, towards the ruling party. On many occasions, for instance, in the face of terrorist threats, the elite may also take advantage of nationalistic sentiments to pursue their own populist goals (Rapoport, 2009). It is fair to say that a nationalistic good citizenship discourse helps the most powerful protect their best political and economic interest. The prevalence of such a good citizenship perception is alarming, as nationalistic ideology often leads to assimilationist and oppressive speech and behavior, whereas the imperatives of our era calls for recognition, peace, and social justice more than ever before.

Though the entrenched culture of nationalism is not broken, it is increasingly contested by cosmopolitanism under conditions of globalization (Blades & Richardson,
increased presence of the cosmopolitan citizenship discourse in school curriculum in
many national settings (e.g., Bromley, 2009; Camicia & Franklin, 2011). Ideally,
cosmopolitanism takes equality and freedom of humankind as its ultimate goal and thus
serves as a valuable alternative to parochial nationalism. However, cosmopolitanism is
not without problems. As is shown in my study, the cosmopolitan citizenship discourse
has many strands. Once modified by terms such as neoliberal and Confucian,
cosmopolitanism loses its nobility and purity. Instead, it is exploited by the most
powerful to be part of the controlling mechanism. The lofty goal of peace and freedom is
adulterated by hegemonic economic and political intentions.

Thus, more discussion, research, and practice should be encouraged to explore
some truly liberating models of good citizenship. Freire’s (1998) perception of
citizenship that is quoted at the beginning of this chapter provides an important frame of
reference. A desirable good citizenship should, as Freire claimed, “imply freedom.”
While the concept of good citizenship has been utilized mainly by the rulers to subjugate
people, it can also be used by the ruled to seek emancipation because power is “a
machine in which everyone is caught, those who exercise power just as much as those
over whom it is exercised” (Foucault, 1980, p. 156).

Cosmopolitanism is a good starting point for the construction of empowering
good citizenship notions. Upholding the fundamental cosmopolitan ideal that advocates
for citizenship at various levels, especially at the global scale, some models have been
proposed that are worth pursuing. For instance, Camicia and Franklin (2011) advocated
for a critical democratic cosmopolitan discourse that is deeply committed to “multiculturalism, critical awareness of global power asymmetries, emancipation and social justice” (p. 314) as opposed to the overpowering neoliberal cosmopolitan discourse. Also, in light of the burgeoning supranational social movements and institutions, Kaldor argued for the existence of “a horizontal political culture based on a commitment to solve certain shared global problems…combined with a multiplicity and diversity of local popular cultures based on relatively small local and national territorial units” (1995, as cited in Enslin, 2000, p. 169), which in turn signifies “a change in citizens’ membership of political units, from territorially-based to issue-based membership” (Enslin, 2000, p. 169). This issue-based cosmopolitanism that Kaldor initiated provides another viable version of citizenship in the current era characterized by accelerating globalization.

Occasionally, a specific cosmopolitan discourse that is repressive in one context could be emancipatory in another. For instance, the Confucian cosmopolitanism that has been utilized as a regulatory tool by the ruling party in China has the potential to challenge the dominance of neoliberal cosmopolitanism, which facilitates the elite control of the society realized through the market in America. Confucianism embodies some liberating elements in the context of the U.S. in the sense that it refuses to see citizens as money-making machines only but instead emphasizes a moral dimension in citizenship education. Along this line, it is a worthwhile effort to conduct cross-cultural dialogues concerning good citizenship so as to open the possibilities of empowering and useful visions for citizenship education that is aimed at enabling the human family to thrive
towards emancipation, equity, and social justice. At the same time, the borrowing and lending between different cultures restrains the dominant conceptions of cosmopolitanism from “reinforc[ing] Enlightenment principles and western hegemony….” (Camicia & Franklin, 2011, p. 315).

