

Collectivism and Individualism:

A Comparative Study of Adolescents in Domestic and International Chinese Schools

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ABSTRACT

With increasing prominence of the socialist system and heated attention towards adolescents in China, we considered how collectivist and individualist values are embodied by Chinese high school students under different educational systems. We divided our research into the following four parts: background with explanation of why we put forward the proposal and the development of the two ideologies in Chinese society; the methodology that justifies our applied data collection methods of online surveys and interviews; data analysis summarizes our findings of collected data through various multimedia formats; the discussion and conclusion analyzes potential explanations for the foregoing belief diversity and acknowledges limitations in research.

Keywords: Chinese adolescents, collectivism, individualism, educational systems

BACKGROUND

Proposed by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2012, the “Chinese Dream” has been re-defined as a vision of national rejuvenation. The 2004 to 2018 google trend, in succession, displayed the number of searches for the term “Chinese Dream” as peaking in 2013. In addition, sociologist Anita Chan noted in 2009 that the aim of national rejuvenation of China is not only to become the world largest economy, but also to borrow and adapted advanced foreign systems whilst maintaining the original cultural system. This emphasis on

cultural preservation, however, raises the question “what are the Chinese people's values today?” (Kuhn 2012), drawing us to look into recent Chinese history.

As a traditionally agricultural civilization, the Chinese have long maintained a common dream of prosperity and wellbeing. After the sufferings from wars in the 19th and 20th century, this dream expanded to include revitalization of the Chinese people. Collectivism has then been advocated, with the establishment of People’ s Commune representing the furthest attempt along this path. Such social consciousness is further reflected in China’ s promotion of *Lei Feng* - a character who devoted his entire life to helping others and eventually sacrificed his life for this cause - as a model of selflessness. Similarly, Sally Chan (1999) argues that “self-effacement” , derived from the Confucian value of modesty and emphasis on self-restraint for the interest of the larger group or society, has increased in prevalence and influence in Chinese society.

Indeed, the Confucian ethical focus on each individual's duty to help others and the importance of family have been infiltrated the minds of generations of Chinese. Since the Tang dynasty around 1400 years ago, these ethics have been incorporated into the Imperial Exam as integral principals in the selection of government officials. Despite the abolishment of the Imperial Exam at the start of the 20th century, modern *Gaokao*, introduced in 1952, carries shadows of the ancient exam. Among the many subjects of the *Gaokao*, one specific category named 'politics' refocuses attention toward core values of 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' that students are required to recite.

However, after a series of Chinese economic reforms were introduced by Deng Xiaoping in 1979, the typical “Chinese Dream” advocating collectivism became ill-suited in a market economy motivated by personal rewards. Self-interest embodied in human nature, further

released through the secularization process of the past 100 years, may also contribute to the increasing popularity of individualization in Chinese society. In an examination of individual well-being from 1990 to 2007, Steele (2012) similarly concluded that although many may still consider China to be a collectivist country, “the Chinese are increasingly prioritizing individualist factors in assessments of their own happiness and life satisfaction - thus substantiating descriptions of their society as increasingly individualistic” . Another piece of research by Giddens (2001) indicating an increase in divorce and cohabitation in Chinese society, especially amongst the younger generation, further ventured the conclusion that rising individualization has been undermining the traditional idea of collectivism in Chinese society.

Finally, Peijia Zha's (2010) research of 55 American and 56 Chinese doctoral students find that the higher collectivism reflected by Chinese students correspond to higher skill mastery and cooperative awareness, whereas American students with higher individualist beliefs show more creativity. The significant effects of different educational systems on students' values and behaviors are accentuated, with the education being a vital part of the socialization process.

An assessment of the above research, combined with consideration of the importance of Chinese adolescents' beliefs given their identity as the future global workforce in a society undergoing rapid social change and cultural reformation, leads us to our research proposal. Through this project, we aim to investigate how collectivist and individualist values are embodied by Chinese high school students under different educational systems, digging into the educational influence on the development of these ideologies in modern adolescents.

METHODS

Targeting Research Subjects

Our final sample of high school adolescents (aged 14 to 18 years) under different educational systems provided three benefits. First, as all the student researchers fit the target sample and were immersed in educational environments alongside potential subjects, we were able to implement convenience and snowball sampling for data collection, the latter of which enlarged our sample size and increased data validity. Second, high school students have reached a level of maturity where they are able to comprehend and reflect upon personal beliefs regarding deeper issues. When considering research prompts requiring a thorough analysis of various aspects of an issue, these participants are likely to give more considerate responses. Finally, such a sample of adolescents provides relevance concerning the social influence of China's next generation. As these students enter the global market in future years, their philosophies and attitudes may impact society and bring about change.

Survey and Interview Design

We collected data by distributing surveys and conducting follow-up interviews, both of which were preceded by field experiments providing a basis for improvement. Anonymous surveys served to collect quantifiable data and increase sample size, and are also a valuable method to protect the identity of the survey respondents and avoid research bias. In addition, surveys are a comparatively efficient method of data collection requiring little time coordination between the researchers and survey subjects, and further increase potential random sampling. However, this method may provide inaccurate data when participants lie about their opinions or behaviours. In order to counter this challenge, we aim to

design our survey questions with minimized bias and without directional connotation in answer choices suggesting “superior” options. For instance, we designed Likert scale answers to provide a more objective perspective on various scenarios. Follow-up interviews served to clarify and provide a deeper understanding of previous survey trends. We aim to select volunteer interviewees whose responses on the survey were either unique or representative of a greater majority. One challenge of this method may be researcher bias and interviewees’ correspondent, unconscious alterations of their answers.

We aimed to operationalize our research question by targeting various character traits and behaviors correlated with collectivist and individualist beliefs. In a collectivist society, individuals will often subordinate personal interests to group interests (Triandis et al. 1988), and value collaboration and humility (Myers 2018). Collectivists are also more focused on the social system, while individualists tend to value ego-based morals (Swanson 1953) and take pride in personal achievements (Earley 1989). We intend to indirectly analyze beliefs regarding collectivism and individualism through collecting data on research respondents’ attitudes towards elements of each ideology, as broken down above.

For the survey content, we first asked about personal demographics, educational background, and current aspects of schooling. In the following section, we designed a series of candid scenarios with answer choices incorporating representative characteristics of collectivism and individualism to measure subjects’ beliefs in the ideals. As aforementioned, such questions can reflect the character traits of research subjects, an important criterion in judging their ideological inclinations. In further interview discussion, we investigated parental and educational influences behind survey respondents’ answer choices to their scenario questions. Moreover, we will trace interview responses from select respondents to observe (in)consistency between their answers and true behaviours.

DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction of Samples

One hundred high school students took our survey. Samples were initially identified as three groups: non-Gaokao takers, Gaokao takers, and students taking both exams. However, as students taking both exams are only 4% of final respondents, their results may obscure our understanding of ideological patterns. Therefore, only non-Gaokao takers and Gaokao takers are involved in the data analysis.

Basic information about the respondents could contribute to the understanding of the setting where their ideology of individualism and collectivism are consciously or unconsciously developed. This information will also be treated as potential variables in future research.

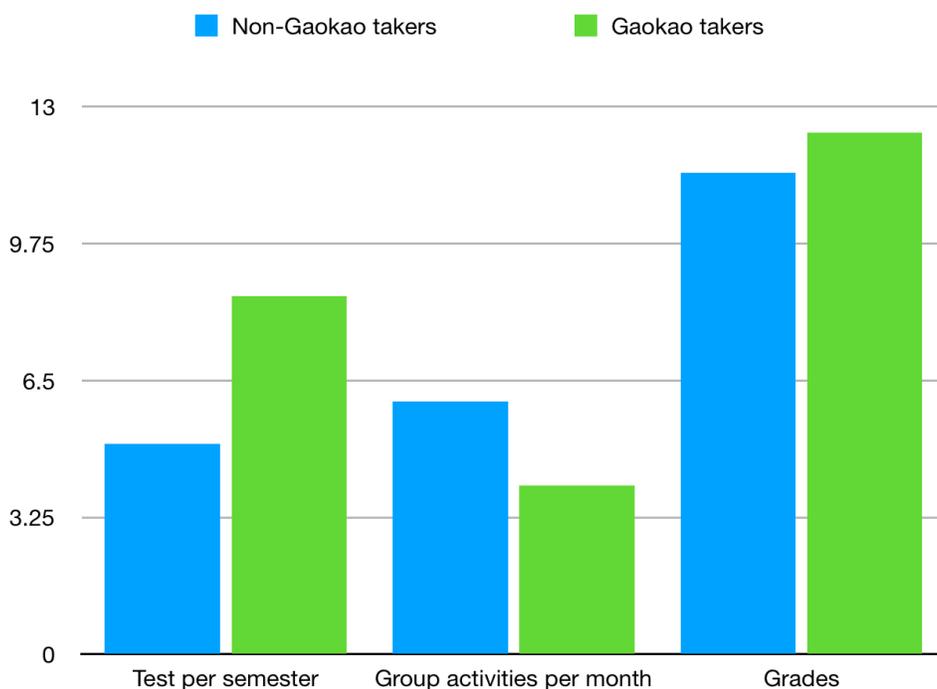


Figure 1: Frequency of formal tests that respondents have to take, frequency of group activities, and the average grade respondents are in.

