

A Comparative Study of Teacher- Student Relationships among Different Chinese Generations

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Abstract

China's economy has achieved tremendous development in the past few decades, and education policies have been continuously improved according to practical needs. With the socio-economic changes, the teacher-student relationships in China have undergone subtle changes. The purpose of this study is to explore how teacher-student relationships have changed from generation to generation under the modernization process after the founding of the People's Republic of China. The author interviewed Chinese schoolers from different decades: post-1960s, post-1970s, post-1980s, post-1990s, and post-2000s. This study explores the educational experiences of these schoolers and discusses the factors that created significant impacts on teacher-student relationships, e.g., culture influence, family-related factors, economic impacts, education policies, characteristics of various decades, etc., thus to find out the changes and continuities of Chinese teacher-student relationship.

Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory is applied. The study analyzes changes in teacher-student relationships through Hofstede's cultural dimensions: individualism dimension, power distance dimension, uncertainty avoidance dimension, masculinity dimension, short/long term orientation dimension, and restraint/ indulgence dimension.

This study adopts a cross-generational qualitative approach to understand the changes and continuities of teacher-student relationships by comparing schoolers' educational experiences among generations. It purports to assess the impact of the change and continuity and to show how teachers contribute to students' experience from students' perspective. The author presents some interesting findings, e.g., the power distance between teachers and students is reducing, the individualism degree is getting higher, the uncertainty avoidance degree is becoming weaker, the masculine values are still in a dominant position but the degree is reducing. Also, with the expansion of the gap between the rich and the poor, the distribution of educational resources is becoming increasingly unequal, which may significantly affect the quality of teacher-student relationships in nowadays' China.

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Abbreviations

EFA: Education for All

G1: the 1st Generation

G2: the 2nd Generation

G3: the 3rd generation

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GNP: Gross National Product

NCEE: National College Entrance Examination

PRC: People's Republic of China

TSR: Teacher-Student Relationship

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Numerous studies highlight that positive and supportive relationships between teachers and students are fundamental to the healthy development and adjustment for students in schools (Birch, S. H., & Ladd, G. W., 1998; Pianta R. C., 1999; Hamre, B. K., & Pianta, R. C., 2001). Students with positive relationships are better adjusted and more engaged in learning activities with peers or teachers (Hughes, J. N., Luo, W., Kwok, O. M., & Loyd, L. K., 2008; Thijs, J. T., & Koomen, H. M., 2008). While students with negative relationships with their teachers are taking the risk of carrying adjustment problems and academic underachievement (Ladd, G. W., Birch, S. H., & Buhs, E. S. , 1999). Therefore, the teacher-student relationship calls for more and more attention by researchers in the world nowadays.

According to Hofstede, people from different growing backgrounds differ significantly because people's perceptions are influenced by specific culture environments, norms and values (Hofstede G. , 1984). As Mannheim defined a generation as "a group of individuals of similar ages whose members have experienced a noteworthy historical event within a set period of time" (Mannheim, 1970). We can argue that it exists difference among generations about perceptions of teacher-student relationships. Compared with the different social change background, teachers and students face different challenges due to social transformation is bringing them a high number of different ranges of values. This leads to more differences and conflicts between teachers and students' interaction through different generations. As a result, the difference of teacher-students' relationships is strongly influenced by socio-cultural changes, at the same time it is also influenced profoundly by the traditional culture.

In the past 60 years, China, as one of the largest population countries with a long cultural tradition, had undergone tremendous social changes after the establishment of the People's Republic of China. There are many factors can influence the teacher student's relationships. From 1978 until now, China began its reform and opening up, resumed the college entrance examination and executed the one-child policy. In recent decades, teacher-student relationships were significantly influenced by the trend of globalization and individualism, as well as the extensive prevalent of information technologies.

There can be different kinds of influences on teachers and students' communications thus also on teacher-student relationships for different generations with different social socio-economic backgrounds. Thus, there is significant meaning to research the changes in teacher-student relationships among different Chinese generations. In this thesis, the author will explore the differences and similarities between teachers and students' interactions with different generations' experiences. In this thesis, teachers-students' interaction, teachers and students' communication are same meaning as teacher-student relationship.

1.2 Teacher-Student Relationship

The knowledge society requires education improvement and innovation. Teaching is usually defined as an educational activity that is composed of teachers' teaching and student learning for the educational purpose. Teaching is required to complete the interaction between the instructor and the educated. Therefore, teachers to fulfill their own teaching responsibilities must be in contact with students, that is, it is important to establish a relationship with students.

The nature and quality of students' relationships with their teachers play a critical and central role in motivating and engaging students to learn. Teacher-student relationships are typically defined with respects to emotional support as perceived by the students and examined with respects to their impacts on students' outcomes (K.R., 2012).

Many researches in social development and teaching/learning areas increasingly show the importance of adult-child relationships as contexts for development (Pianta R. , 1994). The teacher-student relationship is an important element in students' learning life. Students' relationships with their teachers are an important component of the school experience and are related to children's adjustment. That is why Vygotskian theory calls us to pay attention to the primacy of social processes in learning and development through teacher-student interactions (Brophy, J. E., & Good, T. L., 1974).

According to Matteson (Matteson, 2014), teachers who foster positive relationships with their students create classroom environments more conducive to learning and meet students' developmental, emotional and academic needs. Positive teacher-student relationships contribute to school adjustment and academic and social performance. In line with teachers, the common feature of excellent teachers is the ability to communicate well with students. At the same time, some teachers who are not good at communicating with students are bound to fail.

Improving students' relationships with teachers has important, positive and long-lasting implications for both students' academic and social development (Allen, J., Gregory, A., Mikami, A., Lun, J., Hamre, B., & Pianta, R. , 2013).

Also, the extant literature also shows that teacher-student relationships can buffer students against risks related to behavior problems and poor self-regulation skills. Therefore, the teacher-student relationship calls for more and more attention by researchers in the world nowadays. Largely, teachers and students' interactions nowadays have become a major problem restricting the quality of education (Lindqvist, P., & Nord änger, U. K., 2016). There are too diverse elements that affect teacher-student relationships, such as age, gender, ethnicity, and moral values (Saft, E. W., & Pianta, R. C., 2001).

1.3 Division of Chinese Generations

A generation refers typically to all of the people born and living at about the same time, regarded collectively. More precisely, Mannheim defined a generation as “a group of individuals of similar ages whose members have experienced a noteworthy historical event within a set period of time” (Pilcher, 1994).

Mannheim's Theory of Generations (Mannheim, 1970) understood a generation to be a cohort of a population who have experienced similar events (particularly noteworthy events) in their youth, during a distinct period of time. According to Mannheim, older generations form the social context in which a new generation makes “fresh contact” with. When this occurs, the new generation slightly alters the social context by selecting or emphasizing particular aspects of it. As such, each new generation provides opportunities for social and cultural continuity and changes.

Generations based upon decades cannot easily be characterized without running the risk of oversimplification. Learning from history, we know that any effort at blanket labeling will be only partially successful. However, the decades still have a distinctive character in education development. Certain ideas and themes came to the fore; the national discussion about education shifted, and policies at the local, provincial, and national levels reflected new priorities (Ravitch, 1990).

There are lots of diversities due to different gaps of generations, e.g., values gaps, wealth gaps, education gaps, relationships gaps, information gaps. It is essential to define different generations and classify them into proper categories.

Having the objective of exploring the degree of profound change of the student and teacher-student relationships in China undergoing rapid modernization, this research classifies the various Chinese generations (e.g., post-1960s, post-1970s, post-1980s, post-1990s, post-2000s) into three groups, which reflects the actual socio-economic changes in China.

- The 1st generation/ G1: post-1960s, post-1970s
- The 2nd generation/ G2: post-1980s
- The 3rd generation/ G3: post-1990s, post-2000s

To be more specific and concrete, this study will study and compare the perceptions and experience of teacher-student relationships in above three different generation categories. As shown in Figure 1, the first generation mainly got influences from traditional Chinese culture, and also the political movements after the founding of People's Republic of China; while the resume of college entrance exam, the one-child policy makes significant impacts on the second generation. It then comes to information era after the 1990s, where the promotion of quality education, globalization, and individualism left a great mark of the times for the third generation.

Dewey points out that “the conception of education as social process and function has no definite meaning until we define the kind of society we have in mind” (Chitty, 2002). The changes in society have resulted in the characteristics and educational characteristics of people of different ages. The teacher-student relationship can be used as a perspective to explore the characteristics of education at different ages.

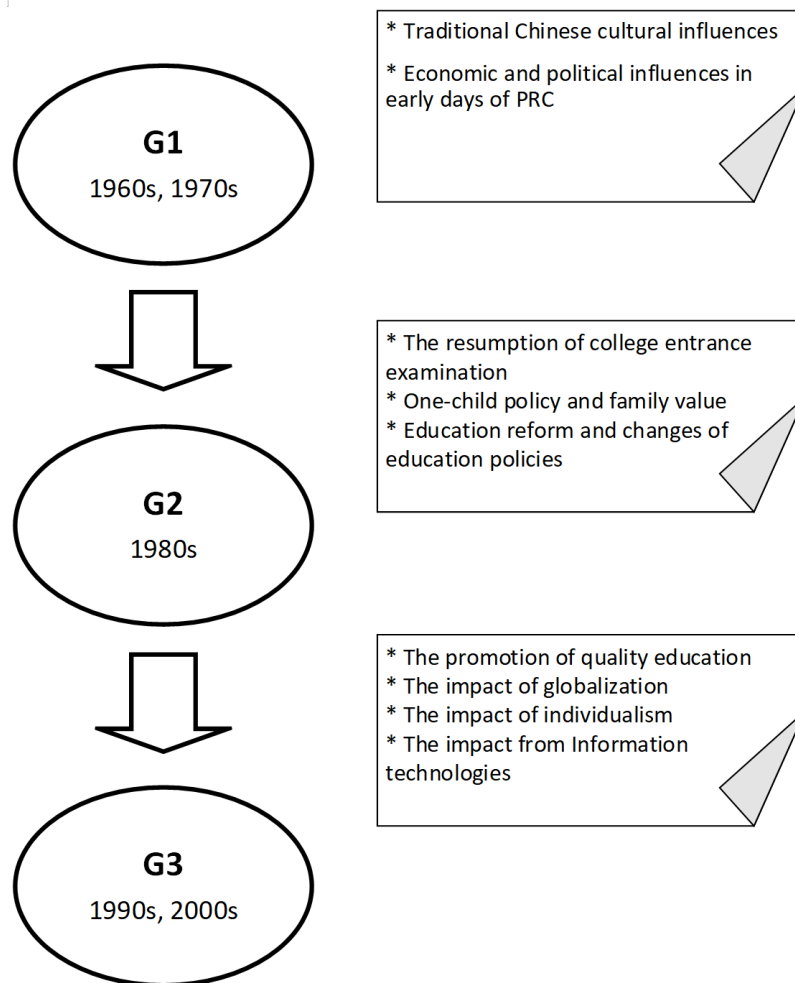


Figure 1 The Division of Chinese Generations for Teacher-student Relationship Purpose

People who work and study in different eras have their behaviors affected by the features of their eras accordingly. Within different cultural and historical background, teacher-student relationships are different by both internal and external influence of environments. People from different growing backgrounds differ significantly because people's perceptions are influenced by specific culture environments, norms, and values. According to Liu (Liu F. , 2016), many theorists have noted that modernization processes, such as industrialization-economic and technological advancement, education expansion, secularization, democratization, and individualization, have changed the interactions and communications between different generations. Therefore, there is significant meaning to discover the difference and similarities of teacher-student relationships through different generations' viewpoints.

1.4 Research Questions

The primary objective of this study is to investigate the extent to how teacher-student relationships have been changed among different Chinese generations under the rapid modernization. It explores the educational experiences and perceptions of different Chinese generations, e.g., the society and culture influences on teacher-student relationships, as well as the family-related factors that may affect their education. With the one-child policy and socio-economic changes, the teacher-student relationships in China also change significantly.

The following overall research question guided the study: In the context of rapid modernization in China, to how extent are teacher-student relationships changed.

To answer this question, the following sub-questions were formulated:

- What are the differences and similarities of teacher-student relationships through different generation's viewpoints?
- How extent different factors affect their perceptions since student-teacher relationships undergoing by different cultural dimensions?

The study uses a qualitative approach to study the interviews that were conducted for interviewees in different generations. The semi-structured interview is used as the primary research method in this study. The fieldwork was carried out mainly for students' experience in primary schools and high schools. Students were interviewed to investigate their perspectives for the education and school experiences of teacher-student relationships.

1.5 Chapter Outline

The thesis has in total six chapters.

Chapter 1 presents the background and rationales of this study. It deals with the concepts and significances of teacher-student relationship and Chinese generations. The research questions are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 2 describes the Chinese education context that has impacts on teacher-student relationship. It first introduces the traditional Chinese society values that influenced the teachers and students' interactions in all different Chinese generations; Then it tells the economic and

political situations in early days of PRC. After that, it talks about China's reform and opening up, the resumption of the college entrance examination, education reform and changes of education policies, as well as China's one-child policy and family value. Last but not least, it presents the trend of globalization and individualism, as well as the widely used of information technologies.

Chapter 3 reviews literature and presents the Hofstede's cultural dimensions' theory.

Chapter 4 describes and introduces the research methodology undertaken for the study and details about the whole process of interview conduction and analysis as well. At the same time, this chapter discusses validity and reliability issues.

Chapter 5 reports the main study results that pertain to the research questions. It applies Hofstede's cultural dimensions' theory to analyze the interviews from Chinese schoolers. It also presents details of changes and similarities on teacher-student relationships among Chinese generations.

Chapter 6 concludes the whole study.

Chapter 2 the Chinese Education

Context

This chapter presents the context of education development in different decades after the founding of PRC, which form the discussion foundation of teacher-student relationships in China. It first introduces the traditional Chinese society values that influenced the teacher-student relationships in all different Chinese generations, and then it tells the economic and political situations in early days of PRC. Since 1978, China began its reform and opening up, resumed the college entrance examination, and adjusted education policies according to its needs. In the same period, China executed the one-child policy, which brought tremendous changes to Chinese family lives thus also in the education system. In the early 1990s, China promoted the quality education and launched the quality education reform in early 2000s. With the advent of the 21st century, teacher-student relationships were significantly influenced by the trend of globalization and individualism, as well as the extensive prevalent of information technologies.

2.1 Traditional Chinese Society Values

China is a country with a long history. The influence of strong traditional culture on education is pronounced. Confucianism has influenced China for over 2000 years, which results in a culture with strong seniority and hierarchy (Huang G.HC., Gove M., 2015). The Confucian system centers on the five “cardinal relationships” in which power differentials and responsibilities are described. The juniors should be respectful and loyal to the seniors, while the seniors should love, protect the juniors. The Confucian conception of “filial piety” overcasts other relationships in Chinese society, such as the relationships between teacher and student (Dello-Iacovo, 2009). There were some notions described teacher and student relationships in traditional Chinese society, such as “one should respect your teacher as you do your father (“Yi Ri Wei Shi, Zhong Shen Wei Fu” in Chinese pinyin)”, “a strict teacher produces outstanding students (“Yan Shi Chu Gao Tu” in Chinese pinyin)”, “a teacher is one who transmits knowledge, provides for study and dispels confusion” (“Shi Zhe, Chuan Dao Shou Ye Jie Huo Ye” in Chinese pinyin), etc, which created significant impacts on traditional Chinese teachers students’ interactions.

Central to Confucianism is the emphasis on social relationships within a hierarchically oriented society (Liu S. , 2006). Teacher-centered teaching is largely attributed to the influence of Confucian philosophy on education and learning. It is also called “banking” teaching method. In the banking model, teacher and student are involved in a “depositing” and “receiving” relationship, and this creates an unequal relationship between teachers and students.

2.2 Economic and Political Influences in Early Days of PRC

In the first 30 years after the founding of PRC, China uses the “planned economy” as a guideline to lead the social production. In the era of a planned economy, the state exercises comprehensive control over the economy and all kinds of social resources. Political, economic, and ideological forms are highly superimposed. The state controls the society in an all-around way. The entire social life is manifested in a unified and quasi-administrative manner. People's interactions had a clear mark of various organizers and lived a collectivism life. In the 1960s and 1970s, China experienced various political movements, e.g. the “people's commune”, the “Great Leap Forward” movement, “Cultural Revolution”, etc. The entire country was in a state of utter lack of success. Economic conditions and material conditions were limited (Deng, 1997).

Firstly, various political movements stopped the college entrance examination in a certain period of time, which hindered students’ hopes of learning. After the founding of PRC, the gaps between rural and urban areas were widened. During this period, the stagnation of higher education seriously affected the cultivation and use of national talents and blocked the construction and development of the country. Secondly, there were full of politicization and simplification in syllabus and specific teaching content. In the early years of the “Cultural Revolution”, even the primary school was required to use “Mao Zedong Quotations” as the only method of teaching. In early elementary school years, teachers were required to perform in a board-based manner. However, the basic curriculum was neglected or even excluded. Many students were not very serious in their studies, and their rebellious awareness was clearly stronger, which caused serious consequences that teachers did not dare to manage students, thus the quality of education declined dramatically. Thirdly, the leadership of laymen has become a common phenomenon, and the strengthening of non-professional leadership resulted in a decline in the quality of education. “Intelligent people are the most ignorant” and “workers have

created history” almost became the most popular slogans of the time. It was extremely ridiculous to have the people without education knowledge to lead the education development. The most immediate consequence was the rise of “uselessness of reading”, which is contempt for knowledge and intellectuals, a one-sided emphasis on pragmatism, neglect of the foundation, exclusion theory or vulgarization of the theory. Fourth, the quality of the teaching staff declined significantly. Rural primary school teachers got meager pay. Large numbers of public primary schools were changed to private ones, which dispersed the primary school teachers and weakened the leadership and management of primary schools. Moreover, in order to promote the participation of teachers in production labor, many teachers must participate in the production team's work on Sundays, which also reduced teachers' rest and teaching preparation time. A one-sided emphasis on the ideological quality of teachers and the strengthening of the purity of the teaching staff, its influence on the quality of rural primary school teachers was self-evident (Du, 2004).

The various political movements severely devastated the Chinese education system. Only with the implementation of reform and opening up policies and the establishment of the socialist market economic system, the situation of education gradually improved in later decades.

2.3 Resumption of College Entrance Examination

As a prelude to China's reform and opening up, China's higher education reform, opening up, and rapid development have all gone through a 40-year history. The landmark event was the college entrance examination at the end of 1977. The national college entrance examination (NCEE, Chinese Pinyin: GaoKao) is an annual test given on China's mainland. It is usually taken by students in their last year of senior high school (Feng, 1999). To many Chinese, it is restitution symbolized a return of equity and justice. The exam has undergone only minor reforms since then (Feng, 1999).

GaoKao started in the early years when modern universities emerged in China and continued after the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949 until the “cultural revolution” (1966-76) when the normal pace of Chinese education system and other sectors were disrupted. During the Cultural Revolution, China's education was devastated, and academic research was also in difficulty. Simultaneously, the teacher-student relationship was severely damaged. The teacher-student relationship began to return to normal after the Cultural Revolution resumed its

examination. In the early 1970s, the operation of universities started to resume. In late 1977, Deng Xiaoping officially resumed the traditional examination based on academics, and henceforth the national college entrance examination continues today.

