

Chapter 2

Teachers

The Fengning Hope Elementary School has eleven teachers, ten of whom are women. It can be said that all 271 students in the school's eight classes are in the hands of women. Seven of them are classroom homeroom teachers, one is the principal, one teaches art and music to all the classes and one teaches sports and advanced English. The only male teacher is Liu Zhanyou. He's not a head teacher. He's the fourth and fifth grade natural science teacher. He serves as head of instruction but doesn't have a formal appointment. He's 40 years old and has a thin dark face. He doesn't say much, and speaks in a low voice. When he's together with all his female colleagues who have higher pitched voices, he appears to be the most gentle. He shares an office with the principal Wang Suyun. When Wang Suyun gets a phone call and chats and laughs, Liu Zhanyou sits quietly at his desk listening to her conversation, and occasionally interjects a comment. Anyone who talks with him quickly discovers he knows what's what and is more intelligent than he lets on. He has a deep understanding of the local political and economic situation, and if you ask him anything about it he can give you a detailed answer, but if you don't ask he doesn't offer any information. Once at a dinner discussion about the local gold mine and water pollution, he gave a detailed explanation of how to dispose of mine tailings, and he told me about conditions at the nearby goldmine and coalmine. His female colleagues don't have that kind of broad interest and knowledge about matters that don't concern them directly. As an elementary school teacher, he isn't very active in local affairs, but he's a person who wants to do something meaningful. He's quietly observant of everything around him and understands a lot while saying little. He's a very knowledgeable person. He's a typical village intellectual who doesn't get involved in village affairs. He's somewhat lonely and is a bit conceited in a way few people notice, and he sometimes abruptly says something that makes people think he's straightforward. Unfortunately, people like him are not encouraged by the school system now in effect. He can't make any use of much of what he knows in the courses he teaches. The natural science

courses he teaches in the elementary school are not the most important classes there, and he is not expert in carrying out standardized experiments that science classes require. Because he is the only man on the faculty, he teaches the once-a-week labor technology class. I think this class makes better use of his skills. He was originally the head of instruction at Tahuangqi Experimental Elementary School, and I saw a picture of him leading teachers in preparing their lesson plans on the office wall there. I don't know why he didn't retain his title of head of instruction when he was transferred to the Fengning Elementary School. He was originally a non-accredited teacher, but subsequently received teacher training and became accredited.

These eleven teachers can be divided into two groups on the basis of how they received their teaching credentials. The first group was originally non-accredited teachers who were accredited after receiving teacher training and passing a test. The second group was assigned to teach here when they graduated from teacher training high schools or junior colleges. The first group includes Wang Suyun, the principal and teacher of fourth and fifth grade social science; Liu Zhanyou, acting head of instruction and teacher of fourth and fifth grade natural science and labor technology; Sun Yanlian, the homeroom teacher of fifth grade class one and fifth grade math teacher; and Li Jianhua, homeroom teacher of fifth grade class two and fifth grade Chinese language teacher. These teachers occupy all the schools administrative positions and do all the teaching and student supervision in the higher grades. It is clear that all the power in the school resides with them. All these teachers are in their 40s and 50s, and there is an age gap between them and the younger teachers. Liu Zhanyou looks like he's getting old and becoming sluggish, but the three women are still very vigorous and assertive, and are quick-witted and decisive, but when I listened to Wang Suyun and Sun Yanlian speak at the flag-raising ceremony I saw they could be strict while still being fair and reasonable. Compared to the young teachers who came right from teachers schools, they clearly have more experience and are more down to earth, so they have more power in the village environment.

Six of the remaining seven teachers graduated from teacher training high schools not far from Fengning: Chengde Teachers School, Pingquan Teachers School or Luanping Teachers School. They entered these schools after finishing junior high and graduated after three years. Most such schools are city-level schools, and their graduates are not eligible to take the college entrance exam. Every year the city education office gives these schools a quota of how many students they can enroll from all the counties under its jurisdiction. In 1999, the Chengde Teachers School enrolled 39 students from Fengning County. Fengning County is divided into high elevation, mid-level elevation and low elevation parts. Its high elevation parts are part of the Mongolian Plains, and they are the poorest and most culturally backward part of the Mongolian Plains. For many years, Fengning County has specified that all its graduates from such teachers schools would be assigned to teach in a poor high-elevation community for a number of years, but later it discovered that many of them didn't want to go there and couldn't adapt to the environment, with the result that they didn't teach very

effectively. So the county changed the system in 1993 and decreed that a certain portion of the county's quota would be reserved for students from high elevation communities, and only those students would be required to return to a high-elevation community to teach. This greatly increased the retention rate. All six of Fengning Hope Elementary School's six teachers who graduated from teacher training high schools graduated after 1993, but they all received formal professional education there. In addition, they are all around 20 years old and they dress in the Western style prevalent in the cities. In their interactions with others, they still have the manner of students, and when they teach class they should be a little more formal. He Ping, the fourth-grade homeroom teacher, wears very thick-soled shoes popular with Japanese girls that seem a bit out of place but everyone has grown used to them.

The only teacher at Fengning Hope Elementary School who graduated from junior college is Bao Shuxia. She graduated from the Agricultural University of Hebei, and when she graduated she was assigned to the Fengning Animal Husbandry Bureau; it sent her to the Humaying Township Veterinary Station, which is an institution that is responsible for its own profits or losses, and it couldn't afford to pay her salary. Out of exasperation she took a leave of absence and went to Beijing, where her husband, who is a soldier, was stationed. So, losing her job solved their problem of being separated. She worked in a company for over a year but she felt there wasn't any future in it, so she returned to Fengning and looked for a chance to go into teaching. Teachers always got paid on time, and at that time many companies and institutions often paid their employees late, so this was a big selling point for her. In the past, teachers weren't allowed to leave the profession, but now people without teacher training aren't allowed to enter it. An exception was made for her so that she could become a teacher. She was hired at Fengning Elementary School on a temporary basis, and was told she could go to Humaying High School the next semester. She had the highest level of education of any teacher at Fengning Elementary School, but she taught the two least important classes—sports and English. Originally, the school didn't teach English, but some parents were worried that their children would be at a disadvantage when they went to junior high. This was a common problem for children in village elementary schools. So many parents asked the school to teach some English to give them a foundation. When Bao Shuxia came along, she was given this assignment. She took the assignment very seriously. She told me that either English shouldn't be taught in elementary school, or the school should get a good teacher to teach it. Elementary school students are at an age when their ability to imitate is the strongest, and if their teacher's pronunciation is bad, they'll learn her bad example and never be able to correct it. She also threw herself into teaching sports. She taught her students Tai Chi, and I watched her third-grade students practice it. They really got into it. There are no trees or shade on the playground, and after all the time she spends out there teaching sports, she's become the most suntanned person in the school. This Westernized young teacher is even more suntanned than the principal, who grew up in a village. Going to Beijing and struggling to make a living away from home put a great strain on her that you can see it in her face, and you can

occasionally see bitterness in her eyes over her fate of having to settle for this rural life after graduating from college. However, when she stands in front of a class and speaks English in a high-pitched teacher voice, there is no sign on her face of the hardships she has endured. Her expression is relaxed and her bearing is graceful, and the corners of her eyes reflect a kindness and severity beyond her years. I sat in the last row listening to her teach class. I was surprised she had so much energy, and I couldn't help thinking that she really found herself when she became a teacher.