According to Figure 1, non-Gaokao takers tend to take fewer exams per semester and engage in more group activities per month. However, Figure 1 also indicates that respondents not taking Gaokao are mainly in Grade 11, while those taking Gaokao are mostly in Grade 12, during which they are more likely to concentrate on test preparation. As a result, the data, affected by the difference in average grades, may not be accurate to reflect the collective characteristics of our samples not taking Gaokao.

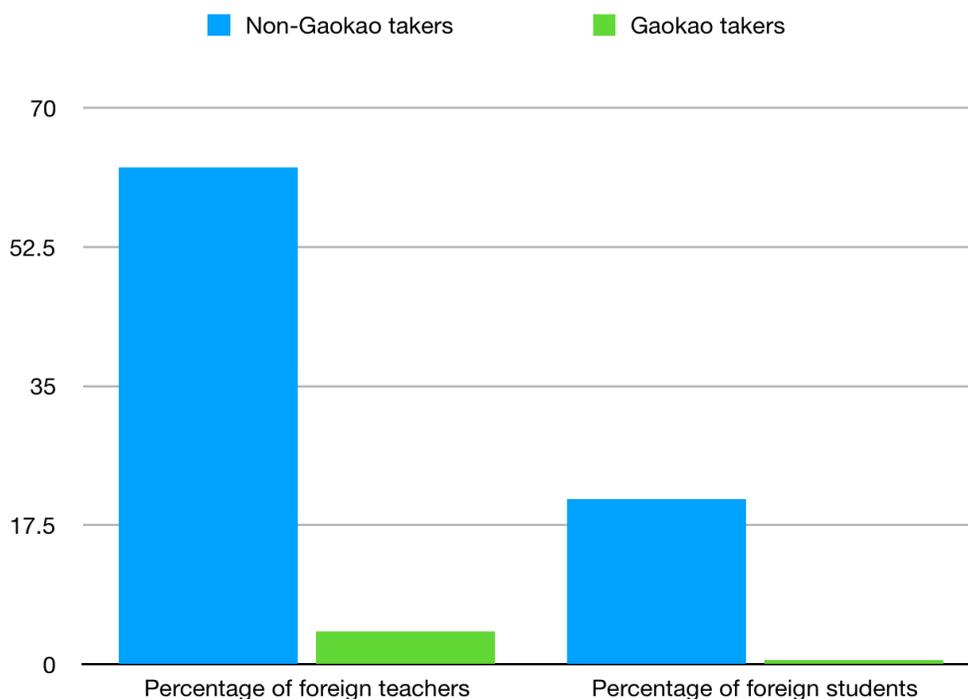


Figure 2: Percentage of foreign population in respondents' schools.

In Figure 2, students who do not take Gaokao are exposed to a significantly larger percentage of both foreign teachers and students in their school. In an aspect of population structure, this can reliably prove that non-Gaokao takers are mostly in international schools that are commonly conceptualized to accommodate and employ more foreign individuals.

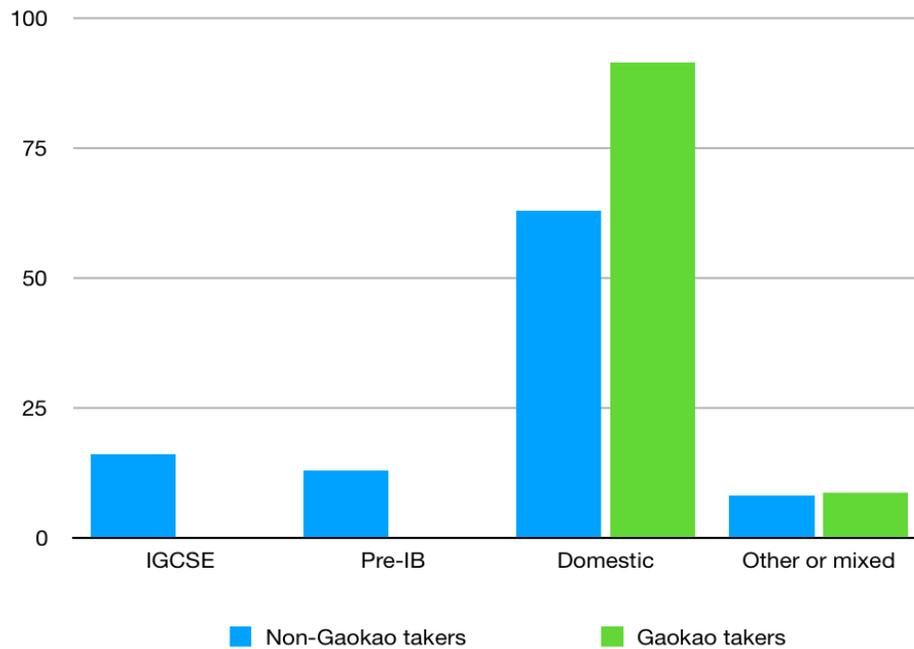


Figure 3: Curricular system of respondents before entering high school, where IGCSE refers to the International General Certificate of Secondary Education, Pre-IB refers to the preparation curriculum for International Baccalaureate Diploma, “domestic” refers to the obligatory secondary education in China, and “mixed” means juxtaposing international courses and obligatory education.

A predominant proportion of Gaokao takers used to be in the same educational system while the origin of non-Gaokao takers is relatively more widespread: they could in either domestic, international and mixed educational systems.

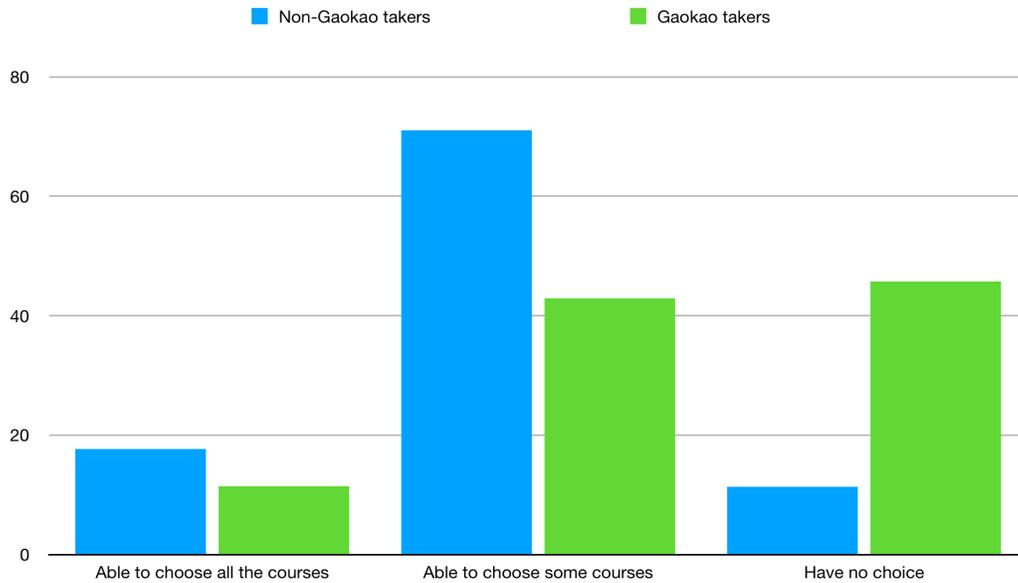


Figure 4: Levels of freedom in course selection.

Focusing on their courses, non-Gaokao takers appear to enjoy more rights for free selection: they reflected a higher proportion in circumstances with all or some courses selectable and a lower one in situations with no choices.