Resumption of the college entrance examination is a memorable historical event. This education undertaking in 1977 carried the critical mission of China's reform and opening up. The shock it caused and the impact it made on Chinese society, as a whole was obvious even for nowadays. Resumption of the college entrance examination moved entire Chinese society toward the new order. Thus it is considered as the beginning of China's higher education or even as the beginning of the entire education system. Resumption of college entrance examination plays a crucial role to help Chinese education and Chinese society developing rapidly. It has activated the higher education system that has been destroyed by the "Cultural Revolution" and has had a significant influence on the entire educational development in China (Liu J. , 2011). Resumption of the college entrance examination is not only a resumption to the examination system but also an attempt to restore the order of higher education. There is comprehensive significance for China's reform and opening up and resumption of the college entrance examination. It brought back the fundamental value of talent development and reshaped the value system of the whole society. The significance of China's reform and opening up to resume college entrance examination is comprehensive. Its fundamental value is in line with the public's understanding of the concept of talent and reshaping the value system and philosophy.

Forty years later after 1977, NCEE has become more as an examination system for talent selection purpose. Thus, it unavoidable produces many utilitarian tendencies that are contrary to educational goals. The college entrance examination system is evolving as a "utilitarian selection" of the entire education system, which increasingly brings negative impact to the basic education. The college entrance examination has become an educational goal in the education process and has become the standard of talent. It has become the "touchstone" for people to measure basic education and is also the "touchstone" for the quality of college students. Therefore, we need serious and rational thinking of the essence of the NCEE (Liu J. , 2011).

2.4 Education Reform and Changes of Education Policies

This section reviews the education reform in China in the recent decades. It also examines the changes in relative education policies made by the government.

One of the major educational events since the 1980s is the revival and strengthening of “exam-oriented education”. The cultural reasons can be traced back to the tradition of imperial examinations and the political negation of the Cultural Revolution. After the 1980s, the traditional education was criticized. The implementation of the one-child policy has contributed to the general mentality of pursuing higher education and expecting success in the social culture. However, mistakes and improper education policies are a very important reason. The first is the policy of controlling the development of higher education for political reasons during the first half of the 1990s, resulting in a serious imbalance in the relationship between supply and demand in higher education (Wang, 2011). The second is the serious distortion and imbalance of the value and function of basic education.

Since the 1980s, with the resumption of the key school system in primary and secondary schools, compulsory education has been included in the track of higher education and elite education, artificially created minority elite schools and the majority of "bad schools" and "weak schools", thereby intensifying the period of compulsory education (Dello-Iacovo, 2009). The competition for higher education pressed down and even formed pressure in the early childhood stage. This has seriously corroded and worsened the atmosphere of basic education and damaged the physical and mental health of several generations (Yip, P. S., Liu, K. Y., Hu, J., & Song, X. M, 2005). The serious "school choice fever" makes accepting good education more and more expensive and gradually becomes a privilege. Key schools do not have a standard of “adoption of merit” for children of special strata, and they do not even need a high “choice for school”. All these are contrary to the aim of compulsory education oriented to all students and to improving the quality of the entire people.

In the mid-1990s, the concept of "quality education" gradually entered the official discourse and gradually became the country's education policy. The "decision of the central committee of the Communist Party of China and the state council on deepening educational reform and promoting quality education in an all-round way" issued in 1999 made the theory of "quality education" finalized. In 1997, Shanghai first reformed the key school system (Dello-Iacovo,

2009). All the districts and counties in the city implemented the primary school graduates nearest exemption from their enrollment, and the junior high schools decoupled. The key middle schools stopped hosting junior high schools. College admissions adopt a "socialized" approach to separation from secondary schools. The pilot system of canceling the 100-point primary school system and implementing a graded score will be implemented. Since then, similar reforms have taken place in Guangdong, Beijing, and elsewhere. The State Education Commission announced that it would not engage in key schools in the period of compulsory education in order to reduce the actual gap between primary and secondary schools and strengthen the construction of weak schools (Dello-Iacovo, 2009).

China launched the quality education reform at the turn of the 21st century. The Chinese examination-oriented education has been widely criticized, and reforms have attempted to broaden educational aims to focus on developing well-rounded individuals rather than only memorization and examination scores. The educational ideas behind the curriculum reforms are generally referred to under the banner of quality education ("Su Zhi Jiao Yu" in Chinese pinyin). This term is frequently translated as "quality education", with a range of educational ideals but refers to a more holistic style of education that centers on the whole person. Quality education is usually discussed as the antidote to the excesses of examination-oriented education ("Ying Shi Jiao Yu" in Chinese pinyin). Central to the reform are curricular changes that aim at reducing student workload, cultivating higher-order skills and encouraging all-round development. Concerning pedagogy, traditional lecturing and rote learning are to give way to student-centered teaching methods, such as small group work, discovery methods, and project-based inquiries (Dello-Iacovo, 2009).

The elimination of key school policies in the 50-year compulsory education phase was a major change. However, because of the large gap between the schools, the education policy has not achieved the same treatment in the allocation of resources. The key schools still receive a variety of institutional incentives and adopt bad practices that consolidate and benefit their interests, such as through holding. The policy of "near entry to school" such as "Computer Allocation" has only been implemented by vulnerable groups without rights and money. The fact that the key school system is in fact consolidated means not only that the course of elite education is difficult to reverse in the short term, but also that the "educational interest group" behind it is stubbornly defending its special interests (Dello-Iacovo, 2009).

Education reform has relatively reduced the power of teachers while empowering students. This has, to some extent, increased the fierceness of teacher-student interaction. Education reform is the overall trend of the current global education development. Although the specific directions that countries have adhered to in education reform are different, most of them notice the independence and initiative of students in learning. Therefore, mobilizing student autonomy and initiative is also a common trend in global education reform. In the tide of education reform that began in 1999 in China, this trend has been recognized and strengthened. In this new curriculum reform of basic education, the independent status of students has been further emphasized. The new concept of curriculum reform is to adapt to their situation, conditions, requirements and the development law of ideology and understanding under the new curriculum system. Educators should recognize that students are the main body of learning and students are the main body of responsibility. At the same time, the establishment of a comprehensive and practical activity curriculum also provides greater independence for students' learning. While curriculum reform gives students the right to study independently, the power of teachers has been relatively reduced. The educational reform empowers students to increase their autonomy, improve their status, and clarify their rights (Li, Q., & Ni, 2011). At the same time, the teacher's autonomous space has been relatively reduced in the education reform, and the awareness of the student's right consciousness has also led to more boycotts of teacher-to-student interaction. Therefore, the education reform has relatively reduced the power of teachers while increasing students' energy, so that the two are gradually approaching the balance of power as a whole, and this overall gradual balance of power will probably contribute to the disagreement between teachers and students on specific issues. Moreover, sparked intense wrestling.

In short, educational reforms make the current teacher-student relationship changes face more complex situations compared to before.

2.5 One-child Policy and Chinese Family Value

According to Burgess and Locke (Locke, 1953), "A family is a group of person united by the ties of marriage, blood or adoption constituting a single household, interacting and intercommunicating with each other". A person builds up their personality in their family. How people behave and what people become in life is very much dependent on people's family life. Family unit is the most important part of people's life till they grow up. Psychologists believe

that people learns the most from his or her family life. Consequently, family values also bring significant impacts on education, specifically in the teacher-student relationship.

There exists in the cross-cultural literature an implicit stereotype of the dutiful and obedient Chinese child. This representation is a reflection of assumptions regarding the influence of Confucianism on everyone's life (Goh, E. C., & Kuczynski, L., 2009).

Filial piety is likely to have been much more salient in China than in Western countries. In traditional Chinese family value, children were viewed as subordinate, humble, and inferior juniors, unconditionally obeying and serving their elders (Hsiung, 2005). All children were supposed to show filial care for aging parents. The adult son was to provide maternal care and carry on the family line. Alongside detraditionalization and economic liberalization since the 1980s, there has also been a certain reemphasis on filial duty that was never fundamentally challenged by Maoism (Liu F. , 2016).

An even more contrasting difference from the West is that China has strictly implemented its unique one-child policy in the cities which interacts with other sociocultural forces to affect family relationships and the emerging meaning of the child. Since the implementation of the one-child policy in 1979, children in China have been raised in a context of rapid and dramatic cultural change that has altered both the structure and dynamics of family life. The impact of these macro-level changes on individual and family functioning has been depicted in the popular media in new phenomena such as the little emperor syndrome and the 4-2-1 phenomenon, whereby young children exercise unprecedented influence within an emerging new three-generational family form (Goh, E. C., & Kuczynski, L., 2009).

Although there is no empirical research on changes in family dynamics, shifts in the concept of filial piety are implied by studies that document changes in child rearing values in China. As the number of children in each household has decreased, a traditional mindset like “fostering children to defend aged” (“Yang Er Fang Lao” in Chinese Pinyin) has been replaced by the emotional and psychological value of children (Zheng, G., Shi, S., & Tang, H., 2005). Expectations that the offspring will provide for their elderly parents has shifted from financial support to that of companionship in old age. Moreover, traditional ideas that children should obey and not talk back have been replaced by a tolerance of assertive children (Wu, 1996). The ambiguous relevance of traditional norms of filial piety in this new reality raises questions about children’s power and influence in school life (Goh, E. C., & Kuczynski, L., 2009).

2.6 Quality Education

The concept of quality in education is so elusive that there are many discussions about its multiple meanings such that it reflects different ideological, social and political values. There are two dominant traditions within quality discourse, which have grown up together and are to an extent interdependent (Barrett, A. M., Chawla-Duggan, R., Lowe, J., Nickel, J., & Ukpo, E., 2006).

The economist view of education uses quantitatively measurable outputs as a measure of quality, such as enrolment ratios and retention rates, rates of return on investment in education regarding earnings and cognitive achievement as measured in national or international tests. The economist view tends to dominate World Bank thinking on education. The World Bank, as Jones (Jones, 1992) reminds us, is first and foremost a bank and as such justifies its loans for education development in terms of public financial returns (Barrett, A. M., Chawla-Duggan, R., Lowe, J., Nickel, J., & Ukpo, E., 2006).

However, the progressive tradition tends to place more emphasis on educational processes. Learning of basic cognitive skills, literacy, and numeracy, as well as general knowledge, are considered vital to quality (Barrett, A. M., Chawla-Duggan, R., Lowe, J., Nickel, J., & Ukpo, E., 2006). Moreover, schools are also recognized as places where learners acquire attitudes and cultural values. Hence, characteristics such as learner-centered pedagogies (Prophet, 1995; Ackers, J., J. Migoli, and J. Nzomo, 2001), democratic school governance (Harber, 2002; Karlsson, 2010) and inclusion are included in notions of quality education.

It is a widely recognized viewpoint that throughout the past few decades, China has made great efforts in educational development and has experienced a series of educational reforms. In the global process of modernization, both internal and external forces have exerted significant influence on China's process of educational reforms. The most important part that has been stressed is quality of education.

The influence of school effectiveness literature on education quality persists to the present day.

According to international EFA documents, the long-term goal in education is nothing less than to ensure everyone completes a basic education of adequate quality, acquires foundational skills----literacy, numeracy, reasoning and social skills such as teamwork---and has further

opportunities to learn advanced skills throughout life, in a range of post-basic education settings (Human Development Network, 2002).

The EFA Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2005) education for all in 2005 discuss on understanding the notions of quality drawn from different traditions of educational thought, such as , humanist approaches, behaviorist theory, critical approaches. In an attempt to be in harmonious proportion about various approaches, the report provides a comprehensive framework for understanding monitoring and improving education quality (Angeline Barrett, 2006). The factors influence the processes of teaching and learning describes as:

Learner characteristics-what learners bring to the learning experience can influence the quality of learning. Characteristics contained about the previous learning experience, socio-economic background, place of residence, health, cultural and religious background.

Context-societal values and attitudes, economic status, national policies for education provide an influential context for education. Pupil/teacher ratios.

Inputs-the process of teaching and learning effectively is influenced by the availability of material and human resources.

Outcome-often expressed in terms of measurable learning objectives through test and examination performance. Measures of learning outcomes in areas such as values, attitudes, capacities and other non-cognitive skill are however not given.

The report figures out some key policies for better quality, one of the most important policies is that learners are the center of the learning-inclusive. As teacher plays such an important role in the process of learning or contributes to the good quality of teacher and student interaction. Teacher recruitment, training, salaries and condition of service are areas for policy attention (Angeline Barrett, 2006).

Specifically, the quality of student-teacher relationships in line with the quality of teaching and learning is so important that it contributes to both academic and social development for students.

2.7 Globalization and Individualism

Globalization refers to the integration of economies and societies through cross-country flows of information, ideas, technologies, goods, services, capital, finance, and people. There are

several dimensions in cross-border integration, e.g. cultural dimension, social dimension, political dimension, and economic dimension. In other sense, the total education system of the world is under one roof. Misra claimed, “it requires the unification of teaching curriculum, methodology and up gradation of knowledge and system to remain in the context for efficiency and effectiveness by which transformation of knowledge in a justified manner to attain the goals of life” (Misra, 2012).

Stated in Pieke, the term globalization captures a great number of processes that transcend and redefine regional and national boundaries. The ever freer flow of capital, information, goods and people not only makes its impact felt on the world is economy, politics and population, but equally on culture, religion and education, reshaping the world we live in. Yet it is easy to be get carried away with the idea of globalization. The greater interconnectedness of even distance parts of the world as much shapes a new reality as it configures and reproduces established social forms, such as the nation-state, the family, class race, or ethnicity (Pieke, 2004).

It is true that China has been the greatest beneficiary of globalization, which brought unprecedented wealth and power. As China embraced globalization, millions of jobs have been created. Wealth among all people in China has increased. Compared with where they were just a few decades ago, even the common people on the bottom have seen their standard of living vastly improve. At the same time standards of teaching and learning are greatly improved due to globalization, which formed a solid foundation for democratic teacher-student relationships.

According to Beck Ulrich theory of second modernity (Beck, 2002), individualization is a process as a global trend: The individualization thesis began from a perspective of West Europe because it was an attempt to explain the forced individualization in Western Europe brought about by globalization since the late 1970s (Yan, 2010). Most individuals had to internalize the negative impacts of individualization by assuming more responsibilities and working harder (Yan, 2010).

Based on Beck's theory, the individualization thesis rests on two premises. Firstly, it claims to be an antithesis to neoliberalism and additionally to liberalism and classic individualism. Secondly, it defines the individualization process under conditions of cultural democracy, the welfare state (Yan, 2010). However, the global trend of individualization also displays some features that are not necessarily conditioned by the two premises.

For instance, the following social transformations are taking place in many parts of the world today:

- (a) The legitimization of individual desires and intensification of individual competition by way of the triumph of the market economy and global consumerism;
- (b) The surge in social movements promoting individual rights and freedom by means of the global discourse on and political changes in the direction of democracy;
- (c) The shifting balance among three major components of a given society – the individual, social groups, and modern institutions/the state – due to the rise of the individual in social life. (Yan, 2010)

Individualization in China started in an economy of shortage, widespread poverty, and a totalitarian political regime where individual rights and freedoms were suppressed for the sake of national survival and satisfaction of material needs. Moreover, modernity in China is understood as the realization of three dreams: a strong state, a wealthy nation, and a prosperous individual – exactly in that order (Yan, 2010). Thus, social progress tends to be measured only by material standards, such as GDP. Secondly, the different departure points result in the different paths to the current wave of individualization. However, thus far few studies have looked at these changes from the prism of the changing individual-society-state relationship, much less regarding them as part of the individualization process. In this sense, the Chinese individualization process remains at the stage of emancipation politics of first modernity (Yan, 2010). Yet individuals in China also live in an environment where a fluid labor market, flexible employment, increasing risks, a culture of intimacy and self-expression, and a greater emphasis on individual responsibility and self-reliance have been created by the globalization of the market economy and an ideology of consumerism (Yan, 2010).

2.8 Informationalization

Information technology help communicators to cross the limitations of time and space by connecting different corners of the world. Information technology promotes the in-depth development of globalization and promotes the blending and collision of values of different countries around the world. Information technology has changed people's communication patterns, broadened the scope of people's social interaction, and given new contacts to humans.

In a certain sense, informatization brings not only a revolution in technology but also innovation in thinking, that is, the transformation of ideas, including changes in values, ways of thinking, cultural care, and communication concepts (Liu J. , 2011).

Information technology presents considerable challenges and opportunities to the society. China, as a forerunner of Information Technology and Internet Technology, has a particular interest in this new phenomenon. The manner in which the country meets the challenge of information technology will largely shape its economic and social future into the new century (Yu, 2009). In the information era, education feeds technology which in turn forms the basis of education. It is therefore evident that information technology has affected changes to the methods, purpose and perceived the potential of education. Here the author will discuss how information technology influent on teacher-student relationship.

Firstly, informationalization overcomes the problem of time and space limitations between teacher-student interactions in the past. Teachers and students can be protected from the ethical, emotional, cultural, linguistic, and psychological barriers in face-to-face communication. In this sense, communication between teachers and students can be less limited by the traditional sense of moral cognition and emotional cognition.

Secondly, informationalization enhances the interaction between teachers and students. In the traditional sense, there was a limitation of deepening and frequent interactions between teachers and students. The emergence of the Internet has changed the way of people's interaction. Teachers and students can actively and timely obtain the information they desire, and they can achieve a two-way choice of in-depth communications in their interactions based on their interests and requirements.

Thirdly, informationalization increases the equality of teachers and students. Students can find and learn the knowledge they are interested in through the Internet, reducing their reliance on teachers. To a certain extent, the authority of teachers in knowledge is also relatively lower than previous eras

Last but not least, informationalization has expanded the means of communication between teachers and students. The Internet enables ordinary people to use various network tools without acquiring much technical knowledge, thus to conduct a broad, open, and effective communication. The use of information technology has created a democratic and free

atmosphere for exchanges between teachers and students, providing guarantees for more exchanges between teachers and students. Informationization establishes a bridge between teachers and students in the dissemination of information. It provides an excellent medium for enhancing communication between teachers and students.

Chapter 3 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This chapter reviews literature and explores the theories used in the research.

3.1 Literature Review

This section introduces some important literature that is relevant to this study.

There are many elements affect teacher-student relationships. Hofstede pointed out that the family, the school, the job, and the community are four fundamental institutions which present in some way in virtually all human societies. These four types of institutions may interact with each other. For example, patterns of parent-child interaction in society are carried over into teacher-student relationships. Therefore, in this section, the author will also address the influences of family, job, community interaction that may affect teacher-student relationships.

The features of individuals are distinct from people to people such as temperament, genetics, and responsiveness to stressors, personality, self-esteem, emotional control or social skills. The biological facts such as gender, ethnicity either affect the nature of the relationships. As well as the perceptions each individual holds of their relational partner and the relationship itself (Bridget K. Hamre, Robert C. Pianta, 2006). Therefore, the quality of the teacher-student relationships is associated with elements of teachers and students themselves.

