Narratives of Childhood: 
Orientation to Teaching Style.

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Thesis submitted in part requirement for the degree of 

Doctorate in Education. 

Declaration

I declare that this thesis represents my own work, except where due acknowledgement is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation, or report submitted to this university or to any other institution for a degree, diploma, or any other qualification.

Signed: [Signature]

[Signature]
Abstract.

This study explores student teachers' perceptions of child-adult relationships, and their orientation to a teaching style. Twenty-nine stories of childhood by education students were analyzed for the child's perception of adults, using a framework developed from attachment theory and Baumrind's parenting styles. Adults in the stories were allocated to the authoritative, authoritarian, or permissive group. Previous to their writing of stories, students' perceptions of adult-child relationships were collected through two projective type exercises. Using the above theories, a table was designed to represent three teaching styles: secure-authoritative, avoidant-authoritarian, and ambivalent-permissive. Data from the exercises were analyzed for students' unconscious and conscious orientation to teaching style. Results from both sets of data were compared.

Ten stories (Appendix 1) and corresponding projective exercises are discussed in the analysis. Summaries of stories are provided within the analysis chapter for ease of reference. Results showed connections between childhood relationships with adults and teaching style orientation. A child's relationship with adults founded on authoritativeness matched projective results, which suggest an authoritative teaching orientation style now. Similar matches were found for authoritarian parenting and teaching orientation, and permissive parenting and teaching orientation. A small fourth group designated "dis-orientated" by attachment theorists was not found, but a sample story (Appendix 2) from an earlier collection, is briefly discussed.

Results imply that the dilemma of whether to provide theory or practice first in education courses, or of how much theory is appropriate, may be solved if students' own childhood experiences are used to develop their understanding of child-adult relationships and their potential influence on teaching orientation. Such stories offer a strong foundation for student teachers to begin their study of education theories, and could help students develop self-understanding and empathy for children.

Key words: childhood narratives; projective techniques; teaching style
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. 1. Introduction</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>background</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>questions</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. 2. Literature Review</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narrative research</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child development</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>projective techniques</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. 3. Methodology</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>methodologies and justification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethical issues</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>analytical framework</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. 4. Data Analysis</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>analysis</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. 5. Discussion</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relationships of findings to issues raised earlier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>critique of methodology</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trustworthiness and repeatability</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. 6. Conclusions</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general conclusions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limitations</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contributions to the field</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recommendations for further research</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 1</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten stories in full</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 2</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>additional story from previous collection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 3</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>projective technique exercise one</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 4</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>projective technique exercise two</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preface.

I think it is necessary to explain here how the research into stories of childhood and orientation to teaching style came about. Education students and I have been sharing stories of childhood for some years, and the richness of the students’ stories led me to use them as research data. Moving, sometimes painful, and sometimes amusing, stories of incidents in childhood told to classmates caused me to question cultural stereotypes of the Chinese as reticent and secretive on family matters. I first researched the stories for Chinese culture (Bond, 1991; Lau, 1995) and found many similarities between East and West in terms of childhood.

I was puzzled at how some students had overcome obviously difficult family backgrounds. This led to reading on Alice Miller’s views on child abuse and the importance of having one witness on the side of the child (Miller, 1987, 1994, 1995). She claims that her theory is universal, and the stories seemed to bear out her claim (Heron, 1999). Differences in treatment of boys and girls in the stories led to reading on gender issues (Swann, 1992; Wu, 1996) and again similarities were found between East and West.

But more than these issues of culture, gender and child-rearing, what was revealed in the stories led me to believe that the stories had the potential to provide for both teacher educators and student teachers, valuable insights into teaching. It was students who had problems on teaching practice and whose stories I remembered that led to the research in this thesis. Two brief examples follow.

The first student wrote of going by air when she was little to visit relatives overseas. The air stewardess on the plane made a big impression on the child. When they arrived at the relatives’ village, the child hid behind her father. At the time of reading the story, I remember wondering why the shy student with an interest in a career as an air-hostess was in a teacher education course. I didn’t teach her in the two subsequent years, but she had problems both academically and during teaching practice, and was required to do a repeat of the teaching practice, after her classmates had completed and graduated. Finally, she took the decision to drop out of teaching altogether prior to this additional teaching practice.
The second student wrote of injuring a relative and bearing the guilt and blame secretly for all the years since. She also had problems during teaching practice, dropping out despite extreme family pressure to complete, find a job, and fund the university education of the relative she had hurt. The second case was more puzzling to me than the first because the second student was interested in teaching, and did not have academic problems. I was disturbed by this incident, believing that the story of childhood could have been the basis for the student to develop an earlier and better understanding of her relationships with adults and children. I became concerned about the power relationships between the children and adults, and what the children were learning about themselves through these relationships.

