

立场 - 教育对话

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编辑小组
刘煜，王丹，徐建平

杂志主页
<http://edupositions.wordpress.com>（海外）
<http://positions.blog.edu.cn>（中国）

联系邮箱
edupositions@gmail.com

刊首语

本期收录了两组稿件。一组文章介绍了 2003 年日本教育改革试验对教师的一些影响，考虑到读者有可能对日本国情不熟悉，我们在文章前面特意加注了编者按，所以这里不再重复。另一组的三篇文章则围绕农村孩子的教育展开。王丹的田野调查从乡村教师的视角又一次确认了正规学校教育与乡村生活方式之间的矛盾。她没有急于在文化冲突与教育不平等之间划等号，而是在教师的课堂活动和学校的课程安排中耐心地追索文化资本的差异是由于哪些机制而转变为教学效果的差距。车艺和鄢超云的论文以一所乡村幼儿园的日常工作安排为引子，对比城乡教师的游戏观，从幼儿最平常的游戏活动追问现代教育对人的控制。其中援引的教师们的评论，例如幼儿园与小学是性质截然不同的教育机构，幼儿应以游戏为主，小学应以教学为主等，从侧面揭示出一些有趣的教育观念，启人深思。马丽的田野手记把我们的视线转移到城市的民工学校。她描述了城市民工学校的教师面临的现实困难，从而把民工子弟的教育问题从道德层面的讨论引向了具体的制度困境。

虽然三篇文章的角度各不相同，但共通之处是作者们进入到学校和教学活动的内部，从教学活动最琐碎细节处反思教育政策和制度安排，进一步质疑隐藏在这些制度安排背后的观念和思维方式。读者当然不必要认同作者们的立场和分析，但是文中对于教师、学生、家长和具体事件不同程度的描写，或多或少地再现了研究和观察的现场，为读者形成自己的解读敞开了一定的空间。这也是我们收录这几篇文章的用意之一。

《立场》自年首诞生以来已近一年。过去的近一年中，《立场》得到了许多教师、教育研究者和其他人文社会科学的学生学者的热情支持，来信、投稿、建议或者只言片语的回馈，对我们都是莫大的鼓励。

创刊之初，我们已经预料到经营一份不知名的杂志会面临的艰难。最大的难题自然莫过于缺乏稿源。当时，我们也半真半假地说过，有稿件一年四期，稿源不足则两期三期亦可。没想到，戏言成真。本期杂志即为三四两季合刊。

另外，为扩大受众，我们承诺接收中、英、日三种语言的稿件。然而，实际操作中，选择刊发原文或者译文却并不那么容易，这里既有读者群也有工作量的考虑。本期首次刊发英文原文稿件，效果如何，是否应该翻译，我们也很难决断。希望读者给我们提供反馈意见，帮助我们改进编辑工作。

《立场》不只属于我们，更属于各位关心教育、关心中国的读者和作者。对于各位师友的爱护和支持，我们只能以更加勤勉的工作来作为答谢，为不同声音不同话语的交流，提供并坚守一个小小的开放的空间。我们真诚地邀请大家继续来函来稿，加入到对教育、对中国社会和对世界的思考和对话中来。

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Speed or Quality: The Clash of Cultures in Rural Classrooms 速度还是质量：乡村课堂的文化冲突

Dan Wang 王丹

提要： 本文是教育民族志《去政治化的工作空间——乡村教师的日常工作》中的一章。该研究考察了中国西南山区一所乡级小学——朝阳小学——的教师们的工作状况。这是一所“戴帽初中”，学校包含小学至初中九个年级。

本章分析的焦点是乡村教师们 在实施“新课标”的过程中所遭遇的困境以及造成这一困境的结症所在。以“新课标”为指导的教材和教学组织方式对学生的学习自主性要求更高，而学习自主性的培养必须以扎实的读写算技能为基础，扎实的读写算技能的形成又必须依赖一套严格的学习习惯。一些最普通的学习习惯，如上课带纸笔、记笔记、保护课本、有条理地保存笔记和文具等，也许在城镇家庭教育中被视为理所当然。然而农村家庭由于受教育程度底，学校也没有着重强调学习习惯，导致绝大部分朝阳小学的儿童从小学一年级开始就落后于同级平均水平。随着年级升高，差距不但无法缩小，反而不断加大。原因显而易见。每一个学期、每一个年级、每一门学科都有固定量的教学任务，这是由教材和上级考核指标所限制的。教师为完成教学总量，不得不保持一定的教学进度，没有更多的时间为大批的掉队学生补习以前缺欠的基础。由于学生缺乏自学习惯和基本技能，初中年级的教师不得不在课堂上花大量时间清扫生字词句或回顾小学三四年级的数学公式，学生也没有能力进行有意义的课堂参与。某些科目硬要让学生课堂自主学习，无异于稀释教学质量。教师们 在每一堂课上都在面临进度与质量之间的矛盾、平衡和抉择。

我认为，“新课标”之不适合农村教学，并不是教学内容对于乡村儿童的生疏，而在于教学量与进度超过了农村学生的平均接受能力。矛盾的根本是：当前的学校教学活动是以脑力劳动的生活方式为前提，而以体力劳动为主的农村家庭文化很难让儿童从小形成适合学校教学的性格和习惯，以至于乡村儿童从小学一年级就跟不上学校的教学进度，差距逐年加大，到高年级已积重难返。如果农村父母无法培养孩子正确的学习习惯，那么学习习惯的培养便应该正式纳入乡村学校教育的教学内容，分配单独的时间。这意味着农村学生在低年级需要比城镇学生更多的时间去形成正确的学习习惯和巩固基础知识。除非延长整个农村基础教育阶段的学习年限，否则该阶段的知识量和进度都有向下调整的必要。由于目前农村教学的瓶颈是学生的读写算基础技能，那么，农村教育应该花大力气加强而不是淡化基础知识和技能。继续在农村教育中推行“重能力，轻知识”的素质教育，其后果可想而知。

One night, a young teacher, Tian, came to my bedroom for a chat. A care-free and talkative young girl in her early 20s, Tian taught fifth grade Chinese class. I asked casually how many years she had worked as a teacher. “Three years,” she said. The next minute, she continued all by herself into her feelings about teaching:

“[Teaching] is becoming less and less interesting, unlike the days when I just started on the job. Now, every day is the same, the same teaching format, not creative at all. Every day is the same. The more I teach, the more upset (*mao zao*) I am. Don’t want to teach any more.”

“So, you did like teaching when you first taught?” I asked.

She nodded and said with a frown, “Right, I loved it, especially the first month as a student teacher. I felt so proud being a teacher! At that time, the [normal] school had multimedia equipment for us to prepare for classes. Other students helped me find all kinds of teaching materials. The content was rich and fun. After teaching, I had a strong sense of accomplishment. Now it is all gone. It is all the same each day. There is no sense of accomplishment at all in teaching, no creativity. I feel it [teaching] is so dull. I feel bad no matter students understand or not. I feel I teach poorly.”

“Do you mean the test scores are bad?”

“No,” she said, “I don’t measure [the quality of teaching] by test scores. I just don’t feel I am accomplishing something. I feel bad.”

Teaching in Chaoyang Elementary School was an experience of frustration. Teacher Qian was not alone. Many others also said that they used to have sincere passion for their work at the onset of the career, and yet, within one year or two, they soon burned out. Teachers with connections and other means already escaped Chaoyang to schools “outside” this mountain area. The remaining ones, especially young teachers, thought this place [Chaoyang Elementary School] had no hope.

What were the reasons that contributed to the current dismay? I brought the question to some of the veteran teachers and administrators in casual chats and formal interviews. They replied wittily: “Everyone knows the diagnosis, but nobody can provide the prescription.” Among the top culprits were poor student quality, absence of parental support, lack of administrative assistance, and finally insufficient in-service teacher training. Director Lin added another factor, the distrusting social atmosphere toward the school. Indeed, excellent schools may excel in different ways, but poorly-performing schools are usually poor in similar aspects – that is, falling apart in all aspects. This chapter focuses on the clashes between the rural lifestyle of students and parents and the school system. Chapter 6 will analyze the stifling internal administration and power relations between teachers and administrators/bureaucrats.

Coal Powders: the students

Teachers often complained that good students all left for better schools “outside” and those who stayed in Chaoyang Elementary School were mostly the poor performers. They thought that student quality was among the top reasons why the school had never succeeded in having even a single student being admitted into one of the key high schools in the county. Student loss usually concentrated at the time between grade six, the last elementary grade, and grade seven, the first grade in junior high. The elementary schools in adjacent townships were said to have not so much a difference than Chaoyang Elementary School. However, disparities in student achievement were believed to be enlarged in junior high grades, for which Chaoyang Elementary School had a notorious reputation among the villagers and parents. This was what Director Lin meant by a “distrusting social atmosphere.”

Junior high years were a crucial stage in deciding rural students’ fate in education. High achievers who managed to get into a key high school would enjoy a much higher probability of continuing on to college in the cities. Those that lagged behind would wind up their education at grade nine, or even earlier sometimes for those less patient ones. Most of these students would also march to the cities like their higher-achieving counterparts, not to the college though, but to construction sites or labor-intensive plants. Therefore, students who were serious in receiving a university education and who also had the means financially may well choose to transfer to a junior high school outside Chaoyang Township right after their graduation from the elementary school. Teachers reported that in 2006 over two-thirds of the top 50 scorers in grade six had transferred out. “Of course schools in cities or anywhere outside this mountain area fare better than we,” Teacher Huang said, “They had all the good students! Look at here. I am teaching math in the advanced class of grade eight. I guarantee you that one-third of students in my class cannot solve Math problems at grade four level. Come on! We are talking about students on the so-called fast track! Think of those kids in the slow class. Did you ever see people sifting coal lumps? Students in our mountain area are born disadvantaged comparing with the city kids. There is no large chunk of coal here in Chaoyang. Now, the relatively larger pieces are further filtered away. The leftover for us to teach are literally coal powders. And we are supposed to make them into solid chunks! That’s impossible!”

It was common to hear debasing comments on students of this kind among teachers’ casual talks. I even witnessed an old elementary teacher directly ridicule one of his students when the boy came to submit a form after the due time. The teacher said right in the boy’s face, “Late again! I tell you, that I am reputed for collecting junks. If I drive you away from the class, I am afraid no one else [teacher] would keep you in this entire region.”

It was hard for me in the beginning to accept harsh comments as such about students. Many times I suspected that teachers were making excuses for their lethargy and their failure in students' achievement. Especially, they dismissed almost every educational innovation under Quality Education in method or in content as "unsuitable for students here in the mountain area." When pressed "why," they said, "the new curriculum (*xin ke biao*) is good. It puts emphasis on cultivating creativity, students' independent skills of inquiry, habits of teamwork, emotional sensitivities. Those new textbooks are much better compiled than the ones used before, more interesting, with more pictures, diagrams, more flexible. Well, they are good, but they are not realistic. Maybe they are suitable for city students, but certainly not for students here."

I puzzled for quite some time about what was realistic and what was not since teachers hardly offered specific explanations. All they offered was the cliché arguments that students in rural areas were backward, of low quality, could not adapt to and master fancy learning methods, and the textbooks were too distanced from students' real life experiences (they have never seen a *li jiao qiao*, overlapped highway bridges, for example), so on and so forth. Similar rationale of rural-urban differences has been publicized and upheld in scholarly and popular discourses about what rural students ought to or ought not to learn. Disturbed about students' indifference to and devaluation of rural agricultural life, scholars question the necessity for rural students to know about the President of the United States or airplanes or bread and milk, rather than local history, corns, cows, or cabbages (Xiong et al., 2002). Textbooks become the means for cultural colonization of the urban lifestyle. The so-called Quality Education was utterly a luxury for rural students (Li, 1999). With due respect for people's concerns about the continuity of local culture and self-esteem of rural people, I hold deep doubts about the specious divide between the rural and the urban in regard to pedagogical issues. If we treat students' immediate physical life as the only "reality," then escalation to theoretical abstraction and understandings of a larger world would be difficult to achieve, if not entirely impossible, through education. Not to mention that some seemingly irrelevant facts about a geographically remote land may well carry a significant impact on people's everyday lives, especially under today's globalized economy.

Teachers just stopped at the conclusion that "those contents and methods were good, but not suitable for students here." Unlike scholars criticizing the textbooks, they never elaborated on safeguarding the local roots, the agricultural lifestyle, or rural communal values. Neither did they accept that urban students were inherently smarter than rural children in terms of intelligence. Then, what did they mean by saying "not realistic?" If they presupposed there were fundamental differences between urban and rural students, what differences did they indicate? Were they

trying to defend their traditional rote memorizing and banking style? Or to justify their failure in teaching by placing the blames on students? There was no ready answer. I realized that with all the effort to answer my questions they had difficulty finding the language to summarize it.

I finally figured out the meaning of “not realistic” through teachers’ casual chats over time and through my own teaching experience. Specific problems with the new curriculum and textbooks were popular topics in teachers’ chats and discussions. The two collective offices turned out to be the best site for me to collect opinions of a majority of teachers through their casual talks. One morning in September, some junior high teachers came to the elementary teachers’ collective office after class. At one point, the conversation shifted from jokes and gossips to teaching. Teachers both old and young all considered the goals and requirements in the new curriculum (*xin ke biao*) a dramatic leap from the traditional way of teaching. The new curriculum heavily depended on students independent “exploration (*tan jiu*),” investigation, self-reflection, empathizing with literary figures, which teachers “didn’t know how to teach.” Those comments were repeated many times and did not allow me a concrete idea of the hardship teachers faced. Then, Chinese teacher, Xu, told his confusions:

“I used to watch a video of demo teaching [Chinese class], done by an expert. He divided the students into two groups, and then threw out a statement. One group was to support the statement while the other group went against it. So the debate began. Students of both sides drew evidence from the essay to support their own arguments. True, the class had successfully mobilized students’ initiatives and students had to master the text in order to make powerful arguments. Yet, one question remained after I watched the entire class: at what time in the class to deal with the basics, like new words, phrases, sentence structure, and analysis of passages?”

At that moment, the question struck me as reasonable but too plain to have any analytical value. I did not understand the significance he attached to the basics until a month later when I had some real taste of teaching in my politics class. Students lacked the training in basic habits of learning: they never prepared for the new content before the class; never reviewed the lesson afterwards; never took notes during the lecture if not told so; took notes on pieces of scrap paper which got lost the second day; often misspelled even the most commonly used words; did not complete homework unless punished. In the end, it was almost impossible for students to accumulate what they had learned over time. Soon, I found myself joining the teachers in complaining about students’ performances.

For subjects like Chinese, Math, Physics, and English, in which later advance heavily relied on early accumulations, the higher the grades, the more headaches did teachers have in dealing with the basics. “Junior high students could not even properly read and write or understand the basic meanings of the texts. How are you going to

expect them to empathize with the author or the characters in the literature? The essays just had no impact at all on their feelings. They are just numb,” said Chinese teacher, Wei. I used to sit in her Chinese lecture for ninth grade, the fast class. She spent three periods on one classic essay by Mencius, *I Like Fish* (*yu wo suo yu ye*). The first period was completely spent on words and phrases, the second on the meanings of each sentence and paragraph, and finally the last period on the structure of the essay. There was no time, and no intention from the teacher either, to discuss the moral and philosophical significance of this piece of classic literature. Wei later said, “Normally this piece should be covered within two periods, according to the teacher’s reference book. I already allowed one extra period for it because it is ancient language and requires more time on the basics. Don’t expect the students to consult the dictionary for words and phrases before the class. They expect me, the teacher, to clear the basics for them in class. And that takes time.” Her experience was true to many Chinese teachers in the school across the grades. Teachers spent a big chunk of class time explaining meanings of new words and phrases. The majority of the students simply ignored teachers’ requirement on before-class preparation. However, in urban schools, students were expected to understand these basics beforehand by checking in the dictionary on their own, *by grade three*, according to an elementary teacher in the county. In Chaoyang Elementary School, even teachers in ninth grade still had to take up the tasks that should have been accomplished way earlier in elementary years.