After the flag-raising ceremony on June 28, I bumped into Bao Shuxia's husband, Li Xijun. He is a cheerful young man, and he was here on his annual home leave from the army. He is from Humaying, and after he graduated from junior high school, he went to Zhailing Senior High School. He joined the army during his first year. In the army he was sent to Baoding Military Academy to learn to be a wireless radio operator, and after he graduated he was stationed in Beijing. The year he joined the army, he was one of 14 boys from Humaying Township to join up. He and two others passed the exam to go to military school. One of them went to the PLA Chongqing Telecommunications Academy and the other went to the PLA Xi'an Telecommunications Academy. Only three other of his high school classmates got further education after they graduated. One each went to Beijing Agricultural University, Hebei Forestry College and Hebei Normal University. All three of them studied fields related to agriculture, but the three who joined the army and went to military school all studied technical fields. The army greatly changes the lifestyle of rural boys who join up. After all these years, Li Xijun wants to leave the army and return to Fengning, but he will probably face the same difficulties Bao Shuxia did in choosing a career. It might not be that difficult, but Li Xijun isn't worried. He says that the best thing the army did for him is to toughen his will so that he can deal with anything that comes his way. A scholar like Bao Shuxia and a soldier like Li Xijun make a well-matched couple.

At Fengning Elementary School, power is in the hands of local people who started out as non-accredited teachers. In recent years, rural schools and their staffs have constantly become more standardized and professional, and Westernized teachers have gradually become indispensable. Only teachers who went to college can teach courses such as English. It's not possible for a teacher to be able to fulfill the requirements for teaching music and art or early childhood education without having gone to college. In the past, music class in rural elementary schools was limited to a teacher leading the students in singing songs. The Fengning Elementary School music teacher Nie Haiyan teaches her students music theory and teaches them to play instruments. When I attended one of her classes, she sat in front of an electric piano and sang while she played the keys to teach her students vocalization and scales, and then they sang a song. It seemed like a private tutor for a Western noble family had come to a rural elementary school. Nie Haiyan also teaches art. Every classroom has a place in the back of the room to display students' artwork. Of course, none of the artwork is particularly good, but most of it shows a grasp of basic principles, and its quality is not much different from that of urban students. I talked with Wang Chunlei, the third-grade class

leader, and he said he wants to be an artist. Wu Xiaoming, from Class 2 of the fifth grade, wrote an essay entitled “My Good Friend,” in which he wrote that his school classmate Wang Baishi wants to be a well-known painter. He wrote, “He has a brush in his hands all day and is never happy if he isn’t painting.” I was interested to learn that many students in the school want to be artists when they grow up. I’ve visited many rural elementary schools, and in my experience, art class is considered to be less important than music class; schools view it as just a hobby and don’t teach it. In my opinion, art class is a luxury that urban elementary students can enjoy, but it’s hard enough for rural schools to teach all the basic courses well. That Fengning Elementary School can teach art class so well that students want to be artists when they grow up is a very welcome trend in rural education. The success of the art class at Fengning Elementary School is a seemingly small phenomenon, but from it we can see how much the quality of education and the ability of teachers have changed in rural elementary education. This is probably attributable to the steady influx of Westernized professional teachers, even though most of them are from rural villages and towns themselves. I asked Wang Chunlei why so many students wanted to be artists when there were so many other professions to choose from. She couldn’t come up with an answer for a long time before she said maybe it was because artists could make a great contribution to the country. This seemed to me to be a little farfetched. Looking at the issue from the perspective of student psychology, I guessed the real reason is that their art teacher teaches so well and her class is so interesting that the students like her class best. In addition, art class is something new in rural education and its newness adds to its attraction.

It is interesting that the teachers in power who all began their careers as non-accredited teachers don’t try to hold back the teachers who went to teachers schools, but to a considerable extent praise them and hold them up as examples for the students to follow. In fact, these two groups of teachers cooperate very well together, and their cooperation ensures the future of the school and greatly benefits the students. The most outstanding teacher at Fengning Hope Elementary School is Zhao Ruiyin, the third-grade teacher. Zhao Ruiyin was born in 1974. She was assigned to Fengning Elementary School when she graduated from teachers school and has been there four years. She was designated a second-level after her second year and a first-level teacher after her third year. The highest level an elementary teacher can reach is special level, and not everyone can reach it. The lowest level is third level, and teachers coming out of a teachers school start at that level. The fact Zhao Ruiyin reached second level so fast is somewhat remarkable. The main reason she was designated an outstanding teacher is that she is a good natural science teacher and she set up a nature lab at the school. On June 24, just after I arrived at the Fengning Elementary School, the principal Wang Suyun arranged for me to sit in on one of Zhao Ruiyin’s classes. Wang Suyun told me that Zhao Ruiyin would be teaching a special class that day, and the following day she would go to the county seat to make a video of it, which would be used as a model for a nature class for the whole of Chengde Prefecture. It was quite an honor for her to be chosen for this assignment. Wang Suyun and Ding Guangdong, the head of

instruction for the township's elementary and junior high schools accompanied her to Chengde. Ding Guangdong rode one motorbike carrying Zhao Ruiyin on the back and Wang Suyun rode another to Chengde. For a village teacher this counted as very special treatment. The following day they took her back to Fengning, and when they arrived at the school, the students came out and welcomed her like conquering hero. The whole school was immensely proud that one of their teachers taught a demonstration class for the whole prefecture. Wang Suyun told the assembled crowd that leaders of the county and prefecture education offices praised Zhao Ruiyin for her maturity. That a young village teacher in a village 30 km from the county seat could catch the eye of prefecture education officials seemed unimaginable to her colleagues. Even though their school was a Hope School and attracted a lot of visitors, most of them only paid attention to the buildings and grounds and very few of them had the patience to sit in on any classes. One day Gu Xianting, who was in charge of early childhood education at the township central school was talking to some of the Fengning Elementary School teachers, and he told them that every year, the county education office grades all the schools in its jurisdiction. If an outstanding teacher at any school publishes an article in a prefectural- or provincial-level journal, the teacher's school will be given a higher grade. Zhao Ruiyin published her article about a village elementary school nature lab, so she was designated a "research teacher." She had raised Fengning Elementary School's score in its annual review, so it's no wonder that the school encouraged her to work hard.