Attributes of teachers correlate with their perceptions about children's school adjustment. It means that teachers' beliefs and perceptions about their respond more negatively to students who are underachievers, unmotivated, or disruptive during learning processes. Moreover, teachers who are socializers tend to act more negatively toward students they view as hostile, aggressive, or interpersonally disconnected (Brophy, 1985). Furthermore, teachers' self-efficacy beliefs may also affect the nature of the teacher-student relationships. Teachers who believe that they have an influence on students tend to interact in ways that enhance student investment and achievement (Midgley, C., Feldlaufer, H., & Eccles, J. S., 1989). In addition, when teachers hold high expectations on students' achievement, students tend to achieve more. As learners, they may experience a great sense of self-esteem and competence which help them

to overcome involvement in problem behaviors during learning (Roeser, R. W., Eccles, J. S., & Sameroff, A. J, 1998; K.R., 2012; Hamre, B. K., & Pianta, R. C., 2006)

Students and their own roles are much more salient to formation of supportive or negative relationships in the classroom. As evidenced by recent studies, Brophy pointed out that teachers view themselves primarily as instructors or socializers. Their perceptions in line with these two roles affect their way to interact with students (Brophy, 1985). As Instructors, teachers tend to in most of situations,

As gender levels, Ewing highlights that girls have closer relationships with female teachers than male teachers, and girls may seek more nurturing relationships with teachers. Boys, however, were not rated as higher than girls on closeness by male teachers (Ewing, 2009). Relationships with boys were rated as more conflictual by both male and female teachers at the same time. Compared to girls, boys may be more hindered by poor relationships with teachers but they are also believed to benefit most from supportive relationships. The poorer relationship quality of boys with school teachers is not a solitary phenomenon, but part of a broader picture of a gender imbalance in (Spilt, J. L., Koomen, H. M., & Jak, S. , 2012).

We lack a thorough understanding of how relationship quality changes over time since children form new relationships with different teachers from primary school to high school. However, some children tend to experience consistency in the quality of relationships they form with teachers over the years, others experience more variability (Elisabeth M. Jerome, Bridget K. Hamre and Robert C. Pianta., 2009). In a word, students' relationships with teachers may change from elementary to junior high school. Relationships between teachers and students become less personal, more formal, more evaluative (Harter, 1996). These changes can lead to more negative self-evaluations and attitudes toward learning if the impersonal and evaluative nature of the relational context in junior high does not match well with the students' relational needs (Roeser, R. W., & Galloway, M. K., 2002).

For many students, the relationships with their teachers are the first relationships outside their family. Peterson, Fancher, and Eaton reported a case study of a first-grade teacher as an example, according to the children's reports, the relationship with their teacher made them feel worthwhile, supported their independence, motivated them to achieve, and provided them with support to deal with environmental demands (Pedersen, E., Faucher, T. A., & Eaton, W., 1978). The good thing to know is these students differed from their same-grade peers on subsequent

dropout rates, academic achievement, behavioral competence, and adjustment in the adult world, they may influence by their healthy relationships with their teacher in early school years (Pianta R. , 1994). Have a positive relationship with teachers in early school years, it may affect students establish a healthy relationship with other adults or peers. These strong influences can be sustained throughout the student's school career (Jenny LaPoma and Haley Kantor, 2013).

According to the Pederson (Pedersen, E., Faucher, T. A., & Eaton, W., 1978), it suggests that the study of teacher-student relationships may have implications for efforts to reduce risk related to early school failure. So that positive relationships with teachers may even help those behaviorally, at-risk students learn more adaptive behavior (Pianta R. , 1994). Therefore, relationships with teachers may be particularly important for children who show early academic or behavior problems.

Previous research on children in post-Mao China has been mostly quantitative focusing on parenting style, consumption, one-child developmental features. This study adopts a cross-generational qualitative approach to understand the particularity of the present by comparing it with the past.

3.2 Theoretical Perspective: Overview of Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions Theory

Developed by Dutch researcher Geert Hofstede, Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory is used to help to discover the teacher-student relationships for cross-cultural communication from different perspectives. Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory analyses the effects of a society's culture on the values of its members, and it also uses a structure derived from factor analysis to discuss how these values relate to behavior,. Figure 2 illustrates the six dimensions of Hofstede's cultural theory.

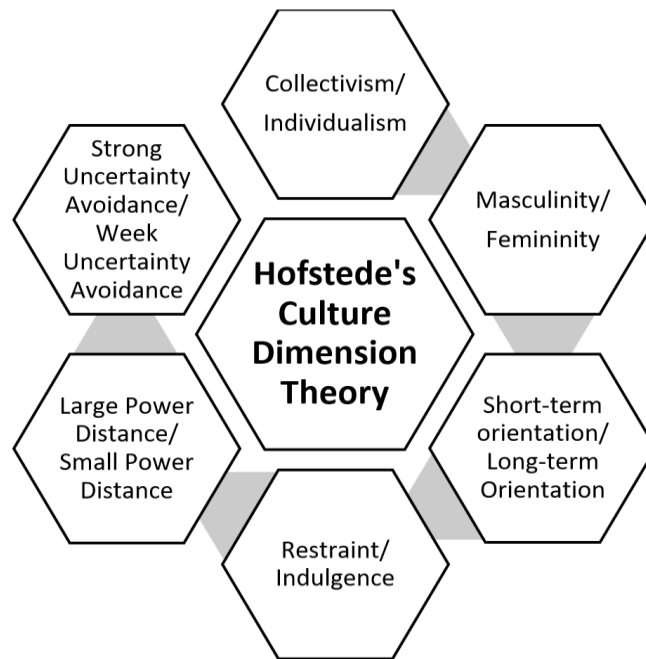


Figure 2 The 6-D model for Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions Theory

In 1980, Geert Hofstede first published the results of his study of more than 100,000 multinational employees in over forty countries (Hofstede G. , 1986). His dimensions have frequently been used to describe cultures. Hofstede discovered four dimensions that he labeled individualism (vs. collectivism), masculinity (vs. femininity), power distance (high or large vs. low or small), and uncertainty avoidance (strong vs. weak).

According to Hofstede,

- Power Distance as a characteristic of a culture defines “the extent to which the less powerful persons in a society accept inequality in power and consider it as normal”. “Inequality exists within any culture, but the degree of it that is tolerated varies between one culture and another” (Hofstede G. , 1986).
- Hofstede defined Uncertainty Avoidance as a characteristic of a culture defines the extent to which people within a culture feel threatened by uncertain or unknown situations. They are nervous about situations that they perceive as unstructured, unclear situations, which they therefore try to avoid it. Uncertainty avoidance is active, aggressive, emotional, compulsive, security-seeking, and intolerant; Other cultures with

a weak uncertainty avoidance are contemplative, less aggressive, unemotional, relaxed, accepting personal risks, and relatively tolerant (Hofstede G. , 1986).

- The third dimension of Hofstede's model is designated as Individualism as a characteristic of a culture antipode with Collectivism. Individualist cultures show that any person looks primarily after his/ her own interest and the interest of his/her immediate family only. Collectivism cultures assume that any person through birth and possible later events belongs to one or more tight "in-groups," which are supposed to look after them in exchange for loyalty. The communication expectations that people in Individualist cultures emphasize are truth-telling and direct-talking. People are more independent and use more "I" than "We" of self-referent messages in their conversation. In Collectivism cultures, the style of people's conversation concern for other's feelings and avoid hurting others (Hofstede G. , 1984).
- His fourth dimension is masculinity as a characteristic of a culture opposes Femininity. The difference between two cultures is about social roles associated with the biological fact of the existence of two sexes. In masculinity culture, they expect men to be assertive, ambitious and competitive, to have strong motivations for achievement. They expect women to serve and to care for the non-material quality of life, for children and for the weak (Hofstede G. , 1986). On the contrary, Feminine culture defines relatively overlapping social roles for the sexes, in which, in particular, men need not be ambitious or competitive but may go for a different quality of life than material success. Both masculine and feminine cultures, the dominant values are related to men. So, in masculine cultures they values stress material success and assertiveness; in feminine cultures they stress other types of quality of life, interpersonal relationships and concern for the weak (Hofstede G. , 1986).

Furthermore, identified the fifth dimension in 1991, Long-term orientation/ short-term orientation dimension associates the connection of the past with the current and future actions/challenges. A lower degree of this index (short-term) indicates that traditions are honored and kept, while steadfastness is valued. Societies with a high degree in this index (long-term) views adaptation and circumstantial, pragmatic problem-solving as a necessity (Minkov, M., & Hofstede, G., 2010).

The last Indulgence/ restraint dimension is essentially a measure of happiness; whether or not simple joys are fulfilled. Indulgent societies believe themselves to be in control of their own lives and emotions; restrained societies believe other factors dictate their lives and emotions (Hofstede G. , 2009).

3.3 Theoretical Perspective: Teacher-Student Interactions with Hofstede’s Cultural Dimensions

This section discusses the theoretical basis of Hofstede’s cultural dimension model that the author will use to analyze the teacher-student relationships, in particular interactions similarities and differences among different generations in Chinese society.

Differences in teacher and student interaction are listed concerning the six dimensions, such as individualism versus collectivism, large power distance versus small power distance, strong uncertainty avoidance versus weak uncertainty avoidance, masculinity versus femininity, short-term orientation versus long-term orientation, and indulgence versus restraint.

According to Hofstede, these tables are inspired by difference found in many work situations. These tables may describe extremes while the reality is often in between these extremes. However, the tables are meant to alert teachers and students to the role differences they may encounter in a different kind of background. In this section, these tables apply to clarify the change or trend of teacher-student interaction among different generations.

3.3.1 Power Distance Dimension

Table 1 summarizes the key elements of Power distance in teacher-student interaction (Hofstede G. , 2009).

Societies with Small Power Distance	Societies with large Power Distance
Stress on impersonal “truth” which can in principle be obtained from any competent person	Stress on personal “wisdom” which is transferred in the relationship with a particular teacher
A teacher should respect the independence of his/her students	A teacher merits the respect of his/her students’
Student-centered education (premium on initiative)	teacher-centered education (premium on order)

Teacher expects students to initiate communication	Students expect teacher to initiate communication
Teacher expects students to find their own paths	Students expect teacher to outline paths to follow
Students may speak up spontaneously in class	Students speak up in class only when invited by the teacher
Students allowed to contradict or criticize teacher	Teacher is never contradicted nor publicly criticized
Effectiveness of learning related to amount of two-way communication in class.	Effectiveness of learning related to excellence of the teacher
Outside of class, teachers are treated as equals	Respect for teachers is also shown outside of class
In teacher-student conflicts, parents are expected to side with the student	In teacher-student conflicts, parents are expected to side with the teacher
Younger teachers are more liked than older teachers	Older teachers are more respected than younger teachers

Table 1 Differences of Teacher-Student Interactions in the Power Distance Dimension

In China, the role of teacher-student related with a strong resemblance to parent-child role pair. In traditional China, students seldom speak up spontaneously with a teacher in class, and they seldom contradict nor publicly criticize teachers. Teachers in traditional China are looked upon as authority, experts, and parents; and hence they should be treated with great respect. Therefore, the process of this kind of teaching tends to be teacher-centered and most of the time just teachers who outline the paths for students to follow. This behavior is largely attributed to the influence of Confucian philosophy on education and learning. (Liu S. , 2006). For instance, western teachers conducting management education or training in China often encounter students who are keen to precisely reproduce the lecture notes in exams and other forms of assessment, and who are often silent listeners in class (Chan, 1999).

Hofstede (Hofstede G. , 2003) (2001) posits that the three most significant predictors of relative position on the Power Distance continuum such as population size and wealth—GNP per capita. As population increases, its members accept a political power that is more distant and less accessible than smaller societies. Regarding the third predictor of Power Distance, namely, wealth per capita, this relationship is explained by Hofstede as the fact that societal wealth is directly correlated to the growth of the middle class, which can act as a bridge between the powerless and the powerful (Warner-Søderholm, 2012). As we all know that the one-child policy has reduced the probability of population explosion in China and China's economic

growth has produced a large number of middle class. These factors may effect the power distance dimension in nowadays.

3.3.2 Uncertainty Avoidance Dimension

Table 2 summarizes the key elements of uncertainty avoidance in teacher-student interaction (Hofstede G. , 2009).

Societies with weak Uncertainty Avoidance	Societies with strong Uncertainty Avoidance
Students feel comfortable in unstructured learning situations: vague objectives, broad assignments, no timetables	Students feel comfortable in structured learning situations: precise objectives, detailed assignments, strict timetables
Teachers are allowed to say “I don’t know”	Teachers are expected to have all the answers
A good teacher uses plain language	A good teacher uses academic language
Students are rewarded for innovative approaches to problem-solving	Students are rewarded for accuracy in problem-solving
Teachers are expected to suppress emotions (and so are students)	Teacher are allowed to behave emotionally (and so are students)
Teachers interpret intellectual disagreement as a stimulating exercise	Teachers interpret intellectual disagreement as personal disloyalty
Teachers seek parents’ ideas	Teachers consider themselves experts who cannot learn anything from lay parents-and parents agree

Table 2 Differences of Teacher-Student Interactions in the Uncertainty Avoidance Dimension

There is a strong holistic tradition in Chinese philosophy shows that China in the direction of high uncertainty avoidance because students can only get knowledge from their teachers and expect their teachers to be experts who have all answers to whatever questions.

With the development of network technology and globalization, students have more and more channels for acquiring knowledge. The monopoly of teachers on knowledge has declined. This may affect few changes in this dimension.

3.3.3 Individualism Dimension

Table 3 offers a summary of features of the individualistic and collectivistic dimension of teacher-student interaction (Hofstede G. , 2009).

Individualist Societies	Collectivist Societies
--------------------------------	-------------------------------

One is never too old to learn; “permanent education”	The young should learn; adults cannot accept student role
Positive association in society with whatever is “new”	Positive association in society with whatever is rooted in tradition
Students expect to learn how to learn	Students expect to learn how to do
Individual students will speak up in class in response to a general invitation by the teacher	Individual students will only speak up in class when called upon personally by the teacher
Individuals will speak up in large groups	Individuals will only speak up in small groups
Subgroupings in class vary from one situation to the next based on universalist criteria (the task “at hand”)	Large classes split socially into smaller, cohesive subgroups based on particularism criteria (e.g., ethnic affiliation)
Confrontation in learning situations can be salutary: conflicts can be brought into the open	Formal harmony in learning situations should be maintained at all times (T-groups are taboo)
Face-consciousness is weak	Neither the teacher nor any student should ever be made to lose face
Education is a way of improving one’s economic worth and self-respect based on ability and competence	Education is a way of gaining prestige in one’s social environment and of joining a higher status group (“a ticket to a ride”)
Diploma certificates have little symbolic value	Diploma certificates are important and displayed on walls
Acquiring competence is more important than acquiring certificates	Acquiring certificates, even though illegal means (cheating, corruption) is more important than acquiring competence
Teachers are expected to be strictly impartial	Teachers are expected to give preferential treatment to some students (e.g., based on ethnic affiliation or on the recommendation by an influential person)

Table 3 Differences of Teacher-Student Interactions in the Individualism Dimension

In traditional China, a person is not primarily considered as an individual, but rather a member of a family or a group. Moreover, the intragroup harmony and balance are of uttermost importance to traditional Chinese people. Self-promoting is seen as a threat to this harmony (Guo, 2000). “Union is strength” (“Tuan Jie Jiu Shi Li Liang” in Chinese Pinyin) is a very well-known notion of China.

While, Hofstede figures out a correlation between individualism and wealth, for instance, the industrialized countries such as UK, the United States, and Australia are the most individualistic cultures countries (Hofstede G. , 2003). He also points out that an increase in national wealth

in a developing country causes an increase in individualism (Hofstede G. , 1986). Moreover, Levine and Norenzayan found out that a more accurate predictor of individualism is pace of life (Levine, R. V., & Norenzayan, A., 1999). They argue that individualistic cultures have a faster pace of life than collectivist cultures as they focus on achievement (Levine, R. V., & Norenzayan, A., 1999). In this sense, China may become more individualism nowadays. Furthermore, Triandis highlights that individualistic and collectivist cultures can differ in whether relations among people in culture are horizontal or vertical (Triandis, 1995). He points out that students treat themselves as the same as others and are not expected to stand out from others in horizontal cultures where there is a strong emphasis on valuing equality. To be more concrete, In individualistic cultures, the horizontal culture tied with the team members. The happiness of the team is very important to them, emphasizing common goals and sociality, but it is not easy to obey the authority. However, in vertical individualistic culture, people are particularly concerned with comparisons with others, believing that competition is the law of nature and hopes to win in all competitions (Triandis, 1995). As described above, It can help the author to dig out more findings of this dimension for nowadays of China.

3.3.4 Masculinity Dimension

The two important expressions of masculinity are an anti-social attitude and a propensity for competition (Hofstede G. , 2003). Competitive behavior can be observed among Chinese students as well. Table 4 offers a summary of the key elements of Feminine and Masculine dimensions in teacher-student interaction (Hofstede G. , 2009).

Feminine Societies	Masculine Societies
Teachers avoid openly praising students	Teachers openly praise good students
Teachers use average student as the norm	Teachers use best students as the norm
System rewards students' social adaptation	System rewards students' academic performance
A student's failure in school is a relatively minor accident	A student's failure in school is a severe blow to his/her self-image and may in extreme cases lead to suicide
Students admire friendliness in teachers	Students admire brilliance in teachers
Students practice mutual solidarity	Students compete with each other in class
Students try to behave modestly	Students try to make themselves visible

Corporal punishment severely rejected	Corporal punishment occasionally considered salutary
Students choose academic subjects in view of intrinsic interest	Students choose academic subjects in view of career opportunities
Male students may choose traditionally feminine academic subjects	Male students avoid traditionally feminine academic subjects

Table 4 Differences of Teacher-Student Interactions in the Masculinity Dimension

China, a masculine country, teachers use the best students as the norm and openly praise or criticize students. Every year “the three good” (morality, intelligence, and physical education) students are selected out from different classes to set examples for other students to follow (Guo, 2000). Some schools even proclaim students’ ranks of the results in midterm and final exams to encourage students to compete with each other. Regarding job choices, Chinese students consider less intrinsic interests than Western students do when they choose their academic subjects. It stands to reason that the competition for entering universities in China is so high that students have to give first priority to other factors for raising the chances of entrance than to their personal interests.

In feminine society, men are more focus on the no-material quality of life and respect small, weak and slow. As Coltrane claimed that an important predictor of strong Gender Egalitarianism is the degree of men’s parental investment, this increased parental investment by men gives women more time to pursue nontraditional careers (Coltrane, 1996).

3.3.5 Long-term Orientation Dimension

Hofstede defined long-term orientation as follows: “Long-term orientation stands for the fostering of virtues oriented toward future rewards- in particular, perseverance and thrift. Its opposite pole, short-term orientation, stands for the fostering of values related to the past and present in particular, respect for tradition, preservation of "face," and fulfilling social obligations” (Geert Hofstede, 2001)

Hofstede explained (Hofstede, G., & Minkov, M., 2010), long-term orientation is a cultural value that means enhancement of virtues focused towards future rewards requiring perseverance as well as thrift. Long-term is associated with the distant time horizon, while short-term orientation is associated with immediate returns. The societies with low scores in long-term orientation aim to maintain their traditions and norms, even with new trends in the world.

The long-term orientation dimension has been examined little by other researchers. This may be partly because it represents “an amalgamation of different cultural traits” whose conceptual ties are loose and difficult to operationalize (Maleki, A., & de Jong, M., 2014). It is worth noting that this dimension was originally labeled “Confucian Dynamism” (Hofstede, G., & Minkov, M., 2010).