Thus, it was natural to hear teachers from higher grades to blame the lower grade teachers for their failure to “lay a solid foundation” for students’ future learning. In the end, teachers in grade one or grade two would be ultimately held accountable, following this logic. Many teachers agreed that the lower elementary grades were most important to shape students’ habits and lay a good foundation for later advancement. Nevertheless, with the limited pool of faculty, the more capable ones usually had to be assigned to teach graduating grades or junior high grades, as explained in the previous chapter.

This year, joined by six graduates from two-year colleges, Chaoyang Elementary School made some changes in personnel arrangement. The grade one class in the central school for the first time had a Chinese teacher, Qu, who had a college education. Qu did make efforts in “laying the foundation” for the children. She spent much time in teaching *pinyin*, the Roman letter system of pronunciation, which was one of the two main indexes for entry search in Chinese dictionaries. Two months into the semester, I met her one day in the collective office. She told me with anxiety, “Kids don’t do homework at home. I already add an extra class in the afternoon for them to finish homework before going home. Their parents don’t care. Most moms and papas have left home for work in cities. The kids were left with their grandparents.

The grandmas and grandpas cannot help at all with their coursework. One boy even told me that his parents told him not to do homework! So, I have to go very slowly. You see, I have spent one month and a half on *pinyin*, but half of the students still cannot master it. Supposedly there are only two weeks for *pinyin*. I have over 60 kids. That [the class size] slows me down as well.” She opened the textbook and pointed to her teaching progression in the Table of Content: “Half of the semester has passed, I only covered one-third of the textbook. How am I able to finish the book within the semester?”

Qu’s comments were typical among teachers in two ways. Firstly, although junior high grades put the blame on elementary grades, higher elementary grades on lower elementary grades, ultimately teachers of all grades would trace the roots of problems outside the school walls into students’ families. Partially, teachers’ shared discontent toward parents became a buffer among teachers of different grades, preventing bitter finger-pointing among the faculty. Second, in everyday work, teachers had to constantly strike a balance between students’ learning needs and the pace of progression required of them. The higher the grade, the more likely that the concern for “finishing” the book would overwhelm because exams were pressing and students’ ever-growing knowledge gaps increasingly made any thorough review impractical.

Low Quality: the Parents

Teachers held mixed feelings towards students’ families. On one hand, they sympathized with the parents for their poor “economic conditions (*jin ji tiao jian*).” Teachers estimated that half to two-thirds of the students had at least one parent, mostly the fathers, working as manual labors in the county or more distant cities. At least one-third of students had both parents working away from home in urban areas. Students lived with grandparents, many of whom were illiterate. There were no newspapers, books, or magazines at home, because of economic stringency and illiteracy of the adults in the family. Every year, a couple of parents came home injured, handicapped, or even dead due to accidents in construction sites and illegal coal mines. Teachers were usually sympathetic for such misfortunes. During my short stay in Chaoyang, the father of one girl in ninth grade died in a coal mine accident. Her family called the school, asking the girl to go home on the weekend to attend the burial ceremony. Teachers did not tell her the truth. In the collective office, the head teacher Han said, “I tell her that there is a big family gathering in the weekend. Many of her relatives will come to visit.” Teacher Peng added, “I know! She told me with excitement that all her relatives will come and it must be a very special family event. She is looking forward to it.” Han said, “Poor thing! I will escort her back home on

Saturday and tell her the truth on the way.” Another teacher half joked, “Well, you treat her well because she is a girl and a high achiever. If this happens to a poor-performing boy, you must directly tell him, ‘Your dad died. Go home!’” Many teachers laughed. Teacher Qiu, a young man, couldn’t bear such a joke and disagreed slightly, “You guys are so cruel!” Peng raised her head and refuted, “Don’t be pretentious! You think we are all cold-hearted people?”

On the other hand, teachers were sometimes furious for the lack of cooperation from students’ families. “You won’t believe it!” teachers told me, “Some parents never come to school [voluntarily]. Others come having absolutely no idea which grade the child was in or who the child’s teacher is.” I came across several cases when parents came to look for their children. Indeed, they would ask whoever they got hold of on the playground: “Do you know so and so [the child’s name]?” “No. Which grade or class?” “Oh, I am not sure.” “Who is the head teacher?” “I don’t know either.”

When parents did come to the teacher voluntarily, teachers were not happy about it either, because they came for troubles. One morning, Qu, the young first grade head teacher, met one mother right outside the collective offices. “I am looking for teacher Qu of grade one,” a short dark-colored woman in a yellowish T-shirt said loudly. It rained earlier in the morning. She wore a pair of black rubber rain boots, her pants rolled up half way of the legs, with a long black well-worn umbrella in hand. She complained to Qu that it has been a month into the semester but her son had not received the math textbook yet. Also, the desks of other children were brand new ones provided by the school free of charge (because of new government subsidies), but her son was using his own old desk bought from last year. In effect, the boy should be in grade two. Yet, after two weeks of the new semester, the parents decided to switch him down to grade one. It was a unique phenomenon in Chaoyang Elementary School that parents or students requested to change grade or class spontaneously and the school would not intervene as long as teachers involved agreed upon the new arrangement.

The mother pointed at Teacher Qu and spoke angrily: “I will go take away the desk right now! If you do not give my student a new desk, I will come back for you again! If you don’t give him the math book, I will come after you for the 60 yuan. I paid the money for my son to study here.” Her stress finally rested upon “paid the money.” Qu was just turning 20, a girl of small size and low voice. She explained slowly to the mother: “It is my fault that I forgot about the desk. You can remove your own desk, but wait till the end of this class. The class is still in session. I told the school leaders [*ling dao*] about the text book. The school does not have extra textbooks. He [the boy] may use his old one from last year.” The mother’s loud voice soon attracted eight or nine teachers out from the collective offices. They stood on the

side of Teacher Qu in a half circle. Maybe, the parent saw no way to solve the problems immediately, or was intimidated by the sheer number of teachers. She started to step backward to the doorway of the school while repeating her complaints. Two steps backward, still unsatisfied, she would rush several steps forward again to Teacher Qu, pointing at her face and warning repeatedly: “I paid the money! You got to remember those things!”

I didn't get to see the whole episode end because Principal Luo called me to his office in the midst of the drama. When I returned, the woman was walking away. Teachers still gathered outside the offices talking about the incident and ridiculing the mother. Teacher Peng was one of the most excited one: “Look at those parents! It is like teachers are indebted to them!” At my request, she recounted with victorious content and excitement: “Teacher Qu is too young to handle this type of parents. So I told the parent: ‘the head teacher has reported to the school leaders about the desk and the textbook. She should not be held accountable. You should talk with the principals.’ Of course, the parent was struck speechless and responded with anger: ‘I don't know any of your principals! You think I want to come to your school? No! I don't care to come if not for these troubles.’ I followed up immediately with smiles [and satire]: ‘Right, right, of course! Once you put your student in the school, good or bad it is all the school's responsibilities. You don't care to know in which direction the school gate is, who teaches your student, or who the school leaders are. Perhaps you won't remember how your student looks before long!’” Peng continued with self-appreciation: “I caught her right there! She had nothing to respond. Finally, she had to manage a smile and said: ‘Of course I know how my student looks. I won't forget that!’ At last, we directed her to the Vice Principal, Lu.” Teachers appeared to be amused by this unexpected instance. One teacher commented: “Teachers are already upset at such low pay. We are not going to be bullied even by parents.” Another teacher laughed, “Exactly! Good timing for an outlet!” Peng said, “Those matters are the jobs of the school leaders. Why come to trouble teachers?” Later, the teachers and I saw the woman following Vice Principal Lu into the storage room and coming out with a new desk and chair. She moved the desk and the chair into the classroom, all alone. No one offered a hand.

Teachers wished that parents in “this mountain area” could cooperate in the way the urban parents assisted their children. Parents in cities, they said, sent their children to good kindergartens before school age, where children could learn *pinyin*, numbers, and simple poems, while parents in Chaoyang let their kids run wild in the mountains. So in the first grade of the elementary school, teachers and students were merely repeating and reviewing what had been learned in the kindergarten. No wonder they could lay a solid foundation! It was easier to teach in urban schools. However, in Chaoyang Elementary School, students lost to their city counterparts at the starting

line. Plus, city parents were better educated than the rural parents. They were willing and capable to assist and monitor students to finish homework and to keep frequent contact with teachers to update with students' behaviors in school. Here in Chaoyang, parents seldom showed up; when they did, often times they came to pick on teachers. Parents didn't care about students' learning. They kept kids in school for the purpose of babysitting. I happened to witness two grandmas begging a teacher to keep their grandsons in the school. Both in the slow class of grade nine, the students were caught stealing money to play computer games overnight on the street. One grandma begged the teacher, "His parents are away working in the cities. Grandpa and I are not able to discipline the kid at home. We have nothing more to expect. It is only half a year from graduation. Please let him sit through junior high and then he can go out to look for work in the city¹. If you don't keep him, what are we going to do with him at home for this half year?" To sum up in teacher's word: "the quality of parents is too low!"

These comparisons were employed by teachers to account for their hardship in their work. I understand there were multiple meanings behind the complaints about students and parents. When in contrast with reputable urban schools or teachers, deficient students and parents became a way Chaoyang teachers defended themselves. In absence of such contrast, students' and parents' quality were invoked to express teachers' feeling of frustration. In addition, a boundary was clearly drawn between school and family in teachers' comments. The school, and thus teachers themselves, were not in the position and not able to correct the wrongs in the family, which ultimately implied that the wrongs within the school were futile to combat. Interestingly, teachers without any knowledge about the theory of cultural capital had developed similar insights in their own language. Living with them and teaching the same group of students, I had to admit that their analysis was well-grounded and should not be dismissed as defensive excuses for their own failure in the work.

However, I did disagree with teachers in the conclusion. Where teachers saw "low quality" students and families, I saw the clash of the rural lifestyle and the city-oriented school culture. Usually, the cultural clash was widely perceived by scholars as the degree of familiarity with the specific content of learning. For example, rural students had more difficulties than urban children to learn about airplanes, NBA stars, or Internet search tools because these contents were disconnected to the real life experiences in rural areas—so went the received wisdom. In addition, it was said to be a "cultural deficiency" of rural parents that they often times did not attach enough significance to their children's education. The cultural clash I observed was different from both interpretations above.

¹ Migrant workers need to hold a graduation certificate from a junior high school in order to work legally in cities.

In addition to the disadvantages in economic means, like scarce access to computers, books, magazines, lab facilities, the Internet, rural students and parents were fundamentally disadvantaged, firstly, by the behavioral disciplines intrinsically associated with the way of learning centered around reading, writing, and logical thinking, and secondly, by the bureaucratic and age-based school organizational structure. Learning activities evolving around reading, writing, and reasoning required a particular set of behavioral habits, including the habits of sitting down quietly, concentrating when reading and listening, accumulating facts, practicing, writing with clear strokes, keeping books and stationeries well organized. In other words, learning needed a considerable amount of self-discipline, which did not come to children naturally. These basic behavioral habits ultimately would shape students' characters as well as their academic outcomes.

For urban children, if these habits were not intentionally inculcated by their parents, most children were at least sent to the kindergarten as early as 3 years old. By the time they entered the first grade in an elementary school at age 6 or 7, not only had they already learned simple reading, writing, calculating, singing, drawing, dancing, even more importantly, they also became accustomed to the classroom order and the whole set of disciplines required by the school. The rural families, in contrast, often times could not afford or did not care to pay for the kindergarten while kindergartens in townships or villages were of much lower quality as well. Therefore, the task of students' cultural assimilation into the school setting largely rested on parents for rural children.

However, I frequently saw rural adults sharing similar problems with rural children in regard to learning habits. Most likely, rural residents who could successfully adapt themselves to the school culture had already advanced into the workforce in urban areas through schooling. Thus, the rural society was left with a population ill-adapted to the disciplinary and structural culture of the school. Reading and writing used to be considered irrelevant to peasants' life. As Director Lin recalled, when he was a primary school boy, his father would beat him up for writing homework instead of cutting grass for their pigs. That was the old generation, though. Today, the mindset of rural parents had changed. Unlike the criticism for their negligence of education, rural parents urged their children to "listen to teachers" and "study hard" in school so the children would enjoy a better future than themselves. Schooling as a springboard for upward social mobility was taken to heart by rural parents. Unfortunately, the devil is in the detail. The problem was, they didn't know how.

Despite the change in rural people's attitude toward education, two barriers still remained. For one, textbook knowledge learned in school in no way connected with the agrarian work or even manual work in cities. For manual laborers, peasants and

workers alike, voluntary reading and writing were not essential skills for their livelihood. There was a clear divide between manual labor and intellectual labor. Habits derived from intellectual activities were simply not part of the rural life. If rural parents ever learned anything in school, they were likely to have forgotten it by the time their children needed their assistance. Also, if the adults failed to make it through junior high (the average school year for rural population was 7), most likely they themselves were not aware of the importance of necessary behavioral habits. Secondly, they appeared to have only a vague idea about the organizational structure of a school. Some parents came to school not knowing their children were anchored to a grade and a class; others decided to switch students' grades back and forth. The mother aforementioned was struck speechless when teachers unexpectedly put up the shield of the bureaucratic division of labor to dismiss her protest. To me, these instances suggested that rural parents lacked the basic understanding about the organizational culture. For instance, students and teachers were broken into grades and classes, grades were age-based groupings, each grade had its unique academic goals and contents, and the faculty was arranged in a bureaucratic hierarchy, which resulted in complicated contentions between teachers and the administrators. However, the school culture, both behavioral and structural, was tacit knowledge for urban adults, who usually received at least high school education (over 90%). The school with its special behavior disciplines, organizational structures, and bureaucratic institutions, was an unfamiliar cultural system transplanted on the rural territory, imposing itself on the lifestyle of rural populations.

These cultural barriers, on top of economic disadvantages, further hampered rural parents' capacity in assisting their children's school education: they could not help with academic coursework, or behavioral disciplines, or constructive relations with teachers. When a child fared poorly in school, the parents either quickly lost expectation for the child or lost their temper and beat the child to "teach him a good lesson." My impression was that the former more often happened to girls and the latter to boys. Either way, children were left with no practical solution to the obstacles they encountered in school day in and day out. Lacking the know-how, parents' stress on their children's education seemed to be hollow words in the end.

Speed or Quality: the Teaching

The clash between the school culture and rural lifestyle was interpreted by teachers as "the low quality" of the students and the parents. The interpretation betrayed teachers' conception that students should have come to school with certain level of preparation—behavioral, academic, or cultural—appropriate for school life. Such preparation for those prerequisite "qualities" was considered exclusively the

responsibility of the family, hence a divide in the functions between school and family. Indeed, the school system was set up predicated on this divide. The curriculum and the gradation system were set up in a way disregarding the disparities among students within one class or across geographic areas. No matter students resided in the county, the township, or the village, well or ill prepared, they would have to proceed with the same textbooks at the same pace of learning as long as they were in the same grade. It was almost impossible to tease out whether it was out of personal beliefs or out of obligation to perform the job requirements that Chaoyang teachers held the school-family division of functions, because, once routinized, the external restraints immersed into minute daily activities, altering teachers' mindset without being realized.

As the result of the routinized school practices, these cultural mismatches between the school system and the "low quality" students and their families were played out on a daily scale in teachers' work in forms of students' trivial but nerve-racking misbehaviors, lapse in homework, plagiarism, distractions and indifference in class. Behind teachers' complaints about all these trifles was the constant anxiety about the pace of progression, just as expressed in Teacher Qu's worries: "Half of the semester had passed, I only covered one-third of the textbook. How am I able to finish the book within the semester?"