In recent years, county education offices asked all schools to set up a lab course, and stipulated that all experiments must be completed. For village schools, this was a revolutionary change. This made Zhao Ruiyin even more important to her school. Going to the county seat to make a demonstration video of a lab class was just a highlight of her work. Before that, she had gone to many schools to observe the lab classes their teachers taught. The county education office sent all its elementary schools the same set of lab equipment, but it was far from sufficient to carry out experiments. One way in which Zhao Ruiyin stood out from her peers is that she could find a way to put together all the materials she needed so she could do an experiment. Whenever she went somewhere to observe a lab class, she went around to the local scrapyards looking for copper, iron or aluminum scrap that she could use. Sometimes, it took a long time to put together what she needed for an experiment. At Fengning Elementary School, in grades one to three one teacher taught all the courses for her class except for sports, music, art and English, and students also had study hall and noon singing in their classrooms. A day's work was monotonous and tiring, and a teacher had to have a lot of interest and enthusiasm to keep her classes fresh. Zhao Ruiyin had that kind of interest and enthusiasm. She said she enjoyed observing students. In class, some students were embarrassed to ask questions when they didn't understand something, but she could always tell by the puzzled expressions on their faces. Some students' parents didn't get along, and she could tell when they fought by the worried expressions on the children's faces. She understood her students and they in turn supported her. She said, "Children think their teacher is always right and they'll listen to

everything she says.” A teacher who is warmed by her students’ feelings for her can enjoy the pleasures of teaching.

Three Westernized teachers from outside the county lived together on campus in a bungalow behind the main classroom building. The bungalow was divided into three rooms. The southernmost room was the largest, and it was the first-grade classroom. The middle room was the three teachers’ living quarters. The northernmost room was the kitchen. The three teachers ate three meals a day here. The principal, acting head of instruction and two teachers who lived nearby usually ate lunch here as well. The other four teachers, who rented a house in a neighboring village from a farmer, usually went home for lunch.

The three teachers who lived here were Wang Yanhua, the second-grade home-room teacher; Zhao Xin, the preschool class teacher; and Nie Haiyan, the music and art teacher. Wang Yanhua was newly married, and her husband was stationed at the army garrison between Fengning and Huairou, and so she was another military dependent on Fengning Elementary School’s staff. Zhao Xin and Nie Haiyan were both unmarried. They had a large garden outside their quarters. One side of the garden was across from the lavatory on the other side of the school grounds. One night after dinner, I went to their quarters to chat with them. Their three beds took up most of the room. There was a table there that looked like it had been a desk, but it now had a TV and VCD player on it, which were their main source of entertainment. Unfortunately, the school didn’t have cable TV, so they couldn’t watch any satellite stations. They could only receive three stations, which was fewer than the village residents could get. That evening Nie Haiyan wasn’t there. Wang Yanhua and Zhao Xin sat facing each other looking pretty desolate. All their friends were 30 km away in the county seat, and they rarely interacted with the local villagers. I imagined their lives had to be monotonous and boring. Wang Yanhua showed me a name card given to her by someone in the European Union delegation that visited here once whose Chinese name was Bai Xiaochuan. After we had chatted for a while a young man who worked in the township government finance office came by. I wondered if he was romantically interested in one of the women. In the situation in which these women lived, one person’s guest was a guest of them all. They all had to prepare their classes in their room, and it looked like the only place they could do so was on their beds. I once asked a teacher at a central school if teachers living in the county seat who were assigned to a village school could refuse to go, and she said they had to go whether they wanted to or not. There were only two ways to make sure you didn’t get sent to teach in a village: either you had to know someone who could do you a favor, or you had to give an official an expensive gift. I asked her if teachers adapted well to village life. She said most of them had a hard time at first, but after a year, they usually became accustomed to it. She also said that the parents of teachers from town had mostly moved there from the countryside some years earlier. Many village teachers go back to town on Fridays and return to the village on Monday morning. Nie Haiyan wasn’t in the room that evening because she had gone to the township government office in front of the campus to see her aunt, Nie Shuzhen, who was the Humaying Township Party Committee secretary. Nie Haiyan’s mother

is a homemaker who lives in the county seat but is working temporarily in the township government office cafeteria. It seemed to me that Nie Shuzhen put some effort into taking good care of her family.

June 26 was a Friday, and that afternoon after sitting in on the fifth grade class taught by Li Jianhua, I left the classroom building with her and saw a strong man with a scarred face waiting for her. She introduced me to him; he was her husband Gao Sheng, who works for the township government providing legal services. I immediately remembered seeing an entry in the Fengning Elementary School journal that said, On such and such a date, “Gao Sheng, an employee of the township judicial office and part-time law teacher, will come to our school to speak about the law.” This must be him. I later learned that Gao Sheng had fought heroically in the Battle of Lao Shan, and after he left the army and returned to Humaying, he went around to many schools to speak, and was finally hired as a non-accredited teacher. After teaching several years, he joined the police force as a contract policeman. Not long after, the government issued an order that police departments could no longer employ contract policemen. Because of his contributions during the war, the township government appointed him head of its judicial office. To this day, he still has the status of an appointee and is not a state cadre. By contrast, his wife, who was also a non-accredited teacher at the same time, has long since been accredited and become a permanent employee on the state payroll. This goes to show that all his running around didn’t serve him as well as staying put and waiting for things to get better. Because children’s household registration status follows their mothers, their child has the status of a non-agricultural rural resident. They rent a house in Beidaochi Village.