With such incidents in mind and research into culture, gender, and power relationships between children and adults in previous collections of stories, I began to ask myself whether the stories could predict teaching stance. By teaching stance, I mean, in simple terms, whether the student teacher

(a) would be confident and have an interest in children and subject matter, and in lesson planning, or

(b) would follow a very traditional teaching style, hiding behind a textbook, displaying little interest in children or planning, or

(c) would have psychological difficulties such as caused her to drop out of teaching practice, or even teaching altogether.

I decided to use the stories as data to research teaching stance because I thought the stories had the potential to be used as teaching material for teacher education courses. Previous research into such stories in terms of gender, culture, and power-relationships had led me to believe that. But I was interested in finding out whether the stories could be used to reveal what children had learnt about teaching and learning, whether the stories had the potential to show orientation to a teaching style. This is how I came to my research.
Acknowledgements.

I was warned on a number of occasions that writing a doctoral thesis was a lonely business. I was fortunate indeed to find this was not so. Instead, the interest and support of supervisors, colleagues, and students were a constant encouragement. I would like to express my thanks here to all who have helped me.

First, I would like to thank my two supervisors: Professor Kenneth Fogelman and Professor Maurice Galton for their critical comments throughout the process. Next I would like to thank past and current members of staff at Leicester University for their interest and suggestions: Professor Martin Cortazzi, Professor Janet Moyles, and Professor Paul Cooper.

I would also like to thank two colleagues at the Hong Kong Institute of Education for their critical comments at various stages of the research: Dr An E He and Dr Loraine Frances Corrie.

I would like to thank my Chinese reader for discussions on Chinese culture: Ms Natalia Li.

To all those Hong Kong students with whom I have had the honour to share stories, and who have so enriched my life, I would also like to offer my sincere thanks.

Finally, I would like to thank the Hong Kong Institute of Education for support to undertake this study.
Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to
my mother
M. J. Heron
and
my son
A. J. Heron
with love
Chapter One: Introduction.

1.1 Introduction.
This introductory chapter is divided into six sections, comprising first general concerns about teacher education, and then immediate concerns about a specific Hong Kong teacher education programme. The chapter then describes the political and economic background to the stories used. The three research questions are posited, and these are followed by key concepts from attachment theory, which theory has provided a framework for teaching style orientation, and an outline of the structure of the thesis. The thesis begins by examining some of the significant issues in teacher education, and the challenge of bringing about change.

1.2 Teacher Education.
During the last half of the twentieth century there were attacks on teacher education courses, particularly in Britain. There were demands for what Bage (1999, p. 5) calls "torrents of change", and concern about the difficulty of bringing about change. Three arguments against teacher education courses are: they are too theoretical; they cannot provide support for all the individual school and classroom contexts; or they cannot have much impact on the students because the students have already learnt to teach while they were school pupils (Cortazzi, 1993, p.15).

Some education authorities went further than suggesting change. They ordered alternative methods of teaching. For example, in the United States, many states ordered "changes which emphasize external standards and accountability, making good teaching appear to be the implementation of ideas developed elsewhere." (Adler, 1991, p. 79). In England, the apprentice model for student teachers was re-introduced for some trainee teachers. In discussion on the changes in England and Wales, Hargreaves (1994, p. 6) calls the changes "root changes" which included "draconian measures to make teacher education more utilitarian and less reflective and questioning, by allocating huge proportions of trainee teachers' time to practical training in schools, at the expense of purportedly irrelevant or harmful theory in university education faculties." In addition, the teachers of those students in the
Ivory towers did not escape the demand to get practical, with calls for education professors to teach in primary or secondary schools. Raths (2001, p. 3) raises the issue of professors not having recent school teaching experience in regard to confronting education students with dissonance: there is the danger that students will use discrediting of the source of dissonance as self-protection, asking professors when they were last in a classroom. (For examples of the return of tertiary level teachers to schools, see Galton, 1999; He and Heron, 2000; Russell and Korthagen, 1995; Simpson, 1997.) The use of force in changing teaching style raises other difficulties such as the loss of professional status, and the loss of interest in teaching as a career, which problems are causing alarm in Europe where there is a growing shortage of teachers, as reported in the Education section of the South China Morning Post (SCMP 3 Feb 2001, p. 1).

Munby and Russell (1996) have reviewed some of the literature on teacher education, and found some views, which while contrasting, are also critical. They report the three conclusions of Lanier and Little (1986, p. 3-9), on the content and methods in teacher education:

- the work environment of teacher education generally lacks intellectual stimulation. "Little is known about what prospective teachers typically encounter or learn from academic studies" defined as either general studies or subject studies;
- like others they "are not alone in calling attention to the inherent contradiction of lecturing about learning by discovery."; and
- there has been a failure to encourage education students "to consider their own personalities and to take them into account when working with people."