Teachers were entrusted by the school, the county educational bureau, and ultimately the state to impart a certain amount of knowledge to the students within a certain time span, usually segmented into semesters. Each semester, the teacher was responsible for covering an entire textbook for his/her subject, a textbook compiled by experts and chosen by educational officials. Teachers' reference books, which came with the textbooks, would suggest class hours for each lesson. Too fast, students would have a hard time grappling with the content. The math teacher, Yu, who was despised by other teacher because he often missed his classes, was said to cover 20 pages, i.e. 10 lessons, within a single class hour (45 minutes), perhaps to make up the lessons lagged behind. The head teacher of the class, Li, scorned Yu's irresponsibility to me: "Students were not only riding aircraft, but riding rockets!" He pointed to the sky with one finger, mocking the acceleration of a rocket. However, if teachers taught too slowly, they risked not completing the required work load, like in Teacher Qu's case. Around mid-term, Director Lin informally checked with teachers about their progression. In the weekly faculty meeting, he reminded the teachers: "Half of the semester will have passed by next week. Please pay attention to your teaching speeds. Some of you are close to finishing while others are lingering at the first few pages."

Corresponding tests would be administered by the school or the educational bureau to evaluate achievements, which also functioned as a mechanism to monitor the progression of the textbook delivery. Teachers' anxiety about the speed and

Director Lin's reminder made perfect sense only under the pressure of these exams. Exam papers were usually ordered from external sources to guarantee an objective evaluation, so to speak. For mid-term exams, Chaoyang Elementary School used the exam papers produced by the county educational bureau. One week before the exam, the chemistry teacher, Ke, walked angrily into the luncheon room where young teacher had meals on week days. "Director Lin told me the mid-term exam on chemistry will cover 4 units of the textbook. I told him I just finished 3 so far. Maybe those questions about unit four should be left out. He did not agree and scolded me for moving too slowly. What am I going to do? Fly through the unit in one week? Who the heck controls the pace of teaching, anyway? He or I? Speed is important, but quality also needs to be guaranteed." Mismatches like this existed here and there in mid-term exams or monthly exams, where negotiation remained possible. However, the end-semester final exams were the hard measure and directly linked with teachers' bonuses. By then, every teacher was supposed to finish the assigned textbook or to suffer economic loss for poor exam scores.

Final tests were like a sword hanging over every teacher's head. Yet, essentially, it was a catch for teachers. Good examination scores depended not only on completion of the textbook, but also on the effectiveness of imparting the knowledge. For students in Chaoyang Elementary School, who persistently performed way below grade requirement since early elementary school, keeping up with the normal pace of teaching, i.e. allocation of periods for each unit or lesson suggested by the teacher's reference book, meant sacrificing the quality of teaching and learning. As shown previously, short of the behavioral habits and familial environment amicable to school learning, students in Chaoyang Elementary School needed more time to grasp the same amount of facts or skills. Training in habits and molding their characters ought to be made part of the curriculum for these children if successful education was contingent upon these habits and characters, which these children were not born with by nature. The higher the grade, the harder and slower would it be to introduce the new knowledge to the students if they had lagged behind since the beginning. Moreover, the textbook contained objects, notions, and places, unfamiliar to rural children, which also demanded more time for explanation. Apparently, these practical barriers facing rural students were not taken into consideration when textbooks were compiled in a way in which advanced students in city key schools were expected to spend the same amount of class time as their way-behind rural counterparts. Completing the textbook on time would leave more students further behind. Slowing down to accommodate students' needs risked completion of the textbook. It was a losing battle: either way, the exam result would hardly look good.

Different teachers had different strategies to cope with the dilemma. Math teacher Yu, who could not care less about students' achievement, was said to dedicate

sometimes an entire class to a single exercise question, and other times go over 20 lessons without stop within one hour. Some teachers proceeded in accordance with the instructions on the teacher's reference book unresponsive to students' levels of reception. Still many other teachers constantly struggled on the speed of teaching, trying to strike a balance between students' reception and the required teaching pace.

These struggles on pace, on completing the planned content, were at play in minute pedagogical decisions in every school day. Often, I sat in the classroom and saw the teacher ask a question in class, call on two or three students, and get the wrong answers or many times no answer at all except silence. At this point, the teacher would have to make a decision whether to try another student or to provide the correct answer to save time. Predominantly, teachers would choose to move on by giving out the answer. English teacher, Luo, said, "I won't call on the students in the back [of the classroom]. They could not understand a bit and there is no time for me to correct them. Or I will never finish any teaching plan. So I just make sure the top few can get by." Math teacher, Huang, expressed many times that he would only slow down for the top five or six students. Because question-answers with individual students were usually unsuccessful, teachers often avoided calling on individual students, letting the class answer collectively. Understandably, questions suitable for collective answers were substantially limited to either reading out the original texts from the book or completing the teacher's sentences where the answers were obvious. Neither were genuine questions that encouraged independent thinking. Students of all grades in Chaoyang Elementary School had a monotonous tune when reading any kind of texts, a flat tone and rhythm applied to any passage or essay, with no natural ups and downs, pauses or shifts coming with the meaning of the texts, demanding no emotion to or understanding of the text from the readers. The frequent collective read-out in class made a significant contribution to this lazy fashion of reading, since students had to adjust themselves to a neutral tune in order to read in one voice, which subdued all independent understandings and individual emotions in recitation. Also, completing the teacher's sentences led students to not reflect over the question per se, but to guess the teacher's intentions. These side effects again perpetuated parts of students' poor learning habits and contributed to poor exam performances in the end. Therefore, the struggle over teaching schedule and student achievement was a losing battle in my eyes. Yet, teachers somehow had each developed an acceptable balance between speed and performance. To some extent, I guess, they had to.

Only with full awareness of teachers' concern about the pace could we start to make sense of teachers' critique on the new student-centered curriculum and teaching methods as "unsuitable" and "unrealistic" for "kids in mountain areas." I never heard teachers argue against the contents of the textbooks on the ground that learning about London Tower, globalization, Microsoft, NBA, Shakespeare, independent thinking

skills, and research skills, was inappropriate for these students for the lack of immediate relevance to their lives. Most comments, if not all, were positive in regard to the changes in content. The textbooks in and of themselves were considered by teachers to be much more interesting and enjoyable than before, “but...” There was always this critical shift “but” – “but it is so difficult for us to teach!”

It turned out that the new difficulty was mainly a procedural and technical concern about time. The new textbooks had an increase in information quantity. For example, the English textbooks used to be organized in lessons. Each lesson was a dialogue or a passage with specific notations on new words and the focal grammar point for sentence drilling. “It was clear and easier for students to know which words and grammars they should put their stress on for each lesson,” said English teacher, Liu. She showed me the new textbook, “Now it is organized in units. Each unit contains A, B, C, D four sections with dialogues, short passages, letters, posters, diagrams, pictures, listening comprehension, and myriad forms of practices. Every section often times involves multiple grammatical knowledge points and lots of new words. I don’t know where to put the emphasis. Plus, each section is assigned one period. It is so difficult even to go over all the stuff within one period.” Students above grade four had self study time in the evening. It was common for teachers to continue in the evening classes with the new lesson incomplete during the day or to save class time for next day. The increase in the content of textbooks disturbed the delicate balance managed by teachers between the pace and the quality of teaching.

The student-centered teaching methods aggravated the anxiety over the disturbed balance. Math teacher, Huang, said, “The teacher’s reference book requires that students should independently arrive at the theory with the assistance of the teacher. Teachers can not straightforwardly tell the students. Well, they can’t even do math problems of fourth grade. How can they arrive to the theory by themselves?” Chinese teacher, Wen, in his mid-20s, once described his classroom interactions: “Once you [the teacher] ask a question, all [students’] heads lower down. You call on one student. He/she stands up, head down, swaying from side to side, sometimes playing with a pen or pencil at hand, without speaking a single word.” Another day, he expressed frustration with the new textbook: “nowadays, the textbook requires the students to come up with their own opinions, feelings, and imaginations. Teachers cannot give out the answers directly. But those students never think for themselves. They are not able to think for themselves. Teachers say ‘it is a circle’ and they will say ‘it is a circle.’ Teachers say ‘it is a square’ and they will say ‘it is a square.’ [If] you [the teacher] ask them for their own opinions, they just sit still and look at you in loss. At the end of the class, they would learn nothing.” I fully understood him. In many classes I sat in or taught, the moments when students responded to the teacher with silence or multiple “incorrect” answers were embarrassing to both the teacher and the

students. The teacher would be looking around the classroom for any chance to make eye contact with students who might have the potential or eagerness to answer the question. Yet, the students all lowered their heads and eyes to avoid eye contact with the teacher. The deadlock had to be broken by someone, mostly the teacher, providing the correct answer so both the teacher and the students could be relieved and the class could move on. These stalemates robbed away class time. If the teacher insisted on not giving out the answer directly, the deadlocks would be unbearably prolonged, the teaching plan disrupted, and students ended up “learning nothing.” Giving out the answer did not necessarily mean that the students had “learned something.” Anyway, “as long as one student in the class knows it [the content of teaching], it proves that I have taught it. I have done my job!” one teacher used to say. So, the traditional “teacher-centered” strategy satisfied several demands: saving time, a chance for some students to “get it,” fulfilling the job requirement on the part of the teacher, and perhaps self-comfort for the teacher for soothing their conscience on the work.

The fancy methods of “student-centered” teaching were proved to be impractical in a demonstration class given by a teacher from the county’s best elementary school. Teamwork was another buzz word in new teaching methods. During my stay in Chaoyang, the county Institute of Teacher Training sent a group of county teachers to Chaoyang Elementary School to teach two demonstration classes. The demo math class to third graders was on the concept and the measurement of “perimeter.” The teacher re-organized the class seats into 6 groups and provided tool kits for students to measure perimeters of multiple objects. The group activities turned out to be loose and ineffective. Math teachers in Chaoyang who observed the class all dismissed the teamwork schema with contempt: “Students were never trained in such group activities. It won’t work. A normal class has 45 minutes. Her class took over one hour, and yet, the students did not quite understand the concept of perimeter. No to mention she only had half of the class for the purpose of demonstration. With the full class size, she would get 12 groups. The class may well extend into two hours!”

In my view, teachers did not raise questions about whether the content or methods required by the new curriculum were legitimate or appropriate. Neither did they argue that these knowledge or skills were inherently incomprehensible to their “students in this mountain area.” Rather, to me, they were principally concerned about the efficiency of teaching. For these students to “learn” these knowledge and skills, the student-centered methods would take significantly longer than the so-called traditional didactics because these higher thinking skills and creative capacities had to be built upon strict prior trainings in essential basics, both accumulative facts and behavioral habits. In my own teaching, I assisted students to conduct group investigations on topics of their own interest. Even under my daily supervision, still only one group ever completed their project. That simple project took them five

weeks, doubled the time of my original two-week plan. Such flexibility in time arrangement was a pure unaffordable luxury for the teachers because their work load and pace was externally determined by the textbooks and closely monitored and evaluated through examinations.

Evil Examinations?

It would be too simplistic to conclude that examinations were the culprit for the illnesses in Chaoyang Elementary School, although such a statement would confirm the pre-conceived judgment of many people. Here, it is worth a bit elaboration to clarify the functions and effects of examinations. Tests were employed to achieve multiple purposes. Sometimes the Education Bureau would randomly select a grade to compare student achievement cross the entire county. In Fall 2006, the Education Bureau decided to choose grade six as the sample grade in the final exam. All elementary schools in the county would be ranked by their average test scores. Most embarrassingly, schools with the three lowest average scores would be publicly announced in the county. Those three unfortunate principals were to be held accountable. Chaoyang Elementary School, which stood at 50th place in the pool of 58 schools last year, had a rather big chance to drop to the bottom since the sixth graders this year were even poorer according to the teachers. Anxious about losing face in front of colleagues of the entire county, Principal Luo suddenly tensed up over the test results of grade six. Therefore, one of the paramount goals for the semester was to secure a place above 56th in the rank. Tying test scores with individual school principals' personal stakes, tests in this case functioned as a distant-control technique utilized by the state as a whip on local school staff.

For other grades absent of the state requirement on test scores, tests remained a crucial measure not so much for monitoring the achievement of students, but for allocating school resources, deciding social status among teachers, and in short, for the purpose of organizational management and control within the school. For instance, teachers would be categorized into five classes based on the average test scores of their classes, which in turn corresponded to five classes of bonus distribution. For each outstanding scorer in the class, the teacher could glean extra bonuses. Some teachers also offered monetary reward to students to encourage high test scores, for example 10 yuan for the top scorer. Although associated with varied institutional as well as personal stakes, it seemed to me that testing was used at all levels as the major incentive device for quality control.

The quality of teaching/learning was symbolized by test scores. This conception of "educational quality" had been under assault for quite a long time. Researchers, theorists, practitioners, and general lay people all agreed that high scores did not

necessarily indicate high creativity or operational skills. Without denying the validity of the critique, I think, for Chaoyang Elementary School or maybe thousands of rural schools alike, such concern was largely irrelevant. For Chaoyang Elementary School, the problem was not of “high score - low ability,” but of “low score – low ability.” Test scores might not be able to detect student genuine capacity at the high end, but they obviously had a much higher association with student mastery of the subject at the low end. In one of the grade six monthly tests, the average scores of the three classes respectively were 62.4, 59.6, and 55.5 on the Chinese test, and 34.05, 31.02, and 26.9 on the math test, all out of a 100-point scale. More than 20 students across the grade got single-digit scores on math, with the lowest one at 3.5 points. These statistics made a splash in school especially among the administrators and junior high teachers. “3.5?!” Director Lin burst out, “One can hit 3.5 points just by wild guess with eyes closed! This student apparently learned nothing in his previous five years of math classes!” Teachers in grade six reported that students blundered on knowledge that was covered in grade one or two. For grade one, the end-semester final exam results averaged around 60 (out of 100) for both Chinese and math in Chaoyang Elementary School while teachers in county schools considered an average of 80 as the passing score. No wonder when moving up into junior high, students in slow classes had average scores between 15 and 20 out of 100 for every single subject. Sadly, the slow classes comprised 70% of the student body in junior high Department. Corresponding to their bottom-level test scores, these students lacked the basic mathematic skills, wrote in simple broken sentences full of spelling mistakes, and had difficulty understanding texts written in language other than the colloquial style. Thus, for poorly performing students and students in lower grades, tests were a reasonable and effective barometer, in this case, to monitor students’ mastery of rudimentary facts.

Therefore, the meanings of test scores differed between rural schools like Chaoyang and key schools in urban areas. The distinction was determined by the characteristics of the student bodies. Having acquired the skills of basic reading and writing, students in key schools were usually faced with the challenges of so-called higher thinking skills and creative capacities, many of which the paper-and-pen tests were not sufficient to bring out. However, the majority of students in Chaoyang Elementary School, as I have emphasized the scale several times, persistently performed way below the grade requirement since early elementary years. The greatest obstacles, in my view, came from students’ failure in accumulating the basic facts and skills, which resulted from the behavioral and institutional mismatch between the school culture and the rural lifestyle. Tests in the rural context could be a meaningful way to pressure students to perform on par on the essential facts and skills.

Unfortunately, recent years had witnessed a nation-wide reform tide of eliminating exams in elementary schools regardless of rural students' practical problems. Admissions to junior high schools no longer required passing exams. Tests were still administered to assess teachers' performance and to sort students into junior high schools of varied reputations. "Even if a student got 0 in the test, he or she still has a middle school to attend. Maybe a bad school, like in Chaoyang, but the school had to admit him or her no matter how unqualified the student is," said junior high teachers in Chaoyang. Abolishing the admission test barriers was intended to guarantee rural students the nine-year compulsory education promised by the government. Yet, for the majority of students in Chaoyang Elementary School, this measure only guaranteed nine years of sitting in school, not necessarily nine years of education. The laxness on tests opened the door to an even more diluted pedagogy.

The critical question was not whether the exams should be abandoned; the fault was not the exams per se. The exams were intimately tied up with the curriculum and textbooks that failed to account for the cultural barriers confronting rural students. Those cultural gaps between the students and the curriculum should not be understood merely in terms of students' unfamiliarity with the learning contents. Such strangeness did exist, but it was by no means insurmountable. It only demanded longer time.