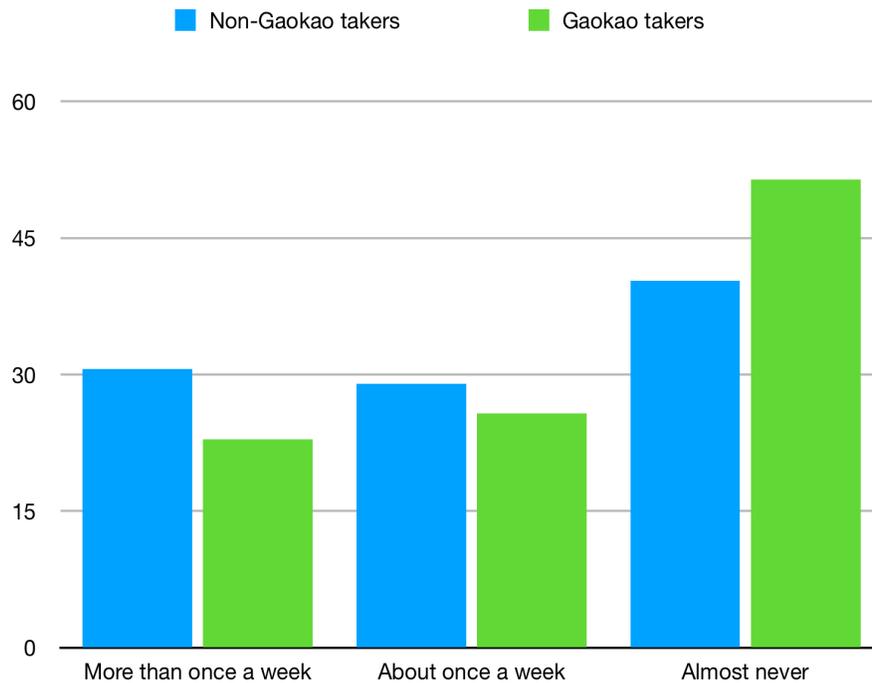


Figure 5: Frequency of interaction with teachers.

Moreover, non-Gaokao takers also demonstrated a higher frequency of interactions with their teachers: the proportions are higher in options “more than once a week” and “about once a week” and lower when it occurs to the item “almost never”.

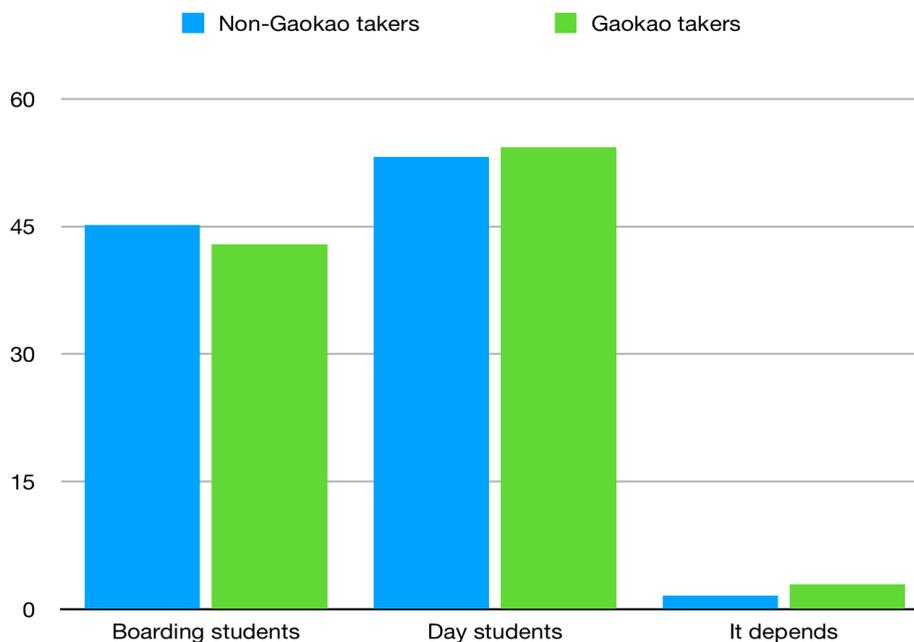


Figure 6: Accommodation state.

However, when questioned about the accommodation condition, the two groups only show a slight difference.

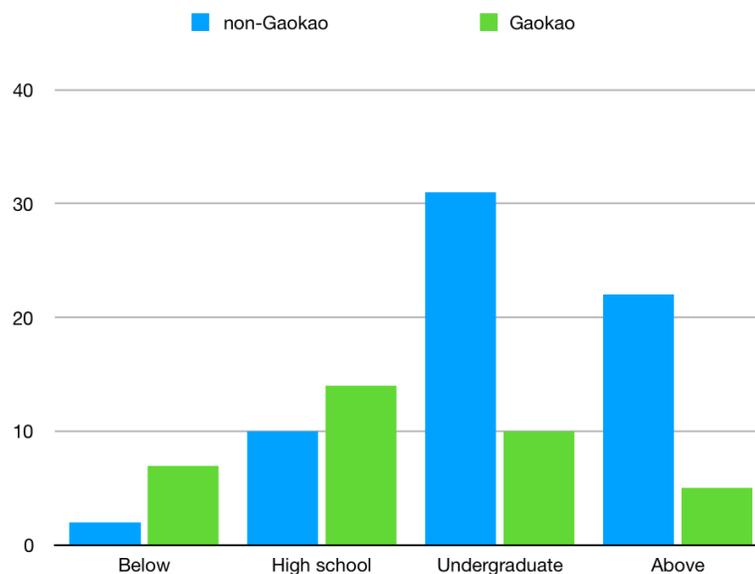
Apart from these indicators to reflect respondents' school life, information on their institutions was also collected. There is no definitive distinction between an “international” school or a “domestic” school. Instead, there many intersecting areas of a “domestic” and an “international” education system and each school is composed of various elements of “domestic” or “international” education to form a unique pattern. To have an insight to these patterns enables us to give a better evaluation of our findings.

Some “international schools” involves conventions that commonly existing in domestic schools. For example, in Suzhou Foreign Language School, where an international de-

partment sending students overseas and a domestic department for Gaokao are juxtaposed, students in the international department complained that they are required to follow the inflexible, improper routines made specifically for domestic department.

In contrast, some domestic schools also includes some intuitive characteristics of international schools. For instance, although Zhenze High School and Shengzhou High School follow a domestic track and primarily aims to help students pass Gaokao, students there reflected that they are also offered chances to develop their personalities and hobbies through abundant club activities.

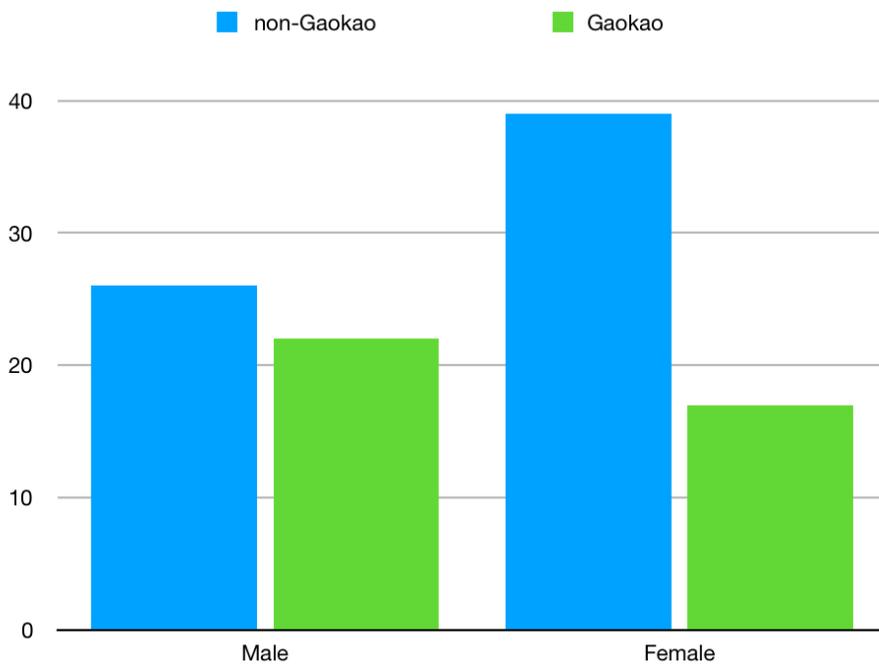
After school life comes data collected on daily factors, including parental factors, gender, and the locations of schools – it can also be seen as the location of their homes as most of



them choose schools in the city they dwell.

Figure 7: distribution of respondents, categorized by their parents' highest diploma, where "below" means diploma below high school and "above" refers to diploma above bachelor

Figure 7 shows the comparison of parents' highest diploma of respondents in two groups. A general trend can be drawn that parents with a higher diploma have a higher propensity to send children to non-Gaokao: most of the non-Gaokao takers' parents have earned a degree of bachelor or beyond. In contrast, Gaokao takers' parents mostly fall into catego-



ries of high school diplomas and bachelor diplomas.

Figure 8: gender distribution of respondents

Gender distribution also differs in the two groups. According to the Figure 8, girls take a larger proportion among non-Gaokao takers.