While the first criticism above can be considered a lament for lack of research on education courses, the other two are direct criticisms of methodology and content in teacher education courses. The criticism that teacher education lacks intellectualism contrasts with the demand in England that it be made more utilitarian. This demand is discussed below.

Griffin (1989, in Munby and Russell, 1996, p. 9) stresses the importance of other experiences to the development of a teacher in making the point that "all there is to
teaching is not learned during teacher preparation.” Connecting the above ideas of considering personality and experience in learning is that of the need to take into account people’s belief system if change is to be brought about in education. The importance of the connection between learning and experience can be seen in Pajares’ (1992) review on teachers’ beliefs (in Munby and Russell, 1996, p.11):

- the teachers’ beliefs are well established before getting to college;
- the earlier the belief, the more difficult to alter;
- the belief system is acquired through cultural transmission; and
- belief change during adulthood is rare.

Munby and Russell (1996, p.12) agree on the importance of taking into account the student teacher’s previous learning and also call for more taking account of experience. But the belief that students already know enough to learn on the job, has also led to the radical, or what might even be called the demand for Back to Basics Teacher Education, for teacher education to take place in schools, despite contrary ideas in another service field. Paradoxically, the idea of apprentice teachers differs from what has been advocated in the field of nursing in Britain. There, students were taken out of wards in England and Wales, and sent to universities to upgrade their education standard before entering wards for practical experience. One wonders how governments agree to this change for nurses while at the same time determining that teachers should start in classrooms. Perhaps in teacher education, the problem is not whether to start with theories or practice but more fundamentally, to determine what needs to be addressed by teacher educators. However, critics are skeptical, too, of changes being proposed by education faculties because of the lack of take-up of new methods of teaching and learning in schools once the students enter the workplace. Critics are concerned that even when change is demanded, or suggested, it seems to have little effect. In Hong Kong, new methods of teaching, for example, the Activities Approach and the Target Oriented Curriculum (Clark, 1999, p. 11), were introduced by the government through teacher training, but were not taken up, except in name. Schools, which joined the “Activities Approach” in the 1980s, got extra government funding by grouping the children’s desks. The teaching style did not change, with the result that some children now in groups have their backs to the
teacher during the teacher-centred, that is, traditional lesson. There is little evidence in Hong Kong schools, according to my observations, and those of my teacher education colleagues, of children doing activity-based lessons. The reasons for such lack of change include the suggestion that teachers teach as their teachers taught them (Zeichner and Tabachnick, 1981 in Raths, 2001) or that new teachers need to fit in with the prevailing culture and traditions of a particular school (Carter, 1990). However, this exploratory study is an attempt to explore an alternative view on why it is difficult to bring about change. This study explores the possibility that teachers teach, not as they were taught by their own teachers in school, but as they were taught in their childhood, by adults on whom they were emotionally dependent. Such adults are usually parents, and the issue is whether the emotional attachment is the reason for the depth of the orientation towards a teaching style, and the reason why it is difficult to bring about change, at least without the use of force.

This exploratory study provides evidence that education students have many deeply felt, personal and relevant experiences to reflect on, before they go into schools for field experience, and these include their own childhood, power relationships between adults and children, gender, how they themselves learned, and the personal characteristics of teachers they liked or loathed. Students' personal experiences could form the basis for education courses, and, as contradictions arise from within one persons' experiences and between their own experiences and the experiences of classmates, more abstract, intellectual ideas, as called for by Lanier and Little above, can be added. An implication of this study, therefore, is not that teacher education should be scrapped because the students are so little affected by the studies, but that the content of teacher education courses needs to be researched and critically appraised. (The question as to whether beliefs can be changed is addressed later in the implications.) Meanwhile, from a concern with some of the general controversies on teacher education, we now turn to concern with a specific course.

1.3 Certificate of Education Students.

 Concern for some years about the lack of self-esteem of education students on a certificate programme at The Hong Kong Institute of Education was the motivation
for undertaking the initial research, which led in turn to this study. The students on the three-year teacher certificate course are Chinese, around 19 years old, and the majority female.

Such certificate level students had been perceived by Institute teachers in the past to be lacking in self-esteem due to their reluctance to express opinions or ideas in class, or in their writing. Self-esteem is defined in this thesis, after Hamachek (1991, p. 31) as “the affective dimension of self-perception” and it “is constructed out of our evaluations of the things we do, of who we are, and of what we achieve”; it is a socially constructed, or a learnt response, according to the views of major figures in psychology, including James, Adler, Cooley, Mead, and Allport (in Bednar and Peterson 1995, Ch. 2). In philosophy, Deigh (1995, p.141) says that one’s self-esteem depends to some extent on the esteem others accord one—certain others anyway ... the greater the dependency, the less one’s confidence will be in independent judgments...