Time was the key to understand Chaoyang students' disadvantages as well as teachers' constant apprehension on keeping the pace especially with the new curriculum. Because of insufficient habitual, behavioral, and institutional preparations, rural students performed behind the grade level from the first grade. Yet, the river of time never stopped for them to catch up. New knowledge was programmed to be introduced at a universal schedule insensitive to students' differences and beyond the control of the students or the teachers. Behind this curriculum schedule was the age-based grouping system of school grades. However diverse the students were in their ethnic, economic, social, intellectual, physical, or familial backgrounds, once they were categorized into the same school grade, they were assumed to be of equal capacity, hence the homogeneous pedagogical treatment and the legitimate expectation for similar achievements, usually evaluated by test scores. When the achievement standard was set higher than what the practical conditions of the rural students allowed, these cultural disadvantages were translated into poor exam scores for students and never-ending struggles between teaching speed and students' receptions on the part of teachers.

The exam scores always attracted most attention. Yet, by the time the examinations, especially those high-stake exams, broadcast the shocking achievement gaps, such as the 3.5 point math score, rounds of silent, dragging, and daily battles on time, on speed, on the clash between the school culture and the rural habitus had

approached the destined finale. As long as the curriculum continues to exclude the essential cultural adaptation process needed by rural students and teacher remains merely a pre-programmed transmission tool between the students and the textbooks, this destiny is unlikely to change.

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教师的游戏观与儿童的自由 —— 城乡幼儿教育比较中的启示¹

车 艺 鄢超云

摘要：本文采用以录像为媒介的集体访谈和多重话语的教育人类学研究方法，探讨了中国城乡幼教工作者对游戏，特别是幼儿园中儿童自由游戏的不同看法。研究归纳出三种看似不同但实则存在内在关联和相互转化可能的游戏观。第一种，认为儿童自由游戏只是幼儿园中游戏的一种，游戏化的教学也可以称之为游戏。第二种，认为儿童自由游戏是真正的游戏，教学游戏化（或游戏教学化）固然有其合理性，但跟游戏有质的区别。第三种，认为高水平的自由游戏是儿童游戏的最高境界，“会玩”的孩子才能在游戏中享受到真正的自由。教师的游戏观影响了儿童对游戏、对自由的体验。

关键词： 游戏观，儿童游戏，儿童自由，农村幼教，城乡幼教比较

在幼儿园中，什么样的活动可以称之为“游戏”？通常认为，“游戏”不同于“工作”、“劳动”等工具性行为，而跟“审美”、“艺术创作”等活动类似；是不受外部强加规则制约、重过程而非结果、儿童自愿参与并能满足他们身心发展需要的一种活动^[1]。判断一个活动是否是真正的游戏，最关键的标准之一是游戏者自身的体验，即看儿童是否能在该活动中获得一种“开心”、“好玩”的感觉，看他们是否“自觉自愿、无外在动机和目的”^[2]。简言之，游戏中的儿童应该是一个自由的个体，他的主体性可以得到最充分的张扬和发展。但理论上的清晰并不能杜绝实践中的困惑。事实上，在幼儿园日常活动中，一线教师对“什么是游戏”、“幼儿园的游戏活动如何开展”等问题的回答往往五花八门。本研究试图就以下问题进行探讨：幼儿园的老师怎么看待游戏，特别是儿童的自由游戏（即没有成人的干预完全由儿童自己发起和持续参与的游戏）？城市与农村幼儿教师在对儿童游戏的看法上有何区别？老师们对游戏的理解是否会影响到幼儿园中儿童的游戏体验，特别是他们对自由的体验？

本研究主要采用以录像为媒介的、多层话语分析的教育人类学方法。研究步骤包括：首先，拍摄自然状态下某农村幼儿园一日生活的录像并将其编辑成 20 分钟长的短片作为研究用刺激带；然后，组织城乡幼教工作者观看录像并讨论；最后，收集、整理和分析访谈资料^[3]。需要申明的是，选中该幼儿园拍摄录像并将其作为我们研究的出发点，与其说是经过严格的样本筛选，不如说是一次邂逅。因为我们并非要把所拍摄的内容本身当作一个农村幼儿园课程的典型，所以选择哪个幼儿园并不重要；重要的是观众看完录像后所发表的评论，以及这些评论中流露出的教育理念。

¹原载于《幼儿教育·教育科学》2008.10C（总第 418 期）。

长江幼儿园的一天

长江幼儿园坐落在山城重庆郊区、长江岸边，是一所规模不大的农村幼儿园。2005年初夏我们拍摄录像时，该园有3位带班教师、一位园长（也参与带班）、一位兼职厨师，大中小班各一，共57名幼儿。限于篇幅，我们将只重点描述部分镜头。

早操前，教室里，两个4岁男孩趴在齐胸高的课桌上玩拍纸画的游戏，旁边不时有小朋友围过来观战。老师一直没有在教室出现。户外水泥地操场上，唯一的游戏器材是一个用水泥和砖头砌成的滑梯。有小朋友沿着滑梯道往上爬。滑梯下方，三位小女孩挤在一起说着悄悄话。六、七位男孩凑在花坛边，幻想着自己手中的石头是飞机、大炮，嘴里发出“嘟嘟”声。水沟边上，几位男孩女孩用落叶、泥土和水等玩过家家。此外，孩子们三五成群，在光滑地面上假装“滑冰”、追逐、捉迷藏、叠纸飞机等等。老师一直站在操场的一角，没有任何介入。

早操和自由活动后，9:20，第一堂课铃声响起，30岁出头的游老师走进中班教室。教室内靠门的地方有一架风琴和一个放课本的书桌，见不到一件玩具。18位小朋友都坐好后，游老师发给每人一个不锈钢小碟子，里面放了四张5×5厘米见方的识字卡片。有人好奇地打量教具，大部分小朋友听老师的话把小手背在背后“藏起来”，坐得很端正。接下来游老师教认了四个汉字：“吹、唱、吃、喝”。教每个字的过程中，游老师一般先组织一些集体活动（孩子们一直坐着），比如让孩子们猜测吹泡泡和吹气球的动作、一起唱歌、看图说话（画面上有小朋友喝水、吃饭的情景）等；然后让小朋友跟老师反复诵读生字，再从自己面前的碟子里找出这个汉字。四个字都教完后，老师启发大家归纳几个字的共同点：“左边都有个‘口’，跟嘴有关，是不是？”40分钟过去，下课铃响起，小朋友们按老师的要求，把自己手中的四个“字宝宝”一一对应地送进老师事先准备好的四个纸盒子中，然后有的出去上厕所、喝水，有的留在教室自由活动。

上午一共有三节集体教学活动。其它两节分别是一个手工活动，用彩色橡皮泥做“美丽的花”和一个体育活动“背沙包、运沙包、投掷沙包”。吃完午饭后，全园幼儿在二楼午睡，值班的俞老师一直呆在寝室里，帮助个别小班幼儿穿脱衣服、盖被子，其余孩子大都自己照顾自己或互相帮忙。没有人吵闹，孩子们很快入睡了。两小时后，大家起床、自己穿衣、穿鞋、叠被子。镜头中一个男孩从三层上下铺的第三层灵活地爬下来，挽着一个小伙伴一道下了楼。

下午的主要活动是一周一次的户外郊游。老师和园长交代了外出纪律后带领全园小朋友走出幼儿园大门，穿过镇中心商业区，来到绿色的田野。老师偶尔停下来问孩子们看到了什么、教他们认识周围的花草树木。小朋友们有的手牵手唱着儿歌，有的去摘路边的狗尾草，有的干脆一个劲往前跑。三位老师分别走在队伍的前中后，几乎没有怎么限制孩子们的活动。当队伍路过养鱼的池塘、狭窄而陡峭的石阶等显得比较危险的路段时，除个别有残疾的孩子需要老师背或牵扶外，绝大多数幼儿都能自己小心而安全地通过。

下午 4 点半，全体幼儿回到幼儿园，在教室外的空地上集合，准备放学。游老师站在队伍前，交待了今天的注意事项，如“不要到水池边去玩”、“天快要下雨了，没带伞的小朋友要快快回家，不要在路上逗留”等等。个别孩子有家长来接，绝大多数幼儿结伴回家。很快，孩子们都离开了，两位老师和园长视察全园后锁上教室和大门，也说笑着离开了幼儿园。

游戏观一：“幼儿园里应该组织更多游戏，他们有点小学化”

当我们把长江幼儿园一日活动的录像播放给其他幼儿园的老师 and 园长看时，有相当一部分观众指出该幼儿园课程明显存在“小学化”倾向：

他们这种教学形式，不像幼儿园。在课程内容上，感觉不太符合他们这个年龄阶段的特点，四五岁的孩子就像小学生一样识字。[A 老师，昆明市区]

我看了以后的第一感觉是，有点象小学化的教育……我们幼儿园是提倡游戏化的教学，但他们那里我觉得跟小学教生字差不多。[B 老师，贵州某镇]

他们象小学样的，自己要自己的……幼儿园游戏应该是既有分组游戏又有集体游戏，他那个有点象小学的，就是娃娃自己要，想看书就看书，反正想干个啥子就干个啥子。[C 老师，成都某镇]

学前教育“小学化”一般指用教育小学生的一套理念和方法来教育学龄前儿童。我国幼教界对学前教育“小学化”普遍持批判态度，早在 1987 年召开的第一次全国幼教工作会议中就曾明确指出该现象“无视幼儿身心发展特点和幼儿教育规律”^[4]。时至今日仍不时有幼教工作者撰文呼吁相关部门应加强监督、提高师资水平、尽量杜绝一些地方层出不穷的幼教“小学化”做法^[5]。在这样的舆论和政策背景下，不少一线幼教工作者对长江幼儿园课程的批判并不难理解²。很明显，这些教师主要是针对录像中上午的集体教学活动而言。在她们看来，该农村幼儿园“小学化”倾向主要表现在：1) 教学内容上安排了识字课，不适合中班（四岁左右）幼儿的年龄特点；2) 教学方法上以老师为中心，大量使用黑板、讲授、出示范例等，没有做到“以游戏为基本活动”；3) 课程安排像小学，有上课打铃和课间休息时间等。

在访谈中，这些老师下意识地将游戏当作评判一个幼儿园课程的主要标准之一：“小学化”的课程势必游戏少、形式单一；而适合儿童发展特点的幼儿园课程则不光游戏丰富多彩，教学也应以游戏的方式进行，即力争做到教学“游戏化”。但随着访谈的深入，部分持有上述观点的老师也谈及在贯彻教学活动“游戏化”的理念时遇到的一些尴尬，比

² 虽然我们有许多证据可以去证明长江幼儿园的老师们在组织活动过程中其实是考虑了幼儿的身心特点，并没有完全走“小学化”的路子，但因为本文的宗旨并不是要呈现给读者一个“真实”的样本幼儿园，所以我们不会去为长江幼儿园辩护。事实上，观众从录像中获得的信息是有限的，他们据此作出的判断也可能是错误的。但我们研究的初衷不是去讨论观众判断的对错，而是他们对相关教育问题怎么看怎么想。

如，因概念泛化而带来的迷惑、在处理“游戏”跟“教学”关系时的矛盾、甚至出现有违儿童自愿参与原则的“游戏”。

现在幼儿园哪样不是游戏嘛？天天都说游戏化。除了睡觉啊这种生活活动，我实在不肯定算不算游戏，其他的都算吧。[E 老师，成都市区]

但是游戏多了也很容易影响教学目标的达成，比如算术，儿童很少主动选择它来游戏，但算术又确实很重要。[F 老师，成都市区]

我们这种有老师的引导，这么多娃娃都参与这个游戏，肯定不是每个娃娃都喜欢这个游戏，但也要参与，你就要想办法让他把注意力集中到这边来，他自己的想法那些不能暴露了，被拘束了。要学知识，有时就是个别娃娃，他就不喜欢这个游戏还是被强迫来要这个游戏。[C 老师，成都某镇]

我们发现，换个角度来看，教学“游戏化”也可以说是游戏的“教学化”，即在儿童自发游戏中添加“教学”的成分，通过教师的介入使儿童在不知不觉的游戏中获得“学习”经验。比如，当我们把研究录像放给重庆某示范幼儿园两位园长看后，其中一位针对录像中农村孩子拍纸画的游戏做了如下点评：

比如说开始的时候拍纸画，这个活动很好，城里孩子很少接触，如果利用得好的话，可以在里面发现很多有教育价值的东西。但这就需要教师的教育智慧。他们是自发的，教师没有敏感到这是一种（教育的）契机。[G 园长，重庆市区]

G 园长的看法颇具代表性，估计在课改日益推进的今天，有类似想法的幼教工作者不在少数，但我们想听一听长江幼儿园的园长和老师是怎么看待这个问题的，她们是否认同这种儿童游戏“需要教师的教育智慧”来指导的观点呢？

游戏观二：“下课了，就是玩的时间”

在回访长江幼儿园时，我们将上述意见转达给了录像中的两位带班教师和园长，并问她们对此有何看法。一开始，老师们并不是很理解“教育契机”具体指什么。在听了我们的解释，明白问题之后，她们表示，课间活动是儿童自己的活动，是“游戏”，教师的职责主要是保证活动安全，没必要对幼儿的的游戏进行干预或指导：

这算是课间游戏吧。下课我们基本上就是放任他们。我们不像 XX 幼儿园（一个上海示范幼儿园，通过我们的研究录像了解）那样没有上课下课之分。我们更像小学。上课，就是老师进行集中教学活动。下课，就是耍的时间。[游老师]

我们跟他们比起来是没有整天都跟着孩子。我们让孩子自由地玩。有老师管，反正在旁边把他们看好就行了。他们想怎样就怎样。比如滑梯这种比较危险的地方，最多就是纠正他们一下。[田园长]

尽管如此，长江幼儿园的老师们并没有完全否定游戏“教学化”的合理性。在访谈中，她们多次强调农村幼教所面临的现实条件制约着老师们对可能存在的教育契机的把握。比如在软件上，农村幼儿教师的专业水平有限、外出培训机会很少，教师大都不清楚

当下幼教领域的新做法、新理念。在硬件上，幼儿园往往缺乏活动经费、缺少必要的活动器材、教玩具等，老师即使有好的想法也不容易实施。

农村和城市不一样，没有那个条件让幼儿在老师带领下玩，没有什么玩具可玩。〔游老师〕

我们关键是没有这个条件。没什么可耍的。你说下课老师带你去干什么干什么，根本不可能。没有这个条件！农村幼儿园可以说都是这样。〔田园长〕

但即使在“条件”允许的情况下，“教学化”了的游戏跟幼儿自发的游戏在几位长江幼儿园老师眼里仍是两个不同的概念，在幼儿园中，前者并不能完全替代后者：

（即使可以对游戏做更多的引导）我觉得还是有必要让娃儿自由活动。你整天都把她们控制住不好。活动本来就是她们的天性。有必要让她们自由发展。而且我们自由活动的时候是全园小朋友都在操场上，增加了同伴之间的交流。小娃儿可以向大娃儿学很多东西。……（有时候）不去干涉她们还好些，花样还多些。不信你试一下，他还一定会按照老师制定的规则做。反而限制了（孩子的游戏）。〔田园长〕

当被问及“游戏是什么”的时候，这些老师毫不犹豫地认为游戏就是“下课孩子们自己玩”。她们在访谈中并不忌讳使用“上课”、“教学”等字眼，乍听上去确实显得有些“小学化”。但有意思的是，正是这看似“小学化”的课程却保障了在园幼儿每天有大量时间自己玩、自由地玩，在资源有限的环境中玩出了许多花样，锻炼出“会玩”的能力。许多接受访谈的城市教师和园长也注意到了该现象，评价长江幼儿园的一日活动体现出“学是学、玩是玩”的特点，儿童具有“会玩”的能力：

虽然这两个老师是小学式的教，但他们也有他们自由的一面。一个是农村自然条件比较好；再个她们不管的时候就是不管，孩子也习惯自己玩，我看他们孩子自己的游戏玩得很好，很主动！而且他们孩子之间同伴交流很自然，跟老师也很亲近。〔D 园长，上海市区〕