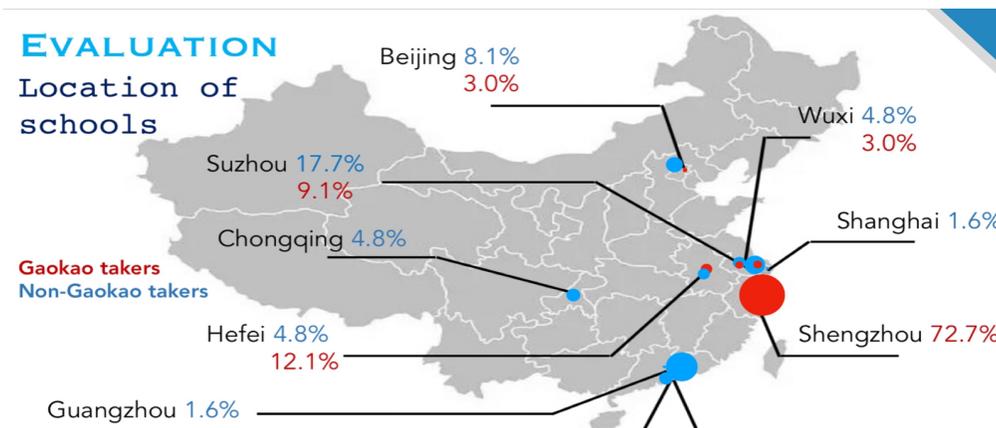


Figure 9: Domestic geographical distribution of respondents, where the size of the circle corresponds with the sample size from each city. Red represents Gaokao takers while blue stands for non-Gaokao takers.

Figure 9 and 10 shows the domestic and international geographical distribution of our respondents and the proportion of respondents in different educational systems in each city. In the pattern, Shengzhou, the smallest city from which data was collected is based on administrative hierarchy, concentrates the most Gaokao takers. Also, respondents overseas are all non-Gaokao takers. Hence, the research may involve regional biases due to its weakness in sampling approaches .

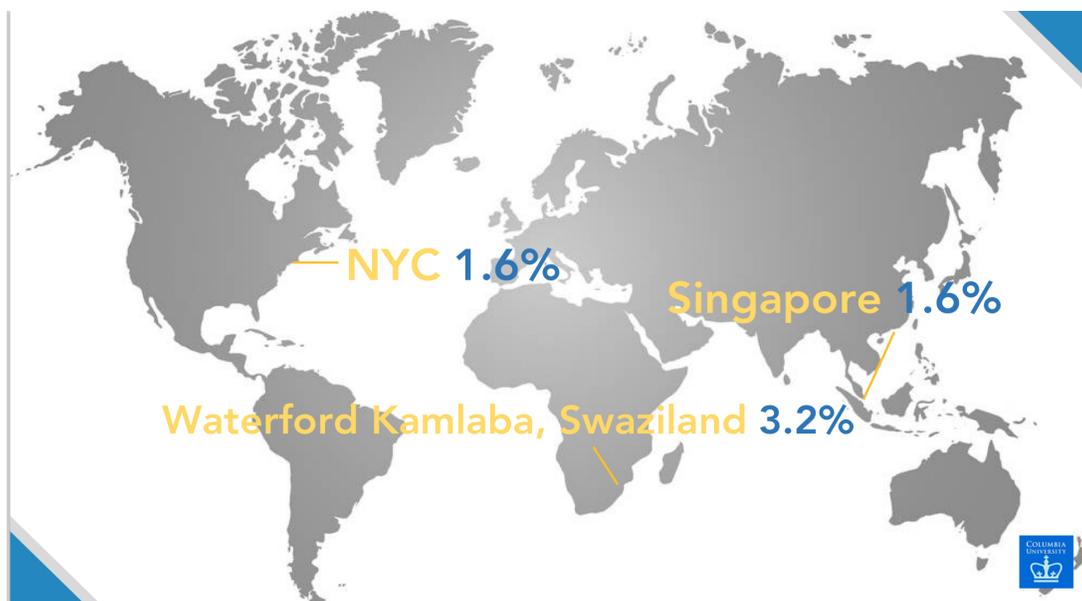
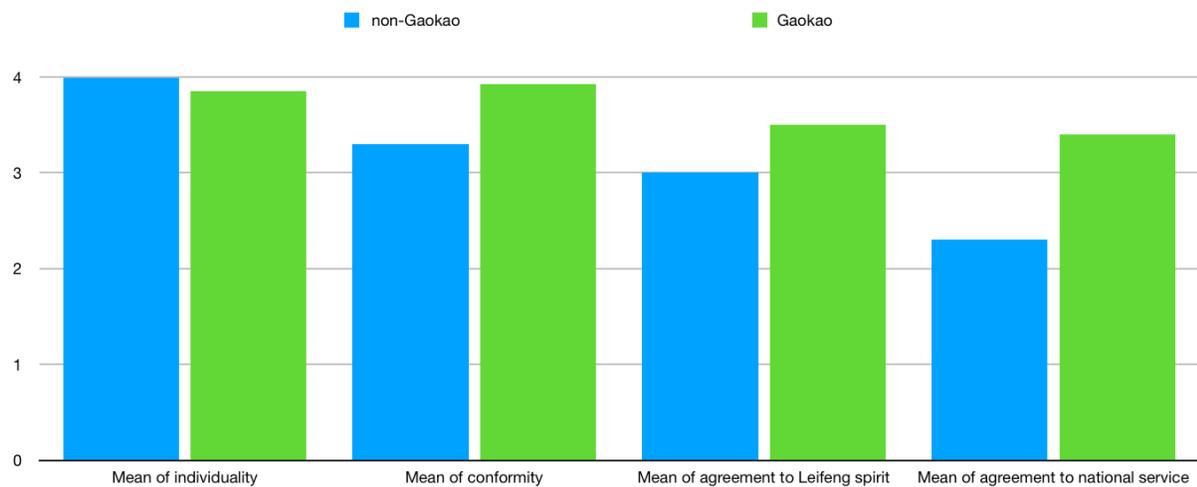


Figure 10: Geographical distribution of respondents living overseas, among which no one takes Gaokao.



Analysis of Individualism and Collectivism

Figure 11: The four variables measured in Likert scale.

Figure 11 shows four variables based on the four questions: 1) To what extent do your teachers encourage you to develop and explore your own personality? 2) To what extent do your teachers encourage you to conform to the social mainstream or the people close to you in order to benefit the larger group? 3) The image or spirit of Lei Feng, who would always put the interest of nation and community in the first place instead of his own self interest, has been advocated for decades. To what extent do you agree with such an image and its continuity? 4) Imagine: The government of your country decided to have the policy of compulsory national service for national security. You are just in the range, so

you will have to attend the army for 2 years, but now you are in the college that you like. To what extent do you agree to such policies? According to Figure 11, there is a consistent trend that non-Gaokao takers tend to value individualism more than do Gaokao takers.

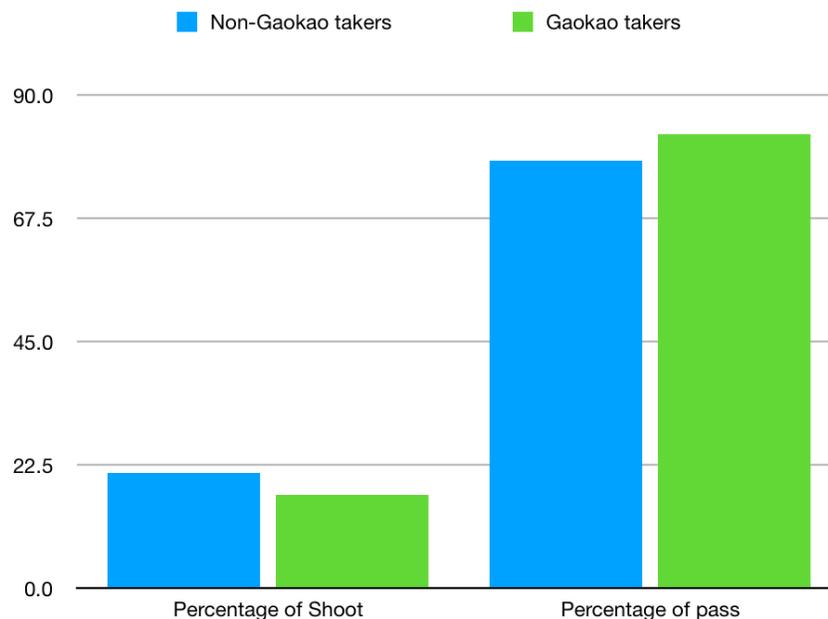


Figure 12: Proportion of students who choose to shoot or pass based on an scenario.