When I met Gao Sheng, he invited me to their home to eat dinner. I eagerly accepted because I wanted to see how teachers who rented a local house lived. On the way to their house, we encountered a work crew cutting down a tree alongside the road, and Gao Sheng stopped to talk to them. I later found out he was asking if he could come back and take some firewood. I felt bad about them cutting down the tree, but Gao Sheng thought nothing of it. He said, “Timber is meant to be cut.” Just then we saw Zhao Ruiyin, the third-grade teacher, and her husband Wang Jingyu walking home. They lived across the road from Gao Sheng and Li Jianhua. When we got near their homes, they fought over who would have me to dinner. It was decided that I would go to Zhao Ruiyin’s home because they didn’t have any children. Wang Jingyu is a vocational high school graduate and he works as a traveling salesman for the county-owned grain company located in the county seat. When I met him, he had just returned from Shandong. The house they rent is a small two-room bungalow. When Zhao Ruiyin opened the door, she stood at one side and looked inside before she dared enter. She said she always did that because she was afraid a snake might be lurking inside. There is a wild hillside right behind the house, and when it rains, snakes look for a dry place to wait it out. Her neighbors are more sanguine about snakes coming round. When one does, they kill it and cook it for dinner. There are two things the people living here always have to be on the lookout for—snakes in the house and maggots in the latrine. Zhao Ruiyin and Wang Jingyu share a latrine with their landlord who lives next door.

It is behind their home and isn't walled in. The back wall of their house and the slope of the hill count as a partial enclosure for it. The toilet is a large half-buried crock. After it rains, the path to the latrine is muddy and filthy, and the mud blurs the boundary of the latrine. Their landlord is a doddering old woman. Their house has a dirt floor that has been worn uneven over the years, but Zhao Ruiyin keeps it swept perfectly clean. Unfortunately, it was raining when I visited them, and our shoes were muddy, so small lumps of mud that are hard to sweep up got all over the floor. There is a wood stove in a lean-to outside the house, and it connects to the kang inside where Zhao Ruiyin and Wang Jingyu sleep. Inside, there is a dining table next to the kang, and that's where everyone eats when they have guests. I was sad to see that the school had modern urban furnishings, but the teachers had to live in such primitive conditions. Now that village school teachers are getting professional credentials and schools are building good-quality school buildings and campus grounds, rural schools are approaching the standards of urban schools, but the biggest obstacle holding them back is the backward living conditions of their teachers.

Like all her neighbors, Zhao Ruiyin had a garden behind her house where she grew all kinds of vegetables. As soon as we got home, Wang Jingyu took a basket out to the garden and picked some cucumbers and tomatoes for dinner. There was no question they were 100 % organic. He also took me to the well, and I drank some spring water straight from the spring. He was showing me all the perks of rural life. It is ironic that at the school, Zhao Ruiyin played the role of an urban resident introducing modern city life to farmers' children, but now she was playing the role of a village resident introducing me to the ways of rural life. This clash in village teachers' lives undoubtedly leads to awkward moments.

While Zhao Ruiyin was cooking supper, Wang Jingyu took me over to visit Li Jianhua and her husband. When I got there, their son was running around the house. Outside in the garden, sunflowers were just coming into bloom. I saw immediately that their living conditions were better in just about every way than Zhao Ruiyin's. When we got there Gao Sheng was studying for the bar exam to become a lawyer. He took the test the previous year and got a score of 207, and he needs to get it up to 240 to pass. He said the last 40 points are the hardest. He said, "Last year, I was just feeling out the situation. I hope I can pass it this year, but if not, I'll keep studying and my chances will get better. I'm sure I can pass it by the fifth time." He's sure he'll stick to his five-year plan because he very much wants to spend the rest of his career as a lawyer. I looked at the thick law book he was studying, and every page was covered with notes. Wang Jingyu said, "I thought you spent your free time drinking. I never imagined you were studying." Gao Sheng said that even though he isn't now a lawyer, he has a certificate to provide legal services in the village legal office, and he can write complaints and handle some other civil matters for clients. He returned to Wang Jingyu's house with us to eat dinner together. During dinner, he told us about the legal work he does, and he also talked about his commanding officer in the army became a mayor in Hainan Island and Guangdong Province, who spoke in an expansive voice with a confident tone and everything he said was well worth hearing. When he was a schoolteacher,

he had taught Wang Jingyu, so Wang Jingyu and Zhao Ruiyin both had great respect for him, and they encouraged his ambitions. When the discussion turned to the tree that had been cut down, Gao Sheng said he wanted to go and collect some firewood, Wang Jingyu said he'd like to collect some too but he didn't know if they should. Gao Sheng speaking in an authoritative manner said, "Tomorrow when Li Jianhua takes her students to collect firewood, get Zhao Ruiyin to have some of her students go with them and collect some for you." When Wang Jingyu heard this, he poured some liquor and toasted Gao Sheng.

Comparing the conditions and atmosphere of the homes of Zhao Ruiyin and Li Jianhua, one can see the difference in the lives of rural elementary school teachers who come from the countryside and from the city. The local teachers can adapt better to the housing conditions, manage to eat better where grocery stores are few and their stocks are limited, and generally satisfy all their needs. Looking at the two couples, Li Jianhua and Gao Sheng look healthier and better adjusted. Li Jianhua is a little overweight like many middle-aged women, and the smile she usually has on her face shows she's satisfied with her life. Although Wang Jingyu has the background and demeanor of a scholar, the corrupting influence of the lure of money and power from his years working at the intersection of business and government have worn him down, and he thanked Gao Sheng overmuch when he shared some firewood with him. Zhao Ruiyin generally seems to be unhappy and angry, whereas Li Jianhua seems satisfied with her life. However, stepping back and taking a broader perspective, the Westernized Zhao Ruiyin appears to have a brighter future. Wang Jingyu is popular with his colleagues, and he says he has an excellent relationship with his boss. In addition, he has an urban household registration and his network of contacts is in the city. In the years he spent on the road, he has seen a lot of the world and it has opened his eyes. He is a very capable salesman and sells thousands of tons of rice on a trip, and there's room for him to move up in his company. Zhao Ruiyin is an excellent teacher, and she won't have to wait long till she can find a job in an urban school. Her bright future also elevates her status in her school. The comparison between Zhao Ruiyin and Li Jianhua epitomizes the relation between urban Westernized teachers and local teachers in rural schools.

