CHINESE CULTURAL VALUES AND CHINESE LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY

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ABSTRACT

Cultural values hold great control on people's social behaviors. To become culturally competent, it is important for second language learners to understand primary cultural values in the target culture and to behave in accordance with those values. Cultural themes are the behavioral norms that people share in a society in pursuit of cultural values, which help learners relate what they learn to do with cultural values. The purpose of this study is to identify pedagogical cultural values and cultural themes in Chinese language education and propose a performance-based language curriculum, which integrates cultural values and cultural themes into language pedagogy. There are mainly three research questions discussed. First, what are the primary components in the Chinese cultural value system? Second, how is a cultural value manifest and managed in social behaviors? Third, how can a performance-based language curriculum integrate cultural values and cultural themes?

This thesis analyzes the nature of cultural values and the components of Chinese cultural value system, with goals to identify pedagogical cultural values in Chinese language education. Seven cultural values are selected based on proposed criteria as primary pedagogical cultural themes in Chinese language education. Using the Chinese

cultural value of harmony as an example, this thesis illustrates how a specific cultural value is expressed in social behaviors, such as harmony-based cultural themes and other communicative strategies in Chinese harmony management. Contextual factors that affect harmony management are also discussed. The investigation of Chinese harmony management provides a foundation for integrating cultural values and themes in Chinese curriculum design.

Following the analysis of Chinese cultural values and cultural themes in language pedagogy, this thesis proposes a language curriculum with respect to the integration of cultural values and cultural themes in language and cultural classes. Based on theories of first culture acquisition and inter-cultural competence, a performance-based language curriculum is designed, which is composed of three types of instructions: behavioral instruction, informational instruction and strategy instruction.

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Dedicated to my mother

献给母亲

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

There has been a noticeable shift in the field of foreign language education in the last four decades. Scholars and educators have realized that teaching a second language is more than formulating a system of linguistic codes in the learner's mind. Communication entails more than exchanges of linguistic phrases. Culture plays a significant role in communication, both intra-culturally and inter-culturally. Communication is a two-way process and people conduct a variety of behaviors to convey themselves. Meanwhile, they interpret others' behaviors to understand others' intentions. These behaviors in communication are formulated by culture. Hall (1976) concisely relates culture and communication as "culture is communication; communication is culture." In order to enhance learners' inter-cultural communication competence (ICC), second language education must integrate culture into language instruction. Learners rely on their understanding of the target culture (C2) to interpret others' intentions correct, and they rely on their capability to perform in C2 to deliver their intentions successfully. Therefore, misunderstanding of C2 inevitably leads to ineffective or failed communication.

Although the topic of culture has been a matter of increasing interest to language educators, there still exist many challenges in culture teaching and culture learning in second language education. Culture is much more complicated and implicit than linguistic production, which is one of the reasons that language educators have been avoiding the topic of culture learning. Raymond Williams (1976, p.1) describes culture as

"one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language." Culture is complex, because it comes in to play in every aspect of social life, from personal behaviors to group activities, from people's beliefs to their actions, from artifacts to institutional organization. How is it ever possible to explain something that defines everything? To many language educators, the best way to deal with culture is to "not deal with it". Moreover, culture is inexplicit. The second culture is less accessible than the second language, which lead to teachers and learners' ignorance of the significance of second culture. Sometimes, people can easily identify the cultural orientations underlying their behaviors and their beliefs, but many cases culture dictates people's lives without conceivable commands. To a great extent, individual behaviors are culturally determined. Yet a native speaker does not have to learn deliberately his or her culture in order to be a participant in that culture. People unconsciously acquire the base culture through their experiences in the culture, and apply it just as they learn and use their first language— "we know without knowing that we know" (Walker & Noda, 2000).

The complex and inexplicit nature of culture makes people doubt: Is ICC teachable in second language education? If the answer is yes, the question that follows will be: how? One way to demystify the concept of culture is to analyze culture as a multi-layered structure, as some inter-cultural psychologists have suggested (Leung, Bond, and Schwartz, 1995; Hofstede, 2001). In this chapter, I utilize the layered structure of culture, with the goal of exploring cultural learning in various dimensions.

1.1 Concept of Culture

Although most language educators agree that language and culture cannot be separated from each other, many language programs treat cultural education as introducing information about C2, especially where students have limited opportunity to directly access and explore the target culture. To provide a touch of culture in the language classroom, a Chinese language teacher may explain the beauty of Tang poems or introduce the Spring Festival customs. Culture is taught as knowledge segments of or about a society. This fact-oriented approach is actually a culture learning process separate from language learning. It reflects the most widely held misunderstanding, or, at least, incomplete understanding of culture as a separated entity from language. Therefore, before exploring the relationship between culture and language learning, teachers should first investigate the concept and nature of culture.

Edward T. Hall (1976, cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2002, p.49) incisively concludes that "most cultural exploration begins with the annoyance of being lost." One factor contributing to cultural perplexity is the tremendous complexity of the concept of culture. When investigating the concept of culture, we tend to find ourselves lost in a great number of definitions presented in the literature. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) found 164 distinct definitions of culture. Due to the complexity and extensiveness of culture, there is no consensus on the definition of culture. Each social science discipline emphasizes different aspects of culture. In this study, I focus on how culture is defined in the field of second language education.

A dichotomy classification of "Little/Small c" culture and "Big C" culture, or "high culture" and "low culture", is shared by many language educators. "Big C" culture refers to the cultural products that people consider as presentation of their culture, such as art, literature, and architecture. Information concerning "Big C" is most often included in culture teaching in language classes. "Little c" culture, as mentioned above, includes what people have or what they do in daily life, such as food, clothing, and everyday behaviors (Christensen & Warnick, 2006). Brooks (1968) emphasizes that second language education should treat everyday living patterns, "Small c," as the most efficient approach of cultural teaching because learners rely on their "Small c" competence to function in the target culture. In spite of the convenience of the dichotomy of "Big C" and "Little c", this kind of cultural interpretation does not incorporate all the major components of the concept of culture.

Hammerly (1982) suggests a tripartite categorization of culture: achievement culture, informational culture, and behavioral culture. Achievement culture, corresponding to "Big C" culture, refers to the great achievement of a society. Informational culture represents the valued information about a society, such as history, the valued information, history, and other facts and statistics about a society. For example, the constitutional monarchy of the Japanese government is viewed as informational culture. The third category, behavioral culture, deals with the common behaviors that culture dictates individuals' exhibit in the society. This kind of behavior includes daily greeting, giving compliments, communicative eye contact, and so forth.

Hammerly's framework shows how a culture presents itself. The three aspects of culture in Hammerly's framework, achievement, information, and behavior, are actually three accesses that people have to learn about a culture. This perspective of culture interpretation provides language/culture educators a three-way approach to integrate culture into language teaching—to appreciate the achievement, to provide the information, and to cultivate the behavior.

However, one thing is missing in Hammerly's framework of culture—the relationship among culture elements. In light of connections between different aspects of culture, culture is often described as a layered structure, in which each layer represents one of the culture components. An "onion" diagram is usually used to depict the model (Hofstede, 1991; Hampden-Turner, 1997, Spencer-Oatey, 2002). The exact layers and their sequence vary from model to model, but there is a consensus among these models. Adapted from other culture scholars' theory (Hofstede, 1991; Hampden-Turner, 1997, and Spencer-Oatey, 2002), this study illustrates culture components and the inter-relationships among them with a layered diagram (Figure 1), with the abstract and fundamental elements in the center and with the concrete representation of culture on the outer layers.

Basic
Assumptions

Beliefs and
Values

Social
Structure

Behaviors
and Products
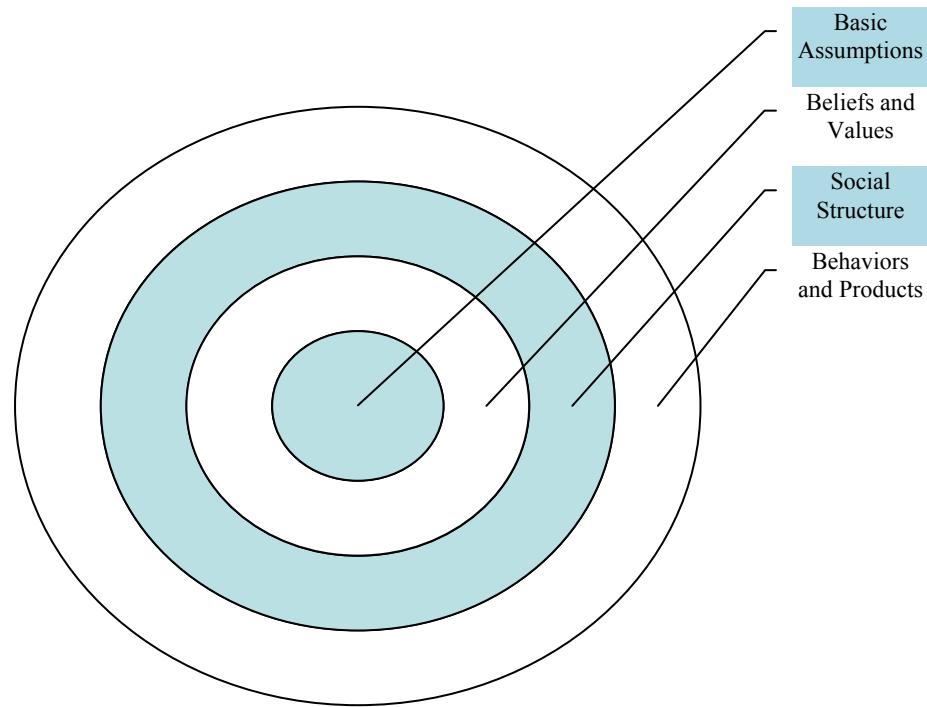
Figure 1 The Culture Components

     Usually basic assumptions and values are placed at the core of the "onion,"

representing the essential role that values play in a culture; behaviors and artifacts are

among the layers closer to the surface, as they are more concrete or observable

representations of a culture. The basic assumptions and values are largely hard to discern,

and they often exist at unconscious level unconscious to people's perception. However,

the basic assumptions and values are the essence of a culture because they are the key to

understanding the nature of people, and people's relationships with other people or things.

Therefore, basic assumption and values also shape people's attitudes and beliefs towards

others and things around them. Attitudes and beliefs are the second level in the diagram.

They exist at a more conscious level in people's perception because people are aware of the philosophies they share and the norms they learn to obey. The first two levels of culture determine the social structure in a culture, which refers to the relationship of definite entities or groups to each other. In each culture, social institutions and norms form a social system in such a way that they shape the behaviors of members within that social system. Thus, the behaviors and artifact products are on the surface level in a culture structure. This level of culture components are easier to discern, but in many cases they are hard to decipher.

Based on this analysis of culture components and their relationship, this study embraces Spencer-Oatey's (2002) concept of culture as the operational definition. Culture is "a set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioral conventions and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influences each member's behavior and each member's interpretation of the 'meaning' of other people's behavior" (p. 4).

1.2 Cultural values and cultural themes

1.2.1 Concept of cultural value and cultural theme

Every culture carries a series of key beliefs, notions and concepts, which are defined as the cultural values that people share in a particular culture. Cultural values occupy the core of the culture layers because cultural values penetrate other dimensions of culture and have power over them. In Hofstede's (1991) discussion of cultural values, he recognizes the dominance of cultural values over behaviors, and claims that cultural values inform and sustain particular norms of interaction and interpretation, which are reflected in the communicative behaviors of individuals. Cultural values have cognitive,

affective, and behavioral components (Mooij, 2004), in the sense that cultural values affect the way people think, feel and behave.

Cultural themes are concerned with the behavioral component of cultural values. The working concept of cultural themes in this study is defined as the behavioral norms shared among members of a society in their pursuit of certain cultural values. There are two essential elements in a cultural theme: a behavioral pattern shared in the society and the cultural value underlying that behavioral pattern. For example, modesty is valued in Chinese society. When receiving a compliment, a Chinese often denies his or her competence in order to be humble. Therefore, "to demonstrate modesty by rejecting a compliment" is a theme in Chinese culture.

Cultural themes hold control over people's behaviors, and direct interpretation of behaviors. For example, when being seated at a banquet table, the Chinese tend to invite the guests to take their seats first. This behavior norm of seating at a banquet is a cultural theme devoted to the Chinese cultural value of face. The action to invite someone to seat first conveys respect, making face for that person. Based on this theme, the person who is offered this honor is able to interpret the host's intention of making face and subsequently make a proper reaction.

However, it is over-simplistic to view cultural themes merely as the products of cultural values. People's actions, in turn, influence and redefine their cultural values at all times. Kroeber and Kluckhohn's (1952) insightful interpretation of culture may best illustrate the bidirectional relationship between cultural themes and people's behaviors:

"Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviors acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts. The essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, and on the other hand, as conditioning influences upon further action" (p. 47).

While a cultural value may be thematic to one particular culture, most cultural values are shared by different cultures. In different societies, the same cultural value may be expressed with different cultural themes. For example, hierarchy is believed to be one of the major values of the Japanese culture, and equality is more recognized in American culture. Yet Japanese people demonstrate a pursuit of equality by means of reciprocity; although American people do not bow or distinguish a set of honorific forms in their language, it is also important for them to recognize hierarchy by changing language style and content. Therefore, language instructors' job is not to merely identify the existence of cultural values, but to present behavioral embodiment, i.e. cultural themes, of particular cultural values in C2. Language instruction should break down the evasive behavioral culture of C2 into a system of cultural themes, which are designed to illustrate the link between cultural themes and cultural values.

1.2.2 Framework of cultural themes in communication

In pursuit of integrating cultural values into language pedagogy, I first investigate how cultural values are manifest function in social behavior. The present study adapts Spencer-Oatey's (2002) frame of communication domains to illustrate the behavioral norms and strategies in communication that are determined or influenced by cultural values. The five domains from Spencer-Oatey's framework include the illocutionary domain, the discourse domain, the participation domain, the stylistic domain, and the non-verbal domain. The following section first explains the connotation of each communication domain, with examples of how Chinese cultural values embodied in each domain. Most of the examples in this section are obtained from Eric Shepherd's (2005) observation of Chinese banquet behaviors in his remarkable book on Chinese behavioral culture, *Eat Shandong*.