Here is the scenario: you are a professional footballer. You are playing a football game, and now, it is the last minute of injury time. Neither of the two teams scored in the past 90 minutes. As you enter the box, your teammate is at a better position: if you pass the ball to him rather than shoot by yourself, your team is more likely to score. However, if you score rather than pass the ball, you will be more likely to get a promotion or raise.

In this scenario, 21% of non-Gaokao takers choose to shoot while 79% of them choose to pass; 17% Gaokao takers choose to shoot while 83% of them choose to pass. Hence, it is shown that a slightly higher proportion of Gaokao takers tend to place the behalf of their teams over their own interests.

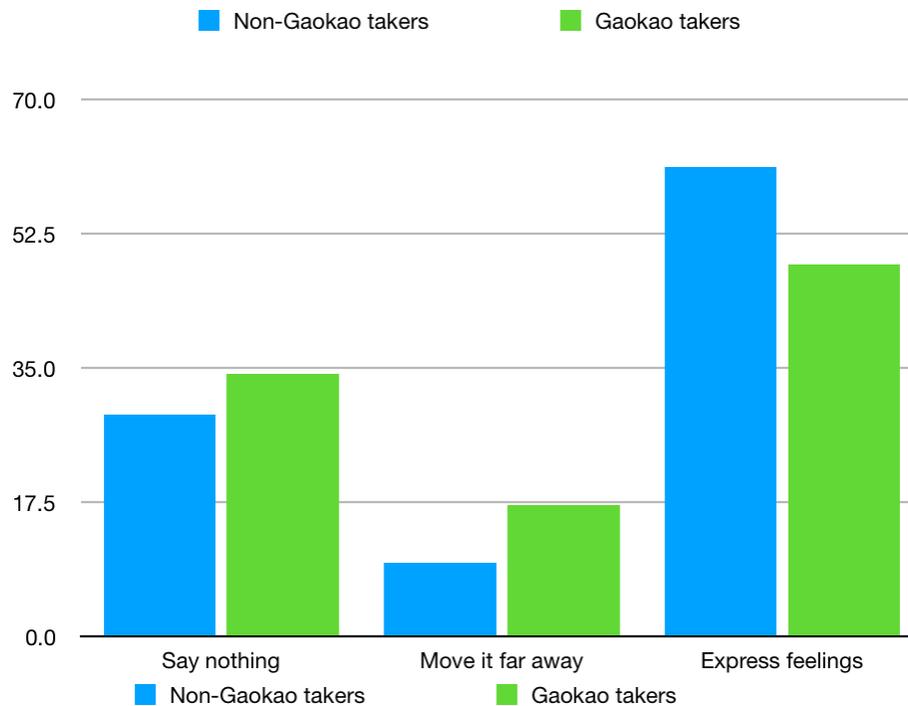


Figure 13: Distribution of respondents acting on a scenario

Here is the scenario: in your regular classroom where everyone has a fixed seat, you sit at the back row. Your class decided to put a trash bin in the classroom for convenience after the discussion. Yet most think that the trash bin should be placed at the back, which is one meter within your seat. However, you don't like the rubbish bin, even if the closer distance makes it more convenient for you to throw away your trash.

In the scenario, 30% of non-Gaokao takers may say nothing, 9% of them may move it away, and 61% of them will express their feelings. However, 34% of Gaokao takers choose to say nothing, 17% of them may move it away, and 49% will express their feelings. In this sense, outcome seems to be a little ambivalent: although Gaokao takers have a higher possibility to keep silent toward an unfavorable condition—that the trash bin is close to their seat—they also tend more to adopt the most individualistic action, moving the bin away. Also, non-Gaokao takers who would express their feeling outnumber their counterparts.

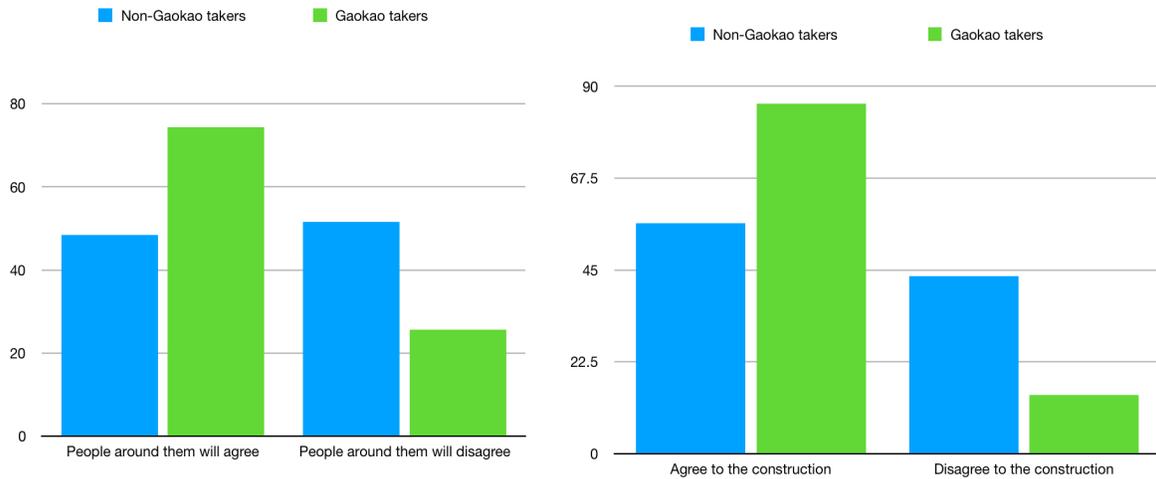


Figure 14: Distribution of respondents that will either agree or disagree to a construction project based on a scene and the influence of their predictions about decision of people around them.

Here is the scene: You are a farmer in a poor village in a low-income country, relying on subsistence labor-intensive farming. Your farm is the best place for irrigation ditch. Your village is planning to build a sewage system and a better irrigation system for the interest of everyone in the village. Everyone in the village agree with the change. However, the construction of these infrastructures will seriously affect over half of your land of farming for a period of time as the pipes are planned to go under your land. And there will be no compensation for that. The construction will last for at least 3 months, after that, you will get to manage your land for farming again. But you might also take some other time to fix the damage for the land due to the construction.

In this scenario, 48% of non-Gaokao takers think people around them will not agree while 52% of them don't think so. 56% of them will actually agree while 44% them will disagree. 74% of Gaokao takers think people around them will agree while 26% don't. 85% of them will actually agree while 15% will disagree. The results show that respondents might also be influenced by their perceptions (or predictions) of others' ideas as there is a significant

correlation between respondents' decisions and their perception of how people around them will think. The trend was the same as before: non-Gaokao takers would more likely to disagree to the project that can benefit the group but affect their own sakes.

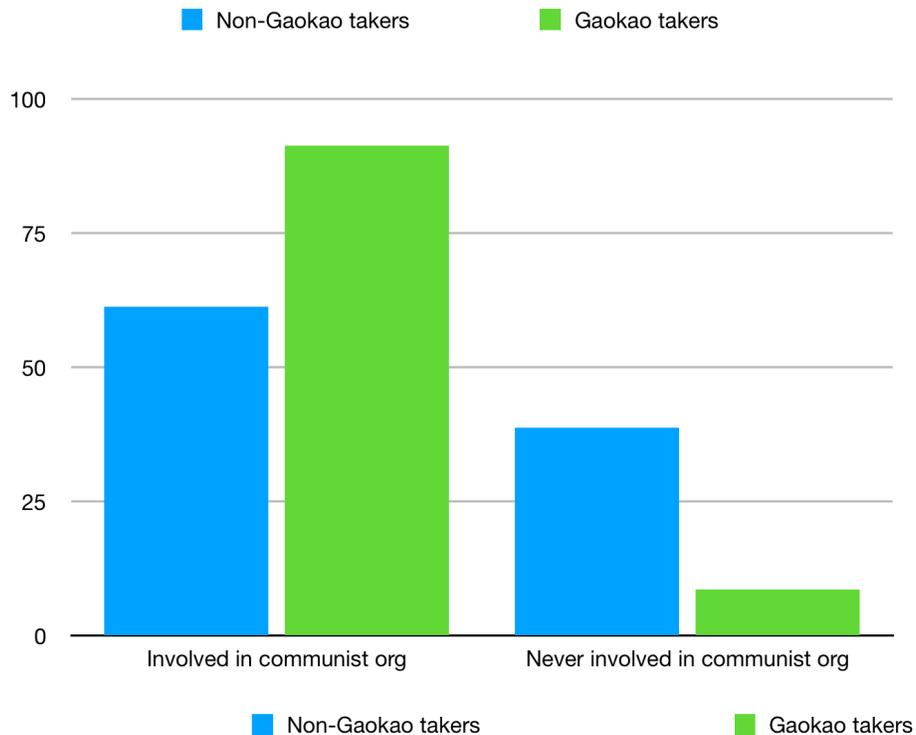


Figure 15: distribution of respondents based on the involvement of communist organizations, including the Young Pioneers, the League, and the Party for those above age 18.