Four of the teachers at Fengning Elementary School rent houses in Beidaochi Village, and I visited three of them. I visited Li Jianhua and Zhao Ruiyin at their invitation. I also visited Xiu Guichun unexpectedly. That evening I went to the Hope Restaurant to use its phone to make a long distance call to Beijing. The waitress told me they didn't have a public phone, but the general store two doors down did. The general store's door was opened, but I didn't see anyone there to wait on customers. I saw a pay phone on the wall. I yelled toward the back room asking if anyone was there, and out came Xiu Guichun. She told me her family ran the store. She invited me into the back room. I saw that it was a combination bedroom and living room. A bed, a sofa and a television took up most of the space, and people had to squeeze between them. The woman who works full time in the county judicial office and part time in the township government office cafeteria and her daughter who was already in high school were there sitting on the bed watching

TV. It was very hot and the electric fan was turned on, but it was just blowing hot air around. In two minutes, my shirt was soaking wet with sweat. Xiu Guichun's four-year-old daughter was stretched out on the sofa wiping her face with a wet handkerchief. Xiu Guichun was sitting on the arm of the sofa caring for her. I asked Xiu Guichun if she was sick, and Xiu Guichun said she had heatstroke. If a child has heatstroke, its mother will naturally be worried. I wondered why the two guests seemingly weren't bothered by the heat, but they were so engrossed in the TV show they were oblivious to the fact that the TV was radiating heat like an oven. The incandescent lights, the TV and people crowded together made me want to leave quickly, but Xiu Guichun's husband was playing the perfect host and urged me to stay. I could see that the two of them were genuinely hospitable. Xiu Guichun's husband originally worked for the power company, but now ran the family general store. There's no way a store in a small out-of-the-way village such as Humaying could be very prosperous. When I asked him about business he gave only the most cursory answer, and quickly changed the subject to talk about national and international affairs. I quickly saw that he has a carefree personality. Xiu Guichun is the first-grade teacher, and there's no place for national affairs in the first-grade curriculum. I guess she's not interested in discussing them with him, so he's very happy when a guest comes around he can talk to. With a sick daughter, a loquacious husband and guests who wouldn't leave all crowded into a stifling hot little room, I didn't know how Xiu Guichun could stand the torment after an exhausting day of teaching six-year-olds.

The house that Xiu Guichun and her family rents also has two rooms, but they probably pay more for it than Li Jianhua and Zhao Ruiyin because it is right on the street and has a shop front. It is one of a number of such houses whose front room was converted into a shop when the village grew into a township. The locals call such houses "commercial houses" and most of the people who rent them are outsiders. Some of the students at Fengning Elementary School live in such homes and their parents operate small businesses out of them. Of all the teachers who rent houses, Li Jianhua has the cheapest rent—300 *yuan* per year. This may well have something to do with Gao Sheng working in the legal office. Although Zhao Ruiyin's house isn't as nice as Li Jianhua's, her rent is a little higher, but Gao Sheng guesses it's not much higher.

Renting a two-room house is a cost-saving measure. Some teachers rent a house with its own courtyard. They go for about 1000 *yuan* a year. Ding Guangdong, the head of instruction at Humaying Central School rents a house with its own courtyard and entrance, but he complained to me that paying that kind of rent was a big burden. His parents live more than 50 km away. His wife is from Tahuangqi Village, and they also rent a house there. If you live in the same village as your in-laws, you have to keep up appearances, so he felt compelled to rent a house with its own courtyard. In reality, many village families have a home with its own courtyard, but only the better-paid teachers can afford it. Teachers' pay in Fengning County averages around 500 *yuan* per month, and the lowest paid get only 300 *yuan*. On that kind of salary, you have to grit your teeth before you decide to rent a house for 1000 *yuan* a year. In the eyes of most villagers, a

teacher's position in society is higher than a farmer's, and in his relatives' eyes Ding Guangdong has to live up to his elevated station in life as a leader in a central school, so he felt he had to bite the bullet and rent the expensive house. Most of the teachers at Fengning Elementary School who rent houses live some distance from their families and don't have any pressure on them to keep up appearances, so there's nothing to stop them from renting cheap housing if they're willing to put up with the conditions.

Careful observation reveals that the most mobile population in the villages of Fengning County is schoolteachers, and they constitute the largest group of outsiders living there. In general, village schools do not arrange housing for their teachers, and only some key schools in county seats have apartment blocks where their teachers can live. In recent years, the only buildings village schools have built have been classroom or office buildings, not teacher housing. This year, Fengning County has made a big push to improve nine-year compulsory education, and it is not only trying to raise the percentage of children completing the nine-year program, but also to reach targets for science labs, libraries and campus beautification. The Fengning Education Office calls this a comprehensive compulsory education plan, but despite the name it contains no provision for teacher housing. When most of the teachers were non-accredited, the lack of teacher housing was not a prominent problem. One reason was that most non-accredited teachers came from the area where they taught and they had local housing registration, so they could obtain land to build their own houses, and hence didn't have the problem of having nowhere to live. Moreover, compared to local farmers, they had more cash and higher status than other village residents, so it was easier for them to build a house than other villagers. At that time, only a small number of teachers were accredited, and it was very rare for a husband and wife to both be accredited teachers. Most of the accredited teachers were men who married local women, and the couple could use the wife's household registration and connections to acquire a plot of land and build a house on it. In that situation, if the man taught in his wife's village or a nearby village, he could live at home, and if he worked too far away to commute, he could stay in a dorm at school and return home on weekends. When he retired, the couple could live in comfort in the house they built when he was working. The few female teachers from outside the area generally married a local man of relatively high status in the village, in which case housing posed no problem. However, in recent years, the situation has undergone considerable change. The biggest change has been that large numbers of graduates of teachers schools have been assigned to village schools. Among these young accredited teachers, the men are generally not willing to marry local women, and the women cannot all marry men outside the teaching profession, so a severe problem has arisen of young teachers having no place to live when they get married. The severity of this problem is not limited to the obvious fact that young teachers do not have a place to live, but also extends to the problem that in the future they will face homelessness in their retirement years. In general, villages will not allocate a housing plot to a husband and wife both of whom are accredited teachers. Even though a very small number of accredited teachers are allocated plots, this is in general against

regulations so it can't become the norm. If teachers want to have a building plot in the village where they live or work, they have to buy one, and availability is subject to a number of circumstances such as whether there is excess land available and the teacher's relations with the village powers that be, because according to regulations land cannot be sold. According to convention, a plot of land about 200 m² in a convenient location in a township like Humaying costs around 30,000 *yuan*. That's what the township got for some land close to the main road. By contrast, a plot some distance from a village or main road might cost only 3000–4000 *yuan*. No matter where the plot is, the cost of labor and materials to build a four-room house runs around 40,000 *yuan*. So it costs between 40,000 and 80,000 *yuan* to build a house in a village in Fengning County. Such a sum is far out of the reach of a low-paid teacher, so most teachers resign themselves to renting homes their whole lives. Since they don't own their own homes, they don't set down roots in the village where they work. Mencius said, "Only a scholar can persevere at something in which he does not have a personal stake." Teachers are a village's intellectuals, and in ancient times village teachers were considered to be the lowest level of scholars. However, whether they can persevere without having a personal stake in their village varies depending on each individual's personal qualities. According to the guiding thought of the Fengning County education authorities, teachers' thinking should differ from that of ordinary people. Ding Guangdong, the head of instruction for Humaying central school told me, "Like the central authorities, we emphasize theoretical study, political awareness and good conduct, and we are expected to dedicate ourselves to teaching. We believe a teacher must be dedicated."