Table 5 offers a summary of the key elements of short-term dimension and long-term dimension in teacher-student interactions (Hofstede G. , 2009).

Short-Term Orientation Societies	Long-Term Orientation Societies
Concern with social and status obligations	Willingness to subordinate oneself for a purpose
Efforts should produce quick results	Perseverance, sustained efforts toward slow results
Weaker mathematics and science results of fourteen-year-olds due to less effort	Better mathematics and science results of fourteen-year-olds due to harder work
No special skills for mathematics	In East-Asia, better to mathematics
Talent for theoretical, abstract sciences	Talent for applied, concrete sciences
Respect for traditions	Respect for circumstances
Tradition is important	Children should learn to persevere
Children get gifts for fun and love	Children get gifts for education and development
Analytical thinking	Synthetic thinking
There is a need for cognitive consistency	Disagreement does not hurt
Appeal of folk wisdom and witchcraft	Appeal of knowledge and education
Students attribute success and failure to luck	Students attribute success to effort and failure to lack of it

Table 5 Differences of Teacher-Student Interactions in the Long-Term Orientation Dimension

3.3.6 Indulgence Dimension

According to Hofstede (Hofstede G. , 2009), indulgence is a tendency to allow to allow relatively free gratification of basic and natural human desires relating to enjoying life and having fun. Restraint tends to be associated with cynicism. Regarding indulgence, China belongs to a restraint type of culture and tends towards cynicism, which sees happiness as bad. Because of this attribute of restraint, the students in the country do not freely interact with their teachers in class and in the school. This is different from students of many nations such as

England, where students freely interact with their instructors. This low score in indulgence may be caused by the religious values that its people hold strongly.

Hofstede stated, “indulgence stands for a tendency to allow relatively free gratification of basic and natural human desires related to enjoying life and having fun. Its opposite pole, restraint, reflects a conviction that such gratification needs to be curbed and regulated by strict social norms” (Hofstede G. , 2009).

Table 6 offers a summary of the key elements of indulgence dimension and restrained dimension in teacher-student interactions (Hofstede G. , 2009).

Indulgence Societies	Restrained Societies
Higher percentage of people declaring themselves very happy	Fewer very happy people
A perception of personal life control	A perception of helplessness: what happens to me is not my own doing
Freedom of speech seen as important	Freedom of speech is not a primary concern
Higher importance of leisure	Lower importance of leisure
More likely to remember positive emotions	Less likely to remember positive emotions
More people actively involved in sports	Fewer people actively involved in sports

Table 6 Differences of Teacher-Student Interactions in the Indulgence Dimension

Chapter 4 Methodology and Methods

This chapter introduces the research strategy used in this research, and also discusses the method of conducting interviews. The procedure of fieldwork is also presented in this chapter.

4.1 Research Strategy

There are two dominant research strategies in social research, which are quantitative and qualitative research (Bryman, 2012).

Quantitative research is used to quantify the problem by way of generating numerical data or data that can be transformed into usable statistics. It is used to quantify attitudes, opinions, behaviors, and other defined variables. According to Bryman (Bryman, 2012, p. 380), qualitative research "stresses on an understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants". Qualitative Research is primarily exploratory research. It helps to gain an understanding of underlying opinions, reasons and motivations. The qualitative method also concentrates on elucidating human environments. Thus, the social structures which affect human behavior and vice versa, and the experiences of human within these environments (Hay, 2010, p. 5). It provides insights into the problem or helps to develop ideas or hypotheses for potential quantitative research. Quantitative research strategy emphasizes quantification in the collection and analysis of data, whereas qualitative research usually emphasizes words rather than quantifications in the collection and analysis of data (Bryman, 2012). Quantitative research focuses on the numerical data, whereas qualitative research focuses on the data of words. The former is the deductive strategy that represents the commonest view of the nature of the relationship between theory and social science (Bryman, 2012). The latter is the inductive strategy that represents the relationship between theories and research, and predominantly stresses the generation of theories (Bryman, 2012). From the above definitions, we can see the qualitative research strategy is preoccupied with humans, their interpretations and experiences within their social environment. It does not limit itself to measurable variables. Neither does it imposes on its subjects a structure and predetermined notions (Bryman, 2012).

The research strategy adopted in this study is a comparative study using qualitative methods. The research employs qualitative research inquiry method in the social sciences research and

further contexts. This thesis aims to gather an in-depth understanding of human behavior and the reasons that govern such behavior, and via qualitative method investigates the why and how of decision-making, not just what, where, when. Hence, smaller but focused samples are more often used than large samples.

4.2 Methodology

According to Bryman, the research design helps to make a framework for the collection and analysis of data, and it guides the implementation of the research methods and the analysis of the data (Bryman, 2012). He introduced several approaches as ‘a technique for collecting data’, which mainly includes structured questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, observations, etc (Bryman, 2012). In this study, semi-structured interviews approach is used.

Interviews have long been the dominant technique in qualitative research. Qualitative interviews are sometimes called intensive or in-depth interviews. According to Bryman, ‘the interview is probably the most widely employed method in qualitative research’ (Bryman, 2012). This study employed semi-structured interviews as the main instrument to collect data. Before interviewing, the interview guides were drawn up in appendix 1. All the interview questions were open-ended and flexible. During the process, some questions in the guide were re-worded or rearranged. Some new questions led to detailed and rich answers and opinions.

In in-depth interviews, the primary aim is to hear from students about what they think is important about teacher-student relationships of their own experience and to hear it in their own words. The interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese. All interviews were taped with a recorder and other key information was noted in a notebook, such as the non-verbal communication with the interviewees, including body language, facial expressions and so on. The interviewees’ tone, facial expression, and gestures all helped to explore their opinions in more depth.

4.3 Choice of Interviewees

According to the research purposes, the author contacted ten interviewees on each generation. Due to the fact of actual time constraints, different interviewees showed quite different attitudes for their cooperation. Moreover, the number of final effective results were summarized as seven

valid interviews in the G1 (the 1st generation), eight valid interviews in the G2 (the 2nd generation), and seven valid interviews in the G3 (the 3rd generation).

The snowball was used as sampling method in this study.

Most of the interviewees are author’s relatives, friends, classmates, and their children. Since the author was studying and living in Oslo, it was very natural to conduct some interviews with these Chinese that live in Norway. The interviewees mainly came to Norway for either studying or marriage. Many of the interviewees continue to work in local Norwegian companies after their studies or their marriages. All the interviewees have education experience in China, and most of them have had or are having higher education in either China or Norway. The interviewees live in Norway for an average of fewer than five years. Thus they are considered not affected much by Norwegian education system, and the learning experiences in China they described can truly and effectively reflect the characteristics of the teacher-student relationship in China. These Chinese interviewees that live in Norway are from different parts of China with cultural and social-economic diversities. Besides the Chinese interviewees in Norway, the author also conducted interviews in two regions in China, which are Beijing and Fujian. Thus the above samples to some extent can fairly represent the good scale of geographical diverseness and education differences in China.

Table 7 gives an overview of the interviewees in contact, female effective interviews, male effective interviews, and total effective of interviews.

Interviewees	G1 (post-1960s, post-1970s)	G2 (post-1980s)	G3 (post-1990s, post-2000s)	Total
The number of interviewees in contact	10	10	10	30
The number of effective interviews	7	8	7	22
The number of females effectively interviewed	3	4	5	12
The number of males effectively interviewed	4	4	2	10

Table 7 Numbers of Interviews

The author has paid special attention to have good representations of different interviewees, e.g., gender (male/ female), grow-up region (urban/ rural areas), student types (outstanding students/ low-proficiency students). The purpose of this research is not to focus on specific groups, but rather to investigate diverse interviewees with different family and educational

background. Meanwhile, the author planned to conclude the changing trends of teacher-student relationships of different generations through Hofstede’s cultural dimensions theory.

4.4 Procedure of Fieldwork

The period of fieldwork began in September 2016 and lasted until Feb 2017. The author firstly started interviews with interviewees that she knew well, and then revised the guide of the interview according to the feedbacks from first few interviews.

To conduct a better interview, the author requested a letter of introduction from students’ office at the University of Oslo. The letter of introduction was very useful for getting students to agree to proper interviews. The author needed to negotiate with different interviewees and find the proper time. For the Chinese interviewees in Oslo, the interview time was from 4th September to 1st October 2016, and scheduled for around 10-15 interviewees; the interviews in Beijing were conducted from 6th October to 18th October, and scheduled for around 6-10 interviewees; then the author continued to have more interviews from 27th October to 18th November in Fujian, and scheduled for around 6-10 interviewees. After then the author was back to Oslo at 19th of November and focused on do transcription work until Feb 2017.

Table 8 summarizes the actual interviews that were conducted in different cities.

Location	Gender	Post-1960s	Post-1970s	Post-1980s	Post-1990s	Post-2000s	Total number
Oslo	Male	0	1	2	0	0	3
	Female	0	1	3	0	0	4
Beijing	Male	2	1	0	0	0	3
	Female	2	0	1	0	2	5
Fujian	Male	0	0	2	1	1	4
	Female	0	0	0	1	2	3
Total number		4	3	8	2	5	22

Table 8 Summary of Interviewees

As illustrated in above table, from the region and gender perspective, the author interviewed seven interviewees in Oslo (three males, and four females), eight interviewees in Beijing (three males, and five females), and seven interviewees in Fujian (four males, and three females). The author tried to have equal numbers of interviewees from different cities and keep the balance of gender. From the generation perspective, the author interview four post-1960s interviewees, three post-1970s interviewees, eight post-1980s, two post-1990s, and five post-2000s. The number of interviewees from different decades are different, but their views are rather representative.

The author recorded all interviews during the process. The interviewees have different educational backgrounds. Most of the interviewees in Oslo have higher education background with abroad study experience; during in Beijing and Quanzhou basically have rural or urban study experiences. The author found some interviewees may get affected by ideology in our modern society. What is more, as the post-2000s interviewees still study in schools, they in general shared with the author more fresh and impressive stories in line with the research topics. Due to the time constraints, most interviewees were busy on working and studying, and some students quite often have extra-curricular classes even in the weekends, thus the author had to do phone interviews instead of physical interviews.

4.5 Reliability and Validity of the Data

Reliability and validity are identified as the most prominent criteria for the evaluation of social research, as stated by (Bryman, 2012). Reliability tells whether or not the results of a study are repeatable. Reliability is fundamentally concerned with issues of consistency of measures (Bryman, 2012). In the whole study, the author used the semi-interviews as a measurement for all groups. During interviews, the author asked questions as carefully as possible, followed with the question guideline. The interview questions were checked several times, and testers were asked prior to the study to answer the questions in order to confirm questions were fully understandable and feasible to answer. Most of the interviewees answered the questions in the interview guideline clearly, except one started to talk more about parents-children relationships instead of teacher-student relationships. The author took him back to the topic after he finished explaining his viewpoints.

Validity means the issue of measurement has to do with whether a measure of a concept really measures the concept (Bryman, 2012). There are in total 22 interviewees in the interviews conducted. As the research topic is broad and there is a limitation on the number of interviewees that I can interview, the research result is for reference only. Furthermore, it is also a big challenge to make validity questions for both main research topic and theory framework at the same time.

4.6 Ethical Considerations

The author has been very careful about sensitive questions and information. The author explained clearly to the interviewees e.g. regarding the research objectives and their rights. The interviews can only be used for research purpose, and interviewees have the right to follow the research and acknowledge the research results when they need. The author has a responsibility to protect their privacy, and do not exposure or discuss their information to any 3rd parties. If the interviewees need to be presented in this research thesis, aliases, rather than the real names, of the interviewees will be used instead. The author has an obligation to analyze the interviews without the bias. The author can only record interviews when she got permissions from interviewees. The recorded audios should be stored properly for data retrieving with ethical considerations.

4.7 Research Limitation

China is a big country and there are obvious differences between eastern and western, rich and poor, and urban and rural areas. Thus, it is very difficult to have full coverage of all different population kinds. Even though this is qualitative research, in order to have the best-optimized coverage and interview results, the author still paid special attention to have a balance of different groups, considering various factors like regions, genders, ages, cultural and economic differences, etc.

Due to time limitation, this research only conducts interviews with students, but not from other relevant parties like teachers and parents.

Chapter 5 Presentation of Findings

5.1 Analysis of 1st Generation (the 1960s and 1970s)

5.1.1 Overview of interviewees

The 1st generation (G1) in this article represents the interviewees that were born in the 1960s and 1970s. There are seven effective interviews in this generation. Taking into account both female and male gender, the author interviewed three women and four men respectively. Instead of focusing on one specific group such as urban people or middle class, this study aimed to do investigations on more comprehensive perspectives.

Name	Years	Gender	Place of Study	Educational Background
Amy	1960s	Female	Beijing, North of China	Senior High School
Lucy	1960s	Female	Hebei, North of China	Junior High School
Marie	1970s	Female	Guangdong, South of China	University, Bachelor
Jack	1970s	Male	Gansu, West of China	University, Master
Jerry	1960s	Male	Beijing, North of China	University, Bachelor
Peter	1970s	Male	Shanxi, Northwest of China	University, Master
Thomas	1960s	Male	Beijing, North of China	Senior High School

Table 9 Overview of the G1 Interviewees

As illustrated in Table 9, the interviewees are from various regions of China. Interviewees in the 1970s were more educated than those interviewed in the 1960s. This is closely related to China's social development background in between 1960 and 1980. In the 1960s, when the Cultural Revolution was drawing to a close, the Chinese government re-thought about its education system and resumed the college entrance examinations. At that time, education resources were very limited, hence the higher education institutions only enrolled a very limited number of students annually.

5.1.2 Living Conditions and Teaching Conditions

Five of the seven interviewees in G1 mentioned the hardships and inconvenience of teaching conditions during their studies. Through the interviews, it clearly showed that the teacher human resource was inadequate in that period and almost all teachers were not well trained. Jack described that most of his childhood teachers were farmers and had not received any professional training. During the busy harvest season, many teachers needed to return home from time to time for farming.

Lucy mentioned that there were short of school teachers when she studied. For example, first-grade and second-grade students needed to attend their own classes in one single classroom at the same time. The students of first grade sit on the left side of the classroom and the students of second graders sit on the right side. The teacher normally gave classes to the first-grade students first and then the second-grade students. In addition, to attend classes, students also had to do manual labor, such as weeding. The overall conditions of the whole Chinese society in this period were very limited, the economy was dying, and resources were scarce. Amy recalled: “I went to school every day after dinner. The government limited the use of electricity, hence we had to study in the evening with kerosene lamps. They shut down electricity a few times per week. At that time there were no street lamps in the street. It was until my junior high school time that there began to have street lamps, and finally I did not feel that scary as a girl at night when walked along in the street.”

In the 1960s and 1970s, China had just experienced the “Great Leap Forward” movement, and it was the end of the “Cultural Revolution” movement. The entire country was in a state of utter lack of success. Economic conditions and material conditions were limited. Jerry recalled his memory at that time, as a child he was not allowed to have dinners on the dining table when guests came to his home. In most cases when his parents’ friends visited his family, his parents made some nice food. If children had dinner together with guests, there may not have sufficient food on guests’ dishes. It was very embarrassing memories. As a result, you can only wait until guests finished dinner, and then children may eat the dishes left after the guests’ dinners.

5.1.3 Students’ Impression of Teachers

All of the G1 interviewees considered their teachers were mostly stern, respectful, and distanced. Peter recalled he was so afraid of teachers in his childhood that he dodged to avoid teachers every time he saw them. Five people expressed that especially in the elementary school phase,

teachers were highly authoritative. Corporal punishment for students were very common. As Amy recalled the corporal punishment, he experienced before his third grade in elementary school phase: "If a student gave wrong answers when answering questions, that teacher may knock on his or her hand with a small stick and the hand was swollen then. From the first grade to the third grade, we were all in a situation of fearfulness. Students were afraid of that teacher and hated him. Due to his corporal punishment, the students' heads and hands were always swollen". Poor academic-performance and poor behavior students were very easily received corporal punishment. Peter recalled that because of his good academic-performance and well-behavior, he did not receive physical punishment; however, he can remember corporal punishment very commonly happened to his classmates in both elementary and junior high school. Teacher used to push, kick, slap in face etc. as corporal punishment. This was the main reason that he was so afraid of teachers even though he did not get punishment.

Moreover, teachers' interactions with students were very limited in this generation. Lucy said teachers were seen as particularly noble role who supposed to be respected. There were little interactions between teachers and students, and these little interactions were also only limited to daily class communications. Teachers and students almost had no interactions after school. Students were not used to communicating with teachers. Students can never directly call teachers' names. They had to call teacher's surnames with respectful titles together. This was the way to show students' respects to teachers. Lucy described that the teachers and students were from the same village at the time, but students still had to call the teachers with respectful titles that they used in school even when they met teachers outside schools.

Amy explained that it could be the same reason for why students cannot call teachers' names directly and why children cannot directly call their parents' names. It is was respectful expression for people who were senior to themselves. From this perspective, in G1 era the relationship between parents and children affected very much on how children get along with their teachers in school.

Thomas recalled that the teachers he met were almost in old ages. Old and senior teachers got more respects than young teachers did at that time. Lucy stated that her junior high school English teacher was an educated youth teacher from Beijing (the capital city in China). This young teacher taught them in a relative professional way. However, whenever she gave lectures in classes, students were so noisy and naughty that the young teacher was unable to lecture. Amy complained, "When I was in high school, there was one young teacher transferred to our

class. She just newly graduated from college. She was too young to fascinate students. As a result, students did not attend the classes seriously thus most of the students did not achieve success on the NCEE (GaoKao) ”.

Two of the interviewees from the 1970s talked about changes in relationships between teachers and students. They think they had different understandings of teachers’ authorities when they grew older from primary school to high school. Marie described her feelings for teachers was from “awe” in primary school to “admiring” in junior high school, and even more “less authoritative” in senior high school. Jack recalled that he also got a different understanding of teacher-student relationship in his different study periods. He thought his relationships with teachers was more “enjoyable” in junior high school compared to that in primary school; while in the senior high school, he interacted more with teachers thus he was not so afraid of teachers. As in an equal communication level, Jack said he then could evaluate quality of teachers and distinguish outstanding teachers from poor-professional teachers.

Based upon above analysis together with the teacher-student behavior differences tables of Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory, the author concluded that there was a very high-power distance between teachers and students in this era. Students acquired knowledge mainly via their teachers, hence their status got seriously affected by the unequal knowledge base between themselves and their teachers. In this period, students also received profound influences from traditional Chinese culture. Students accepted teachers as authority very much. The relationship between students and teachers in G1 is not equal.

5.1.4 Corporal Punishment and Parents' Attitude in G1

All interviewees described their parents' attitudes towards corporal punishment in school and believed their parents stand aside with teachers and supported teachers to conduct corporal punishment on them. All interviewees agreed that it did not help much to communicate with their parents on corporal punishment.