Besides, respondents' political actions could also provide an insight to their ideology, so researchers collected data of their engagement in communist organizations, including the Young Pioneers, the League, and the Party (if they are 18 years old). In the figure figure 15, only 9% of Gaokao takers had never been involved in any communist organizations while 40% of non-Gaokao takers had never been involved in such organizations, so Gaokao takers reflect a higher engagement of communist organizations.

In your mind, what is the order of importance of the following choices? Please rank them. 在你们心目中，这几个选项的重要性排序是？请排序。



Figure 16: Order of four items by respondents, where “第一个□□” means that respondents will consider it the most important to them, and “最后一个□□” means that respondents will consider it the least important to them.

Lastly, both two groups share similarities when asked to order items according to their significance. The general pattern reflects that themselves and their families are commonly prioritized. Separation of groups is not imposed in this case as it is hard to determine their propensity of collectivism or individualism. For instance, an individual can prioritize his/her community and put his/her country last. Apart from this, Likert scale is also not appropriate with unevenly distributed levels: individuals, families, and communities, as small elements of society, are in a micro level; in contrast, a country falls into a macro level.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

As indicated by our data analysis, collectivist trends prevail more in local Gaokao-oriented schools more than in international non-Gaokao ones, though a significant number of interviewees identified as both.

An interesting observation from the data collected is that a majority of high school students are involved in a Communist organization, a proportion far larger than party involvement in other country. Here is an explanation from one of our group members' perspective.

“Observing from a small town, the Pioneers and the League are only politically relevant at their highest ranks. The Pioneers do not even count as a political affiliation (per a Chinese standard GB 4762-1984). School collectivist activities, under the Pioneers or the League, are minimal (once or so per year) To the ordinary school-goer, joining the Pioneers merely means getting a red scarf, saluting when raising the flag and this is what 100% of peers do (compulsory in practice, auto-departure happens at 14); joining the League (not compulsory, happens after 14, auto-departure happens at 28 unless you have a job in the League) is acknowledgement of outstanding (mostly in terms of good grades), meaning getting an emblem to wear, having a political affiliation (not relevant at all to jobs, admissions etc.), paying a fee of 0.1 CNY/month.”

Another intriguing phenomenon that we observed from the survey is that there were various personal questions not everyone wanted to answer, despite our assurance towards respondents of the anonymity of their responses. For instance, there is one question specifically asking for the TOFEL/IELTS score of the survey subjects. Through this simple question (respondents need to type their scores), we aim to seek the English Proficiency of our subjects. In order to not intrude upon people' s privacy, we left this question as optionally - as a result, many people in fact chose to leave it blank. However, incomplete data responses had slight impacts on our final results. After researching, we saw a common psychological facet of this problem: social desirability bias. Regarding this potential factor, our survey is not yet perfect enough to gather the most “accurate” data.

Another interesting finding we came upon was the discrepancies with which different students viewed collectivism and individualism. Some interesting responses below:

“To be honest, I don’ t see the conflict of the interest of the groups and the interest of my own. I believe that helping the group is helping myself.”

This response shows that there is a “no man’ s land” between two distinct divisions. In other words, some conceive a connection between these two ideas, and perhaps even compatibility. Another example also shows an outstanding understanding:

“These definitions have no distinct difference. I don’ t think there exists person who is the total individual/collectivism, It depends on the benefit you’ ve got.”

Collectivism and individualism are not independent of each other. This individual viewed him-/herself as a mixture of two ideas, or indeterminate. Everyone has two faces: one is individualism and another is collectivism. People tend to prioritize their personal benefits and further choose their side - to be an individualist or a collectivist.

Despite careful consideration in survey and interview design, and data collection, the validity and reliability of our data was strongly impacted by various limitations. One major limitation stems from the small sample size and the convenience sampling method of data collection that we adopted. Our data was mostly collected, using surveys and follow-up interviews, from only a few high schools in select areas, which made us unable to generalize the results to a larger adolescent population, but only to the participants of our research

sample - the students in some international and local schools in the more developed areas of southern and eastern China.

Survey design and the nature of collectivism led to another limitation: people may have chosen arbitrarily when faced with a hard decision between two options that both seemed right. Our initial hypothesis and research categorized collectivism and individualism as significantly different, even opposing values; later, it was indicated that this is, in fact, not always the case, so we left some “middle ground”, especially during the survey collection, and as with the case of many other situations, a majority of our respondents entered that middle ground. When prompted to make a more “extreme” decision, many expressed the difficulty of the process.

The lack of statistical tests for data relevance also reduced the validity of our results. The conclusions thus were only able to stay in a relatively shallow level - the correlations between phenomena. Statistical analysis such as the standard deviation technique could've been used to help us draw more in-depth and significant relationships between variables.

Lastly, based on what we've already done for this project, there are some future research possibilities to consider looking forwards. For one, we could investigate collectivism and individualism within various educational system in relation to other socioeconomic variables. We could also make international comparisons of collectivist and individualist values in adolescents influenced by varied social-cultural backgrounds. Through this project, we've established a simple framework for research about collectivist and individualist values in adolescents, and by changing the subjects of the research, we may be able to

conduct more comparative, or even longitudinal, studies to expand our current research findings.

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Columbia Social Science Fellow Programme Survey 哥大社科 Fellowship项目调查

This survey is only directed to high school students. The questionnaire covers questions regarding your beliefs towards various social concepts and may ask you to infer your reactions in imaginary scenarios that we've created. It should be entertaining to complete, and we think that it will take about 5 minutes of your time. There are no "better" answers to any of the questions asked: your answers will only be a measure of your beliefs, without any positive or negative connotations attached. If you feel that your beliefs don't correlate with any of our provided answer choices please feel free to clarify them in the "other" answer spaces. Your identity and all of your responses will remain anonymous. As our research project involves data collection through both surveys and follow-up interviews, we've also included a question asking for your participation in our interviews. If you'd like to be interviewed, please fill out your name and contact information in the space provided. Please be assured that your name will not be associated with your answer responses and your private information will remain confidential within our research team (e.g. your private information will not be attached to your response answers or disclosed to anyone else). Before you respond to our survey, we have to inform you of any risks possibly involved. Participation in this research project will not bring you any personal harm or damage that we are aware of. To avoid possible intrusion on privacy, we have been attentive in designing less personal questions. However, if you feel uncomfortable answering any select question, you may choose to leave the question unanswered. Please be assured that your name will not be associated with your answer responses and your private information will remain confidential within our research team (e.g. your private information will not be attached to your response answers or disclosed to anyone else). The possible benefit of this survey is that it may provide a reflective experience as you answer questions from a potentially new perspective. Through our interviews, we hope that you may also discover more about yourself, as well as carry out an insightful conversation. There are no monetary compensation for participating in this research project, but we give our sincere thanks for your time and effort. 感谢您参与本次调查。本次调查只针对高中生进行。这份问卷会囊括有关于您对社会上各种概念的问题,其中一些问题涉及到情景设想。这将会是个有趣的过程,并只会占用你大约5分钟。对的问题,没有最好的答案。你的一切答案只是你想法的一种衡量标准,没有任何积极或者消极的隐含意义。如果你发现你的想法与下列任何选项都不符,请在“其他”后空答。整个过程都会以匿名形式进行。由于我们的研究项目通过问卷调查和后续采访来收集数据,我们会让您自由选择是否参与

我们的采访,如果您同意接受采访,请将您的名字和联系信息填在规定处,但是您字将不会与您的作答相关联,并且您的信息将会被保密。我们保证您的作答不会与您的姓名及其他个人信息关联,您的作答和私人信息会被我们的研究团队保密。

(e.g. 您的个人信息和作答不会被向他人泄露) 在你参与调查之前,我们会将调查中所有可能出现的风险告知。参与本次项目并不会给您带来任何我们所知道的个人侵犯。为了避免关于可能的隐私泄漏,我们已经减少个人化的问题。本次调查的收获在于当您从一个新的角度去回答这些问题时,这是一个引人反思的过程。再次对您百忙之中抽出时间和精力完成此次调查表示深深的感激。

必答题

1.After reading the consent form above, what will be your choice? 在仔细阅读上方文字后,您的意愿是?

- I voluntarily consent to participate in this survey.我自愿填写这份问卷。
- I decide not to fill out this questionnaire. 我不愿填写这份问卷。

2.Thank you. Are you a high school student? 谢谢。您是高中生吗?