"Dedication" is a modern term, and its closest corollary in ancient Chinese is "having the heart of a sage." Throughout Chinese history, intellectuals, and especially teachers, have been held to the standards of a sage and used those standards to motivate themselves. They believed they were superior to ordinary people who are concerned only with what benefits them, and so they looked on property ownership as a disgrace. Confucius said, "A scholar who seeks to own a fine home is not a real scholar." This tradition requires scholars to ignore the issue of having a home. This conception of the responsibility of a sage very likely is related to traditional thinking about good breeding, culture, proper dress, and the unity between knowledge and action. However, as modern society has become secularized and intellectuals, including teachers, have become a group of secular professionals, with the result that culture and education have become a way of earning a living and are no longer seen as a path of self-realization. Teachers have to concern themselves not only with the problem of owning their own home but also with the vexing problems of providing the daily necessities of life. The ideal of living like a sage and dedicating oneself to some higher pursuit is no longer capable of motivating most intellectuals most of the time; it can only motivate some of them some of the time.

In Fengning County, young teachers of marriageable age earn approximately 300 *yuan* a month, but in addition to needing to have a home to get married, it costs several thousand *yuan* even for a very basic marriage—one has to buy

at least a double bed, a couple of dressers, a table and a TV to furnish the home in the most rudimentary fashion. If teachers want to advance professionally, for example, if a teacher with a high school diploma wants to earn a junior college diploma, even if everything goes smoothly it will cost around 5000 *yuan* to pay the costs of taking tests, buying books and paying for training courses. Teachers can't count on receiving free medical care, and this is true not only for young teachers but also retired ones, and every time they get sick, they are faced with large out-of-pocket expenses. They are also faced the major expenses of such a trifling nature that outsiders have a hard time believing it, such as having to give gifts of money at the weddings and funerals of all their friends and relatives. Villages are societies with deeply ingrained ceremonies, and teachers are as concerned about keeping up appearances as everyone else. Giving presents as custom dictates is a duty that can't be shirked, and teachers cannot have any source of income other than their basic salary because a village environment doesn't present any opportunities for earning money on the side and village teachers have such a heavy workload that they are exhausted at the end of the day. Also, their contacts are restricted almost entirely to students so they don't have many opportunities to cultivate relations with adults in the village. Since teachers don't hold any power in their village, so they don't have any capital to build relations and exchange favors with other villagers. In large cities such as Beijing, some schools can obtain a lot of money from sponsors over and above their state allotments and use it to raise teachers' salaries, but even the best schools in Fengning County such as the Fengning Hope Elementary School cannot use student fees to raise teachers' salaries because the students' families are so poor that any miscellaneous fees the school charges impose a heavy burden on them, and the fees they do impose are barely enough to maintain the school's equipment and buy office supplies.

In a secular society, how high or low the salaries of a profession are determines its social status, and social status is an important consideration when people are choosing a career. Fengning County teachers can count on getting paid in full on time, which is more than people who have lost their jobs, been laid off, or are receiving half pay or getting paid late can say, but what they earn is far less than employees of profitable companies or government officials who engage in rent seeking activities. A young migrant worker from Fengning County working in Beijing can earn 500 *yuan* a month, but a teacher in Fengning County of the same age earns only 300 *yuan*. This makes it awkward for someone who wants to choose a teaching career because very few women working in government are willing to marry teachers and male teachers aren't willing to marry village women even though many village women would accept. Another phenomenon worth noting is that most female teachers are not willing to marry male teachers because they know all too well how exhausting and poorly paid teaching work is and how few opportunities it offers for advancement. None of the young married women teaching at the Fengning Hope Elementary School are married to teachers, and this does not go unnoticed by their unmarried female colleagues. Gu Xianting, the head preschool teacher at the township central school, told me about a female teacher who firmly refused to consider marrying a male teacher, and after she

reached 30 she finally agreed to marry the deputy director of the county court because she felt her time was running out. I asked a male teacher if he was willing to marry a female teacher and he answered, "Of course!" I asked him how he could find a suitable mate given that female teachers rarely leave their classroom so the chances of meeting them are slim, and he answered, "Hopefully a friend or relative will introduce me to one."

I don't know what effect this inclination of female teachers has on their male colleagues or the extent to which it makes the men feel inferior, or after this inclination became the dominant social behavioral pattern among female teachers to what extent it made female teachers themselves feel inferior. However, one can be sure that after the vast majority of teachers internalized this judgment by society of their profession it had a profound effect on how teachers play their role. Teachers must adopt different attitudes in their interactions with the two groups they have the closest relations with: their students and their colleagues and friends. In dealing with their students, they are the object of worship, the highest authority, and the symbol of culture and knowledge to the extent of being viewed as omnipotent superheroes. In this situation, they must conform to their students' high opinion of them and be very careful to preserve the halo the children see on their head. By contrast, in their dealings with their colleagues and other adults they must retreat to a far more limited position. In schools today, there is such an enormous difference between these two roles and attitudes teachers must adopt that they are in danger of developing a split personality. In my opinion, the high respect teachers have traditionally received has its origins in the widespread recognition of the two roles teachers play. People make every effort to respect teachers to the extent that they honor them the same as their rulers and family members. Due to this respect, the image of teachers genuinely appears when teachers interact with students and is integrated with the image they have in society so that they can effectively transmit culture and shape future generations. Today, the whole of society needs to cultivate this attitude and put it into practice, and it must do a lot of motivational work in this regard.