包括长江幼儿园的老师在内，与我们交谈过的农村幼儿教师往往一方面认为“课间游戏”是必要的；但另一方面，也会流露出些许的无奈，把如此课程设计归因于“不得已而为之”。农村幼教经费缺乏、资源有限的现状在很大程度上导致了在幼儿园中除集体教学时间外，农村幼儿只能处于一种“放羊”、“自娱自乐”的状态。农村幼教工作者的这些认识来自于她们在农村工作和生活的切身体验和感受，它提醒我们切忌将农村幼儿园中儿童的“游戏”自由过于理想化、浪漫化，视之为农村幼儿教师主观上追求的一种教育实践。

游戏观三：“城里的孩子已经不会玩了！”

事实上在我们的访谈中，对长江幼儿园的幼儿能“玩”、会“玩”的现象表示欣赏的城市幼教工作者大有人在。在谈观后感时，大家用得最多的字眼包括：“自然”、“自由”、“娃娃开心”、“快乐”等等。这不仅出乎了我们研究者的预料，而且对许多以前

从未亲历过农村幼儿园一日活动的城市老师来说，她们自己也对录像中的某些场景感到意外——“比想像中的要好”或者“比城里还好”！总的来讲，长江幼儿园的孩子们在课间游戏、午后郊游等活动甚至包括上午的集体教学活动中展示出的精神面貌、社会性发展和动作协调能力等，给城市幼儿园老师们留下了印象深刻。不少老师拿录像中的农村孩子跟自己所教的城里孩子做比较，感叹自由游戏的好处。

他们游戏时间多，自己知道怎么玩，我想跟谁玩。不像城里孩子还要老师组织告诉你你不要干什么……我们在游戏活动中也有规则，可以干什么不可以干什么，没有他们那么自由。他们可以想干什么就干什么。 [L 老师，昆明市区]

每一个可以玩的地方他们都能玩起来！他们玩的这些东西都是我们小时候玩的呀。现在城市的孩子已经不会玩了！ [M 老师，上海市区]

从他们孩子的身上我们可以看到孩子的真实模样。我们上海城市里的孩子已经没有孩子的影子了。整天都被大人包围着。学这个学那个，孩子一天到晚都是很紧张的。现在你要是去问（城里孩子），你开心吗？他这个开心是表面的。内心真的是不开心。孩子不懂怎么来表述而已。他们（录像中）是真的、发自内心的开心！ [K 老师，上海市区]

玩，是儿童的天性。不用成人教，学龄前儿童也会具有“玩”的能力。换句话说，当儿童自主、自愿地活动时，游戏也就随之产生了。长江幼儿园的孩子们“会玩”的事实不过是证实了这个原本很普通的人性。可不料这个看似简单的现象却引来观众中不少城市幼儿教师阵阵感叹，甚至心生羡慕。这些老师从录像中看到了她们日常工作中所不常见的游戏场景，即非老师组织但却生动无比的儿童自由游戏。很明显，她们认同此类游戏的价值，不光因为她们看到了身处其中的农村儿童自然、自由、快乐的一面，还因为她们由此回忆起了自己无忧无虑、自由自在的童年。与此同时，她们对现在城市幼儿园中此类游戏的缺乏表示不满，对城市幼儿长此以往的发展表示担心。同样是孩子、同样是儿童游戏，这种历史的、地域的差异原因何在？老师们在讨论中提到以下三种原因：第一，城市家长对安全和卫生习惯的担心，束缚了孩子的手脚，影响了老师对活动的设计和组织的组织，比如，尽可能地降低活动的难度，不进行有挑战性的活动。第二，城市化、工业化使城市里人与人之间的信任感越来越低，孩子缺乏游戏的场地、时间，缺乏人际交往机会，玩的能力得不到锻炼。第三，经济的发展和物质的丰富产生了副作用，儿童游戏越来越依赖商业化的玩具，儿童的发展受到了这些商业化玩具的限制。

以上归因仅是受访老师们的一些零星感受，其科学性有待未来研究的证实，但从中我们至少可以看到一点共识，那就是：能开心自由游戏的儿童是幸福的。这种幸福的获得不仅需要外界条件，也需要儿童自身能力的培养。只有在和谐的社会大环境和宽容的幼儿园小环境共同保障下，儿童才有可能不仅可以“玩”，而且会“玩”，享受到游戏中真正的自由和乐趣。

结论与反思：教师的游戏观与儿童的自由

研究中，我们发现广大一线幼教工作者对幼儿游戏，特别是幼儿园中儿童的游戏，有以下三种看似不同的观点：

一、认为“教学应该游戏化，幼儿园内几乎一切活动都可以称之为游戏”的教师大多是城市幼儿园教师，但也包括少数接触“先进理念”比较多的农村幼儿教师。比如在贵州和四川等地的偏远农村，因为当地教育部门参与了儿童基金会的培训项目，部分教师有相当多接受“先进理念”培训的机会，他们也持这样的观点。在这些主张“教学游戏化”的老师看来，“小学化”课程和散漫的“放羊”都不能很好地发挥教师应起的作用，有背优质早期教育的初衷。

二、以长江幼儿园教师为代表的大多数农村幼儿教师认为“下课了，就是玩的时间”。虽然在很大程度上这些老师也承认这是农村幼教受制于现有条件不得不如此，但她心目中“教学”和“游戏”两个概念分得很清楚。在教育实践上，也无意地贯彻了“玩是玩、学是学”的理念：上课时努力地“教”，下课后让儿童痛痛快快地玩。

三、一批为数不少的城市幼教工作者，包括幼儿教师、园长，甚至大学教授，在看完长江幼儿园录像后纷纷表示儿童反朴归真的自由游戏其实才是儿童游戏的至高境界。农村幼儿在自由游戏中体验到的快乐让人羡慕，可惜的是这样的游戏在城市幼儿园里和城市儿童身上已经越来越少了。

事实上，这三种游戏观并不是互相排斥的，教师们的想法也不是一成不变的。比如，认为教学应该游戏化的老师，很可能在观看长江幼儿园录像后也能感受到儿童自由游戏的魅力，并承认有时候可以让儿童“自己玩”、教师不要总干涉儿童的游戏。而那些已经完全放手让孩子课间自己玩的农村老师们，也许在接触了教学游戏化的理念后也会对其表示认同，并将在农村幼教条件得到改善的情况下做出“指导”儿童游戏的尝试。至于不少认可儿童自由游戏价值的城市幼儿教师，虽然她们羡慕农村幼儿能玩会玩，但在实际工作中，因为受到种种外在制约，可能并不会向幼儿提供太多完全可以自己玩的机会。这么一来，在实践层面，第三种观念跟第一种观念的持有者做法可能差别并不大。

此外，三种观点中存在的城乡差异是相对而不是绝对的。一名幼儿教师对儿童的游戏持有什么样的观点更多地跟她的生活经历、受过的理论培训、工作中面临的实际条件等有关。当城乡差异影响到上述因素的时候（比如农村幼儿教师普遍更少有机会、更多地受到物质条件的限制等等），地域差异才间接地对不同地区教师的观念产生作用。

需要强调的是，以上三种游戏观各自都是特定环境下的产物并且在特定的环境中适用，本身并不存在绝对的优劣之分。以前，我们的幼儿教师忽略游戏的教育价值，教学中缺乏“寓教于乐”的方式方法，于是课改提倡教学要游戏化。现在，许多幼儿园在利用游戏组织一日活动方面做得相当不错，甚至有教师认为“幼儿园里一切都是游戏”。这一理念和实践中的变化本身，对我国的幼教发展是具有进步意义的。但在重视游戏、利用游戏

来组织教学的同时，我们不能忘记儿童游戏的本质，不能为了教学的目的，牺牲儿童自主的、自由的游戏活动。在反思二十年来幼教课程改革取得的成就和付出的代价时，朱家雄教授曾痛心指出：“我们强调过游戏的重要性，力求使游戏在幼儿园教育中能占据应有的地位，从而改变幼儿园教育以教师为中心的状况，然而，我们缺少对游戏教育价值的真正理解，在操作层面上泛化甚至异化了游戏，模糊了儿童自己生成的活动与教师预定的活动之间的概念界线，结果使不少幼儿园的‘儿童游戏’演变成了‘游戏儿童’”^[6]。“游戏儿童”的最终结果受害者是儿童。用我们访谈中听到华东师大华爱华教授的一句话来说，就是“我们的孩子是给他自由他不会自由；让他选择他选择不来啦！”

海德格尔说“自由”就是“由自”，不“由他”，即自主、自为，做自己想做的事^[7]。我们无意鼓吹绝对的自由，怂恿人做“任何”自己想做的事，因为自由同时也分“消极自由”与“积极自由”。查尔斯·泰勒在《消极自由有什么错》一文中指出“一个在未经疑问的意义上正在做他想做的事情的人并非真的自由”^[8]。所以，在真正的自由状态下，一个人不仅能够做“我想要做的事”，还必须有能力去甄别动机、具有实现自己真实愿望的能力。在游戏成为幼教工作者口头禅的今天，我们很有必要反思一下，在我们日常津津乐道的游戏中，儿童到底是在“由自”还是“由他”？没有儿童主体自由的游戏，是不是真正意义上的游戏？

^[1] 参见华爱华. 幼儿游戏理论. 上海: 上海教育出版社, 1998; 刘焱. 幼儿园游戏教学论. 北京: 中国社会科学出版社, 1999 等。

^[2] 王小英. 哲学视角下儿童游戏的意义[J]. 河北师范大学学报(教育科学版), 2004(3): 45-51.

^[3] 鄢超云, 车艺. 教师的安全压力与儿童的幸福[J]. 幼儿教育(教育科学版), 2008(7): 6-11.

^[4] 中国学前教育研究会编. 百年中国幼教. 北京: 教育科学出版社, 2003:27.

^[5] 黄绍文. 幼儿教育小学化现象辨析[J]. 学前教育研究, 2005(9):10-11.

^[6] 朱家雄. 瑞吉欧教育经验备受关注的缘由[J]. 幼儿教育, 2001(6):4-5

^[7] 转引自王小英. 哲学视角下儿童游戏的意义[J]. 河北师范大学学报(教育科学版), 2004(3): 45-51.

^[8] Charles Taylor. What's Wrong with Negative Liberty? [C]//A. Ryan, ed., The Idea of Freedom, Oxford University Press, 1979.

民工子弟学校教师——等不到花开的园丁

马 丽

自 80 年代中期户籍控制松动后的中国城乡人口流动，到了 90 年代初就呈现出家庭迁徙（family migration）的趋势。随着进入城市的流动儿童的增加，教育资源分配和机会平等问题也越来越受到社会各界的关注。但至今，进城民工子女中仍有很大部分无法享受与城市孩子同等的有质量的教育（quality education）。北京、上海等大城市的郊区还经常可以看到很多私人开办的“民工子弟学校”。从可观察到的现象层面看，这类学校存在的问题也都类似：校舍破旧、场地拥挤、教学设施缺乏、师生比低、教师流动性大。在各城市兴起的大学生志愿者活动，也多把爱心传递进了这类学校。但有人可能还不禁问道，为什么民工子弟学校在存在这么多年之后，教学质量仍然没有太多改善？要回答这个问题，我们必须走进民工子弟学校教师这样一个群体。他们是直接影响到几千万民工子女教育的人，但实际上，他们的生存状况直到最近才得到社会的一些关注。

在走访一些民工家庭和民工子弟学校的过程中，笔者发现，家长经常会抱怨学校老师换的太频繁，或者有老师不负责任的情况。有的班级的英语老师可以一学期换三四个不同的人教，新来的人也不知道前面的一位老师教这门课教到哪里了。一些学校因为缺老师，就降低招聘标准，但这样更是陷入一种恶性循环：低学历无教学经验的雇佣教师，往往也是仅仅将这个职业作为进城打工的“跳板”的，一旦找到其他工作，就转行走了。所以怀着“做不长”的心态，这样的老师也不会对孩子负起责任，平时教学散漫，考试时随意给学生高分。这样的情况确实存在，但民工子弟学校里也不乏一些敬业的教师，很多是在农村做过老师或师范毕业的。后来笔者慢慢发现，一些被家长认为“不负责任”的老师，原本也是敬业有抱负的老师。那么，他们的人生又经历了怎样的变化呢？

要了解民工子弟学校教师的生存状况背后的深层因素，需要先对民工子弟学校产生和发展的大背景做个介绍。最初各城市中专门接收民工子女的简易学校，多是以一种自发的社会互助形式出现的，但到了 90 年代末，更多以盈利为目的的办学加入，开始了一场无序竞争。由于长期缺乏规范和监督机制，至今大部分可以维持民工子弟学校都是在以非正规的私营企业的形式存在的。在缺乏教育财政支持的情况下，这类学校很难以自筹资金将校舍和师资改进达到教育行政部门的标准，很多学校在办学十几年以后仍然没有获得办学资格审批。但在当前的公立教育系统对民工子女仅仅半开放的情况下，民工子弟学校的存在虽“不合法”，但却被认为是“合理”的，就这样，大多数民工子弟学校还是在没有正式办学许可的情况下被默认存活了下来。

以盈利为目的的办学者为节省成本，在各项开支上都能省就省，雇佣的教师数目都是最精简化的。上海一所民工子弟学校，全校 1300 多学生，只有近 40 位老师。而附近的一所公立学校，同样是 38 位老师，但学生数目只有 380 多名。北京各民工子弟学校的师生比也类似这种情况。除此之外，因为大部分民工子弟学校的英语、体育、美术和音乐等科目

缺乏专业教师，这些课也都分摊到各科老师身上，有的学校甚至也没有开设这些课程。也就是说，仅从要完成的教学任务量来衡量，一位在民工子弟学校的教师的课业负荷，是一位公办教师的四到五倍。一位老教师说，“比起在老家教书，这里压力大多了。在那只用教一个班的语文，这里除了教两个班的语文，还有两个班的生物、体育、思品。大部分老师都是这样。这有是老师流动性大的一个原因，太累了，受不了。”

除了课业负荷超重之外，民工子弟学校学生流动性大，也给老师们的课堂管理带来更多难度。大部分进城农民工家庭都面临长期的就业和住所不稳定的情况，孩子会经常随着父母工作的变动而不得不换学校。另外，由于民工子女至今还没有在城市里参加中考和高考的权利，很多读到六年级或者初中二年级的学生，不得不转回老家学校参加考试。越是在城市里学习优秀的孩子，父母会越倾向于让孩子早些转学回家，可以适应当地的课本，以准备考试。这样出现一种“逆向选择”现象（reversed selection），即成绩好的学生更倾向于选择转走。某校五年级每学期的流动率会达到 20%左右。这给很多教师造成很大的挫折感和心理压力。一位老师说，“回老家的都是好学生，这让老师们教得很回信。因为即使你在一个学生身上投入再多，很尽心尽力地教他，但他很快就转学回去了。实在是教得很没有信心，对自己的教学也很没有信心。”学校的制度环境中也缺乏奖励机制，办学往往还是“鸡蛋里挑骨头”似地借机克扣教师工资。这些都增加了在此类学校任教的老师的心理成本，造成教师流动频繁。

对于民工子弟教师而言，工资待遇低、无福利或激励机制、教学任务超负荷、心理压力是非常普遍的感受。最重要的一点，很多老师说，是觉得自己的工作不受到尊重。工资报酬与付出不相称，又没有和“老板”讨价还价的能力，导致很多老师挫败感很强。在当前的就业环境和物质化价值取向，越来越多家长的“读书无用论”语调，影响着孩子对于知识的态度。除此之外，很多民工家庭也认识到这类学校与公办学校在师资上的巨大差距，认为这里的教师也就只是和自己一样的“打工的”。对学校质量的不信任，使得他们在看待民工教师的时候，失去了原本对教师职业应有的尊重。一位年轻的男老师提到自己曾经在课堂上尴尬的一幕。在责备一名学生不认真学习之后，这个学生站起来，不屑地问他，“老师，你整天让我们好好学习，我们学好了，就是为了像你这样吗？”

为什么民工子弟学校很难被规范、走向正轨？最根本性的还是体制的缺失。要建立起一个系统的学校管理体制和教师激励机制，是需要投入的，但大部分民工子弟学校仍处于自生自灭状态，没有财政支持，也缺乏质量监管。教师在上岗之前没有培训，在超负荷运转状态下，也没有时间考虑如何提高教学质量，更谈不上去关注每个学生的心理需要。