(1) Illocutionary domain:

There are three features in illocutionary domain: speech act components, degree of directness/indirectness, and the type and amount of upgraders/downgraders. Speech acts are the acts of communication that are marked by the attitudes being expressed (Bach, 1987). Upgrader refers to modality markers that intensify the impact of the speech, whereas downgraders mitigate the impact (House & Kasper, 1981). The features in illocutionary domain are culturally and contextually formulaic. For example, modesty is a basic cultural value in Chinese culture. When introducing oneself, a head of personnel in a company tends to introduce himself/herself as "I do personnel work for this company" instead of "I am the personnel manager." At a banquet with great food, a host always

apologizes for "a simple meal." This type of ritualized behavior is very common in Chinese social interaction.

(2)   Discourse domain:

Discourse domain includes topic choice and management, the organization and sequencing of information. For example, an assistant host at a Chinese banquet often starts his or her toast with indicating he or she is toasting on behalf of the principal host. The toast often opens by the phrase "我代表 (某某) 敬大家一杯," which means "On behalf of (someone), I am going to make a toast." Acknowledging the hierarchy in toasting delivers his or her respect to the principal host and thus builds up face for that person.

(3)   Participation domain:

Participation domain concerns the procedural aspects of an interchange, such as turn taking, the inclusion/exclusion of people present, and the use/non-use of listener responses. Offering a cigarette to a stranger serves as an icebreaker and indicates one's desire to start a dialogue. Therefore, turning down the offering without adequate explanation or follow-up conversation to compensate will be interpreted as unwillingness to be engaged in a conversation, which causes the other person to lose face.

(4)   Style domain:

Style domain refers to speech tone (joking or serious), choice of genre-appropriate terms of address or use of honorifics. To indicate respect and build up others' face, Chinese ask others' name with the phrase "您贵姓", literally meaning "of what noble

family are you?" A set response to it would be "免贵姓王" which means "dispense with the 'noble', I am Wang".

(5) Non-verbal domain:

All non-verbal aspects of an interchange, such as gestures and other body movements, eye contact, and proxemics (i.e. distances between people as they interact), are included in this domain. A common example is the way that Chinese give a business card—using double hands with the words facing the receiver to show their respect to the other person. Non-verbal performance at a banquet also includes seating order at a table, toasting gesture, eating manners, and so forth. The non-verbal performance is a crucial factor to the naturalness and sincerity of one's behaviors. However, it is more likely to be neglected in second language classroom training.

To sum up, the six domains discussed above serves as a framework of communication analysis, as well as a framework for inter-cultural communication education. Learners of a second language should understand that information is conveyed through a variety of means. Communication is often times not only what a person, but also how he or she says it.

1.3 Performance-based language/culture pedagogy

1.3.1 Performance and Intention: doing with understanding

Daniel Lerner emphasizes (1958, cited in by Michael Cole, 1996) that "the key attribute of modern thinking is the ability to take another person's perspective and to empathize with that person's point of view" (p. 70). In inter-cultural communication, people of each culture establish a set of behavioral patterns and communication strategies

that are built upon the cultural values that people share, a common ground that enables people to convey their intensions with patterned behaviors, as well as to decode others' behaviors and interpret their intentions. These patterns and strategies in communication are called cultural themes. Therefore, shared cultural values and cultural themes are the common ground, based on which people can exchange their intentions. Each culture embraces its own cultural value system, and the differences among value systems partially explain behavioral differences across societies. Given this concern, cultural values and cultural themes should be treated as the base of inter-cultural communication competence. When interacting in another culture, learners of C2 rely on their competence of understanding of C2 values and performing C2 themes to interpret others intentions and to direct learners' own behaviors.

How can a language class teach cultural values and themes? How can students learn them? I will first investigate how we have acquired our base culture as a starting point. Children learn how to do things in C1 in three ways—imitating others' behaviors, conducting behaviors in the way others ask them to, and adjusting their behaviors based on others' feedback. Briefly, children develop competence of C1 themes by doing or practicing. In the progress of doing, they form their perception of C1 values. Adult learners of C2 can discuss these C2 values, but that alone is insufficient. They should develop their awareness and conception of C2 values by performing C2 themes. Studies comparing L1 and L2 acquisition (Bley-Vroman, 1988; Ellis, 1996) might shed light on differences in C1 and C2 learning. C2 acquisition is different from C1 acquisition in the following ways. First, C2 learners have already mastered their native cultural values and

themes, which dictate how they think and behave. The C1 values and themes interfere their C2 learning. Second, opportunities to participate in C2 are limited in most learning environments. Third, a child's thinking capacity develops hand-in-hand with the development of his/her C1 values and themes. In contrast, cognitively developed adult learners tend to apply analysis of the learning materials before acceptance or performance.

Therefore, adult learners can acquire C2 competence through two kinds of learning processes: developing an understanding of C2 values through performing C2 themes; underpinning their competence in performing C2 themes with an understanding of C2 values. Language educators need to provide learners with both a learning environment where they can learn by doing—performance, as well as adequate guidance in interpreting what they are doing. Walker (2000, p.4) suggests that language teachers can "stage performable 'chunks' of the culture", which can be rationalized within a coherent set of behavioral standards and norms of one culture. It is culture that provides us a context to produce intention. He continues to discuss that language is a medium of the explanation of intentionality, and teachers should approach language through intentionality.

1.3.2 Memory of culture

In line with performance-based pedagogy, language teachers are concerned with how to assist students in remembering their performance and transferring the memory stories into procedural knowledge, which can be applied in future communication in the target culture. Students come to class with prepared linguistic and cultural knowledge, and they transfer their knowledge to memory through contextualized performance

(Walker & Noda, 2000). Then cultural memories are compiled through the three features of the performed stories: sagas, cases, and themes.

Culture memory is composed of both behavior memory—what to do in particular situations, and knowledge memory—why we behave in certain manners. In other words, cultural themes and cultural values constitute a learners' cultural memory. Behavior memory can be retrieved in the future when learners encounter similar contexts and they will perform according to their behavior memory. When unfamiliar contexts emerge, knowledge memory on cultural themes will serve as behavior guidelines for the learner to create and conduct performance that have not been practiced before, but still sustain the appropriate cultural norms.

Understanding what they are performing and why they perform in specific manners also helps learners to maintain their culture memory. In Schacter's (2001) discussion of reducing memory transience, he reports a study on strategies applied by actors in memorizing their lines, which finds out that the strategy most commonly utilized by actors is to verbalize their own understanding of the line. Elaboration not only assists actors to maintaining longer memory, but also is helpful for actors to fulfill the role in their performance. For the same reason, learners always perform better when they are able to rationalize their performance. In turn, a rationalized performance is more rewarding in terms of long-term memory retention.

In pursuit of ICC, various cultural dimensions, if not all of them, can be introduced to language learners, but should be in certain sequence. The weight of culture dimensions in language instruction depends on how much each dimension impacts

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learners' ICC development, and it also varies across different learning stages. Take the cultural value of harmony as an example. Harmony is a crucial element in all dimensions of Chinese culture, from the fundamental assumptions, to beliefs and philosophies, to artifacts and to cultural behaviors. However, learners cannot simultaneously master a cultural value in all these dimensions. In L2/C2 education, I suggest a bottom-up instruction to construct culture training. For example, to understand the value of harmony or harmonious relationships in Chinese culture, CFL students start with performing in favor of harmony as the Chinese behave. In the mean time, they should be provided with an explanation of Chinese harmonious behaviors and strategies—the theme of harmony. Each culture theme should be presented in different cases and sagas, so that students develop both the competence to manifest one cultural theme according to different contexts and a comprehensive understanding of that cultural theme and the underlying cultural value. Harmony in Chinese philosophies, arts, or other dimensions can be introduced as complementary cultural knowledge after learners master the basic understanding and performance.

1.3.3   Self in C2

More deeply, an insight of cultural values reduces learners' affective filter in inter-culture communication, and thus makes it easier for learners to develop a C2 self.

"[A person] has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him and carry an image of him in their mind…… [One] has as many social selves as there are distinct groups of persons about whose opinion he cares" (James, 1925, p. 28). When learners use L2 in C2, they need to adjust everything they do to the new standards in C2.

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Learners must adapt themselves to the new culture. Eventually, the adjustments result in a subconsciously-developed second self. Walker and Noda (2000) introduce the concept of persona as "the starting point and the sole agent in the learning of a foreign language," which refers to "the personal information that the learner is willing to commit to the learning experience" (p. 9). They point out that it is important for language teachers to help learners to adjust to their new persona because confusing persona causes hesitation and resistance in learning.

It is worth emphasizing that the understanding of C2 cultural values contributes to learners' acceptance of the new persona because they can make senses of what is happening. In his work of the *Geography of Thought*, Nisbett (2004) investigates the differences in the perception of self between the east and the west. Easterners feel embedded in their in-groups and distant from their out-group members, whereas westerners do not emphasize the distinctions between in-groups and out-groups. This fundamental difference in basic assumptions and values differentiates the behaviors of easterners and westerners from each other. Without understanding this difference in cultural values, westerners will be confused by easterners' desire to build personal relationship through banquets or other group activities, and feel reluctant to participate.

CHAPTER 2: CHINESE VALUE SYSTEM AND PEDAGOGICAL CULTURAL VALUES

The huge cultural gap between two cultures has been the essential cause of unnecessary misunderstanding and conflicts in inter-cultural communication. Inter-culture communication involves a process of decoding others' behaviors to grasp their intentions, as well as a process of encoding one's own intentions into behaviors. As a grammar is the rule of language, a culture governs people behaviors (Walker, 2000). Cultural values provide behavioral principles in a society, and cultural themes are the behavioral norms or patterns that people conduct in certain situations, upholding their shared cultural values.

As grammar has long been established as a research subject and is well explored with respect to second language education, the fruitful studies in pedagogical grammar make noticeable contributions to the advancement in second language acquisition. Although cultural values and cultural themes have been widely discussed in culture studies, there is a lack of investigation on these topics in terms of second language and culture pedagogy. This chapter seeks to probe into Chinese cultural value system and delineate an outline of pedagogical cultural values.

The complexity of cultural value system has been multiplied by China's long history. In addition, the wide variety of cultural orientations in contemporary Chinese society greatly challenges the simplification of Chinese culture as a Confucian culture. Exploring Chinese cultural value system is an arduous task, but it is worth the efforts in pursuit of incorporating cultural values and themes into language/culture pedagogy, which is the primary goal of the current study. To solve the puzzle, the following questions have to be answered:

- What are the primary cultural values in Chinese culture?

- How are Chinese cultural values different from cultural values in other societies?

- Which cultural values should be included into Chinese language pedagogy?

2.1 Traditional Chinese cultural values

In this section, I present a summarization of the existing studies that investigate Chinese cultural values. The studies are categorized into two groups based on their research methodology: deductive and inductive. The deductive studies examine the historical sources, such as Confucianism and Daoism, and identify the descended cultural values (Oort, 1960; Yang, 1994; Jia, 1997; Fan, 2005; Deng, 2007). Some of the deductive studies also apply the cultural values that they have identified to explain people's behaviors (Han and Tang, 2006; Wang, 2007). The other group, the inductive studies, can be further divided into two types: some studies investigate people's perception of cultural values (Pan, et al., 1994; Chinese Culture Connection, 1987; Shi, 2000); some studies take anthropological methods—examining people's behaviors or use of language that reflect cultural values (Hinkel, 1995; Shi, 2000; Zhang and Harwood,

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2004). Comparing the results of the studies in the two categories, there is a noticeable gap between them.

This section first examines the deductive track and briefly reviews the traditional Chinese philosophies and their contributions to Chinese cultural values. Traditional Chinese cultural values originate from the ancient Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties. During this period, the concept of a "Mandate of Heaven" (天命; tiānmìng)[1] was developed, which alleges that Heaven blesses the authority of a wise ruler and punishes the unwise one. In general, people believe that fate is manipulated by Heaven and that rulers govern the country on the behalf of Heaven.

During the Spring and Autumn Period (春秋; chūnqiū) and the subsequent Warring States Period (战国; zhànguó), Chinese traditional philosophy flourished into what has become known as the Hundred Schools of Thought (诸子百家; zhūzǐ bǎijiā; "various philosophers hundred schools"). In this period, the major schools of thought, including Confucianism (儒家; Rújiā), Daoism (道家; Dàojiā), Mohism (墨家; mòjiā) and Legalism (法家; fǎjiā), all had considerable influence to the traditional value system.

In the Han Dynasty, the Emperor Wu of Han (汗武帝; hànwǔdì) paid supreme tribute to Confucianism, banning all other schools of thought (罢黜百家独尊儒术; bàchù bǎijiā dúzūn rúshù). Ever since then, Confucianism became the state religion and the essence of education curriculum, a system that lasted for approximately two thousand

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[1] The English translation of the terms in this section comes from the wikipedia website, to which I also refer for definitions and explanations of these terms. www.wikipedia.com

years. Therefore, Confucian values have been dominant in the Chinese traditional cultural value system for over two thousand years.

It is worth noting that the Confucian value system that the Chinese have today actually fuses values from other philosophies or religions. Yang's (1994) study on the traditional system of Chinese values explains the relationship of the prevailing Confucian philosophy with other schools of thought in the development of Chinese cultural values. Yang discusses the negotiation of individuals and the collective among different schools of thought. Originally, Confucianism valued both the individual and the group, but placed a greater emphasis on the latter. Indeed, Confucius points out that the aim of self-cultivation is to assist others (修己以安人; xiū jǐ yǐ ān rén). Mohism and Legalism, however, only emphasize the value of the collective. In these philosophies, individuals should either submit themselves for the joint agreement of the group (as in Mohism) or for the interest of the collective (as in Legalism). Later on, Confucianism also adopted this view. When Confucianism developed into neo-Confucianism in the Song Dynasty, the value of the individual was completely surrendered to that of the collective. Therefore, collectivism in Confucian thought is actually a result of the impact of Legalism and Mohism.

In brief, traditional Chinese values are primarily built on Confucian theories. However, other philosophies and religions also partially contributed to the formation of the overall Chinese value system.