It is a common occurrence to neglect factors concerning teachers when investing money to build schools. Directives concerning the universalization of nine-year compulsory education specify eight auxiliary requirements concerning such matters as school entrances, licenses, and records cabinets and paper, but make no specific requirements about improving teachers' lives or strengthening teacher training. In recent years, talk of increased investment in education has been confined almost entirely to building classrooms and upgrading campuses, and there has been very little talk of building teacher housing or subsidizing teachers' study. This is undoubtedly related to the revolutionary tradition of emphasizing the collective at the expense of the individual and emphasizing production at the expense of people's living conditions. However, the human factor has always been a key factor in development any undertaking. I am reminded of the Soviet writer Anatoly Rybakov's *Children of the Arbat*, which contains the story of Ryazanov, an alternate member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, who was sent somewhere to make preparations for a large building project. He made due with

whatever equipment and facilities he could get by with so he could spend as much as possible on providing good living conditions for the technicians and laborers, and he built a beautiful apartment building, theater, gym and cultural center for them. After some old revolutionaries complained to Stalin about this and said that Ryazanov was wasting state funds, Stalin asked Ryazanov about it, and Ryazanov replied, “Do you want to build a few factories to produce basic products or do you want to industrialize the whole country? If the former, there are a lot of ways to do so at low cost, but if you want to do the latter, you must make workers more prosperous and civilized and give them the opportunity to develop technologically and culturally.” Stalin was moved by this explanation.¹ This kind of realization is seldom seen in China today. Schools are a kind of factory that produce educated people, and teachers are their workers. If schools don’t have good teachers who have good working and living conditions, then in effect they don’t have anything. If we cannot train good teachers and treat them well, even if we build classroom buildings that rival the Great Hall of the People, they will be useless.

“When I was small, I was in awe of your ability to turn every difficulty into a source of pleasure. After I grew up and became you I realized that the chalk marks on the blackboard were rainbows from which teardrops drip. When I was small I thought you could do anything and you raised us up, but after I grew up and became you I realized that teachers raised up others at their own expense.” These are lyrics from a song dedicated to teachers written in the 1990s called “After I Grew Up I Became You.” Although the image of washing her face with tears and sacrificing herself the teacher who drew the rainbow used is an exaggeration, it reflects the difficult life of being a teacher. Also the mood of the song implies that the situation it describes is a source of pride, not shame, for teachers. It views the situation teachers are into be a reasonable one that is not easily changed, and in fact endorses it. If a situation persists for a long time it becomes viewed as normal or at the very least people are no longer shocked by it. Anyone who wants to change it has to first point out its absurdity, and doing so takes a herculean effort. This is a very depressing insight.

Ding Guangdong did a calculation for me. He told me that at present there are about 2000 young accredited teachers in the whole of Fengning County. To completely solve their housing problem by building each of them a house that meets minimum standards, each house would cost 30,000 *yuan* and all together they would cost 60 million *yuan*. This figure is slightly higher than the annual revenue of the whole county. Hence, he thinks it is impossible for the government to come up with the funds to do so. However, he feels on the basis of his perspective as a primary-level education administrator that it is not necessary for the government to spend 60 million *yuan* to relieve teachers’ biggest worry—housing. If it could give teachers a housing supplement of 200–300 *yuan* a month, that would go a long way toward improving their living situation and their state of mind; then

¹Rybakov (1988).

teachers would be relieved of worries and more people would stay in the profession. I don't know how difficult it would be to implement his suggestion, but given the emphasis Fengning County places on universal nine-year compulsory education and the level of its investment in improving school campuses and classrooms, it is not outside the realm of possibility.

Even though the living conditions of teachers are difficult and sometimes border on being impossible, the teachers at Fengning Hope Elementary School are successfully preserving the dignity, honor and charm of the teaching profession and maintaining the students' worship of and faith in their teachers. A persuasive proof of this is that many of the students here want to become teachers when they grow up. I took a survey of the students at Fengning Hope Elementary School to find out what they wanted to be when they grew up. I gave the students in grades 1–3 and one of the fifth grade classes (113 students in all) a form with nine professions to choose from: scientist, writer, businessperson, teacher, leader, farmer, migrant worker, soldier and policeman. Ninety-three students (82.3 %) chose one of the four choices, scientist, teacher, soldier or policeman; 28 chose scientist (24.8 %), 25 chose teacher (22.1 %), 20 selected soldier (17.7 %), and 20 also selected policeman. Of the other five choices, the next highest was chosen eight times, and one choice was chosen only twice. After analyzing this data, I concluded that it was not difficult to understand the students' choices of careers. Scientist was chosen most often because both the course content and institutional arrangements of education today stress educating people of outstanding ability, and scientists are the most highly praised people in the classroom and models of intellectual accomplishment. Not only are classroom walls covered with pictures of famous scientists, but also the motto "study science, love science" has been elevated to a code of conduct and even to a code of ethics. Soldier was chosen frequently in part because in the classroom soldiers are held up as the political symbol of the state (the Outline for Elementary School Intellectual and Moral Education promulgated by the State Board of Education before 1993 equated loving the PLA with loving the motherland, loving the Communist Party of China and fighting for Communism) and are held up as sacred symbols of sacrifice and bravery. In the classroom, students are constantly told, "The PLA protects the motherland" and "PLA soldiers are not afraid to sacrifice their lives," and they learn about PLA heroes like Dong Cunrui and Huang Jiguang in their course work. Moreover, for rural children, joining the army is an avenue to escape the countryside and accomplish something in their lives. For young children, choosing to be a policeman or teacher is the result of observing adults they come in contact with. Policemen have power and no one bullies them, so this choice has a utilitarian aspect to it. Choosing to be a teacher arises from admiration and respect of one's teacher, which shows that these children are motivated by their mental outlook. The fact that the choice to be a teacher is second only that that of being a scientist shows that the teachers at the Fengning Hope Elementary School are setting a good example.