Amy explained that at that time, there were typically several children in one family and it was not always easy to manage them. The interviewees felt that it did not help to tell their parents thus they had to bear corporal punishments. Moreover, the reason why parents had such attitudes was that Chinese parents might typically set high goals on their children and hoped they improved greatly based upon them. In Chinese proverb, this is called “wish iron could turn into steel at once” (“Hen Tie Bu Cheng Gang” in Chinese pinyin), which reflected high

demands from Chinese parents on their children to perform well in schools. Therefore, parents that considered corporal punishment was allowed and good for children when necessary. Thomas mentioned that whenever he was physically punished at school, he never dared to speak to his family. He believed that his parents would absolutely uphold and support teachers' authority and dignity even he talked to them, and instead his parents may even think that he was mischievous at school and did not listen to teachers. Jerry mentioned that when parents took their children to school and talked with teachers, especially boys' parents, they normally communicated and explained to teachers in this way, that if their children did not listen to teachers or did bad behaviour at schools, the teachers can punch their children as parents did. It was quite common for parents to punch their children in that time when parents thought their children did something wrong or not good enough. Jack also recalled, parents at that time normally talked to teachers in this way, "please educate students just like your own kids, and please don't hesitate to punch them as boys are naughtier than girls". It was so common that teachers used chalks or pointers, even a book as a tool of punishment to punch students. The purpose of such physical punishment was to scare students and make them docile to follow teachers' instructions. As a result, there were very few students that dared to resist teachers' authority at that time."

Through the interviews and analysis above, it hints that there were more relaxed relationships between teachers and female students or well-behaved students in G1. Moreover, in this generation, the way that Chinese parents treated their children carried out serious effects to relationships between teachers and students.

It was not well recognized if teachers were amiable and easy to approach with students in a conversational way. On the contrary, acting as a serious and violent teacher can be much recognized by parents. This kind of phenomenon is tightly associated with the cognitive level that people had in that generation. As teachers had better academic knowledge compared to students' parents, therefore, in the eyes of parents, teachers were very authoritative. There was no other way for students to gain knowledge besides teachers. Thus, parents agreed and even supported corporal punishment on their children. Through the above analysis, the author concludes that the teacher-student relationship in this era is very much associated with strong uncertainty avoidance and large power distance according to Hofstede's cultural dimension theory.

5.1.5 Good Teachers in the Eyes of G1 Students

In the eyes of the interviewees, good teachers in their era were very responsible for their teaching work, had strict requirements for their students, and had a sense of morality.

Peter pointed out that a good moral teacher would give students a natural sense of intimacy. Amy recalled her own experience, “my dad was not in good health condition when I was a kid, I got exemption of half of my tuition fees. At the elementary school stage, my teacher treated students differently based on their family background, and I felt slighted and despised. However, I met a good teacher in junior high school. She was a very strict teacher, both on teaching quality and students. She was willing to give a lot of praise and encouragement to students who had studied well. The admission rate for entering senior high school was particularly low at that time. This teacher focused on teaching very much, as she hoped that more students in rural areas got chance to senior high school and had a better life. As a low-proficiency student, Amy expected that her teacher is a non-discriminatory person and paid attention to help her to improve her studies. Lucy said she has a very deep impression for a responsible teacher, who often went to students’ home for free counseling and help students improving their scores.

Through the above description, we learned that there was an obvious distance between students’ expectations and what they can get from their teachers in reality.

5.1.6 Good Students in the Eyes of G1 Teachers

Six of the seven interviewees in G1 believed that students with good scores were most of the time considered as good students in the eyes of teachers. Jerry recalled that at that time, teachers gained a sense of accomplishment by supervising students to achieve good scores. Teachers may like outstanding students from the bottom of the heart. Peter said, “I always studied well and my teachers were generally good to me.” Jack also confirmed the similar point, “I was always better at studying and gain NO. 1 at different exams. Teachers were very nice to me and rarely criticized me”. Interviewees also mentioned that students with poor grades might be mocked if they met some teachers with bad moral. It was a commonly recognized phenomenon in G1 era that teachers showed their preferences of student with good academic performance and openly praised them. This reflects Hofstede's theory that the teacher-student relationship in this era is fully dominated by the masculinity culture. (Hofstede G. , 1986)

5.1.7 Teacher-Student Relationship Difference between G1 Era and Nowadays

When asked what the main differences between nowadays' teacher-student relationships and G1's era are, surprisingly the interviewees gave a more negative assessment for nowadays teacher-student relationship. Even though the education conditions are highly improved in today's' China, the interviewees think nowadays teachers are more pragmatic and even snobbish compared to teachers in their era.

For example, Lucy mentioned that nowadays teachers might first ask students' family background when students enroll themselves in schools, and teachers may have closer relationships with students from good family background. Amy mentioned that she and her daughter's teachers have very little interaction. She believed that as a parent if you did not give gifts or benefits to teachers, the teachers would not take the initiative to understand students' situation. If the teacher knew that the students were from rich families that conducted good business, or from families of great influence (e.g., work in government), they tended to have closer contacts with these families and facilitate the powers from them when possible. Thomas said that nowadays parents do not take teachers seriously.

Only Jerry thought it is more or less similar to nowadays teacher-student relationship compared to before. Jerry understood it in a way that teachers are mainly for teaching knowledge and giving professional academic guidance; and if students would like to explore more moral or emotional communications, it is better for students to talk with their parents. As nowadays, there is normally only one child, parents would like to invest time and energy in the life of their children very much.

5.2 Analysis of 2nd Generation (the 1980s)

5.2.1 Overview of interviewees

The 2nd generation (G2) in this research represents the interviewees that were born in the 1980s, which is a critical era for China's transition. In G2 era, China implemented the policy of reform and opening up, and Chinese society was transformed from a plan-oriented economy model to a market-oriented economy model. With the call for education to promote the development of science and technology and promote social progress, China's higher education has adopted the policy of enrollment expansion. The implementation of one-child policy made Chinese parents

to pay great attention to their children, both emotional and financial. A large number of students in this era received higher education. More and more people believed that education can determine destiny, hence they attached great importance to education.

Name	Years	Gender	Place of Study	Educational Background
Emma	1980s	Female	Beijing, North of China	University, Bachelor
Isabelle	1980s	Female	Changchun, North of China	University, Master
Sofia	1980s	Female	Shanxi, Northwest of China	University, Master
Tina	1980s	Female	Ningbo, South of China	Vocational School
Daniel	1980s	Male	Chongqing, South of China	University, Doctor
Leonardo	1980s	Male	Fujian, South of China	University, Doctor
Oscar	1980s	Male	Shanghai, South of China	University, Bachelor
William	1980s	Male	Fujian, South of China	University, Master

Table 10 Overview of the G2 Interviewees

As illustrated in Table 10, similar to G1, the G2 interviewees are also from different regions of China. There are eight effective interviews in this generation, which were conducted to four women and four men respectively. Two of the G2 interviewees are not from single-child families, and the other six interviewees are from one-child families. Their educational background is all relatively high education. In general, the G2 interviewees are more educated than the G1 interviewees. Most of the interviewees had their elementary education in rural areas and then were admitted to key high school through hard studies and personal struggle.

After the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China formulated the key school policy, the distribution of educational resources began to be uneven, and the education system in each region was unbalanced, resulting in the phenomenon of disparity in school selection and teacher resources. This study focused on analyzing these phenomena in G2 era.

5.2.2 Living Conditions and Teaching Conditions

In the 1980s, China began its reform and opening up. The process of marketization started and gradually developed. As a result, the living conditions and teaching conditions of this generation improved a lot over the previous generation. The overall quality of teaching staff is also higher than the previous generation. Most teachers were well trained in professional teachers' colleges before they became qualified teachers. With the increase of the material conditions, the Chinese government paid more attention to the education quality. In this period there came out of key universities, even key middle schools, and key primary schools. The resources of education were gradually leaned toward key schools.

As the whole of Chinese society was in its transformation period, both students and teachers were influenced by cross-culture values. Students, as a young generation, were faster than teachers in adopting new values. Through the description of teachers from the G2 interviewees, it is obviously seen that the teacher-student relationship had begun to change.

5.2.3 Students' Impression of Teachers

All the eight G2 interviewees indicated that they still used a respectful title with surnames to call teachers. The author divides the G2 interviewees into two groups according to slight different feedbacks from the interviewees.

In the first group, five of the eight interviewees still thought there was a sense of distance between students and teachers, as teachers were serious most of the time. This is in line with the relevant description from Hofstede "a teacher merits the respect of his or her students" in large power distance dimension (Hofstede G. , 1986). Emma recalled when she was in elementary school, she felt that teachers were above others and always very strict. Isabelle described her feels for teachers when she was in elementary school was "particularly sacred" and it was impossible for teachers to become friends. Teachers had enough decision power, so students cannot complain when teachers criticized them. Students tend to agree on the things that teachers preferred. Daniel said, "It was not easy to make friends with teachers. Teachers had rights to stand in a relatively high position to criticize or praise you. Teachers were not always approachable. Therefore, we all feared teachers". Daniel's description is very compliant to a relevant description from Hofstede "teacher is never contradicted nor publicly criticized" (Hofstede G. , 1986). In Tina's description, even if one of her teachers was originally a student of her grandmother and she knew this teacher well before, she still had a feeling of fears after

becoming her students. That teacher often had serious expressions. Thus, if the teacher wanted to visit her home, she was still very nervous.

Although these G2 interviewees recalled their teachers as “strict and serious”, at the same time they also had more interactions with teachers even after classes compared to the G1 interviewees. Isabelle said, “The elementary school teachers played with us after classes, sometimes played games together, and sometimes invited us for snacks. Of course, it was not very common.” Emma recalled, “We were preparing to participate in a physics competition, and a teacher invited us to his house for training and even cooked us food”. Emma also mentioned a teacher who impressed her, “There was an English teacher who required us to write weekly reports. I didn’t know how to do it. The teacher did not blame me but only inspired me and gave me helpful guidance. I felt that he was particularly generous and I like this kind of teachers very much. He looked like the elders, but there was no such feeling of condescending, rather like a friend.” Through the descriptions of the above five interviewees, it indicated that there are two sides of teachers in this era: teachers interacted with students and were closer to students compared to G1 era, but at the same time they also ensured the authority like teachers, which clearly showed it was still a “teacher-centered education”.

In the second group, the other three interviewees described new changes in relationships between students and teachers. William satisfied with his elementary school teacher. He recalled that his Math teacher was very young and talented, and played together with students. The Math teacher did not give many assignments with excessive academic pressures. William’s Chinese teacher was a rarely seen provincial-level special teacher, who had very good knowledge of teaching. The teacher paid great attention to improve quality of students’ learning skills. Tina described her middle school English teacher as a young and beautiful woman who brought smiles and loves to the classroom with great friendliness. According to above descriptions, young teachers in G2 were more likely to adapt to the new culture and had less distances from students. As a result, young teachers in G2 were much accepted and respected by their students compared to young teachers in G1. Furthermore, in G2 era “younger teachers are more liked than older teachers”, as Hofstede described in his small power distance dimension (Hofstede G. , 1986). Even though students were closer to their teachers, it is still a similar “teacher-centered” situation in G2 compared to G1.

The three interviewees in the second group also thought that G2 teachers sometimes deliberately distanced themselves from students to have better management of classes,

considering there were mostly 50 or 60 students in one class. However, the way that G2 teachers communicated with students was already different compared to G1 teachers. Oscar described his elementary school teachers as “very affable”, and the overall atmosphere with his teachers was harmonious. He described G2 teachers were more tolerant and can accept students’ mistakes. Oscar said that even though he was not very good at studying, he did not get additional pressures from his teachers. Meanwhile, he believed that teachers could not really be friends of students as teachers managed students and corrected their mistakes all the time. These three interviewees also admitted that they were all in the best schools in their local area, thus they had better opportunities to reach out to good teachers. They thought between key schools and non-key schools there can be great gaps on both of teachers’ teaching professional and students’ learning environment. These descriptions are in line with the Hofstede’s findings on “the effectiveness of learning related to the excellence of the teacher” (Hofstede G. , 1986).

Compared with G1, there was not that strong inter-generational sense between teachers and students in G2. However, the whole society paid more attention to education in the G2 era, hence students got heavier academic pressures than G1. As a result, it is a commonly agreed understanding that in G2 the teacher-student relationship was not very close and intimate in high schools, compared to that in primary schools and junior high schools in the same era. William recalled that in most of his high school time he was busy for the preparations of college entrance examination. The pressure was so heavy that he lost the kind of intimacy with his teachers that they had before. In many key high schools, teachers were always on purpose to push students studying hard. Considering there were around 50 or 60 students in one class, teachers can only give most of their attention to students who can achieve good scores. Isabelle recalled, “With the pressure of getting admission to college, the schoolwork burden for students increased greatly. Teachers attached more importance to students’ achievements. School teachers lost their intimacy to students as they needed to focus more on students’ study outcome. There were exams to test students’ improvement almost every weekday”. This phenomenon is consistent with the Masculine Societies description of Hofstede that “teachers use best students as the norm” (Hofstede G. , 1986).

Through Leonardo's statement, he was a student with relatively good grades during the elementary school period and received good attention from his teachers. However, there were more successful students when he was in a key junior high school and key senior high school, thus teachers’ attention to him was slowly decreased. He recalled, “At high school phase, there

was another classmate better at study than me. He was the key raise student thus had a closer relationship with teachers. This encouraged me to work harder.” Here the author observes that the main focus of G2 education was on students’ academic performance, which impacts very much on the intimacy of teacher-student relationship. Compared to G1, the G2 teacher-student relationship got more influenced by the masculine societies cultural dimension.

5.2.4 Corporal Punishment and Parents' Attitude in G2

The G2 interviewees talked about two kinds of corporal punishment: one was physical punishment, for example, penalty stands beside the wall; the other was penalty copying, such as copying exercise topics or formula. Teachers conducted corporal punishment to students to establish their prestige, rather than improving students’ study abilities. Tina talked her impression on corporal punishment: teachers may ask students to copy a sentence that students mistyped for a hundred times; if a student did not solve a math problem correctly, he might be required to copy the topics and answers of that problem, together with relevant math formula for one hundred times. On one hand, teachers considered to use penalty copying to help students via rote learning; on the other hand, it also showed that teachers' disdain and extreme disrespect for students. To some extent, corporal punishment was a way for teachers to vent their emotions. Sofia recalled that one of her male classmates received a very serious corporal punishment that made her unforgettable. As the student made mistakes, the teacher stepped on the male student's hands with her high heels until the student’s hands got bloody. Both Isabelle and William recalled that their junior high school teachers liked to punish students and also insulted students in words. According to the interviewee's descriptions, teachers in G2 era still had much more rights than students. These unequal rights of teachers came from traditional hierarchy culture in China, and the unreasonable affairs were obtained by the acquiescence of schools and the silence of parents. Hofstede pointed out in the strong uncertainty avoidance dimension that teachers are allowed to behave emotionally and that teachers’ corporal punishment was socially acquiescent (Hofstede G. , 1986). It must be said that the teacher-student relationship in G2 era is under the strong uncertainty avoidance cultural dimension.

There were normally two different responses from parents if students received corporal punishment at schools.

- The traditional type of parents supported and understood teachers’ corporal punishment to their children in schools. These parents thought that their children were indeed

negligent in their studies, so teachers were allowed to conduct punishment and criticism when necessary.

- Another type of parents took the initiative to seek communications from the teachers when they learned that their children received corporal punishment.

Daniel said that the deepest impression he had was that his elementary math teacher punched him once even he did not make any mistakes. He took the initiative to tell his parents, who said they could not accept this and requested the headmaster to investigate this issue. After this argument, the math teacher never punched him again but also ignored him and never called him for questions again.

Sofia believed that parents at that time had little influence on teachers' corporal punishment behaviors. When corporal punishment occurred, parents normally reported it to headmasters or school principals. Parents may request to change class for their children when there was serious corporal punishment, but most of the time parents may just play down the issues and let them pass. Many parents also considered that their children would continue to study in the same class, hence it was best to avoid conflicts with the teachers. Sofia described the dilemma of parents' helplessness, "There were one or two children in most of families. The "nearby enrollment" education policy limited parents' choices. For my own case, I attended the best elementary school in my county. If there occurred corporal punishment arguments with teachers or schools, my parents would surely worry about whether I was able to continue the education in this best elementary school". Schools were in a relatively advanced position when there were conflicts. Parents could express their dissatisfactions if they did not agree with corporal punishment. However, the power of rebellion normally was small, and the effect was very weak.

At the end of the 1980s, the Child Protection Law was introduced in China, which expressly stated the prohibition of corporal punishment for students. However, there is no clear definition of the boundary for corporal punishment, and no concrete implementation plan to prevent corporal punishment. These objective causes may result that teachers continue their corporal punishment to students for a long time. The implementation of the Child Protection Law requires strong cooperation between the government and the education sector. It should not only focus on the schools' admission rates and students' academic achievements but also should provide students with a healthy study environment. A good education system should pay attention to teachers' morality and avoid the occurrence of unethical corporal punishment. As

above description, it is seen that the power distance between students and teachers in the G2 era is still large.

5.2.5 Good Teachers in the Eyes of G2 Students

Compared to G1 students, G2 students paid more attention to studies in schools, as they believed knowledge alters destiny. Therefore, good teachers should be able to help them in their studies and accomplish excellent academic achievements. In another word, good teachers in G2 should be able to help students improving their effectiveness of learning.

Leonardo provided a positive example. He recalled a teacher that was helpful for his study, “My junior middle school is located on the seashore. One of my Chinese teachers liked to write his own poems. He often brought a tape recorder to the seaside in mornings and recorded his poems together with the sounds of ocean waves. He brought back the recordings and played them for us. I was particularly impressed. The teacher had a deep influence on me, and I began to love literature especially poems”. If teachers can arouse students’ interest in exploring more knowledge, students will learn more effectively.

On the contrary, bad teachers also had negative impacts on students. Tina mentioned that in her high school period, there was a female teacher who was getting divorced from her husband, and she brought negative emotions into teaching. The teacher was very meticulous in her lectures, and her temper was fierce. She often had conflicts with boys in the class. As a result, the students’ English academic performance was very poor. Sofia also recalled a case in her high school period, her physics teacher can only teach in accordance with his own teaching plan, regardless of whether the students understood it or not, and he can even not explain to students’ questions clearly. Thus, many students quitted his course. Through the above interviewee's description, we can see that large power distance greatly influenced the teacher-student relationship in the G2 period.

In short, In G2 era it is important that teachers had great influences on students for their effectiveness of learning. According to Hofstede, a dominant culture in the society has great impacts on the understanding of "effectiveness of learning" (Hofstede G. , 1986). Within the range of large power distance, “effectiveness of learning is related to the excellence of the teacher”; while within the range of small power distance, “effectiveness of learning is related to the amount of two-way communication in class”. Students in G2 tend to understand the

“effectiveness of learning” in the context of large power distance. In this context, the effectiveness of learning of G2 students was closely related to the individual ability of teachers.

5.2.6 Good Students in the Eyes of G2 Teachers

Similar to G1 students, G2 students claimed that their teachers focused on students’ academic performance very much. With the resumption of college entrance examinations, college entrance examinations itself became the basic channel or even the only channel for ordinary family students to change their destiny. Therefore, lots of attention has been placed on improving students’ academic achievement thus to high scores in college entrance examinations. Against this background, teachers generally preferred students with good academic grades.

G2 teachers preferred students that had good attitudes in their studies, especially these can quickly master the knowledge taught by teachers. By supervising these students, teachers achieved a good sense of accomplishment. Therefore, teachers paid more attention to these students. Daniel recalled, “The teachers in my elementary school even spent their own savings often to buy gifts as rewards for these students that got NO. 1 in exams, and sometimes even invited these students for lunch. The teachers were very glad to reward the good grade students even they had to use their own savings.”