- Yes 我是
- No 我不是

3.What is your gender? 您的性别是?

- Male 男性
- Female 女性

4.What is your ethnic group? 你的民族是?

- Han 汉族
- Chinese Minority Ethnic Group 中国少数民族
- I am not Chinese 我不是中国人

5.Which city do you live in? 你现在居住在哪个城市?

6.What kind of English test have you taken? 你曾经参加过哪种形式的英语考试?

If you've taken more than once, please choose the one with the best result.
如果多于一个,请选择分数最好的那个结果。

- TOFEL 托福
- IELTS 雅思
- SAT I (Reading, Writing & Language, out of 800) 学术才能测验 (SAT 英语部分, 总分800)
- Secondary education English test in your city (中考英语)
-

7.What score did you get? 你考了几分?

8.What is your parents' highest educational level? 你父母其中一方最高的受教育程度为?

- Below high school 高中以下
- High school 高中
- Bachelor 本科毕业
- Above bachelor 硕士及以上

9.What are their occupations? 他们的职业是?

10.Are you involved in any Communist Party of China organizations, such as the Party, League or the Pioneers? If yes, which organization(s)? 你曾参加过任何形式的中国共产党的组织(如党、团、队)吗? 如有, 是哪个/些?

11.What is the name of the school you go to? 你学校的名字为?

12.Which grade are you in? 你目前所在的年级为?

13.According to your course selection, what kind of tests are you going to take at the end of your high school education? 根据你现在所选择的课程体系, 在你高中生涯结束时你要参加下列的哪些考试?

- Gaokao 高考
- International test (A Level/AP/IB/etc.) 国际类型考试
-

14.You are ...? 你是...?

- a boarding student 在校寄宿生
- a day student 走读生
-

15.How many formal TESTS (not quizzes) for each subject do you have within a semester? 在一个学期之内, 你每一个科目大概会有多少次*正式*考试?

16.What percentage of teachers at your school are foreign? 在你高中里外教所占百分比为?

17.What percentage of students at your school are foreign? 在你高中里外籍学生所占百分比为?

18.What's the frequency of interactions between you the your teachers outside of classroom activities? 你和老师多久在课外活动中互动一次?

- about once in a week 每周一次
- more than once in a week 每周多于一次
- almost never 几乎没有

19.In some schools, students choose between a liberal arts track or a STEM track. Which track did you choose? 一些学校可以让学生选择文科或者理科来学习。你选择了哪个?

- Liberal Arts 文科
- STEM 理科
- I did not choose 我没有选择

20.List all the courses you are taking. 请列举出你现在上的所有课程。

21.Were you able to choose your courses according to your interest? 你可以根据自己的兴趣选课吗?

- I was able to choose some of my courses, and the others are compulsory. 我可以选修一些课, 其余必修
- I was able to choose all of my courses. 我可以选修任何课程
- I did not have the options.

22.What type of middle school you went to before entering your high school? 在进入你现在的高中之前, 你的中学采用了哪种教育体系?

- Pre-IB system IB预科体系
- IGCSE system IGCSE体系
- Domestic system 国内体系
-

23.Had you been in a same or similar educational system (international courses like IGCSE, Pre-IB or domestic courses) before entering high school? 在高中之前, 你曾接触过跟现在一样的教育体系吗? (如IGCSE, Pre-IB等国际课程或国内课程)

- Yes 是
- No 否

24.To what extent do your teachers encourage you to ...? 你们老师是否鼓励你...?

	strongly encourage 非常鼓励	encourage 鼓励	undecided 难以评判	discourage 不鼓励	strongly discourage 非常不鼓励
develop and explore your own personality 发展个性	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
conform to the social mainstream or the people close to you in order to benefit the larger group 顺应社会潮流去让集体变得更好	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

25.How many group activities did you participate in November? (During class time) 在11月内，你参加了多少个小组活动? (校内课堂时间里)

26.What types of classroom activities do your teachers have you do? 请举例你在课堂中参加的活动类型。

27.What are some extracurricular activities that you are involved in? 你曾经参加过什么课外活动?

28.What are your first three choices of college/university? (If you have one) 您未来最想去的3所大学是 (如有) ?

29.In your mind, what is the order of importance of the following choices? Please rank them. 在你们心目中，这几个选项的重要性排序是? 请排序。

- Yourself 你自己
- Your family 你的家庭
- Your community 你的社区
- Your country 你的国家

30.The image or spirit of Lei Feng, who would always put the interest of nation and community in the first place instead of his own self interest, has been advocated for decades. To what extent do you agree with such an image and its continuity? 雷锋精神 (永远把他人或集体利益放在个人利益之前) 一直被传递着。你是否认可并看重这种精神，也支持这种精神应该继续传递下去?

I strongly disagree with it 我一点也不认可这种精神

- I disagree with it 我不太认可这种精神
- I take a neutral attitude 我保持中立
- I agree with it 我认可这种精神
- I strongly agree with it 我非常认可并且支持这种精神

31.Imagine: You are a professional footballer. You are playing a football game, and now, it is the last minute of injury time. Neither of the two teams scored in the past 90 minutes. As you enter the box, your teammate is at a better position: if you pass the ball to him rather than shoot by yourself, your team is more likely to score. However, if you score rather than pass the ball, you will be more likely to get a promotion or raise. 想象以下情景：你是一位专业的足球运动员，你现在正在比赛，半决赛进行到了伤停补时，比分仍是0:0。你突入禁区，而你的队友在更好的位置：如果你选择传球而不是自己射门，你的球队就更有可能会绝杀。然而，相比助攻，如果你自己进球，你就更有可能会得到晋升或加薪。 Are you going to pass the ball to your teammate or shoot? 你会传球还是射门？

- Pass 传球
- Shoot 射门

32.Imagine: You are a farmer in a poor village in a low-income country, relying on subsistence labour-intensive farming. Your farm is the best place for irrigation ditch. Your village is planning to build a sewage system and a better irrigation system for the interest of everyone in the village. Everyone in the village agree with the change. However, the construction of these infrastructures will seriously affect over half of your land of farming for a period of time as the pipes are planned to go under your land. And there will be no compensation for that. The construction will last for at least 3 months, after that, you will get to manage your land for farming again. But you might also take some other time to fix the damage for the land due to the construction. 想象以下情景：你是一个生活在贫困农村的农民，靠耕地劳作生活，你的农场是全村最好的灌溉地点。你们村的村民最近决定要在村里建造一个污水处理系统和灌溉系统，这可以给全村带来便利。村民们一致同意此决定。然而，因为管子会通到你农场的下面，这个工程会严重影响你耕种，并且没有补偿。工程将持续3个月，之后，你便可以恢复正常的工作，但你可能还需要花时间修复你的农场。 In this case, will you agree with other villagers? 在这种情况下，你会同意大家的决定吗？

- Yes 我会

No 我不会

33. Based on the previous question, if the people around you are in the same situation, what do you think will be their choice? 根据上一题的情景, 换做是你身边的人, 你认为他们会怎么做决定?

To agree with this plan 同意这个计划

To disagree with this plan 不同意这个计划

34. Imagine: The government of your country decided to have the policy of compulsory national service for national security. You are just in the range, so you will have to attend the army for 2 years, but now you are in the college that you like. 想象以下情景: 政府为加强国防, 决定强制服兵役。你正好满足要求, 所以你必须服役两年, 但你正在大学里并且你很喜欢你的大学生活。To what extent do you agree with such policies? 你是否同意这项政策?

Strongly agree 非常同意

Agree 同意

I don't mind either way 我随意

Disagree 不同意

Strongly disagree 非常不同意

35. Imagine: In your regular classroom where everyone has a fixed seat, you sit at the back row. Your class decided to put a trash bin in the classroom for convenience after the discussion. Yet most think that the trash bin should be placed at the back, which is one meter within your seat. However, you don't like the rubbish bin, even if the closer distance makes it more convenient for you to throw away your trash. 请想象: 在你每天上课的教室里, 每个人都有固定的座位。你坐在最后一排。近期你的班级为了所有同学的便利决定放一个垃圾桶在教室内。大多数人认为垃圾桶应该放在教室后面, 恰巧就是你的座位旁边(一米以内的位置)。而你非常不喜欢垃圾桶放置在你位置旁边。What would be your attitude? 你的态度会是什么?