The culture critic Yan Lieshan shifts from grief to anger whenever he talks about the living conditions of teachers in China today, and says that whenever

people live in miserable circumstances there must be a despicable cause for their misery. He says, “Teachers’ wretched living conditions are just one aspect of the desperate situation that Chinese education has fallen into. It’s not only that teachers have lost any semblance of affluence and have been reduced to shameful circumstances. (The living standards of a college professor today are far below those of Xiao Jianqiu, the elementary school teacher in the 1920s and 1930s as depicted in the 1963 film *Early Spring in February*.) What’s more serious is that teachers are losing respect. In our country with its long tradition of respecting teachers, they have already become an object of scorn. Teaching ethics are crumbling and arbitrary fees charged by schools are mounting.”² The decline of teachers’ economic conditions and social position has to some extent resulted in a decline in teacher quality; although this kind of grandiose sweeping generalizations by culture critics contain a grain of truth, it cannot taken at face value. In Fengning County, I saw that local governments were doing all they could to improve teachers’ remuneration, and the county government taking full responsibility for paying all the county’s teachers is a much heavier burden than it might first seem. The teachers there are not living in impoverished conditions, and they effectively fulfill the traditional role of teachers of transmitting and preserving culture. However, teachers’ status today pales by comparison to the literary golden ages of China’s past when teachers were highly revered. There is an interesting passage in *Fengning Manchu Ethnic Autonomous County Annals* that I lingered over when I read it: “According to statistics from late in the reign of Emperor Guangxu (around 1900), there were 52 private schools in Fengning County that had 61 teachers and 973 students, the best one of which was in South Zhifang Hutong, Fengshan, and was run by Guo Jinghou. Guo Jinghou had extensive knowledge of the classics and frequently told his students, ‘I am feeding you a spoonful of soup from my bowl, and it will nourish you all your life.’”³ In ancient times, Fengning County was called a barbaric place, but through the efforts of authoritative teachers like Guo Jinghou it became civilized. Today, teachers of his caliber and character are nowhere to be found in Fengning County. Stories like this make one reflect on the state of education today.

There are a number of posters concerning teachers’ responsibilities and duties on the wall of the principal’s office in the Fengning Hope Elementary School. They reflect the standards teachers at the school are expected to maintain, and are entirely in line with teaching ideals discussed above. I am attaching them here for your reference.

²Yan Lieshan, “Preface” to Yan and He (1999).

³Fengning Manchu Ethnic Autonomous County Education Committee Education Annals Compilation Committee (1991), pp. 29–30.

I. Teachers code of ethics

1. Teach in accordance with the law: Study and disseminate Marxism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory; uphold the basic line of the Party; fully implement the education policy of the Party and state; consciously abide by the Teachers Law and other relevant laws and regulations; keep one's teaching consistent with the Party and state's education principles and policies; do not say or do anything contrary to the Party and state's education principles and policies.
2. Love and respect the teaching profession: love your work; completely fulfill your duties and responsibilities; teach knowledge and teach students; try to cultivate good intellectual character in your students; conscientiously prepare for and teach your classes and correct students' homework; do not do your work in a perfunctory manner; do not transmit any thinking to students that is harmful to their health.
3. Love your students: be concerned about and care for all your students; respect students' personality; treat students equally and fairly; make strict demands on them and teach them patiently; do not treat students with sarcasm or ridicule; do not use corporal punishment; safeguard students' legitimate rights and interests; foster students comprehensive and healthy development.
4. Engage in rigorous scholarship: establish good study practices; raise your level of teaching and research.
5. Unite and cooperate with your colleagues: be modest and circumspect; help each other; work together to create a civil atmosphere in the school.
6. Respect students' parents: take the initiative to interact with students' parents; conscientiously listen to what they say.
7. Teach with integrity: hold fast to noble sentiments; foster a spirit of dedication; consciously counteract an unwholesome atmosphere.
8. Serve as a role model: set an example in observing social ethics; dress neatly; use proper language; maintain a courteous bearing; strictly maintain discipline; behave in an upright manner; practice what you preach; teach by example.

II. Teachers' responsibilities

1. Actively study politics; concern oneself the major affairs of the country; cultivate oneself morally; serve as a role model.
2. Actively participate in professional learning and education reform; become expert in one field while possessing all-around knowledge and ability; comprehensively carry out quality education; constantly raise your administrative capability and teaching level.
3. Be concerned about and care for all your students; give your students moral education; foster your students' healthy growth.
4. Have a take-charge sense of responsibility; carry out head teacher responsibilities; energetically complete all work pertaining to the school assigned to you and cooperate with head teachers to complete all the work for that class.

5. Actively organize students to participate in all activities organized by the school.
6. Strive to coordinate relations between the school, students' families and society; earnestly make family visits.
7. Conscientiously do daily teaching; thoroughly teach each unit before moving on to the next; strive to raise the quality of your teaching.
8. Do a good job in teaching gifted students and underachievers.

III. Head Teachers' responsibilities

1. Be responsible for political and moral education for the students in your grade and safety education for all students in the school, and for maintaining sanitation.
2. Organize the completion of tasks assigned to you by the school on time in accordance with quality and quantity requirements.
3. Coordinate the work of all teachers teaching the various courses to the class; balance the students' study workload; and raise students' academic achievements.
4. Hold morning and evening meetings every day and at least four class-wide meetings every semester.
5. Actively cultivate students' enthusiasm for study; organize interesting extracurricular activities; foster cultural development in the classroom; and constantly make teaching more effective.
6. Conscientiously make visits to students' homes; visit every student's home at least once a semester; and conscientiously complete home visit forms.
7. Draw up a head teacher work plan at the beginning of every semester and conscientiously implement it.
8. Every day actively greet and talk to others; and see to it that morning and evening meetings, classes and group activities all start on time.
9. Be concerned about and care for all the students in your class; conscientiously do the work of getting students who lag behind to catch up and assist students from poor families.
10. Be responsible for the use and storage of materials used by the class.

IV. Division of work and teacher duty roster (Tables 2.1 and 2.2)

Table 2.1 Division of work

Principal		Wang Suyun		Liu Zhanyou			
Cash	Chinese language teaching and research, moral education:	Math teaching and research, hygiene	Laboratory, nature teaching and research	Health care	Physical education	Library	Young Pioneers, literature and art
Liu Zhanyou	Li Jianhua	Sun Yanlian	Zhao Ruiyin	He Ping	Wang Yanhua	Xiu Guichun	Nie Haiyan
							Bulletin board, publicity
							Loudspeaker
							Bao Shuxia

Table 2.2 Teacher duty roster

1	Xiu Guichun
2	Wang Yanhua
3	Zhao Ruiyin
4	He Ping
5	Li Jianhua
6	Sun Yanlian
7	Zhao Xin
8	Nie Haiyan
9	Liu Zhanyou
10	Wang Suyun
11	Bao Shuxia

References

Fengning Manchu Ethnic Autonomous County Education Committee Education Annals Compilation Committee. Restricted typescript of *Fengning Manchu Ethnic Autonomous County education annals*. March 1991.

Rybakov, A. (1988). *Children of the Arbat*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

Yan, L., & He, B. (Eds.). (1999). *Education in China*. Beijing: China Industry & Commerce Associated Press.

The "States" in Villages

A Look at Schools in Rural China

Li, S.

2016, IX, 168 p., Hardcover

ISBN: 978-981-287-944-8