Despite the predominantly hegemonic and suppressive good citizenship concepts embedded in the intended curriculum, foreign language teachers are well-positioned to exercise their critical and creative agency to defy the official hidden message. There are numerous possibilities and places for resistance and transformation in the actual curriculum delivered by teachers in their everyday teaching. For instance, instead of teaching exclusively on language points and grammatical rules, foreign language teachers can inspire students to do things with the target languages as a responsible cosmopolitan citizen. Given the tenacity of nationalism and popularity of neoliberalism that this study expounds on, students should be encouraged to utilize the foreign languages they learn for global learning activities that involve examining the global injustices and inequalities that often result from national chauvinism. At the same time, students should also be encouraged to participate in global service projects that involve “making choices that might be to the detriment of that nation, or at least not always to its profit, in order to benefit the global family” (Parker & Camicia, 2009, p. 61). Moreover, in the context of the U.S., foreign language teachers can, as Parker and Camicia suggested social studies teachers to do, join district committees in the formation of local initiatives and mount challenges to district policies while referring to the theoretical framework constructed in this study. In the context of China where such options are not currently available, foreign
language teachers can exercise their political praxis less directly through, for example, highlighting the diversity within and between national cultures related with the target language(s) and introducing personalities with multiple culture identities in their classroom teaching (Starkey, 2007).

Some concrete examples may supply foreign language teachers with a better idea about how to incorporate a critical citizenship education perspective in their teaching. In his writing on language teaching for democratic citizenship, Starkey (2005) suggested that even seemingly personal and trivial themes can be examined in a critical and power-conscious way. He gave the example of the theme of sport. According to him, a series of questions can be elicited by the teacher for an in-depth discussion of the theme from the aspects of gender (e.g., are there sports that are predominantly played by men or women?), age (e.g., are there sports for younger people and for older people?), region (e.g., are there local sports? Do learners identify with local teams?), religion (e.g., are there religious objections to playing sport, or days when some people choose not to do sport because of religious observance?), and racism (e.g., is this found in spectator sports?). Starkey also cautioned language teachers to be aware of the sociopolitical implications of many sentences they choose to use for practice purposes. The sentence he used as an illustration was taken from a grammatical exercise for the tenses following “if” and reads “On the whole, if immigrant families speak French they adapt more easily to their new life.” Because this sentence inadequately portrayed immigrant families in France as being linguistically handicapped in general, Starkey proposed a new one that reads “If French people are welcoming, immigrant families adapt more easily to their
new life.” Along this line, I would suggest foreign language teachers to be critical users of textbooks and all other instructional materials. Changes and critiques are necessary if the teacher senses any inadequacy in the underlying messages that some materials send to students.

Besides foreign language teachers, mass media also have a critical role to play in the making of good citizens in every society. Mass media’s immense power lies in their function as a reflector and more importantly a shaper of public opinions and perceptions. As far as the good citizenship concept is concerned, most media accounts in this study delineate a national-neoliberal good citizen image, either in the case of China or in that of the U.S. It seems that the present-day mass media, more often than not, advocate rather than challenge the hegemonic ideology of the power elite, the result of which would adversely affect the formation and acceptance of truly liberating good citizenship notions among the public. Thus, it would be a topic worth serious discussion as to how to make the best use of mass media in the future so that nondominant views such as cosmopolitan citizenship could be better voiced and appreciated.

Further, the findings of my study suggest scholars in the field of foreign language education to actively explore the contributions that foreign language education should make to fostering good citizens, the meaning of which is highly debatable under conditions of globalization and within nation-specific contexts. It should be acknowledged that “citizenship issues have become interwoven across academic disciplines. Citizenship studies is, therefore, decisively interdisciplinary” (Isin & Turner, 2002, p. 4). Indeed, as is shown in this study, foreign language education is a potent field
of research and contention for citizenship education endeavors. In light of the contemporary concerns and developmental needs of every country, it is important to know what the appropriate set of citizenship knowledge, values, skills, and behavior should embody. The problem with the current research in foreign language education in the cases of China and the U.S., however, is that not many studies have been conducted that motivate language educators to consider and debate their citizenship education obligations. Even when there are such studies, often times the author’s assertion is aligned with the dominant narrative of good citizenship rather than providing alternative perspectives that are missing in official discourses. Hence, the content area of foreign language education cries out for interested and insightful academicians whose critical views could help open additional windows on the discursive field of education for good citizenship in the increasingly interrelated and diverse world.