I will express my feelings, but eventually I will follow the class decision. 我会表达出我的不喜欢, 但是仍然会服从大多数同学的决定。

Though I don't like it, I won't say anything about it. 尽管我不喜欢, 我不会说什么。

I would try to make the trash bin as far as possible away from me, even that means someone else will have to sit next to it. 我会想办法尽可能让垃圾桶的位置远离我的座位, 尽管可能那意味着别的同学会坐在垃圾桶旁边。

36. Thanks for finishing this survey, would you like to be interviewed afterwards? If so, please write down your name

and phone number. It will be really helpful if you can participate in the interview. Thank you. 谢谢您完成了此份问卷调查，如果您愿意接受后续采访，请写下您的姓名和电话号码。您的参与将对我们非常有帮助。谢谢。

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM/同意书

Thank you for your interest in our research project! Through various forms of data collection, we aim to study the education system in China as part of a class taught by a Columbia University researcher.

This interview covers questions regarding your beliefs towards various social concepts and may ask you to infer your reactions in imaginary scenarios that we've created. It should be entertaining to complete, and we think that it will take about 20 minutes of your time. There are no "better" answers to any of the questions asked: your answers will only be a measure of your beliefs, without any positive or negative connotations attached. Your identity will remain anonymous and only used for reference within our research team.

Please be assured that your name will not be associated with your answer responses and your private information will remain confidential within our research team (e.g. your private information will not be attached to your response answers or disclosed to anyone else).

感谢您对本次调查的参与与投入。作为哥伦比亚大学研究学者授课的其中一部分，我们希望通过各种信息收集渠道，做一个关于中国教育体系的调查。

本次调查会囊括有关于您对社会上各种概念的问题，并且会问到有关您对我们给您设想情景的反应。这将会是个有趣的过程，并只会占用你大约20分钟。

对于所有的问题，没有最好的答案。你的一切答案只是你想法的一种衡量标准，没有任何积极或者消极的隐含意义。整个过程都会以匿名形式进行，并且您的信息将会被保密。

Risks and Benefits/风险与收获

Before you participate in the interview, we have to inform you of any risks possibly involved. Participation in this research project will not bring you any personal harm or damage that we are aware of. To avoid possible intrusion on privacy, we have been attentive in designing less personal questions. However, if you feel uncomfortable answering any select question, you may choose to leave the question unanswered.

The possible benefit of this interview is that it may provide a reflective experience as you answer questions from a potentially new perspective. Through our interviews, we hope that you may also discover more about yourself, as well as carry out an insightful conversation. There are no monetary compensations for participating in this research project, but we give our sincere thanks for your time and efforts.

Your signature (i.e. your name or initials) indicates that you have read the above information and voluntarily consent to participation in this project.

在你参与调查之前，我们会将调查中所有可能出现的风险进行告知。参与本次项目并不会给您带来任何我们所知道的个人侵犯。为了避免关于可能的隐私泄漏，我们已经竭力减少个人化的问题，但是如果有问题令您感到不适，您可以跳过此问题。

本次调查的收获在于当您从一个新的角度去回答这些问题时，这是一个引人反思的过程。通过我们的采访，我们也希望您能对自己有更多的了解，并和我们进行一次有见地的交谈。

尽管本次调查全程免费，我们依旧对您百忙之中抽出时间和精力表示深深的感激。

Signature / 签名 _____

Date / 日期 _____

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

****Note:** have them review and sign the consent form prior to beginning the interview.

[Interview]

- Can you tell us a little bit about your school? 你能告诉我们一些关于学校的事吗?
 - International or domestic system? Is it part of a mixed system? Do you need to take the *gaokao*? 你所在的是国际学校还是普通高中? 你的学校是两种制度都有吗? 你需要参加高考吗?
- What curriculum system are you taking (AP, A level, IB, gaokao)? How is your schedule structured (how many courses per day, for how long)? 你所在的是什么体制下? (AP, A level, IB, 高考?) 你的日程是怎么安排的? (每天有几节课? 每节课多长时间?)
- How do your teachers usually teach? (Group discussions, lectures, interactive) 你的老师的教学方法? (小组讨论, 讲演, 互动)
- Can you tell us a bit about your education experience? 你能告诉我们一些你的教育经历吗?
- Can you please talk us through all the schools you've been to, and what kind of school they are (for example: domestic or international)? Have you experienced any major changes between schools you've been to? (For example: switching from domestic school to international school, changing high schools) If yes, why? 你能告诉我你上过的所有的学校吗? 他们是哪种制度呢? (举例: 体制内还是国际部?) 你有经历过一些学校的变化吗? (例如: 从体制内学校转学到国际学校, 更换高中) 如果有, 为什么?
- [If there are interesting changes in their schooling experience...] What do you think is the biggest difference between the schools you've been to? (如果在你的学校生活中有一些有趣的变化) 你认为在你去的这些学校里学校之间最大的不同是什么?
- (Question only for students in school which has both departments)
- Have you ever observed any differences between the domestic part and the international part of your school? Could you please elaborate on your answer? Why do you think these differences exist? (只针对那些学校同时涵盖国际部和普高部的学生回答) 你有观察到你学校的普高部和国际部的学生有任何不同吗? 可以详细说明一下吗? 你认为为什么这些不同会存在?
 - "This question allows us to understand how the students perceive themselves in relationship to the other department."
 - Students in school which contains both of these departments may feel a more evident change and disparity. Do not try to lead them deliberately into an answer. If their answer is "no difference", just record it like that.
- Do you have any aspirations for the future? (Maybe a dream career?) Are you encouraged to pursue your dream? By whom? Are you encouraged by your school? 你对未来有什么期待吗?

(比如梦想的职业?) 你被鼓励去追求你的梦想吗? 被谁鼓励? 你被你的学校鼓励去追求自己的梦想吗?

- [If the interviewee answers “not supported”...] Do you think you will continue to pursue your own dreams? Why? (如果受访人的答案是不支持) 你认为你还会继续坚持你的梦想吗? 为什么?

- Imagine: The government of your country decided to have the policy of compulsory national service for national security. You are just in the range, so you will have to attend the army for 2 years, but now you are in the college that you like. 想象以下情景: 政府为加强国防, 决定强制服兵役。你正好满足要求, 所以你必须服役两年, 但你正在大学里并且你很喜欢你的大学生活。
 - How will you answer this question? (Question: To what extent do you agree with such policies? 你是否同意这项政策? Answer scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree)
 - When making this decision, what was your thought process? How did you make this decision? 当你做这个决定的时候, 你是怎么想的? 你是怎样做这个决定的?
 - Regarding your decision, what might your parents have taught you to do? What would they have done? 考虑到你的决定, 你的父母可能会让你怎么做? 他们会怎么做?
 - This question takes a look at parental education influence on the interviewee’s beliefs. We can further compare their answer here to the earlier question of their parents’ education experience, and see if we can find any trends.

- Imagine: You are a farmer in a poor village in a low-income country, relying on subsistence labor-intensive farming. Your farm is the best place for irrigation ditch. Your village is planning to build a sewage system and a better irrigation system for the interest of everyone in the village. However, the construction of these infrastructures will seriously affect over half of your land of farming for a period of time as the pipes are planned to go under your land. And there will be no compensation for that. The construction will last for at least 3 months, after that, you will get to manage your land for farming again. But you might also take some other time to fix the damage for the land due to the construction. 想象以下情景: 你是一个生活在贫困农村的农民, 靠耕地劳作生活, 你的农场是全村最好的灌溉地点。你们村的村民最近决定要在村里建造一个污水处理系统和灌溉系统, 这可以给全村带来便利。然而, 因为管子会通到你农场的下面, 这个工程会严重影响你耕种, 并且没有补偿。工程将持续3个月, 之后, 你便可以恢复正常的工作, 但你可能还需要花时间修复你的农场。
 - How will you answer this question? (Question: In this case, will you agree with other villagers? 在这种情况下, 你会同意大家的决定吗? Answer: yes or no) (Question: If the other villagers were in your situation, what would they have done?如果其他的村民跟你经历相同的情况, 你认为他们会怎么做?)
 - When making this decision, what was your thought process? How did you make this decision? 当你做这个决定的时候, 你是怎么想的? 你是怎样做这个决定的?

- Regarding your decision, what might your parents have taught you to do? What would they have done? 考虑到你的决定，你的父母可能会让你怎么做？他们会怎么做？

- What do you think about the two different beliefs of collectivism and individualism? (集體主義，個人主義) 你对集体主义和个人主义有什么看法吗？
 - This question can compare students' self-claimed beliefs to our observations of their beliefs (derived from their survey and descriptive interview responses). However, we want to avoid priming them with this question so that their other responses are not influenced.
 - Before we finish, are there any answers you'd like to elaborate on? Or other topics you'd like to discuss? 在结束之前，你认为有哪些问题你希望进一步详细说明？或者其他你愿意讨论的话题？
 - [For interest] Could you offer us any feedback on this survey? What do you think could be improved? 你可以给我们一些关于这个问卷的反馈吗？你认为哪些地方还可以提高？