2.1.1 Chinese traditional cultural values and American cultural values

As mentioned in the previous section, traditional Chinese cultural values generally follow Confucian theories. In his book on inter-cultural communication, Jia (1997) uses the same concept and applies a deductive approach to study Chinese cultural values. He also identifies five aspects of values that differentiate Chinese culture from American culture in the areas of human nature, interpersonal relationships, human and environment, pursuit of change, and time view. First, influenced by Confucianism, Chinese people believe that humans are fundamentally virtuous or virtue-oriented. Second, Chinese believe that people should be in a harmonious relationship with nature; nature and people should be unified into one (天人合一; tiān rén hé yī). Third, in terms of interpersonal relationships, Chinese seek harmony and altruism. In other words, collectivism is a feature of Chinese culture. Fourth, Jia notes how the cultural personality of Chinese values stability. Chinese tend to pursue development under stabilized circumstances. Fifth, Chinese cultural values the past and respects the ancestors. In contrast, American culture embraces very different values in these five aspects. Influenced by Christian religion, Americans believe that man has original sin, meaning that humans are fundamentally not virtuous. Americans believe men are separate from nature, and men can conquer nature for development; American culture upholds individualism, and an individual's liberty and privacy are both highly protected; American values are less stable because they believe change creates opportunity for development; with respect to time, Americans place their attention on the present and the future.

The five values that Jia lists for Chinese culture are in line with findings of other deductive studies on cultural values, which draw an outline of cultural values by examining influential philosophies and religions. Similarly, in the first chapter of their book *To See Ourselves*, Pan (1994) identify traditional Chinese cultural values based on Confucian principles and make a comparison between traditional Chinese and American cultural values. With the deductive method, they summarize six primary differences between the two cultural value systems:

A. American culture tends to assert mastery over nature, whereas traditional Chinese culture seeks harmony between the human and nature, which results in a passive acceptance of fate;

B. American culture is concerned with external experiences of the world, whereas traditional Chinese culture calls attention to meaning and inner feelings;

C. American culture emphasizes change and movements, whereas traditional Chinese culture prizes stability and harmony;

D. American culture is future-oriented and values rationalism, whereas traditional Chinese culture is past-oriented, holding respects for tradition and kinship ties;

E. American culture values horizontal dimensions of interpersonal relationship (i.e. relationship with peers or co-workers), whereas traditional Chinese culture emphasizes vertical dimensions of interpersonal relationship (i.e. relationship with supervisors or elders);

F. American culture values individual personality, whereas traditional Chinese culture lays heavy emphasis on a person's duties to family, clan, and state.

2.1.2 Desirable and desired cultural values

When applying these cultural values in the context of contemporary Chinese and American society, millions of examples can be found as evidence of each cultural value in the list above. Meanwhile, numerous aspects of what Chinese and Americans are doing or experiencing cannot be explained with these values. In some cases, these cultural values seem to be in conflict with reality. For example, if harmony between people and nature is so highly valued, why is China among the countries with the most environmental problems? Similarly, the American cultural values identified above do not correspond with many phenomena in contemporary American societies. Take America's so-called individualism as an example. According to Jia (1995), Americans value independence and individual achievement. However, 93% of US executives favor teamwork for boosting productivity (Dee, 1995). There seems to be an extensive discrepancy between the cultural values identified in deductive studies and the cultural values to which people truly attach importance in reality. These cultural values generally parallel stereotypes that are perpetuated in Chinese and American culture.

In addition to providing a deductive overview of Chinese cultural values, Pan (1994) go on and conduct an inductive study to examine Chinese and Americans' perception of cultural values. Pan administrates a survey, assessing the extent to which people hold on to Confucian values in both China and the United States. The survey covers four areas: male-female relationships, family relationships, authority hierarchy, and interpersonal relationships. The study breaks apart stereotypes about cultural difference between Chinese and Americans, as the survey results reveal a tendency among Americans adhere

to Confucian values more closely than do the Chinese. Table 1 contains a list of some value items in the survey that are strong indications of this tendency.

Value items	China	United States
Proud of a house full of children	21%	54%
Human nature is benign	31%	80%
Proud of tolerance, propriety, and deference	47%	94%
Proud of loyalty to state	77%	92%
Proud of respect tradition	55%	83%

Table 1   Value Perception between American and Chinese

In addition, Pan (1994) also finds that 40 out the total 83 Confucian values in the survey do not reflect the values of the Chinese participants. Many things that are highly valued in Confucianism are not what Chinese consider important in their lives anymore.

Deng's (2007) study on Chinese cultural values confirms this discrepancy. Deng deductively identifies three principle values in traditional Chinese culture: collectivism, seeking development out of stability, and cherishing righteousness and overlooking benefit. Deng compares these three values with the Chinese cultural values identified by the English Language Institute (1998, cited in Deng 2007) in a survey. The survey investigates the top ten things that Chinese consider to be important in their lives. The ten things that are valued most are: wealth, family, love, work, education, face, interpersonal relationships, responsibility and dependence. Apparently, the two groups of values do not parallel each other.

Pan (1994) and Deng's (2007) studies find that cultural values in traditional doctrines are no longer the values that people practice in present reality. The discrepancy can be explained from two prospective: historical developments; and the nature of culture.

Culture is not a static concept. Cultural values are closely associated with changes in a group's social ideology, economic and technological development, interaction between cultures, and so forth. Historically, Chinese society has radically transformed in the process of modernization since the early 20th century, and thus Chinese cultural values have gone through dramatic changes. Although Confucianism has been the core of Chinese value system for more than two thousand years, it lost its dominance in the twentieth century. Impacts on the Chinese value system now come from four major sources:

The New Culture Movement in 1919 was the first time in two thousand years of Chinese history that people re-evaluated traditional Chinese value system and sought extensive reforms. Chinese came to recognize the advantage of western civilization and the necessity to change the traditions (Fan, 2005). The western value system, which promotes individual freedom, science, democracy and the emancipation of women, became the role model for China at the time.

In 1949, the red revolution brought Communist values into China. As a result, two principles in traditional Chinese value system were overturned. The first one is the principle of Confucian harmony, which calls for avoiding conflict. Yet Communist ideology is based on conflict, believing that men can conquer nature; the proletariat can defeat other classes. Communist happiness "goes hand in hand with revolution" (Oort,

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1960, p. 9). The second cultural value that was abandoned in the wake of China's communist revolution is respect for the past. The Communist Cultural Revolution advocated importance of the future and eliminated adherence to ages past.

In 1978, China launched an economic reform, which led to both rapid economic development and intellectual emancipation. In addition, Chinese cultural values also experienced substantial changes during this period. People broke away from the spiritual regulation of traditional Confucianism and the subsequent Communism. Righteousness lost its privilege place in the center in the value system, as more and more people began to prize happiness as above all else in their lives. Consequently, pragmatism came to rule the contemporary Chinese value system, which explains why "wealth" sits atop the value chart reported in the English Language Institute's survey results.

China has been adopting foreign cultural values in the process of modernization. In the age of globalization, mutual influences between societies are massive and immense. People are concerned that globalization is thawing out cultural diversity as Western cultural values are commonly observed among the Chinese people, specifically in the younger generations. An example of this is the environmental movements, which grow rapidly, gaining a great amount of public attention and support. This new trend to protect nature reflects not the Confucian idea of harmony between man and nature, but reflects an influence of foreign environmentalists.

All of the four influential cultural sources mentioned above contribute to the formation of multifaceted value system in contemporary Chinese society, which partially explains the discrepancy between the cultural values that are deductively identified from

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traditional philosophies and religions and the ones inductively identified from people's

perception and behaviors. Besides research methods, another explanation of the

difference is the perspective of the nature of cultural values.

With regard to cultural value nature, Hofstede (2001) suggests an important

distinction between *desirable values* and *desired values*. Desirable value refers to a

society's guiding principle, whereas desired values are behavioral preferences—what

people think they should desire versus what they really desire. The overlap between these

two types of values is massive and enduring. For instance, "being knowledgeable" can

simultaneously be a desirable value and a desired value. Cultivation is a process by which

individuals internalize desirable values. In the meantime, a gap between the two also

exists. Desirable values are found in philosophies and religions, and seek to sustain or

improve the virtues of a society. Desirable values target the general good in a society and

do not always correspond to the human desire for self-satisfaction and individual

development. For example, a person is generally expected to be "industrious" in a social

context, whereas "personal achievement" normally refers to a person's individual desires.

BASIC
ASSUMPTIONS

BELIEFS AND
VALUES

INSTITUTIONAL
STRUCTURES

PRODUCTS AND
BEHAVIORS

(A) ⟶   ⟵ (B)
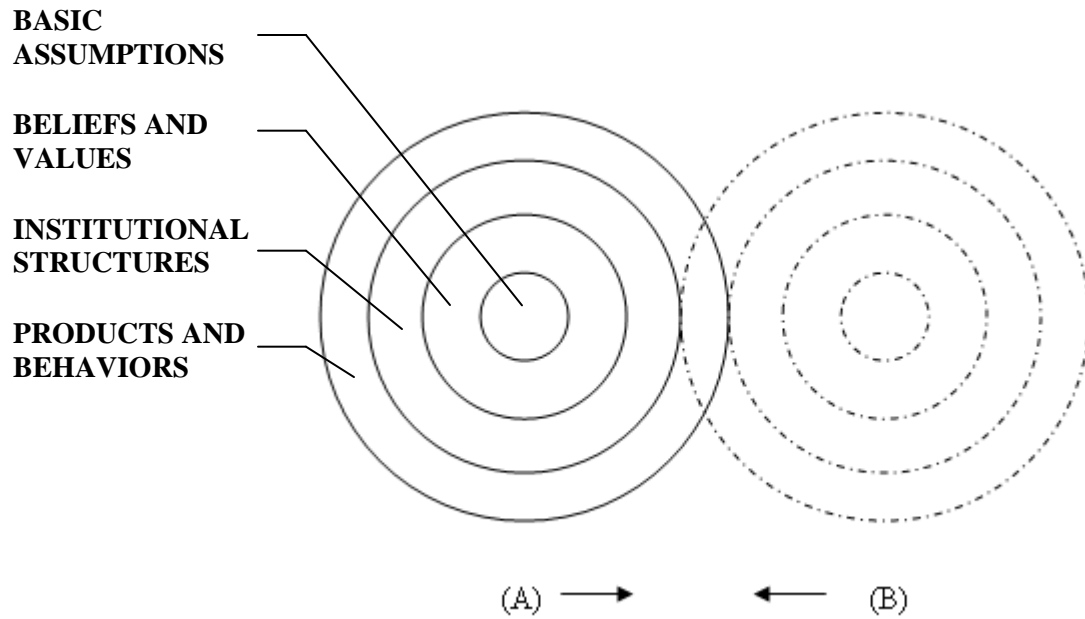
Figure 2 Culture Contact

Incorporating the concepts of desirable and desired values into cultural dimensions,

these two sets of values occupy different layers in the onion-shaped culture diagram in

Figure 2, where A refers the base culture and B to the target culture. Desirable values

include the classics and principles of a culture, and thus belong to the "beliefs and

values" that stay at the inner layer of the structure. The inner layers are not only more

enduring and stable than the outer layers, but also exert a paramount influence on the

outer layers. Desired values, on the other hand, are associated with behaviors and

attitudes in daily practice, and belong to the outer layer of the structure. Behaviors are on

the surface layer of the culture diagram for two reasons: firstly, because behaviors are

more concrete, and secondly, because they are more subject to change. In the age of

globalization, cultures influence one another through economic collaboration, information exchange, immigration, and other avenues of cultural contact. Consequently, each society undergoes numerous cultural changes, most of which take place on the surface layer of the culture.

It is the differences between desirable values and desired values that actually explain the discrepancy between the findings in deductive and inductive studies on cultural values. The deductive studies mostly focus on the value principles that influential philosophies and religions project onto the society via regulation, education, and other forms of social contact. Therefore, deductive studies draw attention to desirable values. Inductive studies, conversely, focus on people's perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors in daily practice, which, as a result, reflect the desired values.

2.2   Cultural values in language pedagogy

Both desirable values and desired values are important in cultural studies. Desirable values are the enduring characteristics of a culture, which provide fundamental explanations to other components of the culture, such as history, art, institution organization, among others. Desired values are directly related to contemporary society and the direction of social development, explaining people's thoughts and their behaviors in daily practice. To put it simply, desirable values and desired values together depict a culture, both superficially and within.

Despite the seemingly exclusive characteristics of the desired and desirable values as illustrated above, they do overlap to a great extent. The French sociologist Durkheim notes that there are certain general ideas of Chinese culture that are free from time and

social changes (Cited in Schwartz, 1985). For instance, Bond and Hwang (1986) identify

three essential aspects of Confucianism in constructing a Chinese social psychology: "(a)

man exists through, and is defined by, his relationships to others; (b) these relationships

are structured hierarchically; (c) social order is ensured through each party's honoring the

requirements in the role relationship" (p. 216). These three aspects are still determinants

of people's behaviors and attitudes in Chinese social interaction. Therefore, CFL

educators should take them into consideration when incorporating cultural themes into

language pedagogy.

In addition to the overlapping aspects of the desirable and desired values,

differences between the two are also worth noting in terms of language pedagogy. First,

the goal of a majority of language learners is to communicate with people in C2 to

develop their intercultural communicative competence (ICC). In addition, language

programs have limited teaching time and resources to cover every aspect in L2 and C2.

These two conditions require language educators to consider the following two questions:

(1) which aspects of cultural values should be integrated into language pedagogy in

developing ICC? (2) In pursuit of ICC, how can one design cultural integration to work

both practically and efficiently? I discuss the first question in this following section, and

the second question is addressed in chapter four.

To develop ICC, the key issue is to be more successful in communicating with

people from the target culture. When in Rome, what can help people do as the Romans do?

This question entails two further investigations—what "Romans" do and why "Romans"

behave in that certain manner. Translated into the language of culture education, the two

concerns are C2 themes and C2 values. Targeting ICC, two standards are demanded in selecting pedagogical cultural value. First, a pedagogical cultural value should be significantly identifiable in desired cultural values, and, meanwhile, it is agreeable to desirable cultural values in the target culture. Second, a pedagogical cultural value is manifested in the target culture with behavioral norms that are not commonly observed in the base culture. In other words, there is such a huge gap in the cultural themes upholding a particular cultural value between C1 and C2 that most learners of C2 need pedagogical training to understand the cultural value and conduct the related cultural themes.