教师流动和学生的流动都大，是各地民工子弟学校的共同特征，也是削弱教学质量的最关键的一环，很多学校在这样的高流动性状态下维持了很多年。教师流动性大，导致办学者对新进老师更加严格的控制和克扣，又加剧了教师的流动。一切好像陷入一个恶性循环而没有办法改进，最终还是把制度性的恶果转嫁在孩子身上。某老师说，“现在就是‘老板’想规范都规范不起来，像我们这样一大批新老师，都是没有经验的。流动性大的原因，一个是管理，一个是待遇，所以留不住老师。如果一个月工资有一千多，还是会有老

师留下来的。老师如果可以带学生到他们毕业，会对每个学生都很了解的。但现在，老师流动性大，对孩子的影响肯定大。一个孩子需要一段时间去适应一个老师的教学方式，老师也需要时间适应和了解学生们。一旦适应好了，学生已经形成了一个习惯，可以跟着这个老师，但到了下个学期，又换了个老师，这样对孩子的适应就会有很大影响。因为他所有的时间都用在适应上了。如果有一两年这样的经历的话，我相信肯定会影响他的学习的，会有一些厌烦和抵触情绪，肯定是会有的。对于老师来说也是一样的道理。”

虽然在访问家长时，听到很多对于教师的意见，但真正走进老师们的生活时，会发现，他们的生活里也满了辛酸和挫折。教师中的大部分人，认为自己的工作只不过是“打工族”中的一种职业，他们对自己的身份认同，首先是“进城民工”，其次才是“教师”。这背后反映出很深的制度性隔离。在社会中被边缘化的感受，已经盖住了“园丁”的光环。一位在农村教过书，之后到各城市打过各类工，又回到民工子弟学校教书的中年女老师说，“很多事情提醒你，在这里你只是一个打工的，家长的一些态度，也让你觉得自己只是个打工的。只有在面对孩子们的时候，我才会觉得自己是一名教师。”

民工教师群体中不乏立志投身教育、改变民工子女教育现状的老师，但他们觉得这条路上很孤单无助，尤其是在自己的基本权益也很难得到保障的时候。很多老师对于继续留下来还是离开，都面临一种道德困境：“如果在这样的学校待一段时间，会把整个人都磨掉...把你所有的志向都磨得一文不值。在这里，看到孩子们进步我也会有些成功的喜悦，和孩子们待久了，也有一些割舍不了的东西，看着他们，就舍不得走。但留下来的话，就被许多的事情打击得不行...只能是随波逐流。”

一批老师走了，又有一批老师来了。每个民工子弟学校都在上演着同样的故事。走了的人，有的还在惦记着原来教的班里那个懂事好学的小女孩，不知道她是不是转学回老家了呢？不知道她的未来会是怎样的呢？

有关日本教育改革的现场报告（二则）¹

平馆英明

编者按：

当我们向《周刊星期五》杂志社提出要求翻译和转载有关日本教育改革的这两篇采访报道时，该杂志社的负责人特意叮嘱我们要注明报道最初刊登的时间。日方编辑特意强调这一要求当然有他们特别的用意。自2003年这两篇报道刊登以来的5年期间，对于近年来日本的教育改革，学界已经出现了许多更为深刻的讨论和分析。具体地说，在日本的教育研究领域，已经普遍认识到仅仅从文部科学省的权力压制的角度，无法真正看清这场改革发生和运动的深层原因和特点。1990年代以来伴随着全球化市场经济给日本产业结构带来的冲击和压力，新自由主义不但成为经济、政治改革的主导方向，同时它也成为日本教育改革的主导价值。而重新强调回到爱国主义、集体主义、道德教育也成为支撑新自由主义教育改革的另外一个重要侧面。因此，从“国家—社会”、“行政控制—个体自由”的角度来描述这场改革，不能够充分揭示日本社会的经济结构和教育之间关系及其相互运动。这两篇报道需要被放置在以上的历史框架中来理解，而不是单纯地把它看做是中央使用自身权力肆意地加强对学校课程和教师日常工作的控制与管理。在此特别提请读者注意。

尽管在分析上存在一些偏差，我们认为这两篇报导道所反映的现象仍然对中国的教育改革有所启发。以行政命令的方式自上而下地强制推行的教育改革都存在同样的危险，即压制下属尤其是基层学校行政和教师的不同言论、行动和思想。其结果，教师和学生从教学活动的主人转变为行政管理对象，学校工作的教育性被冲淡，而行政事务性工作却日益繁琐。对教师而言，这不仅意味着工作负担的加重，更意味着工作意义的逐渐丧失。而人需要在有意义、有成效、创造性的工作中树立自尊并获得社会的尊重。广岛教师的自杀现象也许正是教师们为高压管制的教育改革下为保全自己独立的教育理想和尊严而作出的绝望抗争。由此也可见，工作并不仅仅是养家糊口的营生，也关系着人们生存的意义和人格尊严。难以否认，在中央集权的教育体系中，自上而下的教育改革既有必要也不可避免。那么，摆在我们面前的问题是：什么样的教育改革既能实现正确的教育方针，又能够尊重基层教育人员的独立和自主性，维护他们在教育工作中的自由和尊严？这是我们编译这两篇报道的意图。

¹原载于2003年日文杂志《周刊星期五》。《教师自杀现象为何增加》载于2003年7月4号(466号)，《广岛教育之殇》载于2003年8月29号(473号)。

An English version is available on *Japan Focus* at http://japanfocus.org/_Hiratate_Hideaki-Teacher_Suicides_and_the_Future_of_Japanese_Education. We'd like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Professor Mark Selden and *Japan Focus* for their warm support for the Chinese translation of these articles.

（一）教师自杀现象为何增加 ——蔓延在教育第一线的精神性疾病

教师自杀能被视作工伤吗？关于 20 年前发生的一起教师过劳自杀事件的审理正在最高法院进行。

一位教师在 20 几岁时就不得不结束自己的生命。我们将循着他的足迹揭示如今仍在教育第一线肆虐教师健康的事实。

“有美子，对不起！学校的工作让我感到有些累了。”

1983 年 1 月 24 日，岩手县釜石市立平田小学教师菊池明德（时年 29 岁）给妻子留下一封遗书后结束了自己的生命。

这一天是提交道德公开课（定于 2 月 4 日举行）的最终指导方案的日子。但明德早上离家后并未前往学校，他失踪了。2 周后的 2 月 6 日，明德被发现吊死在邻近的小镇的山林里。

明德的妻子有美子在 1987 年向地方公务员灾害补偿基金岩手县支部提请进行工伤认定手续。她认为明德自杀的原因在于被强制要求以违反他教育理念的方式举行公开课，并因过于繁重的公务而导致其患上了“反应性抑郁症”。

但是第二年，此事被认定为非工伤，在基金支部的审查和其后的再审查申请均被驳回。1992 年，有美子向盛冈地方法院提起诉讼，要求撤回非工伤的认定。有美子提起的这一行政诉讼成为了争论教师过劳自杀究竟算不算工伤的第一个案例。

为公开课而烦恼

明德到平田小学赴任是 1982 年 4 月的事情。在教师生涯的第 7 个年头他才首次成为一年级学生的班主任。平田小学被市教委指定为道德课实验小学，1980 年度和 1981 年度这里都举行了道德公开课。当时的校长非常重视道德教育，也已决定在 1982 年度继续这项教学活动。而定于 1983 年 2 月 4 日举行的公开课，是由明德负责的。

明德的烦恼源于公开课的授课方式。这种方式被称为“平田（小学）方式”，它要求将班上的学生分为“好孩子”、“坏孩子”和“普通孩子”这样三个小组，然后从每个小组抽出部分孩子展开教学活动。一直以来，明德就对这种带有歧视性的教学方式抱有疑问，但公开课直接联系着学校教育活动的评估，因此，必须得拿出点成绩来。在这一沉重的精神负担下，明德从第一学期开始就持续出现头痛、发烧等症状。

进入第二学期后，除了每天 8 小时的正常工作安排以外，明德还不得不为郊游、学艺会等之类的学生校外活动操劳。甚至在这期间，他为准备公开课而举办校内研究会，多达 26 次。11 月份他还同时承担了国语和道德实验课的工作。从这时起，明德每天不得不为

研究教材而一直工作到深夜一、两点，无法保证充分的睡眠时间。食欲不振，体重也从 57 公斤减到了 52 公斤。妻子劝他去医院他也不听，对任何事都只是说“等道德公开课结束之后再说吧”。这时，他流露出自己在道德教育实践方面的苦恼：“（把孩子）分成上中下三等的事情我做不来。”据说，到了第三学期，明德的反应明显变得迟钝起来。当被问起开学典礼的情况时，他也只是回问“嗯，？”。

1 月 22 日（周六），也就是他失踪的两天前，校长要求明德对教案进行修改。之后，有同事曾看到他一个人孤零零地站在楼梯间。24 日（周一），明德带着前一天才重新推敲过的教案失踪了。

虽然明德失踪了，但 2 月 4 日的公开课仍然由别的老师代理举行了。从校方这种冷漠的处理方式也可猜想得到，公开课的成功才是学校唯一的目的所在。

前年的一审判决指出明德“被强制进行不合本意的公务”和“因过重的公务而导致患上抑郁症并最终自杀”，承认了自杀与工作之间的关系，有美子胜诉了。这是一个对教师职业职质的方面给予高度重视的划时代的判决。

但是，去年 2 月仙台高等法院推翻了一审判决。高法判决认为，“也曾有毫无经验的教师完成过这样的道德课教案，所以，无法断定此事对明德一人来说是过重的负担”。换言之，法院的判断采用了“同事标准”。可是这种关系到孩子人格发展的教师职责和教师精神上的苦恼真的能用所谓的“同事基准”来衡量吗？

去年明德去世后的第 19 个年头，釜石市又有一位中学教师（30 多岁，男性）在家中上吊自杀。他生前曾被诊断出患有“不安抑郁症状”。教师的精神疾患问题，现在变得愈发严重了。

管理式教育的牺牲者

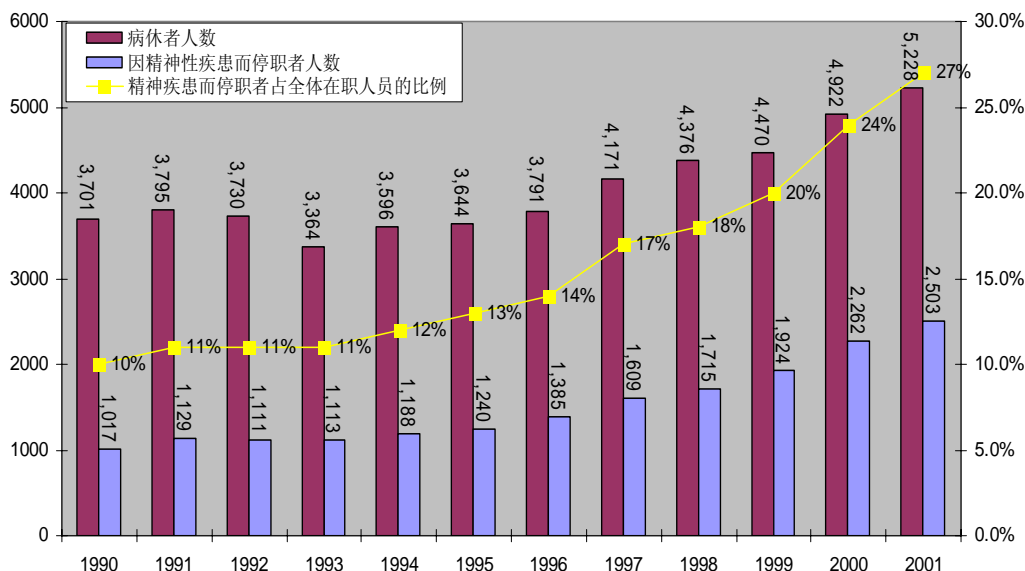
根据文部科学省的调查发现，因精神性疾患病休的教师，在 1990 年时为 1017 人，2001 年则达到了 2503 人，是 1990 年的 2 倍多，占到全体病休人数的 48%（请参照图表 1）。

另一方面，教师的在职人数在这 10 年里减少了 7 万多人，因患精神性疾患而病休的比率正在进一步增加。

太田裕幸（50 多岁，假名）在当上中学教务主任后不久，就出现了抑郁症状。在当教师的时候，即使是因学生的暴力，被打得肋骨骨折，太田也从没有消沉过。对他来说，每天能够有时间面对孩子，已经成为他工作的主要的支撑。

太田是一个热心的教师，在校长的劝说之下选择了进入管理层。在就任教务主任前的进修期间，他就曾被要求要有做好一名管理层人员的思想准备，必须要贯彻“国旗、国歌”规定，要明令禁止教师在自己家中进修等等。太田当时就感觉到了这些要求与自己的教育理念之间的巨大差距，作为一名教育工作者，他无法接受这些教育行政的强制性要求。

图表1：病休者中精神疾病患者所占比例的推移(1990年度至2001年度)
依据文部科学省的调查所制



当上教务主任后，太田没有了与学生面对面交流的机会。教务主任的工作，主要负责校务分工中无法划分的繁杂事务。周六周日的时候也多忙于处理那些与教学活动基本无关的事务——像联系本学区、或家长教师协会（PTA）等校外组织的活动——基本都放在假日期间。

实施人事考核制度之后，太田经常为教师的等级评定感到痛苦。他渐渐无法入眠，并开始服用精神安定剂。

太田这样说道：“我不知道该如何（根据成绩）给老师分级。我又没有具体接触过老师们的教学方法，要分级的话就只能根据印象来决定。我无法忍受（由于我的评定而导致）一部分好教师遭到不公平对待。”

大概在赴任后的第2年，太田的精神方面出现了问题，怀疑是患上了抑郁症。他对外界事物变得冷漠，脸上的笑容也消失了。在工作上，虽然还可以轻松地完成一些简单的文件处理，但是像写文章这样的工作已经完全干不了了。他已经无法进行思考了。最后，他眼中的所有东西都开始变成了深棕色。

太田被确诊为抑郁症而住院后，他的痛苦不但没有减轻反而更加深了。他开始认为：“（都是因为我的原因而导致）校长的负担加重。如果校长病倒的话，那不就是我的责任么”。因为回归工作岗位的不安和焦躁感曾一度使他陷入到了精神错乱的状态。最终，太田花了整整1年的时间才重新回到了工作岗位。现在，他离开了教务主任的职位，作为一个教师回到了讲台上。

“（回到第一线以后）我感受到了（教育的）快乐。缺乏自由和责任感的学校就不可能有好的教育。但现在什么地方都只是从上到下的管理了……”

这是受尽管理式教育折磨的太田的原话。

在剥夺了教师酌情处理的权利的管理式教育的下面，绝对无法产生真正自由的教育。而这种工作环境已经成为诱发教师“抑郁”的温床。

教师的健康是一个严重问题

目前社会上有关“‘(因精神疾患)病休的教师都是不称职的’的说法是极其错误的。实际上、很多教师都存在有‘只要付出努力什么问题都能解决’的某种优等生意识。(基本上所有前来就诊的教师)满脑子都装着孩子们的事情，他们也都为学生和家長所信任。所以，不认真、不称职的教师是不会得病的。”

说这话的是对教师的精神疾患问题非常清楚的大分协和医院的丹生圣治医师。据丹生说，目前像这类认真的教师中的决大多数都处于慢性疲劳的状态。教师们对于即使是实际上不可能完成的工作也尽量努力去做，这本身与鼓励教师们努力工作的学校特质不无关系。正因如此，越是认真且责任心强的教师就越容易患上精神疾病。

比方说，即便医生坚持要教师患者静养，告诉患者“我给你开诊断证明，你要好好休息”，患者也会说“写成绩通知书之前没法休息”并会一直工作下去，直到累倒住院。这种例子并不罕见。它们多数是因为患者陷入了失感觉症状，连自身的疲劳都无法感觉到了。