In the Chinese education system, students' academic performance and the rate of progression is used as the main performance evaluation indicator to measure teachers' teaching level. Therefore, helping students to achieve good academic grades plays an important role in teachers’ professional development. Leonardo described his own study experience, “After I entered the best key senior high school in my local area, my academic performance was relatively unobtrusive compared to when I was in junior high school. I used to be rank as NO.1 or NO.2, but I was probably ranked out of top 10 in my senior high school. I felt I received much less degree of attention compared to before. I found that teachers always had their attention among the best students, because the school hoped that there can be several top-notch students who can enter the best universities in China, e.g., Tsinghua University.”

Teachers put more attention and efforts on students with outstanding grades; hence they had less attention and efforts on the rest of the class. Thus, unfair treatments appeared. Tina complained, “my head teacher was unfair when choosing class representatives/ class leaders. It was always the students with good grades got the chances of being class representatives. The

teacher always gave the honors of ‘pacemaker to merit students’ and ‘the three good students (morality, intelligence, and physical education)’ to these students”.

The interviewees also believed that the ratio of teachers’ amount to students’ amount had a significant impact on the teacher-student relationship. In a general case, the majority of teachers’ energies were placed on students with good academic performance, and some to deal with these students with bad behaviors and poor academic performance; as a result, teachers may neglect the students who were quiet or average academic performance, which was pretty unfair. Daniel recalled, “The overwhelming majority of teachers did not care much about inferior students. If inferior students can catch up, it was fine; if they cannot, it also did not really matter.”

The G2 teacher-student interactions are in line with the masculinity dimension descriptions from Hofstede, “teachers openly praise good students, the system rewards students’ academic performance” (Hofstede G. , 1986).

5.2.7 Other Types of Intimate Teacher-Student Relationships

G2 interviewees were born in the 1980s and studied in schools between late 1980s and early 2000s. In this period, China was under its social economy transition period, which many things were not very normative or regulated. The teacher-student relationship in this era has strong characteristics of the times. In addition to students with good academic achievements, there are other types of students had more intimate relationships with teachers.

In the first type, students and teachers had special relationships, e.g., the students were teachers’ relatives or teachers’ friends’ children. In these cases, the teachers had special cares for the students who were related to them. The teachers showed higher expectations of these students and gave them enough encouragements. Tina recalled that her third-grade elementary school head teacher was once her grandmother’ student, “I was not good at dancing, but every time when there was a performance in the school, my head teacher always let me attend the performance. This showed that my head teacher paid more attention to me and gave me a sense of superiority. I understand that it was because of the relationship between the head teacher and my grandmother, so I was in the circle that the teacher was concerned about.” Daniel also mentioned that with equal scores, teachers cared more about students that were children of acquaintances and friends, especially those of colleagues and leaders. Sofia, a daughter of a teacher, described her relationship with her teachers as “special significance”. She said, “my mother was a local teacher, so I was very familiar with teachers in the school. Compared with

other students, my relationship with the teacher was more intimate and the teachers were always stricter to me. Besides, the teachers also took care of me and gave me more study and training opportunities." Sofia recalled that as a teacher's child, she was indeed treated favorably. "I was not the most beautiful in my class and I was not very good at literature and art. But every year my gymnastic teacher let me lead the gymnastics team and let me be the conductor of song competitions. I got lots of benefits and realized a more intimate teacher-student relationship than other students."

In the second type, some students or their parents took the initiative to have more interacts with teachers, hence these students also got more cares and attention. Among the interviewees, Emma recalled her own experience, she believed that taking the initiative to help teachers can increase the interactions with teachers and also got goodwill or attention from teachers. She also noticed that in her elementary school time, her head teacher always took care of a female classmate as the girl's mother often gave gifts to the teacher. The girl often participated in the Chinese essay competitions and also won some prizes. Tina recalled that she was very close to a middle school teacher. She still remembered occasionally helping the teacher to correct students' homework or prepare teaching aids, hence their relationship became quite close after several interactions.

The phenomenon that teachers gave preferential treatments to some students, e.g., based on ethnic affiliation or on recommendations by an influential person, is in line with the features defined by Hofstede in collectivist societies in individualism cultural dimension (Hofstede G. , 1986).

5.3 Analysis of 3rd Generation (the 1990s and 2000s)

5.3.1 Overview of interviewees

The 3rd generation (G3) in this research represents the interviewees that were born in the 1990s and 2000s. As illustrate in Table 11, there are in total seven effective interviews in this generation, including five with females and two with males. The interviewees are mostly middle school students and university students. Therefore, they are busy with their homework and extracurricular tutoring. The pace of their study and life is very fast.

Name	Years	Gender	Place of Study	Educational Background
Camilla	2000s	Female	Beijing, North of China	Junior High School (ongoing)
Jessica	2000s	Female	Beijing, North of China	Elementary School (ongoing)
Lisa	1990s	Female	Fujian, South of China	University, Bachelor (ongoing)
Mia	2000s	Female	Fujian, South of China	Senior High School (ongoing)
Vanessa	1990s	Female	Fujian, South of China	Vocational School (ongoing)
Harry	1990s	Male	Fujian, South of China	University, Bachelor (ongoing)
Liam	2000s	Male	Fujian, South of China	Senior High School (ongoing)

Table 11 Overview of the G3 Interviewees

By interviewing above interviewees, the author tries to understand the changes of problems and trends for teacher-student relationship in current days and the past.

5.3.2 Living Conditions and Teaching Conditions

For many G3 students, the only important thing in their daily lives is about studying. Jessica is a sixth-grade primary school student. She said she normally completes her homework until 9:30pm daily. She explained that due to reducing burdens for students, she has relatively small homework, but she has to participate in various cram schools on weekends. In addition to extracurricular tuition of English and mathematics subjects, she also participates in music training classes. Camilla, a third-year junior high school student that is about to attend the senior high school entrance examination, considered it will be a crucial moment to determine her destiny. She explained that she finishes her homework at 11pm daily; in addition, she also attends extracurricular training from 1pm to 4pm on Sundays. Camilla said that she only attended a few cram schools, and some of her classmates basically have to spend both Saturday and Sunday for weekend extracurricular training. Liam and Mia, who are resident students in high schools that stay at school on weekdays and only return home at weekends, stated that their schools are in militarized management and they need to study from 7am to 10pm daily, with only focusing on study activities. The fast-paced studies occupy most of the time for students in this age. Levine and Norenzayan pointed out that the pace of life is a more accurate predictor of individualism (Levine, R. V., & Norenzayan, A., 1999). Individualistic cultures

have a faster pace of life than collectivist cultures as they focus on achievement (Warner-Søderholm, 2012). In this sense, the dominant culture of this generations is becoming individualism instead of collectivism.

Hofstede pointed out a correlation between individualism and wealth (Geert Hofstede, 2001). He highlighted that an increase in national wealth in a developing country causes an increase in individualism. For the teenagers that were born in the 1990s and the 2000s, they experience the best economic period after the establishment of the People's Republic. During this period, China's economy grew rapidly. It has been more than 30 years after China's reform and opening up, and the GDP of China is ranked as NO. 2 in the world. Students' living conditions are generous, and parents spend more on education. The education background of teachers is getting higher and higher, and teachers themselves are becoming more and more specialized. In Chinese cities with good education conditions, it generally requires an undergraduate or postgraduate degree for elementary-school teachers; and it requires graduate or even doctoral degrees for high-school teachers. What is more, the Chinese government began to advocate fully train students' capability and promote quality education reform. Most of the students of this era are widely affected by globalization and information technologies. They normally have very diverse channels to obtain information. Therefore, students have more diverse values.

On the one hand, public schools implement the government's advocacy for reducing student burdens and studying becomes more and more simplified; on the other hand, education becomes more and more commercial, and students have to take extracurricular cram lessons to learn additional knowledge. Through the interviewee's description, we found the teacher-student relationship of this era was greatly affected by the economic marketization. The image of the teacher has changed partially, from a noble person who imparts knowledge to a professional who uses knowledge for earnings. In G3 era students are required to study harder than G1 and G2. Some students have poor grades and their parents do not have the ability or time to provide counseling, thus they prefer to pay for extracurricular cram courses outside schools. Some private education companies realized that this is a profitable market and began to provide professional education training services.

5.3.3 Students' Impression of Teachers

Four of the seven interviewees believed they could call teachers without using traditional titles. They agreed that young teachers are willing to accept new ideas thus also students' nicknames

for them. For example, Mia and her classmates called their former head teacher as “Teacher Ye” on formal occasions, but privately called him “Baby Ye”; and her current headteacher is called as “little angel” by the classmates. Liam mentioned that teachers in young mentality are also willing to accept students' nicknames for them. For example, his head teacher is 46 years old but still allows students to call his initials, CT, and his classmates also feel calling him CT is more fun and affectionate. However, for Harry and Camilla, they claimed that they only would call their teachers nicknames in private, and never directly address teachers with their nicknames in public. Jessica said that one of her teachers just graduated from college, and she prefers to call her little sister, which is also accepted by the teacher. The change in salutation shows that the relationship between teachers and students has become closer with more equality. The interviewees' impressions of their teachers are also described with terms like “gracious”, “amicable”, and “interesting”.

Most of the interviewees think that they can be friends of teachers, and they have many interactions with teachers outside classes. Mia mentioned that her head teacher, a young lady who just post-graduated, not only often communicates with her about studies, but also shares her views on her work experiences and her feelings on the school. Mia and her classmates often had dinner together with this teacher and often joked at dinner. Camilla gave another case about one of her teachers who had just given birth. The teacher was in teaching pressure thus she had problems with forgetting things. Everyone joked with the teacher that her behavior was caused by 'baby brain' (“Yi Yun Sha San Nian” in Chinese pinyin). Liam and Harry said that they communicate with their teachers on their own initiative. They think that it is very helpful to get different opinions from teachers. The phenomenon shows the power distance is smaller compared to before.

Mia talked about the way to get along with teachers and put forward her own views. “First of all, I think students should respect teachers, and vice versa teachers should also respect students. Teachers should listen to students’ opinions. I think our teachers are doing very well. For example, we sometimes have too much homework and there is no way to complete it on time, and teachers may allow us to postpone the submission as appropriate. Teachers are willing to communicate with students in private. Some time ago, I was puzzled due to some spiritual issues. My teacher helped to answer them even though they weren't related to study at all.” Liam said that there is no fun to take teachers in a too serious way. Lisa said that the teachers she met were gentle and harsh. She gave a teacher with good relationship a small birthday gift,

which filled with small stars in a bottle. The teacher was very touched. Sometimes teachers give students gifts, which is very natural and just like between friends.

Due to the convenience brought by information technologies, students can access and acquire knowledge in many different ways, e.g., from parents, the Internet, or extracurricular classes. Therefore, teachers' authority on knowledge monopoly has been weakened, and students' awareness of democracy has been relatively strengthened. Students and teachers have gradually reached an equal status. Students are willing to communicate with teachers and form a heuristic learning method via mutual interactions. This is in line with the "effectiveness of learning" description in "small power distance cultural dimensions" by Hofstede (Hofstede G. , 1986).

5.3.4 Corporal Punishment and Parents' Attitude in G3

The post-2000s interviewees indicated that corporal punishment from teachers is very few in their period. Jessica said that teachers basically do not really physically punish them; in worst case teachers may request a stand penalty for a few minutes. Mia said that students sometimes get drowsy during classes and teachers may just let students stand for around 10 minutes to wake up and clear their minds, and teachers do not want students to get tired because of stand penalty.

The post-1900s interviewees recalled that teachers still punished students. Vanessa studied in a rural middle school, and some boys in her school were very rebellious. Vanessa believed that the quality of rural teachers was relatively low in her case. Some teachers still shout at students or even burst out. When teachers were angry they even violently hit students with sticks. As for the purpose of corporal punishment, Vanessa believed that teachers' bad attitudes and corporal punishment methods did not make students realize their mistakes; if teachers can communicate with students well, students can easily recognize their problems. Vanessa said, a good method is definitely better than violence, and physical punishment only makes students disobedient. Harry recalled when he was in the third grade of elementary school, if he had not done his homework, teachers would use a ruler to beat his hand but not too hard. This only happened once or twice but never happened again as it was not allowed. Lisa also believed that corporal punishment was not effective. She took one of her classmates for example, the more teachers punished that student, the less that student wanted to study. As a result, that student's elementary school graduation performance was very poor. Lisa said, "compared to using

corporal punishment to educate students, it is more effective for teachers to teach students like their loved ones to study in a good way”.

Compared to G1 and G2 students, G3 students have a more rational understanding of corporal punishment. Some interviewees even dared to argue with teachers. As stated by Hofstede, “students are allowed to contradict or criticize teacher” in small power distance dimension (Hofstede G. , 1986). Mia said that she took whatever teachers criticized her when she was in elementary school; however, she only accepted teachers' criticisms when they made sense when she was in high school. She may argue with teachers if criticisms are unreasonable.

Compared to G1 and G2 teachers, G3 teachers consider students' feelings and adopt more humane methods. Jessica mentioned that her teachers' criticism is generally not in public, as teachers also understand that students have self-esteem. Teachers may use the scoring system rather than corporal punishment to give student feedbacks. Mia mentioned that sometimes teachers might slam when the class is very noisy, and then continue with an indoctrination to us to convey the importance of study for life, etc. This above phenomenon is in line with small power distance societies description from Hofstede, that is a teacher should respect the independence of his or her students.

Five of the eight G3 interviewees are from one-child families. They believed that their parents actively monitored their growth when they were in schools. Mia said, with the wide usage of information technologies, communications between teachers and parents are more diversified frequently and hence mutual trusts between them are also increased. Mia said that if she were criticized by a teacher at the school, the teacher would take the initiative to inform her parents via phone or text message. In addition to one-on-one home visits, more communication channels are used, e.g., telephone calls, text messages, social media platform like WeChat. Camilla said that teachers and parents even have their own chat groups in WeChat. Some parents sent their children's drawings to the chat-group, and teachers share photos of their trips. Lisa recalled that her deskmate (a boy) was very naughty thus the teachers needed to communicate with his parents often, but the relationship between this teacher and the student became closer afterward. Liam said that after entering high school, all classmates around worked very hard and parents trust the teachers very much.

With the improvement of parents' education level and cognitive level, there are more and more voices of disobedience and disapproval of corporal punishment. People can see from news

reports that various corporal punishment incidents have caused great physical and psychological harm to students, and some have even committed suicides. This is also a serious warning for parents and teachers.

The education reform more and more focuses on students. Education departments began to pay more attention to students' growing environment and advocated the prohibition of corporal punishment. The role of teachers has transformed, gradually from an authoritative senior to a students' study companion and service provider. The status of teachers and students is becoming gradually equal, especially in developed regions in China. The phenomenon of "student-centered education" confirms that the teacher-student relationship is now approaching the small power distance dimension (Hofstede G. , 1986).

5.3.5 Good Teachers in the Eyes of G3 Students

There are various of standards of good teachers in the eyes of the G3 interviewees. In general, there are three common characteristics according to the G3 interviewees.

Firstly, teaching methods of teachers should be vivid and attractive. Harry said that the good teachers in his eyes must combine education with entertainment, rather than repeat what books say. He took his History teacher from junior high school as an example, he often read out poems based on different inspirations during lectures, to make lectures more interesting and lively, so that students liked to listen to him and their grades followed.

Secondly, teachers should be charismatic, with a great personality and good social skills that attract students to imitate. Liam said, besides providing interesting and vivid lectures, good teachers should also be able to demonstrate that students the good way to behave in person. Harry thought that teachers had a great influence on shaping his personality. He admitted that he did not perform well on academic outcomes, but he learned a lot of knowledge from the teachers about conducting himself in society. Mia recalled, "my high school class teacher was relatively easy to approach. She was firm but gentle, which was exactly I wanted to learn. I received many good comments from her regarding both principle of life and personal confusions, and I was close to her more and more".

Last but the least, teachers should have rich experiences in student management, and be amiable and easy of approach after classes. Mia recalled that one of her Chinese teachers required students to talk to him in a respectful manner, and after a while he recognized that students did

not like this way so he changed this finally. Lisa said, "I like experienced teachers who can give lectures and guide students in systematic manners. Students also prefer teachers who have overseas experiences, such as studying abroad. Good teachers should always accept students' good suggestions humbly. "

Compared to G1 and G2 students, G3 students are more daring to express themselves, and they have more demanding on good quality and diversity of teachers. This is in line with the individualism that described by Hofstede (Hofstede G. , 1986), "Confrontation in learning situations can be salutary. Conflicts can be brought in to the open.". Moreover, G3 students become more autonomous.

5.3.6 Good Students in the Eyes of G3 Teachers

Five of the interviewees indicated that G3 teachers give more opportunities to students with good academic performance. However, at the same time, they also stated that good grades is not the only measurement of good students in the eyes of G3 teachers. The G3 teachers also consider other aspects of students and pay attention to students with weak academic performance.

Mia recalled that besides academic performance, teachers also focus on students' social skills. She has a female classmate, who is very self-centered and only devotes her energy to study. In addition to actively communicating with teachers about study issues, this girl rarely interacts with other classmates and never participates in class activities. The teacher communicated with her in private and helped her to find out the social interactions issues. Although the girl had achieved very good academic results, she was not elected in class votes due to social skills.

Harry said that his teachers often assign tasks to students that study good, but it is not always the case. Even if a certain classmate's grades are not good, but he or she behaves well with relatively high emotional intelligence, teachers may also assign him or her certain tasks with responsibility.

Jessica said that her teachers praise students in public. The purpose of teachers' public recognition is to let students have a role model for learning. However, teachers do not think that good studying is the most important thing; they care more about the students' real mastery of knowledge. The phenomenon of praising students publicly, to some extent is the indication of masculinity culture. Although the G3 teacher-student relationship is still influenced by the

masculinity culture, compared to the students in G1 and G2, students in G3 are more concerned by teachers on average.

5.3.7 Distinctive New Features of G3 Teacher-Student Interactions

There are some distinctive feature of G3 teachers, e.g. their youthfulness, high academic qualifications, and willingness for self-improvement and listen to students' opinions.

Compared to G1 and G2 teachers, G3 teachers are more inclusive, and they are willing to accept different suggestions from students. According to Hofstede, "students allowed to contradict or criticize teachers, and teachers interpret intellectual disagreement as a stimulating exercise" (Hofstede G. , 1986). Lisa said that her teachers were glad to adopt students' suggestions for themselves. Liam recalled that most of his teachers liked students to provide different opinions, and there were many opportunities for students and teachers to communicate freely in classrooms. "Student mat speak up spontaneously. Confrontation in learning situations can be salutary; conflicts can be brought into the open" (Hofstede G. , 1986). Liam said that he once proposed different solution to solve a problem to his teacher, but the solution was actually wrong. The teacher did not directly interrupt him; instead, he allowed Liam to finish his explanations. After that, the teacher pointed out what was wrong and right of Liam's solution, and then presented his own solutions. This kind of approach encourages students to make different opinions.