You (1994) adopts the value orientation model of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961, cited in You, 1994) and presents a summary of Chinese cultural values, categorized into six groups with respect to the orientation of a value (See Figure 2). You discusses the possible implications of each value orientation in marketing, including customers' expectation, choice, and satisfaction. Although You's value summary is focused on marketing-related cultural values, his discussion closely relates cultural values to Chinese people's attitudes and behaviors in daily life. Therefore, You's summary lays groundwork for my discussion of the impact of cultural values' impact on interpersonal communication in this study. Based on the two standards mentioned above for selecting pedagogical cultural values, I have chosen seven cultural values from You's summary and make some adjustments with respect to their implication in the context of daily communication.

```
Chinese cultural value system

    ├── Man-to-nature orientation
    │        ├── Harmony with nature
    │        └── Yuan
    │
    ├── Man-to-himself orientation
    │        ├── Abasement
    │        └── Situation-orientation
    │
    ├── Relational Orientation
    │        ├── Respect for authority
    │        ├── Interdependence
    │        ├── Group-orientation
    │        └── Face
    │
    ├── Time orientation
    │        ├── Continuity
    │        └── Past-time orientation
    │
    └── Personal-activity orientation
             ├── The doctrine of the mean
             └── Harmony with others
```
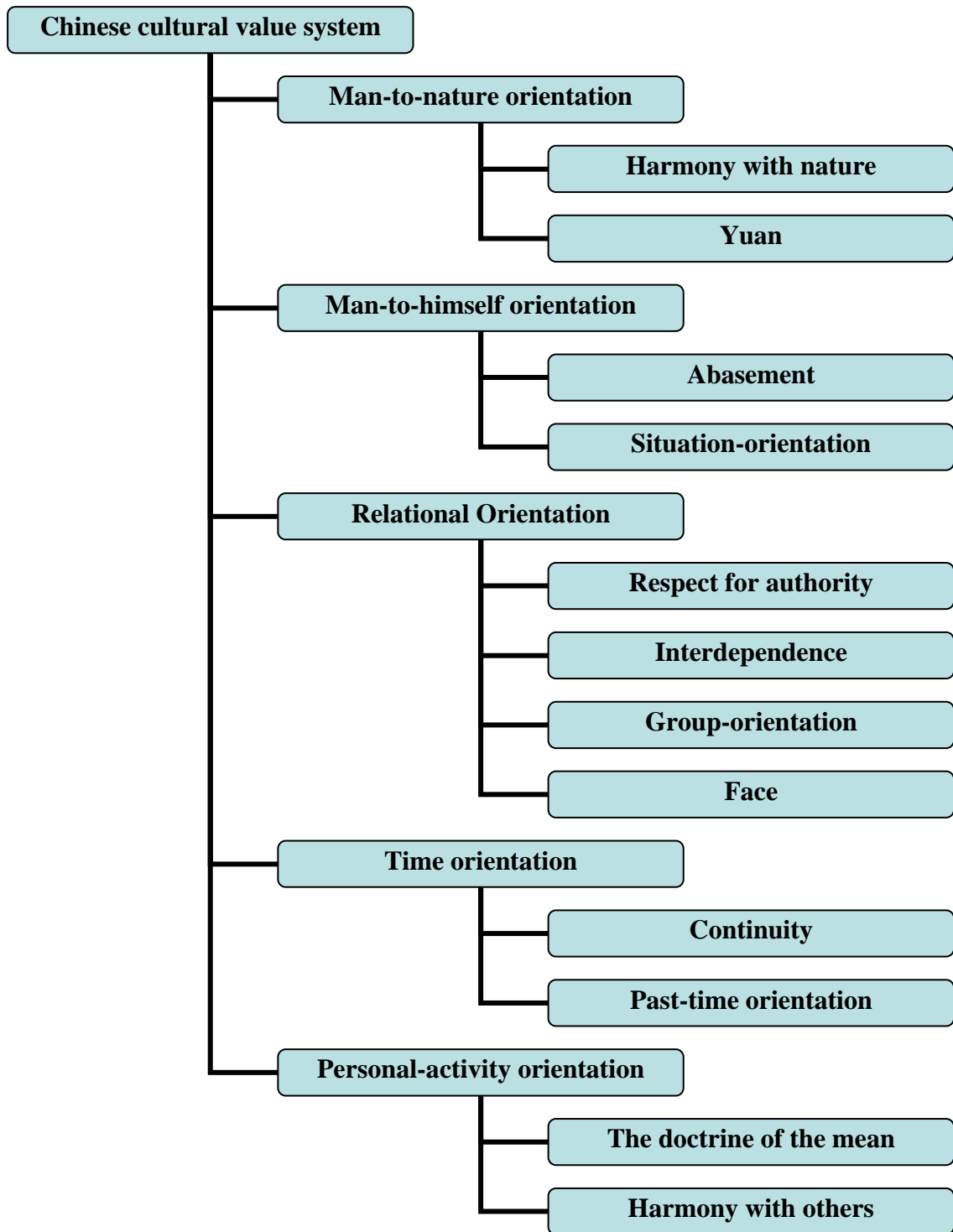
Figure 3 Chinese Cultural Values

1) **Past-time orientation**

Chinese society holds high respect for their ancestors and Chinese history. There is a saying in Chinese that history is the mirror of the present (以史为鉴). Chinese people are always instructed to make their decisions based on the experiences or knowledge of their predecessors, and they frequently quote old sayings or classic essays to support their arguments. The historical mindset of the Chinese people also results in a preference for "old" interpersonal relationships. Therefore, Chinese people tend to trust people that they know more than they do strangers, and they put a lot into maintaining a relationship.

2) **Respect for hierarchy**

Hierarchy is one of the key principles in the Confucian philosophy, and it is partially a result of the respect for the past. Traditionally, a well-defined hierarchy was necessary for sustaining a stable social order. The Chinese have a strong respect for their elders and their superiors, and they trust authority figures to the extent that opinions from the authorities are rarely questioned or disputed. In modern Chinese society, people can disagree with their elders or superiors, but the disagreement has to be conveyed in a respectful manner. Interacting without adequately recognizing the hierarchy leads to communication failures.

3) **Interdependence**

The Chinese emphasize the interdependence in relationships with others. Interdependence is the base of a sustainable relationship, in which all parties dedicate help, as well as receive benefits. Interdependence builds mutual trust through the exchanging of favors. In his study on cultural values and negotiation strategies, Zhao

(2000) reports that compared to Americans, Chinese negotiators seek more win-win solutions. Interdependent relationships always involve reciprocity, both materially and affectively. In daily communication, Chinese people feel obligated to return a favor if they have received one. Also, it is important to respond to gestures of affection, respect, or trust. To receive without returning might be interpreted as a sign of being indifference, disrespectfulness, or untrustworthiness.

4) Group orientation

Chinese people are collectivistic in the sense that a Chinese individual often views his or her own existence primarily as a member of a group. Their personal interests are bound to the group's interests. The definition of the word "group" varies across contexts, ranging from a kinship group, to a working team, to citizens of a province, all the way up to a nation. The key issue is to differentiate between the in-groups and the out-groups. In daily practice, many Chinese people are suspicious and indifferent to strangers because strangers are not identified as an in-group. Therefore, it is commonly observed that Chinese tend to initiate a relationship by locating and emphasizing the mutually shared features that can unite the two parties into one group, such as hometown, college, military service, sports, and the like.

5) Face

Face is an important value of an individual in a group. In his influential study on face in Chinese social relations, Hu (1944) identifies two types of face: *mianzi* (面子) and *lian* (臉). *Mianzi* presents social perception of one's prestige: "a reputation achieved through getting on in life, through success and ostentation" (p. 45), *Lian* represents "the

confidence of society of the integrity of ego's moral character". Here my discussion of face focuses on *mianzi*, as *mianzi* depends directly on the audience and the social interaction (Goffman, 1967).

Face management is "a typical Chinese conflict-preventive mechanism and a primary means to cultivate harmonious human relations in Chinese social life" (Jia, 1997). Based on Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, face can be managed from two aspects: negative face management and positive face management. Negative face is concerned with "a person's freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (p. 61), whereas positive face deals with "the self-image or desire claimed by people in interaction". Chinese the face management attaches great importance to the concern of positive face, and actions that threaten positive faces are of high risk in social interaction. However, Chinese management of negative face, to some extent, does not agree with Brown and Levinson's theory. An action, which potentially benefits the hearer, is often conducted with a bald on record strategy, with which the speaker does not intend to minimize the threat to the hearer's negative face (Brown & Levinson, 1987) For example, the host at a banquet often insists the guests to have more food and sometimes they would add food to the guests plates without permission. This imposing gesture is actually considered polite in Chinese culture, as the host is forcing benefits onto the guests.

In term of positive face, Bond and Hwang (1986) categorize the Chinese management into six groups. Table 3 includes a list of the six categories and examples of each category.

Category of face-oriented behaviors	Example behaviors
To enhance one's own face	Making achievements, outdoing others, belonging to a prestigious group, etc
To enhance others' face	Complimenting, paying respect, obeying, doing others favors, etc
To lose one's own face	Failing to maintain prestige or to meet expectations, being outdone, being rejected, etc.
To hurt others' face	Being disrespectful, distrusting, rejecting requirements, etc.
To save one's own face	Self-defense, compensatory actions, avoiding embarrassment, etc.
To save others' face	Defending others, avoiding embarrassment, accepting others' requests, etc.

Table 2 Categories of Face Management

6) Modesty

Being humble is very important in Chinese social interaction. Modesty is the first step to establishing a successful relationship because modesty not only represents one's respect for self-perception, but it also indicates politeness and respect to others. Modesty requires people not to challenge authority, but to respect the authorities. Also, in many cases, an appropriate response to compliments would be a humble disagreement, indicating the compliment is more than what one deserves. Not many studies of Chinese cultural values include modesty as a separate cultural value; however, modesty is actually a favored personality feature in modern Chinese society. In sharp contrast to this, American culture promotes confidence over modesty in favor of self-realization. In

addition, expressions of modesty in daily practice are very different in Chinese and American culture. The Chinese response to a compliment (deferring the compliment) could be considered rude by an American. Thus modesty is included as a separate value in this list.

7) Harmony with others

Harmony is considered by many "the cardinal value of Chinese culture" (Chen and Starosta, 1997). Chen (2002) emphasizes that the Chinese have a tendency to establish a harmonious relationship as the final state of communication. Reducing and avoiding conflict are both important means to reaching interpersonal harmony. Confucianism does not suppress disagreement to accomplish harmony. Instead, Chinese people adhere to the Doctrine of the Mean (中庸; zhōngyōng), which, when translated into English, means "equilibrium." The following section discusses harmony-oriented behaviors in greater detail.

The seven selected pedagogical cultural values by no means exclude other cultural values that shape people's daily behaviors or other cultural values that are worth notice in terms of language pedagogy. As concluded in the previous section from rethinking the development of cultural values, a cultural value system is a dynamic and complex body. It is beyond the scope of this study, and probably any culture study, to exhaust the topic of existing cultural values in a contemporary society. It is my wish that the preliminary summary of Chinese cultural value system in this section provide a basis for the exploration of implementation of cultural values in language pedagogy. With respect to language pedagogy, the crucial question that needs to be answered here is how cultural

values affect the way people behave. To answer this question, the following chapter will take the value of harmony as an example, demonstrating the behavioral expressions of the value of harmony in people's daily communication.

CHAPTER 3: THE VALUE OF HARMONY IN CHINESE PEDAGOGY

All pedagogical cultural values discussed in Chapter 2 are important in the education of Chinese behavioral culture, and there are three reasons why I particularly chose the value of harmony as a demonstration to explain the role of cultural values in shaping people's behaviors and how a cultural value is manifest in social behaviors.

First, harmony is of paramount importance in Chinese culture to such a degree that it is viewed as the cardinal cultural value in Chinese society (Chen and Starosta, 1997). According to Chen (2001, 2002), harmony is the essence of Confucian theories of social interaction. Meanwhile, "harmony correlates individualism negatively (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987, p. 155)," which means harmony is not a significant cultural value in Western society. The huge gap between the Western and the Eastern behavioral culture can be demonstrated through the examination of the value of harmony.

Second, the complicated relationship between cultural values and behaviors can be well illustrated through the discussion of the value of harmony. Huang (1999, cited in Leung 2002) emphasizes that there are two major types of harmony: "genuine" and "surface." The former refers to holistic and sincere harmonious relationships while the latter refers to harmonious relationships that appear on the surface level, although conflicts remain underneath the surface. In the latter case, harmony is a communication norm or strategy that covers, or in some cases supports, hidden conflicts. Strategic

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tolerance allows better opportunity in the future. Huang further argues that genuine harmony is difficult to establish and, therefore, people generally settle for surface harmony. As Chang (2001) points out, Chinese interpersonal harmony is a "social performance," often conducted at the surface level. The preference for surface harmony over direct confrontation in Chinese social interaction causes confusion for foreigners, and the idea of performing harmoniously might even pose a serious challenge to their sense of integrity, resulting in their reluctance and poor performance in interacting with the Chinese.

Third, the construction of a Harmonious Society (和諧社會; héxié shèhuì) is the dominant socio-economic vision that the current Chinese government currently enforces. Although the government originally targeted social construction, the advocacy has in fact resulted in a revival of the cultural value of harmony in all aspects of Chinese social lives. In terms of interpersonal relationship, the value of harmony has increased in importance, which has become the pivotal standard in social interaction. As Oord (1960) notes, governmental policy can have a tremendous influence on people's attitudes, which has been particularly true in mainland China since the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949. Given this consideration, the value of harmony will continue to receive increased attention in China. Chances are that interpersonal harmony, consequently, will enjoy a privilege in Chinese behavior culture through education and social regulation.

In sum, interpersonal harmony has been of prominent importance in both the traditional Chinese cultural value system and in the daily practice of contemporary Chinese society. It is a typical eastern cultural theme, and is practiced much less in the

West. Given these concerns, I decided to choose harmony as the example to explore the behavioral expressions of the cultural theme in Chinese social interaction.

3.1 Harmony in Chinese culture

Harmony is a dominant cultural value in all the culture layers discussed in chapter one: basic assumptions, fundamental beliefs, social instructions, behaviors and products. In this section, I will elaborate on each of the culture layers briefly with two purposes in mind: (1) to analyze the innate quality of harmony and its relationship with social behaviors; (2) to provide an outline of integrating a cultural value for language/culture education.