因此，教师的治疗是很花时间的。通常 6 个月能完全治愈的就算是较短的了，有些甚至需要 2 年的时间。一些症状严重的住院患者在最开始接受治疗的一个月里，基本上都是靠服用药物每天在床上睡 15 个小时。这也证明了他们的疲劳程度。丹生医生通过治疗让患者们了解自身体力的极限，同时也培养他们“感到吃不消就休息的勇气”。

慢性疲劳在教师人群中蔓延的最重要的背景之一就是教师们变得越来越忙碌。从去年学校统一开始实施双体制以后，原本 6 天的教学工作量被压缩到 5 天，这直接导致了课程安排过于紧张。这样学校为了保证教师与学生们之间的接触，就往往很难确保教师们有足够休息和休假的时间。教师们在学校里的时候一站就是一整天，有时甚至连喝水的功夫都没有。而且由于写报告和开会等工作基本上都被安排在学生放学之后，以至于教师们的工作无法在上班时间内完成。因此，大多数的教师们只得将备课和批改作业等工作都带回家处理，这样教师长时间劳动也就变成了一种惯例。此外，他们在周末时还不得不准备下周教案和教材研究等工作。

日本教职员工会（日教组）以去年 10 月为对象进行的调查显示，除了《给特法》²以外的加班时间为平均每人 10 小时，带回家的工作为平均每人 9 小时。而针对是否能够保证

² 全称为《关于国立及公立义务教育诸学校教职员工的收入等的特别措施法》。其中规定只能在如下情况下才能要求教职员工加班：（1）关于学生的实习指导的业务；（2）关于学校活动的业务；（3）关于学生的教育实习指导的业务；（4）关于教职员工会议的业务；（5）在自然灾害等必需的场合里从事必要的业务时。也就是说，只有在临时或者紧急并不得不为之的情况下才能要求加班。（若是公立学校教职员工则不包括第 3 条）

休息时间的问題，有 74.4% 的人都回答“不能保证”。

另外教师们的睡眠时间也未能得到充分保证。据全日本教职员工工会（全教）调查显示，教师平均每天的睡眠时间（以一个星期为基准）为 6 小时 11 分钟，大约有 4 成被调查者的睡眠时间达不到 6 小时。更有 8 成以上的被调查者表示感觉到了工作方面的“不安、烦恼和紧张”。

因睡眠不足等原因而导致从学校的楼梯上摔倒并骨折等的事故也不少。而且，由于没有代课老师，任课老师不管多么劳累，就算想休息也休息不了。在这种情况下，最近，因身心俱疲而选择提前退休的教师也增加了。甚至还有一位女教师在退休一个月后就因脑溢血而去世。

一位小学教师（50 多岁，男性）说：“还有突然在教室或卫生间病倒的。去年，仅仅是我所知道的就有 4 位老师去世了。这些绝非与己无关。”在全教的调查当中也有约 58% 的教师声称有着对于过劳死的不安。

损害教师健全的精神和肉体的劳动环境是异常的。从这一状况可以看出日本政府的意图，他们希望能够让教师们像骡马一样拼命地工作，他们还希望通过这一方式让教育最终变成自己所希望的那样。

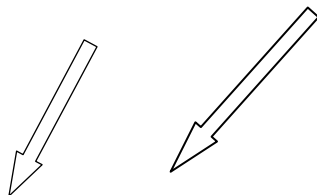
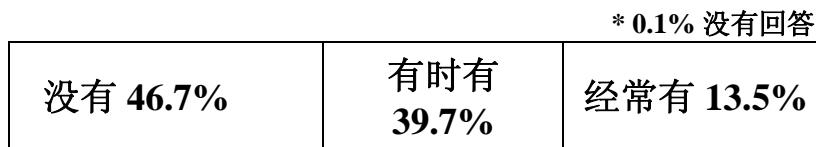
关于菊池明德自杀事件是否属于工伤的审判，其舞台已因去年 2 月有美子的上诉而转移到了最高法院。

“我不希望像我这样痛苦的感受再发生到别人的身上。”

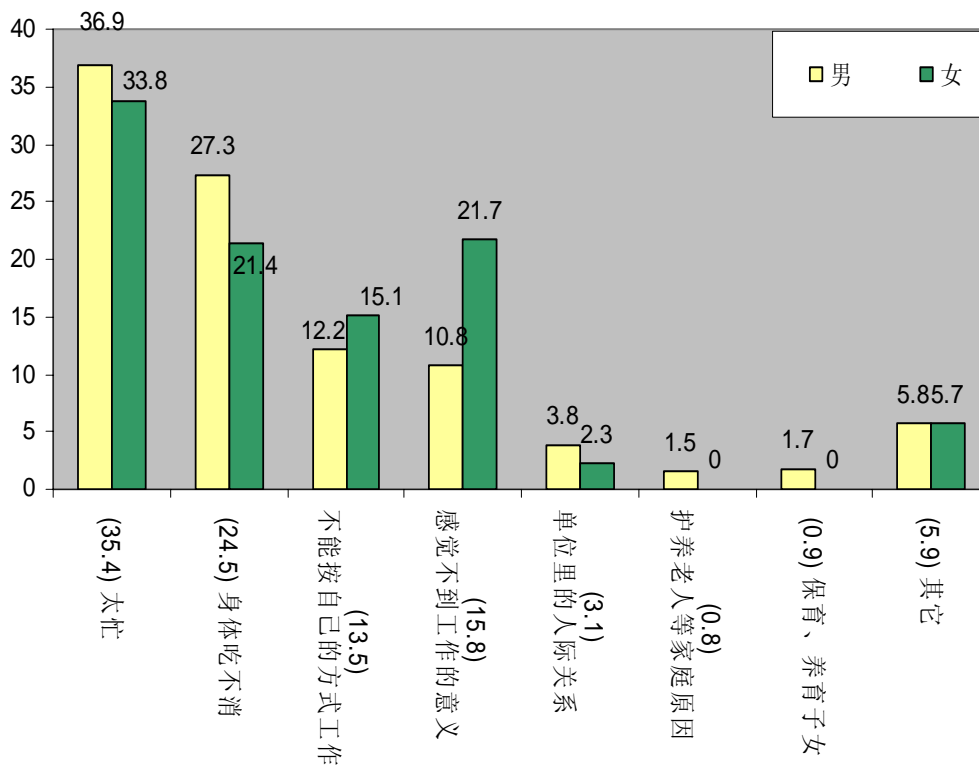
这是同样身为教师的有美子的原话。

工伤认定的历史，同时也是为数众多的牺牲者的历史。即便只是为了就教师们所处的严苛劳动环境而敲响警钟，也不能让明德的死没有意义。

图表 2：你有辞职离开学校的想法吗？



想辞职离开学校的理由（有时有和经常有）（单位：%）



依据日本教职员工会编《教职员生活、工作、健康实际状况调查》(2002)

（二）广岛教育之殇 ——接连出现教师、校长自杀事件的教育第一线

今年3月，到尾道一所小学赴任的民间人士校长³自杀身亡。
自从1999年世罗高中的校长自杀以来，广岛县已经有12位教职员自杀身亡。
隐藏在这些现象的背后，是由文部科学省所强制推行的纠偏指导。
广岛教育的现状，就是未来整个日本教育第一线的缩影。

今年3月9日，是广岛县尾道市立高须小学庆德和宏校长（时年56岁）自杀的日子。他是因为过度劳累而自杀的。

自去年3月就任以来，这位来自民间的校长，由于极度繁重的工作，以至于刚刚才就任一个半月他就被诊断患上了抑郁症。据广岛县教职员工会（广教组）的调查显示，学校管理人员的加班时间月平均超过150小时。在两位教务主任相继因为过度劳累病倒的情况下，完成市教委要求学校提交的数量多达370份的书面报告的工作，就不得不压在庆德一人身上了。他在自杀之前每天平均加班时间达到了7小时16分钟。

因为媒体的大量报道，人们对庆德校长的悲剧依然记忆犹新。但就在半年前，同样在尾道市，一位中学教师因为疲劳至死的事实却几乎不为人所知。在教育改革的呼声下，被“忙碌”折磨地疲惫不堪，心力交瘁的不止庆德校长一人。

在学生面前倒下

尾道市立栗原中学的教师西川修（时年54岁）于去年9月因急性脑溢血去世。西川工作的信条是“没有充分的时间和自由，就不可能有好的教育”，周围的同事都非常信任他。西川认为在当下的教育管理体制下面，根本无法实现理想的教育。他说“光靠管理没办法培养孩子成材。而现在的学校已经没有这样的时间和能力来实现这个课题了。”西川本来已经决定今年3月份提前退休。

就在去世之前，西川作为二年级班主任，他一边担任了5个班的国语课，一边还负责承担了学生指导、保健主事⁴修学旅行等教学之外的工作。

从上一年度(2002年度:译者注)开始，由于新学习指导要领的颁布与实施，全国各个学校都改为五天教学，学校课程安排得非常紧张。与此同时在尾道市的中小学校，书写教案（包括年度指导计划和每周的学习指导计划）的工作，成为教师们必须完成的一项强制性义务。而向上级提交名目繁多的书面材料也成为教师工作中的一项沉重负担。

³ 所谓民间人士校长，就是指以前未曾有过与教育相关的工作经历而在公立或国立的小学、初中、高中或者中等教育学校等任职的校长——译注。另，以下出现译者注释处将标以“译注”二字，原文注释不另行标明。

⁴ 所谓保健主事，就是根据日本的学校教育法施行规则第22条第4款的规定负责对学校的保健活动进行企划和调整的教员——译注。

此外，尾道市自行实施的教育改革——《尾道教育计划 21》也于这一年度正式启动。这一改革可以说是全国教育改革的翻版，其目的是要将尾道市(的)义务教育提升到全国最高水平。为此尾道市相继推出以下的改革举措，如要求学校开展体现各校特色的“一校一研究”活动和以“职场体验学习”为内容的综合学习，规定学校必须定期开办“道德公开课”，同时提出为了切实提高学生知识水平和能力，要求学校必须参加“全国标准诊断性学力检查。由于这些改革措施对学校的要求，使得各学校之间竞争加剧，教育第一线的工作愈加繁忙。

由于新学习指导要领缩短了国语课的教学时间，加上西川直到 4 月 1 日新学期开始才拿到新教材。在未对教材进行熟悉和准备的情况下，就不得不仓促地开始新学期教学，⁵这些都让他感到了极大的困难和压力。此外，为了准备“职场体验学习”等新的学习内容，从 4 月份以来，他一直忙于参加各种教学会议不曾间断。

进入第二学期以后，西川又因为运动会以及修学旅行等的准备工作而忙得不可开交。运动会的排练全是在酷暑中进行的，从那时起，西川开始抱怨头痛和颈椎痛，口臭的症状也变得严重了。他带回家的作业也比往常增多了，。就在倒下的前几天，西川一边要批改 200 个学生作文，一边还要忙着筹画学生的修学旅行。“好累啊，累死了！”开始成为他的口头禅。西川的家人劝其请假休息，他没接受，只是说“到修学旅行的说明会结束之前肯定不可能”。去世的前一天，西川在去班里上课的时候摔倒在楼梯上。有同事回忆说，在那之后看见他捡粉笔的动作变得极其缓慢。

9 月 26 日也就是西川在学校摔倒的第二天，学校在体育馆里为学生和家长召开修学旅行说明会。会议刚开始没几分钟，西川就突然倒下了，等被送到医院抢救时他整个人已经陷入了昏迷状态。

西川在众多学生面前倒下，这对于学校的老师们来说是一个不小的打击。但据当时同事回忆说，“在一星期以后学校就恢复了往常的样子，就像什么都没发生过似的”。同事的这番话也许可以让我们看到一个事实，那就是学校的老师们因为工作的繁忙而根本没时间沉浸在感伤之中。

连内心的自由都没有

“我要是两年前（2000 年）辞职就好了。现在，自己所想的教育根本无法实行(这不就是说，让年纪大干不动的人滚蛋吗！”

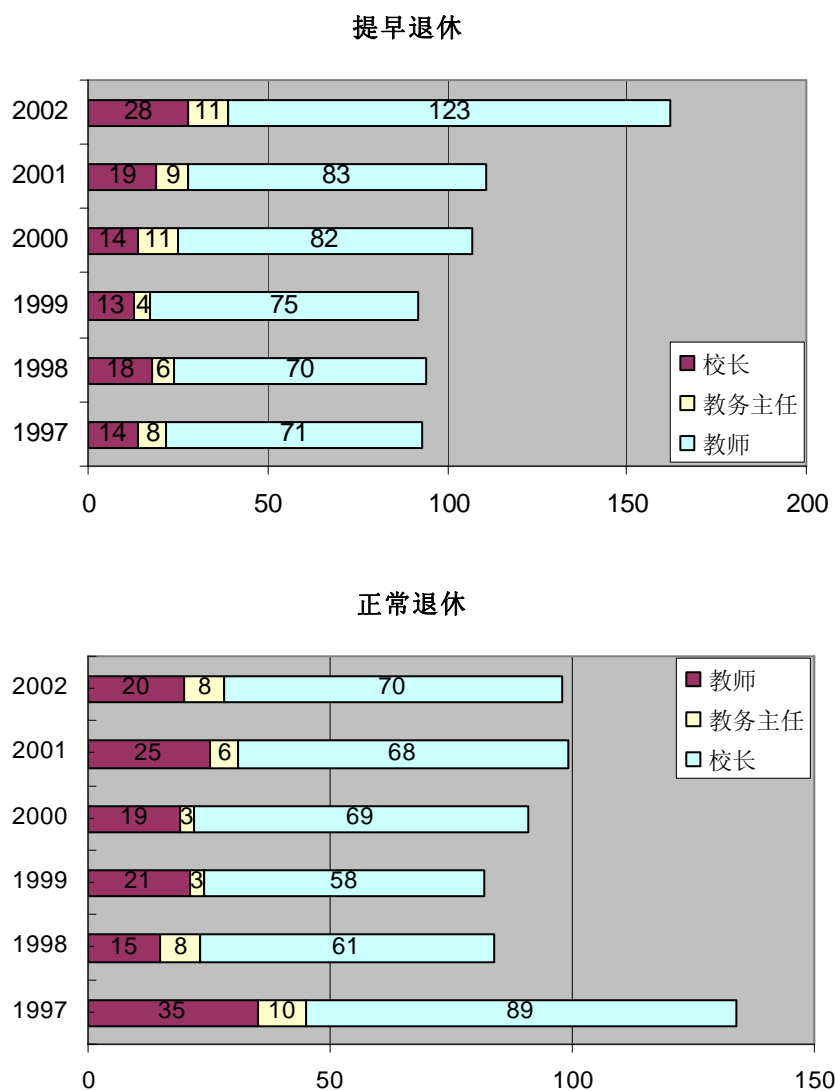
西川曾经对身边的人这样说过。这几句话将广岛的教育现状表现得淋漓尽致。

广岛的高层行政管理人员和教师中，未到年龄就提前退休的人越来越多（请参照图 1）。其原因正如西川所说：“自己所想的教育根本无法实行了”。比如说，因为书写、提交教案的强制要求使得教师们的工作被牢牢地束缚在学习指导要领的范围之内。更糟糕的

⁵ 日本的财政年度是从当年的 4 月 1 日开始，到第二年的 3 月 31 日结束的。学年的开始和结束日期与此相同——译注。

是.，就像企业搞的业绩竞争一样，所有的教学内容都被转换成了数字目标，。学校逐渐变得像工厂一样，原本可由教师根据实际情况酌情处理的教育也无法持续下去了。

图 1. 中小学阶段提早退休和正常退休的比例 (广岛县为例)



依据广岛县教委调查所制

广岛县被作为教育强制管理的对象，主要是源于 1998 年当时的文部省提出的的纠偏指导。因为当时县内的福山市的部分学校，将他们课程表上的“道德课”和“国语课”改为“人权课”和“日语课”。文部省认为这种表述学习指导要领和教育法规的要求，勒令广岛县教委今后 3 年于县内的学校开展纠偏工作，并将情况向上级汇报。纠偏指导涉及教学内