**Limitations**

It should be noted, however, that the cases of EFL curriculum in Shanghai and CFL curriculum in Utah that I choose are not representative of all foreign language curricula in the countries of China and the U.S. Despite the way my questions are phrased, I have no intention to make assumptions and claims beyond my particular case (Hahn, 2006), which is “is a particular expression of a theoretically defined phenomenon” (Parker & Camica, 2009, p. 54). In this study, the phenomenon is the good citizenship concept embedded in the EFL curriculum of Shanghai, China, and the CFL curriculum of Utah, the U.S., respectively. This phenomenon is not a population, but a theoretical
construct. As Yin (2009) claimed, case studies “are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations” (p. 15). Thus, my case study is not meant to be generalized to a population but to a theory. Theory building, testing and development are the goal of this study.

Given that the samples studied here only capture a small, “albeit theoretically fruitful” (Parker & Camica, 2009, p. 54) portion of the good citizenship concepts conveyed in Shanghai’s and Utah’s foreign language curriculum during the past decade, additional research is needed to provide more snapshots taken in other times and places. I expect future research to facilitate the gradual assembly of a larger, more complex portrait of the good citizenship notions hidden in various foreign language curricula. The formation of such a portrait can definitely help reveal other expressions of good citizenship that current foreign language curricula endorse, introduce additional theoretical lens, and challenge or elaborate the axes that were adopted in the present study (Parker & Camica, 2009). I also believe that future research can further theorizing broader topics such as the intersection of foreign language education and citizenship education, curriculum ideology and power, the links between curriculum discourses and contexts, and comparative study of curriculum.

Moreover, I wish to mention that due to the critical perspective I have adopted, this study focuses on the regulatory and suppressive aspect of curriculum. It should be acknowledged, however, that curriculum fulfills contradictory purposes. Besides conveying official knowledge that reinforces authority, curriculum can also impart knowledge that empowers students. Thus, future research should be conducted to
examine how curriculum, foreign language curriculum in particular, plays its emancipatory role in the education of citizens.

**Conclusions**

In this study, I deconstructed the concepts embedded in current foreign language curricula in China and the U.S. as to what good citizenship means. I conducted a comparative critical discourse analysis of foreign language policies and curriculum standards, and EFL instructional materials for students from 1st to 3rd grade and 10th to 12th grade in Shanghai, China and foreign language curriculum standards and CFL instructional materials for students from the same grade levels in schools in Utah, the U.S. Recognizing that multiple texts are interwoven with the materials mentioned above, I also examined media accounts and academic publications to enable a plural and more comprehensive interpretation of the good citizenship notions conveyed through foreign language curricula in the two countries. My theoretical framework consisted of a critical literature on ideology in curriculum and two pairs of citizenship-related discourses, i.e., nationalism and cosmopolitanism, and neoliberalism and Confucianism. This framework helped me identify, compare, and explain the similarities and differences between the country-specific sociopolitical and sociocultural meanings and assumptions associated with being a good citizen embedded in China’s and the U.S.’s foreign language curricula. The following questions were used to guide this study: How is the concept of good citizenship portrayed in China’s EFL curriculum as exemplified by the case of Shanghai? How is the concept of good citizenship portrayed in America’s CFL curriculum as
exemplified by the case of Utah? Where and why do the two cases converge and diverge significantly?

Three sets of findings were yielded in response to the three research questions. Employing CDA which highlights the inter-textual and contextual relevance in the critical analysis of discourses, I found that in the case of China, a majority of the good citizenship notion conveyed in EFL curriculum is located in the neoliberal-national and Confucian-cosmopolitan quadrants of the citizenship matrix whereas in the case of the U.S., almost all the good citizenship notions dwell at the neoliberal side of the matrix, making neoliberal-national and neoliberal cosmopolitan the two most crowded quadrants. Given the particularities of the historical and contemporary social contexts that China and the U.S. are situated in, it makes sense that different citizenship notions are valued in the two countries. Even when the same notion appears to be prioritized in both cases, that notion indeed embodies context-specific connotations and functions in qualitatively different discursive fields. That said, there are still some common features that the good citizenship notions embedded in China’s EFL curriculum and America’s CFL curriculum share. For one thing, a patriotic entrepreneur is considered a good citizenship norm in both cases, which testifies to the tenacity of nationalism and the popularity of neoliberalism in the present-day world. For another, however different the social contexts are, the preferred good citizenship notion embedded in official documents works in the best interest of the power elite in each society and takes maintaining this group’s social control as its hidden agenda.