The Chinese believe that men should have a harmonious relationship with nature. Confucianism and Daoism are the two most influential ideologies of ancient China, which together have shaped the fundamental philosophy and behavioral norms of the Chinese. Both Confucianism and Daoism attach primary importance to the concept of harmony. They all believe in the harmony between men and nature, emphasizing that men should synchronize with nature. *Zhuangzi,* one of the founders of Daoism, states that men and nature are one in the same (人與天一也). Confucianism agrees with Daoism in that view. Confucianism pursues the harmonious relationship between men and nature by requiring men to moderate their behaviors within rules of nature. Moderation, also known as the Doctrine of the Mean, is considered the key to achieving harmony. In sum, the two major ideologies in ancient China share the belief that nature has ultimate control over the world, and therefore men must exist in harmony with nature, which develops the basic assumptions of the men-nature relationship the Chinese make.

The concept of harmony also influences Chinese institutional construction. The hierarchical social order in traditional Chinese society complies with Confucian social ethics, known as *Three Bonds and Five Relationships* (三纲五常; sāngāng wǔcháng). It regulates the hierarchical relationship between different social roles—one has to obey one's superior level, such as son to father, official to emperor, wife to husband, and so forth. The Confucian theories stress that social harmony only exists in an ordered society in which everyone is aware of their roles within the social hierarchy and behave accordingly. In this way, individuals' compliance with their appropriate social roles creates a harmonious society. The harmony principle in social construction is widely believed and practiced in traditional Chinese society. Yet in contemporary Chinese society, the principle of social harmony has been redefined. In 2004, the PRC government launched a movement of Harmonious Society Construction, which promotes social harmony as the dominant socio-economic vision of China. The core of the movement is to reduce social conflicts and to build balance across social classes. Under the influence of political propaganda, the concept of harmony has obviously regained tremendous attention in almost every aspect of Chinese social life.

Harmony is also one of the primary principles in Chinese aesthetics. It is the supreme value of various traditional Chinese arts, including music, painting, calligraphy, and literature. In his book on Chinese aesthetics, Cai (2004) cites Chinese music as an example and explains that harmony is an ultimate abstract value of music because music is believed to present the harmony of heaven and earth ("乐者天地之和也"[2]).

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[2] From *Li ji* 礼记 [The Book of Rituals]

Confucianism envisions the function of music to unite people. In a well-ordered society, "music is coordinated with rituals in bringing about social harmony and unity that consists of, nevertheless, thoroughly and rigidly hierarchical structure" (p. 293). In addition to music, harmony also captures the spirit of other traditional Chinese art forms, in which all develop the essence of Chinese aesthetics—"when the forms are united and the innate nature obtained, there is harmony ('合其体，得其性，则和')[3]".

Last but not least, harmony is highly valued by the Chinese in their interpersonal relationships. The value of harmony guides people's interaction manners and norms in every aspect of Chinese social interaction—in family, between friends, at school, in business and among strangers. The ability to achieve interpersonal harmony is the crucial criterion of one's competence in Chinese social interaction (Chen, 2002). As an abstract concept, interpersonal harmony is evident in an immense variety of communicative strategies and supra-strategies, which I describe as harmony management. The rest of this chapter is dedicated to investigating the issue of harmony management from the following three aspects:

- Maxims of Chinese harmony management

- Behavioral expressions and communicative strategies in harmony management

- Contextual factors that affect harmony management

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[3] *Yue lun* 乐论 [Theories of Music]

3.2   Harmony in Chinese social interaction

Before going into detail, some clarification of this concept is necessary. What exactly is interpersonal harmony? Most studies on interpersonal harmony management have defined it as conflict control (Chen, 2002; Huang, 2006), which is usually interpreted as: to reduce the degree of conflicts and to avoid confrontations—to lessen harmony-threatening activities. The Chinese have developed artfully crafted strategies to communicate harmony-threatening messages, such as disagreement, competition, and frustration. However, in this study I want to make an argument that harmony management also involves actively creating an interpersonal relationship with a compatible and friendly ambiance before any sign of conflict emerges. This kind of harmonious ambiance potentially facilitates mutual understanding and mutual tolerance, and encourages peaceful interaction and collaboration. No matter whether this relationship arrives at "surface harmony" or "genuine harmony," breaking a harmonious relationship is considered a move of high risk. Therefore, two aspects should be taken into consideration in the discussion of harmony management: (1) establishing or enhancing interpersonal harmony; (2) preventing conflicts or reducing harmony-threatening activities. In the following section, I will discuss five maxims of harmony management in Chinese society with respect to these two aspects.

3.2.1   Maxims of Chinese harmony management

In his insightful work on Chinese harmony management and conflict control, Chen (2002) compiled a list of five harmony-oriented strategies, which I adapt as the basis of my discussion. My discussion differs from Chen's in two aspects. First, Chen's original

model only deals with negative harmony management (i.e. conflict control), and ignores positive management of harmony (i.e. harmony establishment). Second, Chen considers the five issues in harmony management as strategies. I argue that each of these five issues on its own is a complex cultural value, a combined concept of psychological motives, communicative concerns and behavioral principles. In this sense, I suggest defining them as the maxims of Chinese harmony management, which include: (1) group orientation; (2) the Doctrine of the Mean; (3) face management for counterparts; (4) reciprocity; and (5) emphasis on social connection.

(1)   Group orientation

Chinese make clear distinctions between insiders and outsiders, which affects every aspect in social interaction. As Scollon and Scollon (1991) note on Chinese social interactions, "discriminating a boundary is not only a logical or a descriptive activity, but it is a regulative and moral activity [in Chinese culture]. What is outside a boundary is not relevant in any way to what is inside" (p. 471). Harmony-threatening activities are much more likely to occur with outsiders than with insiders (Chen, 2002).

Based on Confucianism, the self is relational in Chinese culture. "The self is defined by the surrounding relations" (Gao and Ting-toomy, 1998, p. 9). Collectivism in Chinese social interaction demands an individual to maintain group harmony. Group harmony entails emphasizing group achievement and others' contributions to the group, acting in accordance with others, and de-emphasizing one's own needs and thought. Over-emphasis on one's self harms group harmony and signals arrogance. In a typical Chinese community, revealing one's self pride or being self-centered in a group is

considered immature and incompetent in social interaction. This also partially explains why the Chinese see modesty as a vital quality in social interaction.

While growing up in China, one tends to be sensitive to his or her position in the group, as above, below or equal to others (Gao & Ting-toomy, 1998). Individuals' roles and expectations of individuals in a group correspond with one's hierarchical position in the group. For example, when making a decision, those who sit lower on the hierarchy scale are normally expected not to play the decisive role, therefore they commonly deemphasize their ideas or stand their ground less firmly. Their opinions should be conveyed in a more humble manner than those who stand higher in the hierarchy scale.

(2) Doctrine of the Mean

The Doctrine of the Mean is one of the major theories in Confucianism. Chan (1963) renders "Mean" as an "equilibrium," which is identified as harmony. With respect to social interaction, the Doctrine of the Mean is manifested by two communicative strategies. First, one should withhold feelings and remarks that are incompatible with others in the group. Therefore, the Chinese tend to express negative feelings or contrary opinions in an indirect manner. The Confucian belief states that equilibrium is to withhold all kinds of strong feelings, yet harmony is to express those feelings in a moderate manner ("喜怒哀乐之未发，谓之中，发而皆中节，谓之和"[4]). This moderate manner may be best described by the Chinese word hanxu (含蓄), which refers to a communicative mode that is contained, reserved, implicit and indirect.

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[4] Zhong yong 中庸 [Doctrine of Mean]

Another implementation of the Doctrine of Mean is to establish a balanced relationship between various parties that are interacting with each other. When two parties are in conflict or hold different positions on one issue, the Chinese tend not to completely deny or accept one side. Instead, they frequently settle for the neutral viewpoint or solutions in pursuit of the group balance.

(3)   Face management for counterparts

As discussed earlier in this chapter, *face* is a major concern in Chinese social interaction. One can signal respect and social nicety to his or her counterparts by saving or making face for them. Broadly speaking, in light of the two aspects of harmony management, saving face for others can prevent conflicts, and making face for others can enhance interpersonal relationship. Table 4 is a summary of some cultural themes in term of saving or making face for others.

Saving face for others	Making face for others
• Deemphasize others' mistakes	• Compliment others
• Avoid making requests	• Do favors for others
• Avoid outdoing others	• Self-efface
• Avoid rejecting requests	• Treat others in an honorable way

Table 3 Cultural Themes in Face Management

(4) Reciprocity

Reciprocity is a primary principle of harmony management. Its implication is twofold. First, the Chinese tend to keep balance in the benefit that each party receives. It is natural for the Chinese to repay someone that has provided help or done a favor. However, a repayment of a favor rarely takes the form of money unless the favor itself is lending money. Even in the latter case, reciprocity usually goes beyond repaying loaned money. The reciprocal communicative principle is called *renqing* (人情) in Chinese, which is literally translated as people-affection. Therefore, *Renqing* debt requires debtors to pay back by doing the creditors a favor with affection.

It also explains why the Chinese prefer to perform the reciprocating act and balancing responsibility in interaction. Harmony is built on interdependency and mutual trust, which both parties in a relationship need to value and manifest by maintaining a balance between receiving and giving. The Chinese regard taking without returning as "in debt," and inappropriate management of "debt" is considered irresponsible and disrespectful. In addition, the principle of reciprocity is also manifested by creating win-win opportunities. For instance, in his study on the Chinese approach to international business negotiation, Zhao (2000) reports a preference of Chinese businesspeople to win-win strategies over competition-based win-lose strategies.

(5) Emphasis on social connections

Social connections refer to various interpersonal relationships that exist in a social community, including kinship members, friends, coworkers, and so on. In a Chinese community, social connections receive great emphasis. For instance, Chinese often start

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establishing a connection with a stranger by seeking information of their township. Subsequently, if they find out that the other person is from the same hometown or home province, the connection of coevals will be established and emphasized. As a result, a sense of group is formed which promotes interpersonal harmony. According to Leung (1988), the Chinese are more likely to avoid conflicts with people who share a particular network. I suggest the term *horizontal dimension* of a relationship to describe the types of relationships that people are involved in. In the horizontal dimension, the Chinese are cautious to any hierarchical distance existing in the group. For example, a student-teacher relationship contains a higher hierarchical distance than a student-student relationship. It is crucially important to recognize hierarchy and show respect to people who are higher on the hierarchy scale.

In addition to the horizontal dimension, the Chinese also attach great emphasis to the *vertical dimension* of a relationship, which refers to the development and maintenance of a relationship. As discussed in the last chapter, the Chinese attach great importance to the past in terms of the "time horizon" of the society. Therefore, the Chinese tend to keep long-term relationships rather than short-term ones. In order to strengthen the vertical dimension of relationship, people need to keep in touch, exchange respect, and build mutual trust. In sum, emphasizing the horizontal dimension and enhancing the vertical dimension are common strategies of harmony management in Chinese social interaction.

These five maxims of harmony management are summarized from existing literature on interpersonal harmony, supplemented with my own interpretations based on

my observation and experiences of Chinese social interaction. As I have discussed earlier in this chapter, cultural value studies should conduct inductive research on people's practice in reality. I have relied mainly on other scholars' deductive studies for the theoretical basis of this study, supplementing with my adjustments determined by the scope and purpose of this study. My main concern here is not to reveal every aspect of harmony management, but to enrich the discussion of incorporating cultural value into language pedagogy.

Group orientation
    To deemphasize self by letting others make decisions
    To create group harmony by offering help
    To pay respect to hierarchy by using proper pronouns

Doctrine of the Mean
    To avoid conflict by convey incompatible opinions indirectly
    To pursue balance by compromising from both sides

Face management for counterparts
    To make face for others by complimenting
    To save face for others by deemphasizing others' mistakes

Reciprocity
    To keep balance by returning favors
    To keep balance by creating win-win solutions

Social connection
    To establish a connection by seeking others' personal information
    To maintain a connection by organizing a reunion

Table 4 Cultural Themes in Harmony Management

Table 4 provides a list of example cultural themes that involved in the five maxims of Chinese harmony management. These themes can be integrated in to a language curriculum to help learners build an association between C2 behaviors and C2 cultural values. The curriculum designing is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

In addition to an exploration of the strategies in harmony management, it is also my goal to elaborate on the intertwined cooperation of various cultural values in shaping people's behaviors. The discussion of harmony management has revealed that a variety of cultural values take part in achieving one particular value. For instance, making *face* for others and behaving with modesty are both important strategies in harmony management, while *face* and modesty are respectively two cultural values in Chinese social interaction.

To elaborate on the intertwined relationships among cultural values, a clarification is in order. Cultural value can be further divided into two categories: value of ends and value of means. Values can be "means and ends of actions" (Kluckhohn, 1967, p. 395). A value of ends refers to the goal of the interaction, and a value of means refers to the strategies or approach applied to reach the goal. There is no absolute dividing line between the two because in most cases a value can be either an end or a means to an end, depending on the context of the interaction and people's intentions. For example, the value of reciprocity and the value of *face* can intertwine in a way that one value simultaneously reaches the other value. Person Y makes *face* for Person Z by doing Z a favor. Z afterwards makes face for Y by complimenting Y in front of other people. In this

scenario, Y doing Z a favor enhances Z's face, and it automatically stimulates a reciprocal process, in which Z is going to repay Y by making face for Y. Therefore, making face for Z is a means for reciprocity, while reciprocity is a means for gaining face. This example illustrates how in many situations people do not simply conduct interaction for one cultural value. There is more than one value involved in one single interactive behavior. Similarly, each interactive behavior might function to achieve more than one cultural value. Hence, most cultural values can switch between a value of ends and a value of means, or serve as both at the same time.

However, the case of harmony should receive special attention. As Chen (2002) has emphasized, the Chinese have a tendency to establish a harmonious relationship as the final state of communication. In the process of social interaction, Chinese people cautiously steer their behavior towards interpersonal harmony, and many communicative strategies are applied in pursuit of harmony. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that on the spectrum of end and means, the value of harmony leans more towards the value of ends, an attribute that differentiates the value of harmony from other cultural values. I suggest three notions regarding the relationship among cultural values in Chinese social interaction:

- Cultural values cooperate in realizing interpersonal harmony.