容和学校管理两个方面，共 13 个项目。⁶

长期以来，广岛县的教育主要包括两个部分，一是作为历史上曾遭受过原子弹轰炸的城市而开展的“和平教育”，另一个是为了杜绝部落歧视的“同和教育”。这也是教育行政自己与各种团体携手推行并予以确认的方针。然而，纠偏指导开始后，县教委却一改往日的立场，认为“那些都是与教职员团体、同和教育研究团体以及其他各运动团体交涉过程中不得不作出的妥协和让步，由此才造成教育的中立性受到侵害”。自此，“同和教育”也被认为是一种偏向教育。⁷

首先，作为管理层的校长的权限被强化了。教职员会议成为了校长的辅助机关，上情下达的命令系统被逐渐强化起来。甚至有校长宣称“那些不遵从我意见的人没必要留在学校”，这使得民主式的学校管理变得困难起来。据有的教师透露，甚至有校长在发工资单的时教师露骨地说：“你还是辞职算了！”教师们之间的合作的关系也受到影响，，每个人都被驱使着争先恐后地向管理层表忠心。

纠偏指导是一种“对于不听话的人不惜给予处分”的强权性的行为，管理和统制成为了向文部科学省效忠的证明。比如说毕业仪式和入学仪式上对于悬挂国旗和齐唱国歌的贯彻问题。县教委在发给各校校长的实施报告书当中，要求对于诸如“国旗是否悬挂在讲坛的正面”、“齐唱国歌时的歌声是否响遍了会场”等具体问题汇报。甚至在《校长保有资料》中还有针对仪式时不起立的教师的处理手册。就是这样，广岛的公立学校在悬挂国旗和齐唱国歌方面的实施率达到了 100%。

事实上，有校长甚至给在齐唱《君之代》时没有起立的孩子家里打过电话。还有的是将教师们唱歌的情形拍下来，检查他们究竟有没有开口唱歌。据说有的地方甚至还有检查教师言行的监视体制，曾有家长教师协会⁸相关人员突然进入教室对教师的言行横加指责：“你就是那个在齐唱《君之代》的时候没起立的老师。像你小子这样的人能给别人上课吗？！”就是这个“日丸旗、君之代”问题，害得世罗高中的石川敏活校长自杀身亡。

在广岛县，剥夺教师内心自由、几乎让人无法喘气的管理式教育被贯彻得非常彻底。但这仅仅是广岛一地的特殊问题吗？

无视孩子们存在的教育改革

“（广岛教育）会成为整个日本教育改革的试金石。国家在推进教育改革的时候，和平

⁶ 教育内容方面：（1）毕业仪式和入学仪式时升国旗、齐唱国歌；（2）人权学习的内容；（3）道德课的名称及其指导内容；（4）国语的课程表；（5）小学音乐课时关于国歌《君之代》的指导；（6）课程安排数量及每堂课的时间；（7）关于指导摘要的填写。

学校管理运营方面：（1）关于教员的勤务状况以及勤务时间的管理；（2）关于主任等的任命时期及人选；（3）主任津贴的筹集；（4）职员会议的实际运营等；（5）负责学校运营的校长与教职员团体各校分会之间的协议书等的情况；（6）县教委对于公立学校的管理运营的配合情况。

⁷ 即思想意识倾向某一方面的教育——译注。

⁸ Parent-Teacher Association——译注。

教育被视为是障碍，同和教育也被认为必须废除。”

说这话的是广教组的石岗修总书记。很多教师都指出，现在广岛被日本政府视为全国教育改革的试验台和突破口。

日本政府为了修改教育基本法，目前正在准备着手进行彻底的教育改革。文科省在接受了教育改革国民会议的建议之后，提出了《21 世纪教育新生计划》改革方案。方案充分显示出政府要将此次教育改革作为一项全民运动推行的热情，该计划认为“过去由于过度尊重个人而导致轻视‘集体’的倾向越来越明显，（略）因过分的平等主义导致教育出现平均、划一的倾向，（略）因材施教的问题也长期受到轻视”。方案的基本思想就是希望将筛选和竞争的原理引入到教育中来。《尾道教育计划 21》提出要针对学校实施教育评估制度等，这些可以算是全国性教育改革的前奏。

那么教育第一线变得如何了呢？另一个教职员工团体——全广岛教职员工工会（全教广岛）——的总书记金谷贤二对此回答说：

“纠偏指导和（广岛的）教育改革的特点，就是从一种应然的角度来讨论教育，却无视现实中孩子们。我们该讨论的难道不是怎样才能把广岛的孩子们培养好这个问题吗？”

教师们被迫卷入学校间的竞争，数字达标的竞争当中，他们无法真正关注眼前的孩子。为了完成那些数字指标，教师们不得不对孩子们采取机械的、管理的教育模式。

此外，县里和市里下达的大量的书面任务也让教师们忙得晕头转向。据说现在学校里，衡量老师工作能力的标准已经成为，如何在短的时间内，既能维持班级的教学活动，又能够承担更多的事务。广教组的石岗书记长这样说道：“学校的教师们整天忙着处理堆积如山的报告，根本没有时间考虑自己的本职工作教育。孩子们则成了一堆无暇顾及的‘工作’”

现在的情况是即使孩子们到老师那里问问题，也只能听到这样的回答“这种问题上课的时候再问”、“我现在很忙，没办法给你解答”。

工作的忙碌同时也导致了教师们精神健康方面的问题，这一点从广岛县教师病休人数的年度变化上也可以看出来（请参照图 2）。与 1998 年度纠偏指导导入以前相比，接受指导之后出现精神性疾病的人数明显增加。福山市的某小学，去年一年，15 名教师中就有 6 人因患了精神性疾病离职休养。据说有的班级半年内换过 4 个班主任。

前年 4 月，某县立高中负责升学和就业指导的教师 A 自杀身亡。“断送掉（学生的）希望的行为不能被称为教育。至今为止（我们作为教师而）做出的努力究竟算什么？你们太冷酷了。我不干了！”

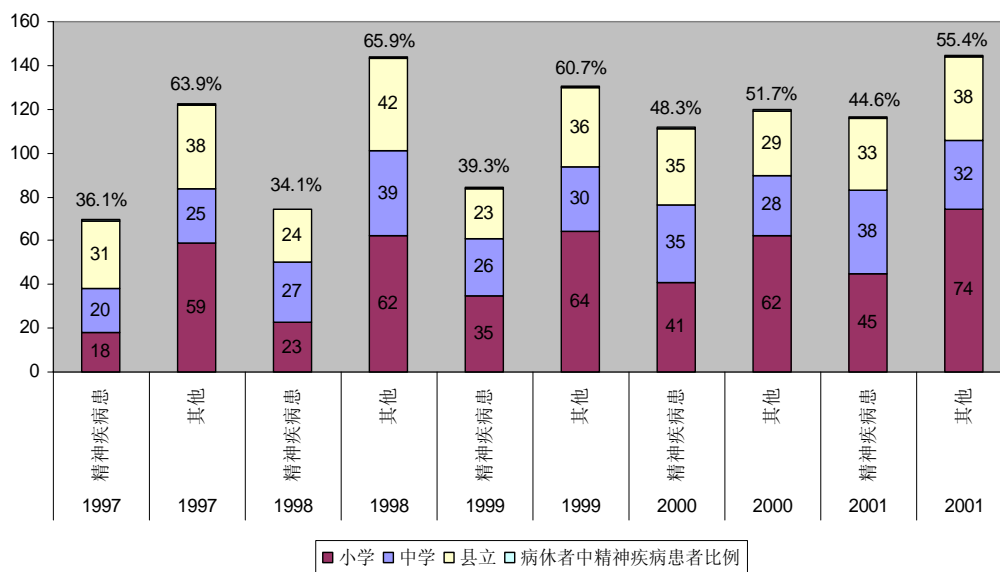
A 是在决定学生升级的成绩会议上说的这番话，几天后，他就自杀了。当时会上，围绕一个学生升留问题，教师之间出现了意见分歧。本来这个学生也只要再补习一天就可以升级，但一派意见坚持要按规定让该生留级，A 的自杀是对这种只知道死守陈规的意见的一种抗议。A 去世 9 个月后，就在这所高中，另一位长期病休的教师也自杀了。

根据广教组的调查，自 1999 年以来，广岛县内已有 12 人自杀。其中校长 5 人、副校长 1 人、教职员工 6 人。

纠偏指导下的行政管理和统制已经使得不少教师选择自杀、或自动离职。接受纠偏指导以后，广岛的教育改革逐渐成为、以“竞争”和“筛选”等价值为主导原理的、新一轮国家教育改革的试验台。它的实质是在所谓的“教育自由化”名义下，让所有的教师都疲于奔命。忽视现实中孩子们成长的广岛教育改革，将成为未来整个日本教育的“缩影”。

图 2. “文部省纠偏指导”开始前后的各年度离职者人数比较

(广岛县教师工会)



(注) 上图中显示了广岛县和广岛市的病休人数以及病休者中精神疾病患者的人数和比例。离职者人数包括了从前一年度开始离职的人员以及该年度开始离职的人员。(资料提供者: 广教组)

(王宗瑜译)

苏霍姆林斯基教育思想专题征稿启示 (征稿延期至 2008 年 12 月 31 日)

最近, 由于一个极其偶然的的机会, 在《立场—教育对话》杂志内部组织了一个有关前苏联著名教育家苏霍姆林斯基 (1918-1970) 的小型读书报告会。会上大家围绕《公民的诞生》(教育科学出版社, 1997) 展开了积极的讨论。苏霍姆林斯基对于中国大多数教育工作者来说并不算太陌生, 改革、开放以后, 伴随着对国外教育研究的介绍, 苏霍姆林斯基的教育著述也重新回到了我们的视线之内。

这次读书会使每一位参加者都深深地感到, 苏霍姆林斯基对于思考今天中国教育的问题仍然具有非同寻常的意义。《公民的诞生》不仅使我们聆教了一位活跃在教育一线资深教师对教育、教学细致入微的观察与记述, 同时那些在记述中随处可见的、闪耀着思想的火花也似乎消去了我们心中的诸多茫然。尽管所处的历史时代与社会背景不尽相同, 但作为社会主义国家的教育工作者, 应该说在教育认识上, 我们与苏霍姆林斯基都共有着一些最基本的价值。“实现人的全面发展”、“教育与劳动相结合”在思想上成为联系我们的一条重要纽带。

《公民的诞生》对智育、道德、情感、美育和劳动教育的阐述充分展现了苏霍姆林斯基对于以上教育价值的全部思考与实践。无论是各个学科教育的具体实践, 还是学科间的结合, 始终都遥遥地指向“怎样培养一个真正的人”、“怎样培养一个公民”的社会理想——用苏霍姆林斯基自己的话说就是贯穿着一条闪亮的“红线”。与此相对照, 今天我们对全面发展的阐释似乎走进了一个没有出口的怪圈。自 1980 年代以来, “三育”(德、智、体)、“四育”(德、智、体、美)、“五育”(德、智、体、美、劳)、全面发展的理解始终徘徊在教课本身的增加与削减。无论是排列组合本身, 还是它的背后, 我们都无法找到苏霍姆林斯基所说的那一条“红线”, 那个支撑社会主义教育存在的“灵魂”。苏霍姆林斯基对于我们今天的意义, 似乎远远超出了“全面发展”问题本身。近年, 在“市场”、“竞争”等主导价值的规范和定义下, 教育正朝着“个人化”的目标突进, 教育俨然成为个人自我实现的利器与工具。而这些, 与苏霍姆林斯基始终在〈社会-教育〉这样一个公共视阈下对个性的阐述, 对培养个性的实践、以及有关社会和个人关系的思考之间形成了鲜明的对比与反差。

面对当下这些令人辗转反侧的现实, 《立场》编辑小组的同人一致认为有必要将我们自己内部的这个读书会扩展成为一个更为广泛的社会性阅读与讨论。通过“苏霍姆林斯基”这面历史的镜子, 唤起更多人对中国教育问题与现状的思考, 使我们每一个人都能够结合今天这样一个历史—社会的现实情境具体地思考“教育何为”的问题。

坦率地讲, 如果按照今天教育学界的分类标准来衡量, 苏霍姆林斯基不能算是一位教育思想家。因为他个人并没有提出任何系统的教育理论和思想。他的教育思想多数表现为对社会主义教育理念的具体实践——或者说是在实践中的思想。因此, 对于读者来说, 以“苏霍姆林斯基教育思想”为征稿题目可能多少有些突兀和难度。然而, 对我们来说, 从苏霍姆

林斯基具体的教育活动和教学活动中重新发掘和认识社会主义教育价值的意义以及实践的可能性，是这次专题讨论的一个十分重要的意图和大胆的尝试。我们相信，苏霍姆林斯基的教育著述能够使我们真切地体会到思想扎根于生活和行动之中所显示出的无穷魅力和无尽的可能性。

基于以上思考，《立场》决定组织一次有关“苏霍姆林斯基教育思想”的专题讨论。我们诚挚地向广大读者征稿，邀请各界朋友和专家积极地参与这次讨论。稿件请寄往：edupositions@gmail.com。投稿截止日期为**2008年12月31日**。我们将根据投稿情况，在本年年底的刊号里开辟专题，介绍讨论的具体情况，刊登部分投稿论文。我们将热忱地期待着每一位读者的稿件，希望这些被誉为“教育经典”和“教育名著”的“苏霍姆林斯基”能够走下书架，真正溶入我们的生活，成为指导我们走向完美、和谐生活的智慧。

《立场》编辑小组

《立场--教育对话》网刊征稿启事

这是一个既开放又封闭的时代，既丰富又贫乏的时代，既乐观又焦虑的时代，空前沟通而又空前隔膜的时代。在这个悖论的时刻，我们创建了《立场—教育对话》这份小小的刊物。

《立场》是由几位教育学研究生发起的一份网络季刊。她立足于教育领域，试图以教育为基点，为我们反思和理解这个悖论的时代，开辟一片独立的公共空间。

现代教育联系着个人与社会、公民与国家，牵动着政治、经济、文化等各行各业的起落兴衰，交织着历史、现在和未来。《立场》有志于突破现代学科体系的樊篱，深入探讨与教育相关的哲学、历史、地理、社会、政治、经济、文化等领域的话题，以推动我们对现代的理解，从而回答“教育何为”的根本问题。教育是各种社会理想角逐交锋的场域。作为一份教育网刊，《立场》愿为各种立场提供一个小小的交流和论争的平台，为推动思想的解放和深入、理论与实践的合一尽其绵薄之力。

《立场》希望各学科领域的研究者、教育工作者、社会工作者、短期或长期支教人员不吝赐稿。在学院的围墙日高，知识的垄断益强的今天，《立场》愿意成为学术研究界与普通实践者之间的一座桥梁。因此，《立场》的稿件不限于学术研究报告，田野笔记、随笔、札记、书评、杂感、访谈等形式亦可，长短不限。尤其欢迎由扎实的研究报告改写而成的文风朴实、深入浅出、通俗易懂的短文。《立场》期待但并不局限于讨论如下话题：

- 中国教育的历史变迁，包括新民主主义和社会主义时期的教育的方针、政策、及实践；
- 中外经典教育及社会理论的再阐释；
- 全球化对中国和世界各地教育的影响，以及全球化趋势下，教育、国家、社群和个人的关系转变；
- 教育教学实践和革新经验介绍，教学材料分享；
- 基层学校内外的实证研究，以及研究方法；

《立场》以中文为主，也欢迎英、日文稿件。鉴于日文语言背景的读者群体较小，稿件录用后恳请日文投稿者附以中文摘要，便于读者了解及与作者进一步交流。

来稿请以MS Word附件形式寄到edupositions@gmail.com，并请附上作者简介和联系方式。稿件收到我们会立即确认，录用决定将于六周内确认。更多信息，请访问《立场》网刊主页：www.edupositions.wordpress.com(海外) 或者 positions.blog.edu.cn (中国)。

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Editorial Team

LIU Yu, WANG Dan,
XU Jianping

Websites

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Contact Us

edupositions@gmail.com