Some new graduated G3 teachers may lack teaching experience. They took the initiative to communicate with students and learn about their teaching deficiencies. Mia said that most of the young teachers in her high school have master degrees in education. E.g., her high school Math teacher and Physics teacher both graduated from the best normal universities in China (Beijing Normal University, and East China Normal University). Mia said, "As they were newly graduated from universities, it was unavoidable that they did not have enough practical teaching experiences, e.g., the lectures they gave in classes may come with active mindset but without enough continuity. As students, we gave them advice and help them to improve teaching methods after class. There was once in an evening self-study time, our physics teacher invited us into a circular classroom to discuss his teaching methods and relevant improvement advice. All student shared their opinions". As stated by Hofstede (Hofstede G. , 1986), "students allowed to contradict or criticize teacher", and teachers were willing to admit their inadequacies

without being disgraced, “teachers are allowed to say I don’t know” and actively listened to advice from students (Hofstede G. , 1986).

Compared to these in G1 and G2, G3 students and teachers have more common chatting topics. Mia said, “Most of the teachers are young and have same hobbies as us. For instance, we chat with teachers about computer games, as we all like them much! Many young teachers communicate with students in classes using internet buzzwords that students are familiar with. Young teachers also infect older teachers, e.g., we now often heard that our head of grade-teachers encourages students to study hard with internet buzzwords in broadcasting. This makes students to accept his messages more easily.” Mia was also surprised to find that her teacher is a fan of a same idol group as her, the EXO group, a Korean performing combination. Thus, Mia sometimes chatted with her teacher about new TV programs that the EXO group were performing or the variety shows the EXO group were on. This is something Mia cannot communicate with her parents, which Mia believed is mainly due to the generation gaps.

Meanwhile, G3 teachers are also more willing to share their own personal life experiences with students. Harry said that he still keeps contacts with his junior-high-school teachers even he already graduated from high school for many years. For instance, he sent blessings to previous teachers on every Teachers' Day, and he also visited his previous head teacher and had dinner together with him. Harry said he also asked opinions of his previous teachers when he encountered difficulties in private life. Harry confirmed that he has many common chatting topics with teachers especially for those in close ages. Liam believed that the gap between teachers and students is basically gone in his generation. He believed students and teachers could have dialogues like friends. Liam recalled, "our Chinese teacher is very willing to share his life experience with us. He told us about his own experience and considerations when choosing universities, and he also shared with us his high school life". “The teacher always talks in a unique and vivid way. It brings fun for students”, Liam emphasized. Lisa also expressed the similar opinions that she likes teachers who are willing to share their own life experiences. Lisa thought it is very beneficial to understand more of life by learning from teachers’ life experiences.

G3 teachers communicate with students in a more easily acceptable manner. Mia said, compared to her parents, her teachers have more common topics with her, and can understand her thoughts better. Take the attitudes for computer games as an example, her parents directly

asked her to stop using computing; while the teachers proposed her to strike a proper balance between study and leisure and also told her how to do that.

G3 Teachers and students are more and more like friends, and they treat each other equally after classes. Lisa agreed with this viewpoint very much. Liam said in his generation (G3), students can communicate with teachers on various things without gaps, which was almost impossible in his parents' generation (G1).

From above interview descriptions, we can see the interactions between teachers and students in G3 break a pattern in traditional Chinese culture, which is about “teachers should only be respected, and grade is insurmountable to cross”. This is a manifestation of detraditionalization and individualism (Beck, 2002). The G3 teacher-student relationships are more in line with individualism, weak uncertainty avoidance and small power distance in Hofstede's cultural dimensions (Hofstede G. , 1986).

5.3.8 Importance of School Effectiveness and School Spirit

Most of the G1, G2, and G3 interviewees mentioned the importance of school effectiveness and school spirit. There are huge differences in school effectiveness and school spirit in different types of schools, especially between rural schools and key schools (now called model schools). The consensus among the interviewees was that they were the most likely to strive for good quality resources. Different school effectiveness and spirits certainly affect the way that students and teachers get along with each other.

On one hand, parents believed that teachers and students are of high quality in schools with high effectiveness. Mia explained, “in our high school, teachers are highly educated and experienced. Teachers know how to communicate fairly and how to respect students. Students perform very well without bad behaviors”. Lisa said that, in high schools with low effectiveness, teachers are not professional enough and they may even do not answer students' questions properly. Besides that, there may also be school violence in these schools. Camilla said, “I was very fortunate to enter the best high school in my region. The quality of the teachers there are different from that of teachers in other schools. I had previously heard corporal punishment in other schools, which do not happen in my school”. Liam said that if the school spirit is not good, students behavior themselves badly and do not respect teachers. There are more conflicts between teachers and students. Peter's view is also similar, and he agreed that the differences of school effectiveness and school spirit between key schools and non-key schools are still large,

reflected in teacher's teaching attitude, teaching ability, and students' progress. In key schools, classmates are mostly good students. As an opposite example, Vanessa took rural schools in both elementary school and junior high school. The quality of teachers in her schools was not high at all. She personally felt that she could only maintain superficial conversations with teachers without communicating deep. Vanessa said, "As a student, I felt a bit afraid of teachers. Teachers were more concerned about students with good academic achievement rather than those with poor scores. Teachers may help the students with poor performance at the beginning, but they were also very likely to ignore them if they did not improve their scores obviously after certain periods." Vanessa felt that her schools' teachers were only superficially concerned about students with poor scores.

On the other hand, schools with good effectiveness and spirit have high expectations for their students, and students have a strong sense of accomplishment to study in these schools. Harry likened the admission to key schools as the key way to change their future destiny, and he believed that key schools could always guarantee students with a nice study atmosphere. According to Daniel, the goal of students in key schools is very clear, that is to enroll themselves into the best Chinese universities through national college entrance examination. William said, "If you can study in key schools, you then most can get admission to universities. It is very normal that in key schools even the students with poorest academic scores still can grant themselves admissions to colleges."

Under such a circumstance, parents constantly pursue these key schools with good effectiveness and spirit. Oscar said that parents always try the best to help their children to get admissions of key schools. However, not every parent has the ability or conditions to support their children for this. Oscar said, "My parents indeed did the best and spent their maximum financial efforts to enroll me in a good school". Jerry said that he insisted that his child should study at good schools with high effectiveness and spirit. He explained, "I am not only concern on the high progression rate in good schools. A school with good effectiveness and spirit has a comprehensive system to guarantee its high education quality in all aspects, such as moral education, sports, and art, and of course also the academic achievements. The atmosphere in these schools is good. This makes a significant difference when children are in their early education phase like elementary school. Parents hope that their children attend key schools and receive a high qualified education, as these schools can have great impacts on their children's life. If a student cannot keep up now, and he or she cannot catch every step afterward."

5.4 Chapter Summary

This section summarizes the differences in teacher-student relationships based upon Hofstede’s cultural dimensions theory. The first few sections of this chapter have analyzed the teacher-student relationships among different Chinese generations. The author went through details of interviewees’ own school-study experiences, and analyzed teachers and students’ interactions via different angles, e.g. the influences of living conditions and teaching conditions, students’ impressions of teachers in their generations, discussions of corporal punishment phenomenon and parents’ attitudes on it, standards of good teachers in the eyes of students, standards of good students in the eyes of teachers, and discussions of special types of close teacher-student relationships and school effectiveness/ school spirit, etc.. Interviewees of different generations expressed their own opinions on above angles. Through the analysis, the author found changes and relevant trends in each Hofstede’s cultural dimension among generations, which are summarized below.

Changes in Power Distance Dimension

This dimension deals with the fact that all individuals in societies are not equal – it expresses the attitude of the culture towards these inequalities among students. Power Distance in teacher-student relationship is defined as the extent to which students in school expect and accept that power of teachers is distributed unequally.

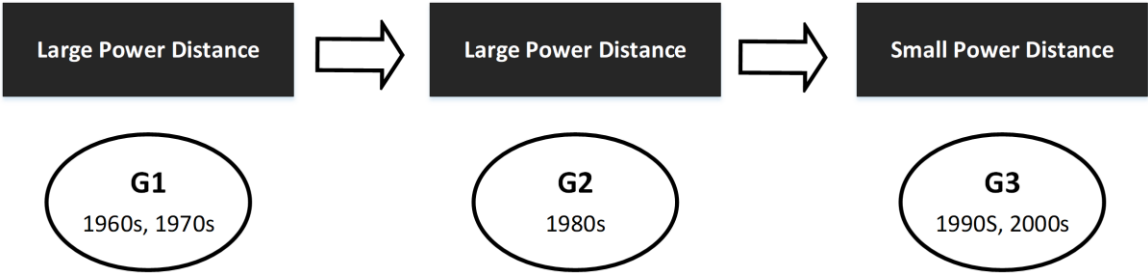


Figure 3 Changes in Teacher-student Relationships among Chinese Generations in the Power Distance Dimension

Figure 3 shows the changes in teacher-student relationships among Chinese generations in the power distance dimension. Through the analysis on the interviews, it is clear that there are obvious changes in teachers and student’s relationships among the different Chinese generations. According to Hofstede (Insights, 2018), China sits in the large power distance—i.e., a society that believes that inequalities amongst people are acceptable. The subordinate-

superior relationship tends to be polarized, and there is no defense against power abuse by superiors. Individuals are influenced by formal authority and sanctions and are in general optimistic about people’s capacity for leadership and initiative. People should not have aspirations beyond theirs. The author believed above argument is correct for the teacher-student relationship in G1 and G2. In G1, the role pair of teacher-student is related to parent-child role pair with a strong resemblance. Teachers in G1 were looked upon as authority, experts, and parents; and hence teachers should be treated with great respect. The process of teaching tended to be teacher-center and most of the time just teachers who outlined the paths for students to follow. This is very similar for the power distance in G2. However, In G3 the authority of teachers has been weakened, and students’ awareness of democracy has been relatively strengthened. G3 Students and teachers have gradually reached an equal status. The author sees the power distance between G3 teachers and students is shorten, which is described as small power distance.

Changes in Uncertainty Avoidance Dimension

The dimension Uncertainty Avoidance has to do with the way that a society deals with the fact that the future can never be known: should we try to control the future or just let it happen? When it comes to teacher-student relationship, students prefer structured learning situation with precise objectives and detailed assignments with strict timetables in a strong uncertainty avoidance society; while students in a weak uncertainty avoidance society rather feel more comfortable in an unstructured learning situation with value objectives and broad assignments without timetables. This ambiguity brings with it anxiety and different cultures have learned to deal with this anxiety in different ways. The extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations and have created beliefs and institutions that try to avoid these is reflected in the score on Uncertainty Avoidance (Insights, 2018).

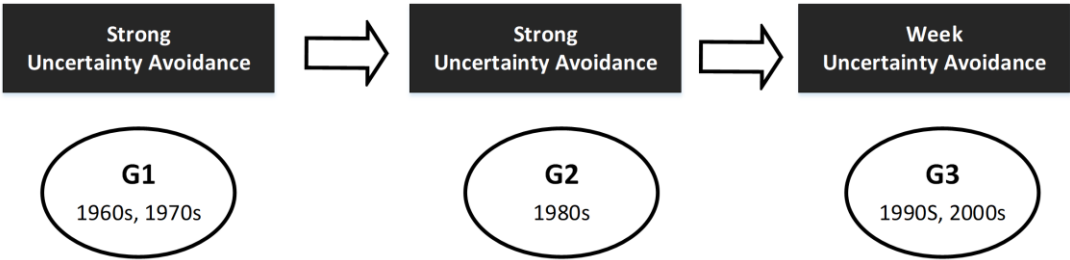


Figure 4 Changes in Teacher-student Relationships among Chinese Generations in the Uncertainty Avoidance Dimension

Figure 4 shows the changes in teacher-student relationships among Chinese generations in the uncertainty avoidance dimension. In G1 living conditions and teaching conditions were both very limit, thus there was no other way for students to gain knowledge besides teachers. Both teachers and students preferred a structured and authoritative way to interact with each other. In G2, even though the living conditions and teaching conditions were highly improved, due to the pressures from NCEE, which student believed as the main opportunity to change their destiny, teachers and students were both heavily focused on academic performance. E.g. students got rewarded for accuracy in problem-solving and teachers may interpret intellectual disagreement as personal disloyalty. Teachers may even behave emotionally and that teachers' corporal punishment was socially acquiescent. It must be said that the teacher-student relationship in the G2 era is under the strong uncertainty cultural dimension. In G3, students are rewarded for innovative approaches to problem-solving and teachers interpret intellectual disagreement as a stimulating exercise, which is a clear indication of weak uncertainty avoidance.

Changes in Individualism Dimension

In teacher-student relationship perspective, the fundamental issue addressed in this dimension is the degree of interdependence an education system maintains interactions and communications between teachers and students. In Individualist societies education is a way of improving one's economic worth and self-respect based upon ability and competence; while in Collectivist societies education is more about gaining prestige in one's social environment and joining a higher status group (Hofstede G. , 2009)..

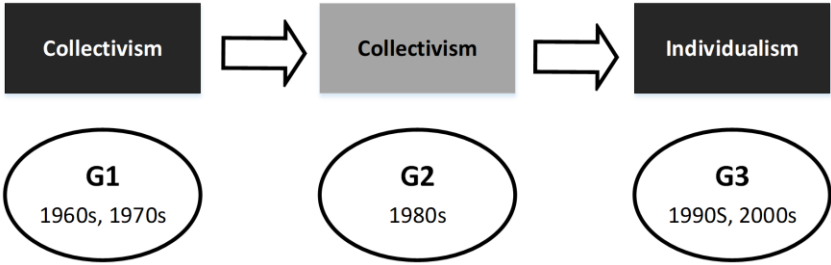


Figure 5 Changes in Teacher-student Relationships among Chinese Generations in the Individualism Dimension

Figure 5 shows the changes in teacher-student relationships among Chinese generations in the individualism dimension. China is a highly collectivist culture where people acted in the interests of the group and not necessarily of themselves in both G1 and G2. As pointed out by

Hofstede, there is a correlation between individualism and wealth (Geert Hofstede, 2001). The increase of national wealth in China causes an increase in individualism in G3. In G3 students care more about “how to learn” compared to “how to do”, and they are allowed to contradict or criticize teachers and speak up in large groups; while teachers turn to be strictly impartial.

As a conclusion, there is a very high consciousness of collectivism in G1, G2 is in the areas in-between the collectivism and individualism (thus in gray color rather than in black color), and G3 is more related to individualism.

Changes in Masculinity Dimension

In this study, Masculine on this dimension indicates that a value system driven by competition, achievement and success, with success being defined by the winner / best in the education field; while Feminine on the dimension means that the dominant values in education system are caring for students and also the quality of their lives. The fundamental issue here is what motivates students and teachers wanting to be the best (Masculine) or liking what you do (Feminine) (Insights, 2018).

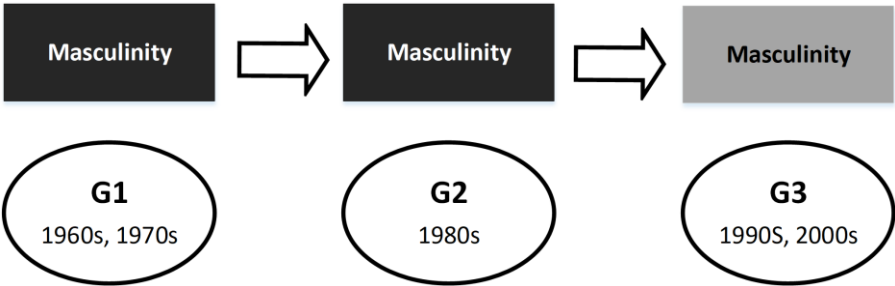


Figure 6 Changes in Teacher-student Relationships among Chinese Generations in the Masculinity Dimension

Figure 6 shows the changes in teacher-student relationships among Chinese generations in the masculinity dimension. China is a Masculine society –success oriented and driven. The need to ensure success can be exemplified by the fact that many Chinese are willing to sacrifice family and leisure priorities to work. Student and teachers are willing to work until very late at night. Leisure time is not so important. Chinese students care very much about their exam scores and ranking as this is the main criteria to achieve success. Teachers use the best students as the norm and openly praise or criticize students. Competitive behaviors can be observed among Chinese students of all generations, which shows China is a rather masculine society. However, the degree of masculinity in G3 decreases gradually. For instance, in G1 and G2 eras, schools were

used to proclaim students' score ranks of final exams to encourage students to compete with each other; and this phenomenon is turned to a hidden way since it will not good for students' self-respect. For these considerations the author marked the Masculinity in G3 in grey color rather than black color just to show the decreasing trend of Masculinity in nowadays' China. As a conclusion, G1, G2 and G3 are still dominated by Masculinity culture but the degree of masculinity is being decreased in the G3 ear.

Changes in Long-term Orientation Dimension

This dimension describes how every society has to maintain some links with its own past while dealing with the challenges of the present and future, and societies prioritize these two existential goals differently. Normative societies, which is the short-term orientation on this dimension, prefer to maintain time-honored traditions and norms while viewing societal change with suspicion. Those with a culture of long-term orientation, on the other hand, take a more pragmatic approach: they encourage thrift and efforts in modern education as a way to prepare for the future (Hofstede, G., & Minkov, M., 2010).

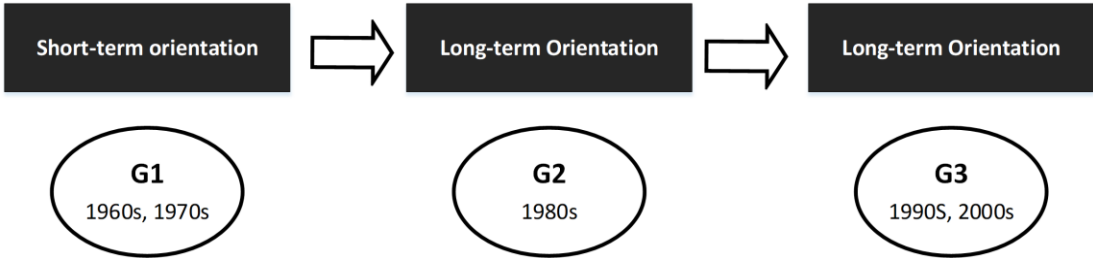


Figure 7 Changes in Teacher-student Relationships among Chinese Generations in the Long-term Orientation Dimension

Figure 7 shows the changes in teacher-student relationships among Chinese generations in the long-term orientation dimension. The G1 interviewees highlighted the importance of the traditional culture and respected for traditional Chinese values very much. Through the interviewees with G2 and G3 students, the author can see there is a very pragmatic culture in nowadays China. In societies with a pragmatic orientation, people believe that truth depends very much on situations, context and time. They show an ability to adapt traditions easily to changed conditions, a strong propensity to save and invest, thriftiness, and perseverance in achieving results (Insights, 2018). The G2 and G3 students appeal for knowledge and education to purchase bright futures for themselves, and they are willing to subordinate themselves with

perseverance and sustained efforts to achieve better academic results thus to be more successful in the NCEE. As a conclusion, the teacher-student relationship in G1 is on short-term orientation while ones in G2 and G3 are on long-term orientation.

Changes in Indulgence Dimension

One challenge that confronts humanity, now and in the past, is the degree to which small children are socialized. Without socialization, we do not become “human”. This dimension is defined as the extent to which students try to control their desires and impulses, based on the way they were raised. Relatively weak control is called “Indulgence,” and relatively strong control is called “Restraint”. Cultures can, therefore, be described as Indulgent or Restrained (Insights, 2018).