- Expressions of one cultural value can overlap those of other cultural value.

- Harmony is the essence and the ultimate objective of interpersonal relationship.

These three aspects are presented in Figure 3. Each circle on the outer layer represents a cultural value, and these values overlap with each other indicating their joint

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operation in behaviors and the fact that a behavior might manifest multiple cultural values. The value of harmony stays at the center of the figure, representing one of the primary concerns of Chinese in their social interaction. Although, Figure 3 is too simple to present every aspect of cultural value in Chinese society, it sheds some light on the relationship between harmony and other cultural value.
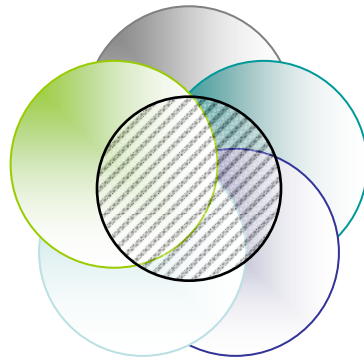
Figure 4   Collaborations of Cultural Values

3.2.2   Harmony management strategies

The previous section mainly discusses the realization of harmony from the aspect of the characteristics or principles of Chinese harmony management. In this section, I am going to approach the issue of harmony by analyzing behavioral expressions in harmony management. When discussing what really matters in a conversation, one often hears the comment that "it's not what you say, but how you say it." The *how* here is an extremely complex issue. Yang's (2007) thorough and comprehensive study on Chinese refusal practices provides evidence of the complexity of behaviral expressions. Yang finds out

that explanations, alternatives, direct refusal and attempts to dissuade the interlocutor are the commonly-used strategies in Chinese refusal. In addition, the Chinese often convey their refusals through hesitation, silence, gestures or facial expressions. In Chapter 1, I presented six communicative domains which cover both communicative strategies and supra-strategies. I am going to analyze how the value of harmony is embodied in the five behavioral domains.

1) **Illocutionary domain:**

Illocutionary domain mainly deals with the wording of speech acts, including "selection of speech act components, the degree of directness/indirectness, and amount of upgraders and downgraders" (Spencer-Oatey, 2002, p. 21).

There is no definite classification that determines whether a specific speech act is harmony-promoting or harmony-threatening. Although, some speech acts, such as giving a refusal and expressing disagreement, are inherently unharmonious, they can be conducted in an appropriate and tactful manner so that they actually function to maintain or even to enhance interpersonal harmony. It would be arbitrary to introduce a speech act to learners simply as a "Do" or a "Don't" in terms of harmony management. It is the components of the speech acts that usually create differences and difficulties in inter-cultural communication, which is demonstrated in the following conversation example of a Chinese invitation.

A: míngtiān lái chī wǎnfàn a. 明天来吃晚饭啊。[5]
B: bù láile, 不来了，
   tai máfan. 太麻烦。

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[5] This example is cited from Gu's study on Chinese politeness (1990, p. 252). The dialog is first presented in Pinyin and Chinese characters, followed by its English translation.

A: máfan shénme a. 烦麻什么啊？
   cài dōu shì xiànchéng de. 菜都是现成的。
B: nà yě dé shāo a. 那也得烧啊。
A: nǐ bù lái wǒmen yě dé chīfàn 你不来我们也得吃饭。
   yīdìng lái a 一定来啊。
   bù lái wǒ kě shēngqì le 不来我可生气了。
B: hǎoba 好吧，
   jiù suíbiàn yīdiǎn 就随便一点儿。

A: [Come to dinner tomorrow.]   (1) to invite
B: [I won't come;]   (2) to decline
   [(It's) Too much trouble (for you).]   (3) to explain reason fordeclining
A: [What is the trouble?]   (4) to question B's explanation
   [The dishes are all ready-made.]   (5) to provide a solution
B: [It still needs to be cooked.]   (6) to emphasize the problem
A: [If you don't come, we still need to eat dinner;]   (7) to mitigate the problem
   [You must come;]   (8) to command
   [If you are not coming, I will feel offended.]   (9) to threaten
B: [All right,]   (10) to yield
   [Let's make it simple.]   (11) to mitigate the imposition

The beginning of the conversation, sentence (1) and (2), is the head act (A to invite) and its response (B to decline). Both the invitation and the declination are expressed bluntly, as the invitation is delivered in an imperative sentence, and the declination is given overtly without expressing any gratitude or pity. Many CFL learners might find such invitation and declination insensitive, or even offensive. Learners need to understand that Chinese often give invitation or request with an imperative sentence, which might be inappropriate in English or other languages. Many studies find that when handling harmony-threatening messages, the Chinese tend to conserve their original feelings and opinions and embrace an indirect approach to communicate their intentions (Zhang, 1995). Evidence has been cumulated that under many circumstances a direct communicative mode is more favorable to the Chinese (Spencer-Oatey, 2002; Yang,

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2007; Gu, 1990). Spencer-Oatey (2002) notes in Chinese "direct strategies (mood derivable utterances) are used more frequently than in English, and are often used in situations where a conventionally indirect form would be likely in English. Spencer-Oatey (2002) states that such direct utterances are not usually interpreted as rude in Chinese, as they are normally mitigated with particles, affixes and/or tone of voice"(p. 24). It would be misleading if CFL learners were told that the Chinese are indirect in expressing their feelings or desires as a behavioral principle. Learners should be aware that the degree of directness and indirectness, probably the same as in the application of all other communicative strategies, is closely related with various contextual factors, which I am going to discuss in the next section.

Besides the degree of directness/indirectness, CFL learners should also pay attention to the usage of upgraders and downgraders in Chinese social interaction. Upgraders and downgraders are important devices that intensify or reduce the impact of the speech (House and Kasper, 1981) which perform a wide variety of discourse functions, such as, to name a few, sending an alert, providing reasons, or providing compensation. In the example conversation, the sentence particle "啊" serves to mitigate the imperative tone in A's invitation, making the invitation less imposing and more acceptable. Similarly, Person B's blunt declination to the invitation, "I will not go," is softened by the reason that B provides right after the declination, which explains that B is concerned about the inconvenience that cooking a dinner brings to A. In this example, both A's use of sentence particle and B's explanation function as downgraders, mitigating the impact of their utterances.

In sum, the illocutionary domain concerns what people say to accomplish a speech act and explores the reasons why people say such things. In inter-cultural communication, people from different cultures might choose to perform the same speech act in a particular situation. For example, a Japanese waiter and an American waiter both give warm welcome to the customers. However, their little welcome speeches might greatly differ from each other in the illocutionary domain. In CFL pedagogy, educators should train students to break a speech act into smaller pieces of utterance, and analyze their functions in relation to cultural values and cultural themes.

2) **Discourse domain:**

Discourse domain includes topic choice and management and the organization and sequencing of information. These issues are less commonly addressed in CFL education, but they are crucial elements in inter-cultural communication competence. Going back to the example conversation, B declines A's invitation with the reason that cooking is inconvenient for A. The choice of "inconvenience" as a reason (Sentence 3) obviously conveys B's concerns for A, but it additionally signals B's potential willingness to accept the invitation. If B choose a reason that only concerns B, like "I'm really busy tomorrow," A is much less likely to insist B accept the invitation. This also explains why A's command (Sentence 7) and threat (Sentence 8) are socially acceptable in harmony management. It is reasonable to assume that if A did not deliver sufficient insistence, B might have taken it as a sign that A's invitation is no more than a social gesture. Hence, B's choice on the reason of the declination implies B's actual attitude which subsequently determines A's response to B's declination.

Each culture has its own discourse norms and underlying rules on topic

management. Choice on a topic projects the conversational flow and what has been said

is usually the ground for what is going to be said. Appropriate responses depend on an

accurate decoding of what is said. To be socially harmonious with the Chinese, CFL

training should familiarize learners with the common discourse patterns in Chinese social

interaction and train learners to be alert to discourse cues behind utterances.

3)   Participation domain:

The participation domain concerns the degree and manner of people's participation

in a conversation, including turn-taking, the inclusion/exclusion of people present, and

the use/non-use of listener responses. The participation domain is particularly noteworthy

in Chinese harmony management because of the considerable social and communicative

connotations it bears. According to Gao and Ting-Tommey (1998), turn-taking between

the Chinese is closely related with the social roles of the participants in a conversation.

The privilege of speaking belongs to those who are recognized with seniority, authority,

experience, and knowledge. For example, during a family dinner, usually the eldest man

in the family engages in most of the conversations, whereas the children listen to their

elders with occasional responses or comments. If the children challenge their elders'

privilege in speaking, the family harmony is disputed (Smith, 1991). Superiors' speaking

privilege also extends to work situations where the employee or inferiors often listen with

attention and only convey their opinions with full caution. As a result, in Chinese society

"the ability to listen is stressed, promoted, and rewarded in the context of hierarchy and

role relationships" (Gao & Ting-Tommey, 1998, p. 174).

Inappropriate control of conversation participation in Chinese social interaction harms interpersonal harmony, and it will be interpreted as a lack of respect and social interaction competence. However, in terms of listening training, CFL education mostly focuses on listening comprehension. The participation domain deserves more emphasis in language pedagogy. However, as most speaking/listening trainings in CFL cut the learning material into separated short conversations, learners do not have many opportunities to observe and practice skills in the participation domain.

4) Stylistic domain:

This domain regards conversational styles, such as choice of tone (e.g., serious or joking) and choice of genre-appropriate lexis and syntax. For example, going back to the example conversation between Person A and Person B, A insists the invitation by threatening B—"if you do not come, I will feel offended." It is very likely that A applies a joking tone to deliver the threat; otherwise, it would disturb the harmony between A and B. It is safe to assume that A and B are acquaintances who are approximately equal in terms of social positions. If A and B possess very different position in the hierarchical scale or they are strangers to each other, A's joking tone would be considered inappropriate and obtrusive.

The choice of styles in communication heavily depends on context and the relationship between participants. For instance, many CFL learners have learned to respond to a compliment with the phrase "哪里, 哪里" which often elicits a laugh from native Chinese speakers. The Chinese are accustomed to use the self-negating phrase "哪里, 哪里" to reject modestly of a compliment, but the style of the phrase "哪里" is

particular to social roles and context. Especially when "哪里" is repeated twice, the phrase carries a rhetoric sense, which is supposed to be used in a relatively formal situation between those who are educated. Using the phrase in an informal context is not a serious mistake, but it is over-literary ("文绉绉") to some Chinese.

Identifying appropriate speech styles in Chinese is more complex than differentiating between formal and informal style. The Chinese term *keqi* ("客气"), refers to the ritualized politeness style performed in both formal and informal situations. The application of *keqi* is associated with the degree of familiarity between interlocutors. *Keqi* literally means "guest manner," indicating that when interacting with *keqi,* one tends to treat the interlocutor as a guest. Abuse of *Keqi* is a double-edged sword: treating a guest without *keqi* is impolite; treating a close friend with excessive *keqi* is interpreted as keeping distance on purpose.

Due to its complexity, the stylistic domain has been a challenge to CFL learners. Luo (2001) suggests three principles for incorporating stylistic domain into CFL teaching: teaching with a contrasting approach; teaching styles in context; arranging learning sequences according to the coverage of a style in communication.

5)   Non-verbal domain:

The non-verbal domain concerns non-verbal expressions in communication, such as gestures, eye contact, facial expressions, and the like. In many cases, these non-verbal strategies in social interaction are instrumental in conveying and revealing actual meanings behind the verbal information. The Chinese sometimes place more emphasis on what is implied rather than on what is said. The more subtle the implication is the more

choices people are left with. For example, it is important for the Chinese to *chayan guanse* (察言观色), a Chinese phrase literally meaning examining the words and observing the countenance. One does not need to say anything when rejecting a request because *mian you nanse* (面有难色; a baffled look on the face) would do the talking without direct embarrassment to both sides. While tactful facial expressions are less threatening to interpersonal harmony, careless looks might mislead others and causes misunderstanding. Similarly, body language is crucially important in communication with Chinese. Some gestures or body language carry culturally defined connotations, and some are contextually defined. CFL learners should be observant to the non-verbal strategies of the Chinese, and meanwhile pay attention their non-verbal expressions in interacting with the Chinese.

In sum, the five domains categorize expressions in harmony management based on various aspects in communicative performance, and the five-domain model extends to embody other cultural values as well. This model serves as a guideline for educators to design the teaching content, as well as learners to accrue their competence in communication with Chinese. I will apply this model in Chapter 4 to analyze selected teaching materials and to direct my curriculum design.

3.2.3   Contextual determinant factors in harmony management

(1) Situation

A. Time and place

Harmony management varies across time and place. A person behaves differently at home from when he or she is at work. Behavioral norms in a meeting are different from

those of a business lunch. Therefore, the factors of time and place usually describe the background of an activity that a person is involved in, providing general information on the degree of formality, relationships between interlocutors, behaviors, and so on.

B. Cost and benefit

The degree of politeness used relates to the cost or benefit that one's activity causes to others (Leech, 1983, cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2002). Generally, one tends to be more polite when his or her activity costs the interlocutor effort, time, money, or the like. The theory also applies to harmony management. Costing activities threatens interpersonal harmony, so it demands more compensating strategies. Contrarily, benefiting activity automatically promotes harmony, and therefore less compensating strategies are required. On the other hand, the cost to and benefit to the self also plays considerable influence on the communicative approach of the Chinese. In his study on Chinese disagreement in international business negotiation, Yu (2003) reports that Chinese businesspeople express their disagreement overtly and directly when their business interests are involved. In sum, harmony management is closely related to the cost of the acts, including both the cost to the self and the cost to the interlocutor.

C. Audience

Audience refers to the people present who are not interlocutors in the conversation. The existence of an audience affects harmony management, especially for the Chinese. The Chinese have a tendency to be cautious of who is around. They are more concerned with their public image and their *face* in front of an audience. Chinese also pay attention to the impact their conversations can have on the audience, and sometimes they intend to

say things specifically so that the audience will hear. A conversation of a couple in an elevator might vary greatly if there is a stranger at present. Two teachers in a cafe might totally alter their conversation topics when a group of their students come and sit at the next table. Therefore, the contextual factor of audience also has to do with the relationship between the audience and the speakers, a factor that spans over two categories.