Despite the fact that my sample of foreign language curriculum cannot be
assumed to be representative of all existent foreign language curricula in the two countries, findings from this study should stimulate more theoretical research and practical debate in various venues such as language classrooms, mass media, and academic publications about the roles foreign language education plays in the education of good citizens with the topic of good citizenship itself meriting critical discussion. Most importantly, findings from this research have the potential to empower foreign language curriculum developers and practitioners in China, the U.S., and beyond to exercise their political praxis and creative agency in a concerted effort to cultivate citizens who can effectively and conscientiously navigate the shifting terrains at different levels of the global community.

Chapter Summary

In this final chapter, I first discussed the implications of this study for those who are concerned with and critical of the current good citizenship discourses that are oppressive in nature. I proposed that foreign language teachers, mass media and the academia all take an active role in challenging the dominant narratives of good citizenship and troubling the canon of citizenship education in foreign language classrooms. I then talked about the limitation of this study as not being generalizable to populations. This chapter ended with a conclusion and summary of the whole study.
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Cummings, W. K., Tato, M. T., & Hawkins, J. (Eds.). (2001). *Values education for dynamic societies: Individualism or collectivism*. Hong Kong, China: Comparative Education Research Center, the University of Hong Kong.


Appendix A

Media Accounts in the Case of Shanghai, China
“Shanghai leads in English education” (“Shanghai,” 2001, Feb. 16);

“小学为何要开始英语课? [Why should we teach English in primary schools?]” (A. Y. Zhang & Mo, 2001);

“炮轰英语全国分级统考体制[Condemning English examination system in China]” (Sun, 2004, Jan. 12);

“学不致用 中国公共外语教育反思[Learning cannot be used: Reflections on China’s foreign language education]” (Gu, 2004, Sept. 24);

“中国英语教育的四个问题[Four issues concerning China’s English education]” (Z. D. Zhang, 2007, Oct. 12);

“中国需要真正的公民教育 [ China needs real citizenship education]” (Ruan, 2010, March 3);


“温州市区城南小学取消低年级英语课程引发热议[Cancellation of English teaching among lower elementary levels at Chennan Elementary School in the city of Wenzhou triggering heated discussion] “ (Fan, 2012, Nov. 15).
Appendix B

Media Accounts in the Case of Utah, the U.S.
Media Accounts in the Case of Utah, the U.S.

Utah is dedicated to creating a global workforce: An interview with Gregg Roberts, world languages specialist Utah State Office of Education. (Conley, 2008).


Chinese coming to a school near you. (K. Stewart, 2009, June 12).

Foreign languages fade in class—Except Chinese. (Dillon, 2010, Jan. 20).


Utah trying out dual-language immersion classes. (Stuart, 2010, July 7),

Chinese-language classes in Utah schools gaining popularity. (Bennion, 2010, Dec. 2).

Utah leading the nation in dual immersion program. (Wimmer, 2011, Feb. 22).

Chinese immersion program in Utah continue to grow. (Fidel, 2011, April 11).

Appendix C

Academic Publications in the Case of Shanghai, China
Academic Publications in the Case of Shanghai, China

英语教学与世界公民的培养 [English education and the cultivation of global citizens]. (Zhou, 2004),

Appendix D

Academic Publications in the Case of Utah, the U.S.
Academic Publications in the Case of Utah, the U.S.


Teaching Chinese as tomorrow’s language. (Chmelynski, 2006).

Education for global leadership. (Committee for Economic Development, 2006).

Building the foreign language capacity we need: Toward a comprehensive strategy for a national language framework. (Jackson & Malone, 2009).

A cure for monolingualism. (Met, 2008).

Language education, identities and citizenship: Developing cosmopolitan perspectives. (Starkey, 2007).

Becoming citizens of the world. (Stewart, 2007).


Foreign language instruction in U.S. schools: Results of a national survey of elementary and secondary schools. (Pufahl & Rhodes, 2011).
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