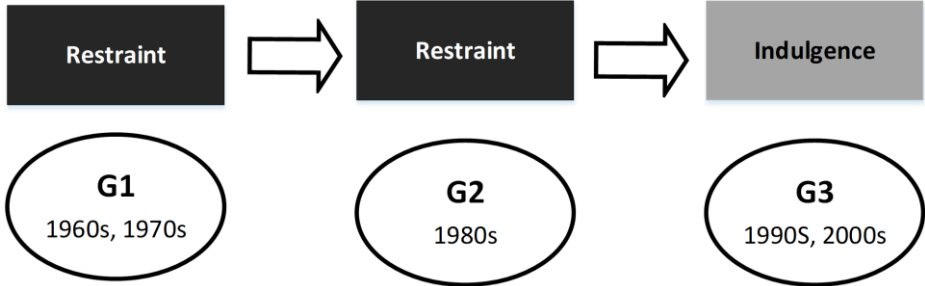


Figure 8 Changes in Teacher-student Relationships among Chinese Generations in the Indulgence Dimension

Figure 8 shows the changes in teacher-student relationships among Chinese generations in the indulgence dimension. China is a very restrained society in this dimension in both G1 and G2 eras, and even slightly in the G3 era. Students do not put much emphasis on leisure time and do not actively involved in sports. Students with the restrained orientation have the perception that their actions are restrained by social norms and feel that indulging themselves is somewhat wrong. Compared to G1 and G2, the G3 students care more about the freedom of speech, and they got more financial support from their families to pursue the lives they prefer when possible, thus the author marked it as an “indulgence in gray color” for the G3 teacher-student relationships.

The Overall Trends among Generations

As describe and analysis above, the author summarizes the whole chapter in Figure 9, which shows the overall trend and changes of teachers and students’ relationships among different Chinese generations with the considerations Hofstede’s cultural dimensions in mind.

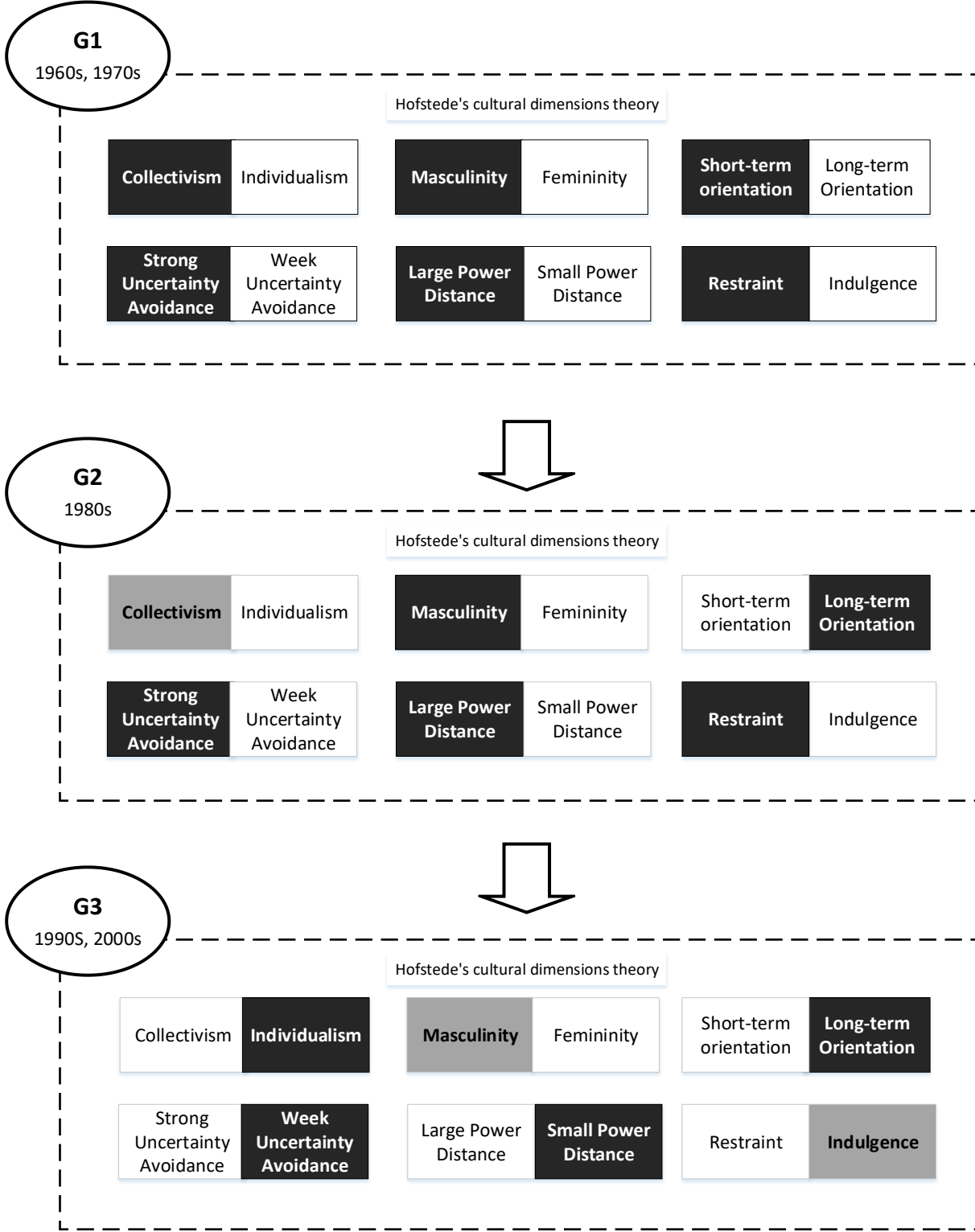


Figure 9 Applying Hofstede’s Cultural Dimensions Theory to Chinese Generations

Through the above figure, we can clearly see the trend of changes in teacher-student relationships from G1 to G2, and then to G3, for instance, the power distance between teachers and students is reducing, the individualism degree is getting higher, the uncertainty avoidance degree is becoming weaker, the masculine values are still in a dominant position but the degree is reducing, and the degree of indulgence is higher and keep approaching long-term orientation, etc. The author concludes that the relationship between students and teachers has undergone subtle changes under the modernization process. It changed from traditional inequality hierarchy transitions gradually to a mutual respect democratic teacher-student relationship. The teacher-student relationship gradually transitions from the teacher-center to the student-centered relationship.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to explore how teacher-student relationships have been changed among different Chinese generations under the modernization process in the past few decades. The author interviewed Chinese educatees from different decades and divided them into three generations, such as G1 (post-1960s, post-1970s), G2 (post-1980s), G3 (post-1990s, post-2000s). To find out the changes and continuities of Chinese teacher-student relationships, this study explores educational experiences of these educatees of different generations.

The author analyses the conducted interviews with the themes of generational changes and continuities. Through applying the Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory, the study provides deep discussions via the six dimensions (individualism dimension, power distance dimension, uncertainty avoidance dimension, masculinity dimension, short/long term orientation dimension, and restraint/ indulgence dimension) to analyze the causes of such changes on teacher-student relationships.

The author discusses various factors that created significant impacts on teacher-student relationships, e.g., culture influence, family-related factors, economic impacts, education policies, characteristics of various decades, etc.,

The core content of teacher-student relationship in traditional Chinese culture is respecting teachers and promoting education. In traditional Chinese society, teachers were in very high status and inoffensive. The hierarchical differentiation is unfavorable to either the development of good teacher-student relationships or student-centered teaching reform. Through the analysis of the interview materials, the author believes that traditional culture has the greatest influence on the teacher-student relationship of G1 compared to those of G2 and G3. However, as time passes by, the traditional culture has gradually diminished its impact on teachers and students in G2 and G3. The teacher-student relationships got fewer and fewer influences from traditional culture.

Teacher-student relationships in different generations are deeply imprinted with the characteristics of their times. For instance, G1 students and teachers lived in difficult social conditions with very limited school teaching conditions, and meanwhile they also got a great influence of collectivism, hence G1 teachers were highly authoritative even with limited professional teaching skills and students' status was rather low without many rights.

As the resumption of the college entrance examination in 1977, college entrance examination has become an obvious way for students to change their own destiny. The competition among students was gradually increased. Students' learning pressure has increased as the high expectations from teachers and parents. As a result, exam-oriented education became more and more intense, which influenced students in G2 and even more significantly in G3. Under the influence of social criticism and international education trends, the education sector put forward quality education at the end of G2 and early G3 in order to cultivate comprehensive talents. Public schools have made corresponding reforms in accordance with the requirements of quality education, e.g. replacing the percentages system with graded scores system. However, one direct consequence was that the teaching content became too basic and simplistic. At the same time, the pressure from the college entrance examination has forced quality education to become only a slogan, and academic achievement was still the most concerned in the hearts of parents. More and more private education training centers came up in society as a supplement to the education teaching in public schools. Parents' investment in extra-curricular classes has gradually increased, and it has become a common phenomenon that students' use all their weekend time to attend various cram schools and participated in various kinds of extracurricular tutoring classes. Teachers from schools are no longer the only channel for students to obtain knowledge, and parents' demands for teachers also increase with the increased level of awareness. Teachers are no longer the only authoritative role of teaching professionals. Apart from teaching knowledge and paying attention to students' achievements, teachers must also act as companions and pay attention to students' mental health. Teacher-student relationships have also significantly changed among generations.

In the G2 era, the Chinese government began to implement one-child policy. Each family gave very great hope and dedicated resources to their children. It became parents' focus for anything that involved the child's learning, work, and life. Education policies were continued to improve to support the comprehensive standard/level of China's education. However, due to the emergence of key school policies, it gradually created an imbalance in resources. The phenomenon of choosing schools from parents were seen more and more. Education reform has relatively reduced the power of teachers while empowering students. Education reform is the overall trend of the current global education development. It is more and more important to support students' independence and initiative in learning. Therefore, mobilizing student autonomy and initiative is also a common trend in global education reform. In this new curriculum reform of basic education, the independent status of students has been further

emphasized. The new concept of curriculum reform in 1990s is to adapt to their situation about requirements and the development of new ideology and understanding the new curriculum system. Educators should recognize that students are human being in the process of learning instead of human becoming. At the same time, the establishment of a comprehensive practical activity curriculum also provides greater independence for students' learning. While the educational reform empowers students to increase their autonomy, improve their status, and clarify their rights. Therefore, the education reform has relatively reduced the power of teachers while increasing students' energy, so that the two are gradually approaching the balance of power as a whole.

In the G3 era, although the “key middle schools” policy had been abolished and replaced by “nearby enrolment” policy, there already formed a phenomenon of uneven education resources and the quality gap between rural schools and so-called model schools (was named key school in previous age) remains insurmountable. The phenomenon of school choice for parents has not diminished and has only become more hidden. Some privileged people have used their powers to shun their private affairs, which addresses the justice issues of education. Correspondingly, there are great quality differences between teachers in different schools. Teachers in demonstrative schools have relatively high comprehensive capabilities and personal qualities, and their relationship with students is getting more harmonious. Parents trust and respect for the teaching and management skills for teachers from demonstrative schools very much. On the contrary, the quality of teachers in rural schools is not high, and parents have doubts about their teaching and management skills. Teachers and parents do not trust each other, which creates significant conflicts among them. Another conflict arises from teachers' involvement in their performance evaluation, which has direct relations with students' academic achievements and progression rate. Such conflicts affect the relationships between students and teachers severely.

Meanwhile, the influence on teacher-student relationships of collectivism began weaker, and the influence of individualism gradually prevailed. Globalization, individuation, and informatization become a trend of this era and create significant impacts on people's life. In nowadays' society, with the acceleration of the movement of people, assets, and information flow, the country's knowledge literacy has rapidly risen, and students' access to information has become more diversified, and their growth has become more rapid. The gradual loss of teachers' monopoly on knowledge has led to a rapid decline of the sacred status of teachers since students become more senior. At the same time, students can communicate with teachers

more freely as their expressions are fully acknowledged. With the same goal of approaching high-quality teaching and studying outcomes, the relationship between teachers and students gradually becomes equal and democratic.

The author also analyses and discusses many details regarding the differences of teachers and students' interactions among generations, .e.g. good teachers in the eyes of students, or good students in the eyes of teachers, etc. This study also particularly analyses the changes in parents' perceptions on corporal punishment among generations. Take this interesting perception as an example, we can see that parent-children relationships have great impacts on the teacher-student relationships of the same generation. This is closely related to the people' cognition level in the same generation. E.g. in G1 parents supported and even stand in the same front line with teachers, and both of them agreed that corporal punishment was necessary for students. Students were in a managed and tied state and lacked communicating with teachers and parents. In G2 some parents started to pay attention to students' psychological growth and had expressed that they were against teachers' corporal punishment. However, the strength of parents was much weaker than that of teachers, thus it is difficult to produce fundamental changes in the way that teachers managed students. In G3, with the increase of parents' cognitive level, parents pay more attention to their relationship with teachers. This also led them to pay more attention to teachers' behaviors and participate more in evaluating teacher behaviors. This kind of concern reflects the improvement of parents' rights relative to teachers, which also lead to the improvement of students' rights relative to teachers and thus the teacher-student relationship. In general, with the changes of the times and the progress of society, the quality of teachers has been gradually improved, and the demands of society for teachers have also been raised. Plus that the education sectors' efforts on this perspective, the phenomenon of corporal punishment on students has been very rare.

Through the above example with details, the author presented a clear view on the understanding and reflection on the changes of the teacher-student relationship among different Chinese generations. Besides this, the author also presents some interesting findings, e.g., the power distance between teachers and students is reducing, the individualism degree is getting higher, the uncertainty avoidance degree is becoming weaker, the masculine values are still in a dominant position but the degree is reducing, and the degree of indulgence is higher and keep approaching long-term orientation, etc.

According to the results discovered above, the relationship between students and teachers has undergone subtle changes under the modernization process. It changed from traditional inequality hierarchy transitions gradually to a mutual respect democratic teacher-student relationship. The teacher-student relationship gradually transitions from the teacher-center to the student-centered relationship.

Based on this study, the author also put forward some suggestions for China's education reform: efforts must be made to improve the various factors that affect the teacher-student relationships, thus to help the development of teacher-student relationships in a more positive way. This also requires the Chinese education sector to pay particular attention to the following points when formulating policies:

1. Improve the balance of education resources for equity purpose: the government education sector should issue some testimonials to improve the treatment and welfare of teachers in rural schools, and particularly encourage excellent teachers to teach in rural schools.
2. Strengthen the quality construction of teachers, improve teachers' moral cultivation, and guide teachers understand correctly and effectively about the changing trends of teacher-student relationships under the changing times: the traditional teacher-student relationship has collapsed, and the new teacher-student relationship should proceed in the direction of democracy; in order to cause teachers to pay more attention and promote improvement of teachers and students' interaction, it is suggested to add an evaluation of teacher-student relationship to the overall evaluation of teachers' performance
3. Accelerate the integration of educational resources, encourage cooperation between key school/ model schools and rural schools thus to increase the sharing of high-quality educational resources: through this, rural schools can receive more guidance and help from schools with high-quality educational resources. Concrete actions like exchanges of leaders and teachers can accelerate the growth of rural schools.
4. Improve the talent selection system: the formulation of the college entrance examination policy determines that examination-oriented education has always been the main theme of Chinese education. It worth reconsidering the implementation of quality education. Policymakers should seriously consider the advantages and disadvantages of the college

entrance examination, improve the talent selection system even outside college entrance examination, thus to fundamentally improve the quality of education in China.

The author hopes that through the in-deep research of teacher-student relationship, it can bring positive and constructive suggestions on promoting China's education reform and policy formulation.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Interview Guideline

The interview was designed with the topic: a comparison study of perceptions and experience of teacher-student relationship (interaction between teacher and student) in Chinese schools through different generational viewpoints.

With the purpose of exploring perceptions and experience in different Chinese generation about teacher-student relationship, more specifically what the similarities and differences of teacher-student relationships are among different Chinese generations. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with below questions.

Question 1. Describe what it was like of your teacher-student relationship in your childhood?

Some more details questions guided this part of the interview: e.g.

- Can you pick a word which can describe your relationship with teachers in childhood? (Positive? Supportive? Secure? Negative?)
- How do you call your teachers in school? By first names? Nicknames?
- What do you think of the function of teacher-student relationship?
- What do you think of being a friend with teachers? How about eating lunch or dinner with teachers?
- What memories of your study life with teachers would you like to share regarding this topic?

Question 2. What and how elements affect your relationship with teachers? (age gender ethnicity, moral, grade, background)

Some more details questions guided this part of the interview: e.g.

- What do you think of ranking? How can this affect your teacher-student relationship?

- What are your perceptions about teacher may have more close relationships with good mark students?
- What do you think of teacher should respect small, weak, and slow students?
- What is the most important element?

Question 3. What do you think of physical punishment of teacher in your experience?

Some more details questions guided this part of the interview: e.g.

- What do you think of physical punishment?
- How students and parents reacted with physical punishment?

Question 4. What is the significant role of teacher-student relationship played in one's life?

Some more details questions guided this part of the interview: e.g.

- How teacher-student relationships can affect ones' relationship with others (parents, siblings, classmates)
- What affection may it bring to one's study/grade? (Can help you to acquire more academic achievement, may help ones to develop creativity, problem-solving and critical thinking, help student to against behavior problems and poor self-regulation skills?)

Question 5. What and how external influence affects teacher-student relationships?

Some more details questions guided this part of the interview: e.g.

- What would like to describe your teacher-student relationship as teacher-dominated or learner-centered regard to your experiences?
- What do you think of social change may affect your relationship with teachers? (Cultural Revolution policy, opening up reform, one child policy?)
- How can traditional Chinese culture challenge or influence the teacher-student relationship?

Appendix 2: Overview of Anonymous Interviewees

Table 12 is an overview of the interviewees with anonymous names. All names of interviewees in this study have been anonymized.

Name	Years	Gender	Place of Study	Educational Background
Amy	1960s	Female	Beijing, North of China	Senior High School
Lucy	1960s	Female	Hebei, North of China	Junior High School
Marie	1970s	Female	Guangdong, South of China	University, Bachelor
Jack	1970s	Male	Gansu, West of China	University, Master
Jerry	1960s	Male	Beijing, North of China	University, Bachelor
Peter	1970s	Male	Shanxi, Northwest of China	University, Master
Thomas	1960s	Male	Beijing, North of China	Senior High School
Emma	1980s	Female	Beijing, North of China	University, Bachelor
Isabelle	1980s	Female	Changchun, North of China	University, Master
Sofia	1980s	Female	Shanxi, Northwest of China	University, Master
Tina	1980s	Female	Ningbo, South of China	Vocational School
Daniel	1980s	Male	Chongqing, South of China	University, Doctor
Leonardo	1980s	Male	Fujian, South of China	University, Doctor
Oscar	1980s	Male	Shanghai, South of China	University, Bachelor
William	1980s	Male	Fujian, South of China	University, Master
Camilla	2000s	Female	Beijing, North of China	Junior High School (ongoing)
Jessica	2000s	Female	Beijing, North of China	Elementary School (ongoing)
Lisa	1990s	Female	Fujian, South of China	University, Bachelor (ongoing)

Mia	2000s	Female	Fujian, South of China	Senior High School (ongoing)
Vanessa	1990s	Female	Fujian, South of China	Vocational School (ongoing)
Harry	1990s	Male	Fujian, South of China	University, Bachelor (ongoing)
Liam	2000s	Male	Fujian, South of China	Senior High School (ongoing)

Table 12 Overview of All Anonymous Interviewees