An interesting strategy that the Chinese apply is to involve the audience in the conversation or to utilize their presence. For example, a supervisor mediates the conflict between two subordinates at the supervisor's house. At a point, the supervisor is losing control of the situation and he yells at his wife for a trivial mistake she has just made. The two subordinates realize that the supervisor is upset and stops arguing. The supervisor's authority is regained without directly criticizing the inferiors. In this example, the audience is instrumental in maintaining the harmony. Therefore, to a great extent

(2) Relationship between interlocutors

A. Power distance

Power is one of the key factors that have influence on the relationships between people, because power distance usually creates inequality. If one person has power over another, to a certain degree, he is able to control the behavior of the other (Brown and Oilman, 1960). Social status, age, wealth, expertise, knowledge, and control in the outcome are among the commonly recognized variables in power distance.

In his classic study on culture dimensions, Hofstede (1980) identifies Chinese society with a large power distance, where the less powerful people's expectation and

acceptance of unequally distributed power is more autocratic and paternalistic. Therefore, in Chinese social interaction, subordinates acknowledge the power of others simply based on where their positions in a certain hierarchical scale and the subordinates are usually more concerned with creating and maintaining interpersonal harmony.

B. Familiarity

Familiarity refers to how close or distant a relationship is. Variables in familiarity include length of acquaintance, frequency of contact, and affect. When two people have equal power, familiarity is prominent in determining the way they interact with each other. Two co-workers might address each other with their full names or polite formal titles when they just get to know each other. After they become familiar, they start to call each other by their given name or less formal titles. At this point, maintaining a polite and formal interacting manner might be threatening to harmony because it can be interpreted as intentionally keeping distance.

C. Social role

The factor of social roles deals with a person's feature, function, and position in the society. Variables in social roles include career, gender, age, nationality and hometown. In a Chinese community, people share the same social role. For example, one's hometown or career might form a subgroup, and their interaction manner automatically changes from out-group manner to in-group manner. As for CFL learners, no matter their age or occupation, they inherently carry the social role as a foreigner. It is worth noting that the Chinese tend to be very polite and hospitable with foreigners in spite of power distance and unfamiliarity.

Conclusion of Chapter 3

In this chapter, three aspects of harmony management are examined in relation to CFL teaching and learning: characteristics, strategies and context factors. Through the examination, I summarize two principles or objectives in training harmony management.

First, learners should be trained to be observant and analytical of the communicative behaviors of Chinese. It is impossible for any language-training program to cover every communicative skill in each strategy domain. Eventually, it is the learners' task to develop ICC on their own through interaction with native Chinese speakers. In addition, the ability to observe what people are doing and to analyze why they behave in a certain manner is the foundation for producing culturally appropriate responses. In short, an observant and analytic communicator not only performs better in a presented interaction task, but his or her ICC also develops faster and achieves better results.

Second, CFL educators must provide learners opportunities to develop their ICC by performing in authentic contexts. To perform like native Chinese requires learners to incorporate communicative strategies in various strategy domains. Successful social interaction embodies primary cultural values. Therefore, learners' communicative performance should be in accordance with cultural themes in Chinese culture. Moreover, their performance relies on the context to achieve successful communication.

In Chapter 4, I will elaborate on how these two principles should be implemented in CFL education and conduct a curriculum design based on these two principles.

CHAPTER 4: CURRICULUM DESIGN

As discussed previously, cultural values are the shared beliefs and pursuits of the people in one culture, and cultural themes are the behavioral patterns, with which people embody their cultural values in communication. Therefore, cultural values are in the domain of shared meanings, while cultural themes are in the domain of shared behaviors. Both cultural values and cultural themes are of great importance in learners' development of their inter-cultural communication competence (ICC).

In second language/culture education, cultural values assist learners to develop intellectual tolerance and understandings of the other culture, as well as inter-cultural identification, which leads learners to function more spontaneously and appropriately in C2. On the other hand, cultural themes are the practice of C2 cultural values in learners' daily inter-cultural communication, which foster learners' internalization of the C2 value system and promote their acceptance of social differences between C1 and C2.

In this chapter, I explore approaches to integrate cultural values and cultural themes in second language education in the case of harmony as a cultural value. Two questions are discussed:

1. How cultural values and cultural themes are acquired by learners?

2. How can cultural values and cultural themes be integrated into curriculum design in a language program?

4.1. Objectives of Second Culture Education

In the recent decades, the view that successful second language acquisition (SLA) is accompanied by second culture acquisition (SCA) is recognized by more language educators (Hamers & Blanc, 1989). However, academic study on the two subjects does not parallel. Comparatively, SLA researchers enjoy a scientific convenience in conducting their research. Generally, there is a consensus on what composes a learners' linguistic competence. However, when it comes to culture acquisition, what aspects of C2 should be taken into consideration? In other words, what kind of competence are learners expected to develop in the process of C2 acquisition?

In the discussion of this study, I apply the behavioral model of culture to interpret cultural competence in SCA. LaFromboise (1993) suggest a seven-item criterion for cultural competence. According to the behavioral model theory, to be culturally competent, an individual need to (a) communicate clearly in the language of the given cultural group; (b) perform socially sanctioned behaviors; (c) have knowledge of and facility with the beliefs and values of the culture; (d) maintain active social relations within the cultural group; (e) negotiate the institutional structures of that culture; (f) display sensitivity to the affective processes of the culture; and (g) possess a strong personal identity (p. 396).

The order of these seven items is modified in my discussion in an effort to suggest a hypothetical possibility within the acquisition sequence of C2. In learners' study of L2 and C2, they usually first learn to conduct a variety of social behaviors in L2, from saying hello to arguing over a disagreement. All these communicative actions, simple or

complex, should socially sanctioned behaviors in C2. Learners should be able to apply different problem-solving, coping, human relational, communicative, and incentive motivational styles depending on the demands of the C2 context (Ramirez, 1984). It is crucially important for C2 learners to be able to perform these communicative behaviors according to C2 cultural themes.

Along with behavioral training, learners also obtain knowledge of and facility with the beliefs and values of the culture. Through cultural performance training, learners become familiar with the behavioral knowledge of cultural values. In addition, learners should also be introduced to informational knowledge of C2 in other aspects, such as beliefs, cultural values, history, achievements, social institutions and so forth. This informational knowledge fosters learners' cultural competence with a twofold effect. First, learners can better comprehend social behaviors in C2, as they can interpret with their C2 knowledge. Second, cultural knowledge help learners create their C2 identity, with which learners possesses higher sensitivity to affective processes of C2.

It is never a goal of formal language instruction to exhaust all the behavioral and informational knowledge of C2 for the language learners within the instruction period. Not only it takes infinite time, also formal language instruction cannot provide learners with contexts as authentic and complex as what learners will encounter in C2, where learners are going to be challenged with much more practical and complicated social tasks. For example, when being more engaged in C2, learners are expected to be able to maintain social relations within the C2 group. They might also have to operate within C2 institutional structures. These are the advanced requirements and higher goals of learners'

communicative performance in C2, which can only be fully realized when the learners are immersed in C2 and operating within it.

However, classroom instruction can prepare the learners for such changes in their future contact with C2. Many language educators do share an ambition to foster learners to become lifelong learners of the target language and culture. Learning a less commonly taught language, like Chinese, is a lifelong learning career. The proper role of formal instruction is to enhance and sustain that career (Walker & McGinnis, 1995). The ultimate goal of language education is to cultivate life-long self-guided learners. As the old Chinese saying put it, give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach him how to fish and you feed him for a lifetime ("授人以鱼，不如授之以渔，授人以鱼只救一时之及，授人以渔则可解一生之需"). The most successful learners are not those who have learned most, but those who have mastered how to learn from new experiences. Hence, learning strategies are as important as language/culture content being learned. To prepare for the future challenges as life long language/culture learning career, learners should be equipped with not only memories of learned knowledge, but also strategies to apply acquired knowledge and skills to un-encountered situations and strategies to learn from their new experiences.

In sum, in the pursuit of cultural competence in the context of second language/culture education, a comprehensive development in all seven aspects of C2 cultural competence presented above is beyond the capacity of formal instruction that any language program can provide. However, a language program can, and must, provide learners with three types of essential trainings:

(1) To building a memory reservoir of situated communicative behaviors that are

    culturally appropriate in C2 and compile cultural behavior memory based on

    cultural themes;

(2) To enhance informational knowledge of C2, such as beliefs, cultural values,

    history and so forth;

(3) To developing learning strategies that facilitate learners to transfer from

    classroom-based learning to real life practice in C2 and become a lifelong

    learner.

In sum, these three types of training—behaviors, informational knowledge, and culture-learning strategies—are the main objectives of a language program. It is important to note that cultural values and culture themes are closely related with these three learning/teaching objectives. In the following section, I will take the case of Chinese value of harmony as an example and discuss the role of cultural values and culture themes in an L2/C2 curriculum designed to achieve the three objectives.

4.2. Instruction on behavioral culture

Vygotsky (1978) investigates the role that culture plays in child development. He suggests that first culture acquisition is a process of internalization, which is composed of two stages. The first stage can be understood as knowing how to do things. "Knowing how," for example using a pencil or asking for a cup of milk, are tools of the society. Children master these through the interactive activity with other people within society. The later stage of internalization is appropriation in which the child takes a tool and makes it his own, perhaps using it in a way unique to himself. Internalizing the use of a

pencil allows the child to use it to draw freely. Internalizing requesting a cup of milk

extends the child's understanding of politeness and communicative strategies in seeking

favors.

Vygotsky's theory of C1 acquisition sheds light on second language learning and

teaching. In the process of acquiring "knowing how" in C2, learners start with the basic,

most useful communicative tools in C2 society and practice them through interactive

activities in different contexts. Here the "social tool" refers to how people do particular

things in C2, such as making an apology, introducing oneself, making phone calls, etc.

Ideally, through performing these social actions in various contexts, learners would

recognize the C2 behavioral patterns and be able to interpret the intentions carried by

actions under that behavioral pattern, a process of internalizing their perception of C2

cultural themes. Based on this perception, learners finally extend the practice of C2

themes in daily practice and cope with unfamiliar and complicated situations, which in

turn reinforce learners' internalization of cultural themes. L2/C2 instruction should

facilitate learners' learning experiences of C2 behaviors, creating memories of doing

things in C2, a type of memory is known as cultural memory (Walker & Noda, 2000). It

is every language educator's obligation to facilitate the type of learning experience for

learners and help them to create best cultural memory.

In their process of C1 behavioral learning, children generally adopt three types of

learning methods: (1) observing others' behaviors and imitating; (2) conducting

behaviors based on others' instruction; (3) observing others' feedback or reaction and

modifying one's own actions. In terms of learning methods, there is a degree of

resemblance between C1 learners and C2 learners. Learners of C2 also apply these learning methods to obtain C2 behavioral knowledge. In pursuit of successful cultural memory of C2 communicative behaviors, L2/C2 instruction should offer the following elements:

- opportunities to closely observe social behaviors in C2;

- opportunity to internalize C2 cultural themes through performance;

- adequate contexts for visual demonstration and interactive performance;

- feedback on learners' performance;

In the following section, I discuss how a curriculum should be designed to provide learners with these four types of assistance.

4.2.1. Opportunities to observe closely social behaviors in C2

As discussed in Chapter 3, the realization of the value of harmony relies on five behavioral domains, which deals with different aspects of communication. The illocutionary domain, discourse domain, and style domain deal with choice of the appropriate linguistic utterances in a certain situation. Participation domain and non-verbal domain concern the appropriate manner to act outside of linguistic utterance. Language instruction should take all the five factors into consideration when designing teaching materials. Consequently, demonstrating the C2 communicative behaviors with linguistic text is inadequate, and sometimes misleading, because it might cause C2 learners to fail to pay attention to behaviors, but rather to focus merely on linguistic information instead. "It is easy to be preoccupied with language knowledge, which is more accessible than culture knowledge" (Walker & Noda, 2000, p. 8). When observing

C2 behavioral culture, learners should understand "how something is said is as much a part of what is communicated as what is said" (Christensen & Warnick, 2006, p. 79). Fortunately, the age of multimedia has arrived in second language/culture education. With multimedia, visual demonstration of C2 communicative behaviors are feasible when designing teaching material. Multimedia-based visual demonstration should become the first choice when demonstrating communicative behaviors in C2 to pursuit inter-cultural communication competence. Observing real communication from various perspective of the five communicative domains is what the learners are expected to be capable of when they enter C2.

4.2.2. Opportunities to internalize C2 cultural themes through performance

Through observation, learners know how people in C2 do things in certain situations—C2 behavioral patterns. Learners need to continue to internalize these patterns and create procedural memory of C2 behavioral culture. To achieve this goal, learners need to perform upon C2 contexts. Performing with C2 behavioral knowledge in light with contexts enables learners to build a perceptional connection between situations and behaviors, which in turn direct their behaviors in new contexts. Therefore, contextualized performance is the essential component in behavior instruction. L2/C2 instruction should provide learners with contextualized practices that are designed to foster the internalization of C2 behavioral patterns.

Walker (1989) suggests that there are two types of instruction in L2/C2 education. In the beginning level, learners study fundamental linguistic and cultural knowledge of L2. In the initial stage, Learning Model Instruction (LMI) should be adopted as the

teaching approach, which deals with fundamental language items, such as vocabulary, grammatical patterns, and so on. In an advanced level, L2/C2 learning is more concerned with communicative strategies for using L2 appropriately, rather than learning certain language items. In this stage, the Acquisition Model Instruction (AMI) should be applied in L2/C2 instruction, which focuses on strategies and tactics.

Leaving out language instruction, the notion of LMI and AMI also applies to the instruction on behavioral culture. In the initial stage of behavioral culture study, basic behavior patterns of C2 are introduced, with each behavior pattern viewed as one item in C2 behavioral culture. Learners of Chinese, for example, learn what Chinese do in particular situations, such as inquiring help from strangers, delivering invitation to friends, making an apology to superiors, and so forth. Thus, these types of specific situations should be created for learners to perform. For example, when learning how to deliver refusal in Chinese, a communicative task can be situated as "A colleague invites you to dinner, but you are busy." Learners are expected to refuse the invitation without threatening interpersonal harmony. In this activity, the harmony-oriented strategy "saving face for others" is imparted to learners through contextualized performance. In LMI, the majority of communicative activities, if not all of them, should be designed to embody C2 communicative strategies, and learners expand their strategies by doing things in C2 context.

When learners gradually build up a rich and varied reservoir of communicative strategies, they are ready to move on to AMI, in which behavior patterns are no longer the objective of culture training. In many situations, communication requires more than

customary behaviors. A culturally competent learner can adjust behavior patterns flexibly to the situation and initiate adaptive actions. In real life, people handle things creatively all the time, but their behaviors can still be acceptable in their culture, because those behaviors recognize the shared cultural values. It is the mission of AMI to assist learners to transcend patterned behaviors and associate behaviors with cultural values, compiling culture memory into cultural themes. In AMI, learners apply learned cultural themes flexibly in complex and unfamiliar situations. Compare to LMI, the communication tasks in AMI are more complicated, so that learners may need to apply more than one cultural theme to cope with the task at question. Learners should also be placed in contexts where they can envision themselves as part of a long-term relationship with a group of people from C2. In this way, the goal of their action is not to merely solve the problem at hand, but to manage a sustainable network. Therefore, AMI focuses to simulate authentic C2 situations that involve complicated communication tasks. In these situations, learners need to make choice among communicative strategies and adjust the strategy use to the context.
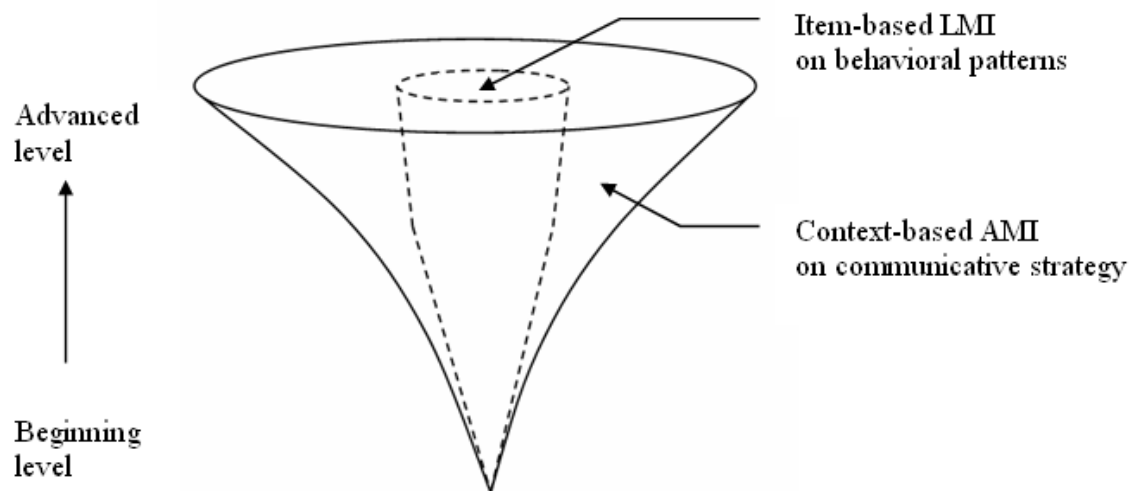
Figure 5   LMI and AMI

Figure 5 illustrates the roles of LMI and AMI in behavioral culture instruction. At the beginning level, culture instruction is mostly devoted to item-based LMI on C2 behavioral patterns. At this stage, learners receive rather limited communicative strategy training. As learners move on to advanced level, behavioral pattern instruction slows down. Learners have built up a decent size of reservoir of behavior patterns, with which they can associate cultural values and form a theme-based culture memory. In this stage, the context-based AMI on learners' communicative strategies substantially increases. Learners rely on acquired cultural themes to conduct proper behaviors in unfamiliar and complex situations. Conversely, adjusting strategy use and creating one's own responses to the context reinforce learners' understanding of cultural themes.

4.2.3. Adequate contexts for visual demonstration and performance:

In both LMI and AMI, communicative interactions of C2 should always be presented and performed in contexts. Only within context can the exchange of utterances become meaningful communication for learners to observe and imitate. Moreover, only contextualized performance creates memories of stories on C2 behaviors for learners. As discussed above, the complexity of contexts increases from LMI to AMI. A context in LMI is designed to accentuate the behavioral patterns among other aspects of a communication story. Therefore, the context is straightforward and directly related to the behavior pattern in question. On the other hand, contexts in AML are designed to blur the clear cut line between behavior patterns and integrate various communicative strategies. For instance, when learners are learning to give their opinions, a task in AMI can be "in discussing budget of the next year, your manager and another colleague of yours have different opinions. Support your colleague." In pursuit of interpersonal harmony, learners can apply a series of strategies in this activity, such as being humble by one's own limitation, identifying hierarchy by using proper pronouns, saving face for others by partial affirmation, and so forth.

Another point worth noticing in context design is the relationship among contexts. Contrasting contexts necessitate learners' understanding of the roles that contextual factors play in communication. As discussed in Chapter 3, two major kinds of contextual factors—situational and relationship—are crucial when people conduct communicative behaviors in harmony management. Situational factors include time, place, audience, cost and benefit of the action. Relationship factors consist of power distance, familiarity, and

social roles. It is unnecessary to provide all the contextual factors all the time. Sometimes a context as simple as "Mr. Wang talks to his friend" is adequate for learners to comprehend and perform. However, all the contextual factors should be introduced to learners somewhere along the line in curriculum design. Students should have the knowledge of how these contextual factors might affect one's behaviors in C2 communication. One way to present the role of contextual factors in communication is to make contrasting contexts on the same case. For example, on the first day Mr. Wang works in a company, his colleagues call him "Wang xiansheng" (王先生, Mr. Wang); but after a week has passed, Mr. Wang is now addressed as "lao wang" (老王, Senior Wang), an address signaling intimacy and friendliness.

Another suggestion is to build continuity in contexts through curriculum design. Walker and Noda (2000) suggest the term *saga* to indicate where and among whom an interaction takes place. A person life might involve a number of sagas, such as workplace, home, weekly chess clubs, etc. There are two advantages to build contexts in continuity in a certain number of sagas. First, interpersonal relationship undergoes changes as people interact. Observing and performing a developing network provide learners with an experience of managing interpersonal relationship and prepare them to engage in a real one in the future. Second, a sustainable context creates more meaningful stories for learners' C2 memory than mutually independent contexts do. If learners are familiar with the designed saga, they can better comprehend what happens and why, which leads to better performance and memory of the story.

4.2.4. Feedback on learners' performance

Feedback plays a key role in learners' progress in culture competence. There are two ways to provide feedback. First, a teacher can give feedback in the role of an L2/C2 instructor who points out learners' mistakes, presents correct models, or direct learners to self-correct. Alternatively, a teacher can provide feedback as one interlocutor in the interaction, who responds to the other interlocutor's remarks and behaviors with natural conversational prompt for repetition, clarification, or self-correction (Noda, 1998). The second method can be viewed as imparting feedback as part of the performance. If a learner behaves inappropriately in C2, the instructor can respond as being confused, discouraged, or even offended. If the learner performs well, the instructor can respond by conveying a satisfaction or by continuing the interaction smoothly. The second method not only completes learners' memory of the story, but also promotes learners to be more observant to people's feedback during interaction, which enables learners' self-correction. "Performing a culture in each case should aim to create a memory focused on pleasing the subjects of the remembering so they will want to continue the conversing" (Walker, 2000). The ability to discern others' response and adjust one's behaviors accordingly is an important skill that contributes to learners overall competence in C2 communication. Therefore, when learners' performance is culturally incorrect, responding as an interlocutor in the interaction is one option in giving feedback. Since this kind of feedback is implicit and time-consuming, when it causes confusion or is not applicable in classroom instruction, explicitly correcting learners can always be an alternative option.

4.3. Instruction on informational culture

4.3.1. Cultural themes in C2 informational instruction

Vygotsky's (1978) study on C1 acquisition finds out that when children learning first culture, they are first reactively shaped by environmental forces, and later become aware of social regulations and self-conscious. C2 acquisition differs from C1 acquisition in the way that adult learners of C2 are more proactive and self-reflecting in C2 learning process. Most importantly, C1-based cognitive system and cultural themes have been established in adult learners of C2. Their internalization of C2 usually involves constant reasoning and analysis on the C2 cultural behaviors that are they observe or experience, especially on those C2 behaviors that significantly differ from those in C1. The existed C1 behavioral knowledge might interfere learners' performance in C2 context, preventing them from attitudinal acceptance of C2 behaviors. Therefore, in L2/C2 education, it is necessary to explain C2 behavioral cultures for adult learners.

Cultural themes are the rules of social behaviors, analogous to the relationship between grammar and language. Most adult learners benefit from explicit explanation and discussion of L2 grammar (Christensen and Warnick, 2006). However, cultural rules are many times more complex than grammars and yet less accessible (Walker, 2000). In performance-based L2/C2 instruction, there are two types of classes—FACT and ACT, respectively dealing with declarative and procedural knowledge. The first four elements of instruction discussed above are all concerned with ACT classes, which taking an inductive approach to develop learners' procedural knowledge on cultural themes through contextualized performance. In pursuit of cultural competence, behavioral culture should

be introduced as declarative knowledge in FACT classes. Meanwhile, knowledge of behavioral culture can also be presented in form of text culture notes or other multimedia formats.

Introducing cultural themes in FACT serves a dual function. First, cultural themes relate behavioral patterns or norms with cultural values, which help learners to rational what they have learned to do in ACT classes. FACT should introduce cultural themes, by summarizing related behavior patterns and their association with cultural values, which explain to the learners the underlying reasons of C2 behaviors. Second, cultural theme is one of the means that learners compile their culture memory of C2 (Walker & Noda, 2000). In a FACT class, when introducing cultural themes as informational knowledge of C2, learners have an opportunity to reflect their performance and compile their culture memory, a process learners may or may not aware of. Therefore, a behavior pattern should be discussed in FACT in term of cultural themes only after it has been studied in ACT. Moreover, a cultural theme should be introduced on based on the premise that learners have developed the procedural knowledge of some behavioral patterns that are related to this theme.

Second, behavioral culture can be classified into three types: revealed culture—things that people generally do and recognize, ignored culture—things that people do but generally unaware, and suppressed culture—things that native people do but comfortable to discuss with non-natives. FACT instruction not only discusses all three types but also direct learners' attitudes towards C2 culture when interaction with people in C2. Learners should make effort to recognize differences between C1 and C2 behavioral culture and

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respect the way that C2 natives cope with their own culture. They need to understand that in intercultural communication there is no standard culture. C1 does not function as criteria for judging and regulating behaviors of people in C2 (Thomas, 1993).

4.3.2.   Cultural values in C2 informational instruction

Studies have indicated learners' attitude towards the target culture plays an important role in the development of learners' inter-cultural competence. Entering a new culture can be a stressful experience, resulting in possible culture shock and alienation. It can have negative effects on the individual. As mentioned previously the behavioral culture model points out that to be culturally competent, an individual has to display sensitivity to the affective processes of the culture and possess a strong personal identity. A culturally competent learner is presumed to understand the basic beliefs and values of a culture, and to some extent accepts and internalizes the cultural values. This would require C2 education to provide learners instruction on C2 cultural values. A L2/C2 curriculum ought to provide learners information on what the target culture value in various social aspects. Since the majority of the knowledge is imparted to learners as information on C2, cultural value instruction is an information-based instruction.

As discussed in Chapter 2, a cultural value is embodied in all cultural dimensions, which can be presented in three types of culture in L2/C2 instruction—achievement culture, informational culture, and behavioral culture. I have discussed the training on behavioral culture in the previous section, so my discussion in this section focuses on first two kinds. The achievement culture is the achievement of a civilization that people

in the culture are proud of. Informational culture is the kinds of information that is important to a society, such as history, philosophy, institution structure, etc.

When integrating cultural values into informational instruction, the information can be presented in various methods. Taking the value harmony as an example, a reading class devoted on comparing the notion of harmony in Confucianism and the new social movement taken on recently by Chinese government can explain to learners how important the value of harmony is in Chinese culture from the past until the present. A multimedia art presentation with explanatory texts help learners appreciates the beauty of harmony in Chinese culture.

"As learners of a foreign language progress in their ability to function in the target culture, achievement culture and informational culture become increasingly useful knowledge……the knowledge that enables the learner to create sufficient comfort to encourage natives to maintain the long-term relations necessary for accumulating experience in the culture" (Walker, 2000). Learning about the cultural values reinforces learners' understanding of C2 from different aspects and promotes learners' acceptance of the C2 worldview. Yet informational instruction should not be the focus in early stages of foreign language learning, where the pedagogical focus is on behavioral culture.

4.4. Instruction on culture learning strategies

Part of language teachers' responsibility is to help learners develop learning strategies and become self-managed learners, so that they can continue to progress in interaction outside of class and after leaving the language program. Through my

discussion of behavioral culture training, the following learning strategies have been discussed.

a) To be observant and sensitive to the contexts in communication

b) To be observant to others' behaviors and be analytic based on the contexts and cultural values

c) To obtain new cultural themes from observing and analyzing others' behaviors

d) To conduct cultural themes based on the contexts

e) To be observant and sensitive to others' responses in communication and to adjust behaviors based on others' responses

f) To reflect on one's performance in communication and compile the memory of communication into cultural themes

Conclusion of Chapter 4

In an attempt to explore the roles of cultural values and cultural themes in L2/C2 curriculum, I have discussed two questions in this chapter. First, how are C2 cultural values and cultural themes acquired by learners? Learners learn doing things in a culturally appropriate manner, which automatically results in a procedural knowledge of C2 cultural themes. L2/C2 learners also develop descriptive knowledge on cultural themes and cultural values through explicitly learning information on the two.

Second, how can cultural values and cultural themes be integrated into curriculum design in a language program? Three aspects of C2 education contributes to learners' development in their knowledge of cultural themes and cultural values. (1) ACT classes

build a memory reservoir of situated communicative behaviors that are culturally appropriate in C2; FACT classes assist to analyze and clarify cultural themes; (2) A variety of teaching, including FACT, reading classes, and culture classes, enhance informational knowledge of C2 cultural themes and cultural values; (3) a language curriculum should also be designed in an effort to develop learning strategies that facilitate learners to transfer from classroom-based learning to real life practice in C2 and becoming lifelong learners of L2 and C2.

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