The natural dependency of most children on their parents means that parents can be expected to have a major role in developing their children’s self-esteem, although debate on this issue will be addressed in chapter 2. The connection between self-esteem and academic achievement is addressed in the next section.

With regard to education, research has shown that self-esteem is important for a healthy personality and for academic development (Fontana, 1990, p. 986). Is good self-esteem an important personality trait for teachers? The literature gives no definite answers as to which personality traits constitute the psychological make-up of a good teacher but when students were asked to assess their teachers (Rushton and Murray, 1985) two of the traits that were associated with successful teaching were leadership and non-authoritarianism. Non-authoritarianism does not equate with permissiveness, but with regard to parenting, it is what Hamachek (1991, p. 223) calls “authoritative” in which parents present adult standards (not infallibly) and understand children’s desires. The key constituent of the family background in a non-authoritarian home is considered warmth. Warmth in the family background would be needed for children to develop healthy self-esteem needed, in turn, for leadership, and for non-authoritarian skills, the two personal qualities of successful
teachers referred to above.

Returning then to the certificate of education students, teaching staff thought they understood the reasons for the poor self-esteem of the certificate students. First, the students admit to great disappointment in their failure to secure a place at university, and, second, they are accepted into the Institute of Education to take a three-year programme rather than the normal two-year certificate programme because their Advanced Level Examination results (school leaving examination) are relatively poor. An example of their feeling of inadequacy is that when they later join students on the two-year programme, they are reluctant to admit to being on the three-year programme. According to the Profile of Students (Student Affairs Office 1999) about 20% of students feel they have weak self-confidence, and about 34% often have difficulties relating to self-confidence. In addition, some of the students are not enthusiastic about teaching as a career, but feel they had no other choice at tertiary level according to the Institute profile of students (Student Affairs Office, 1999). 14% of males and 10% of females said they had no better option than join the Institute, and 10% of both males and females said they joined it due to parental pressure. On the surface then, poor academic results and career drift are two reasons why some of the students lack self-esteem. When we add to these factors other causes of stress such as the social background of political uncertainty and the economic hardship of the parents of many of them, to which we will turn in the section 1.4 below, it is not surprising that students might lack self-esteem, and take a head-down attitude to survival. But before describing the social background, there is a brief explanation of how the research developed from the issue of self-esteem. Initially, as a teacher, I encouraged certificate students to write stories to develop a belief in them that what they had to say was important. The stories they shared in class were very interesting and I first began to examine them for what they might tell of childhood in a Chinese culture. But the content of the students' stories raised questions about self-esteem, and whether their apparent low self-esteem was related only to the students’ perception of their academic “failure”, or whether it had developed much earlier, in childhood, and whether it was related to the Chinese culture of Hong Kong. The literature on four research areas was examined to develop
an understanding of the stories; these comprised literature on child-rearing/socialization patterns in Chinese culture, and Hong Kong culture (Bodley, 1994; Bond, 1991; Bodycott, 1995; Evans, 1997; Lau, 1996; Lau and Yeung, 1996; Planet Project 2000; Wu, 1996), and the literature on gender (Burns, 1998; Cheung, 1995; Cross and Markus, 1993; Forrester and Heron, 1995; Pearson, 1990; Swann, 1992) and gender in story-telling (Dyson, 1997; Gilbert, 1993; Greenwood, 1992; Kamler, 1993; Walkerdine 1990). Results showed many similarities between findings in the stories and in Western research in these areas. But child development literature, particularly the ideas promulgated by self-confessed proselytist, and psychologist Alice Miller (1987, 1994, and 1995) led to further research into child development, particularly attachment theory and questions about the possibility of a child's power relationships with adults having long lasting effects, and even affecting his or her adult teaching stance. But, these relationships between parents and children are themselves affected by the society around them, and we now turn to the wider background to the stories.

1.4 Political and Economic Background.

Stories are created through lives lived in particular societies so it is necessary to provide some information about the background of the story-writers (Kagan, 1994, p. 9). There were two major areas likely to have caused fear in Hong Kong during the childhood of the story-writers. One was political and the other economic. Here follow brief notes on fear as related to (a) the political, and (b) the economic background of the story-writers.

Political Background.

The political background to the childhood of the students who wrote the stories bridged two defining moments for Hong Kong. One was realized in an atmosphere of some uncertainty when, with a mixture of pride and trepidation, Hong Kong approached the end of the British colonial era in 1997, and the other was the earlier shock and fear generated by the massacre of Chinese citizens in Tiananmen Square, China in 1989, and the subsequent emigration of thousands of Hong Kong people,
particularly educated people, to Western countries. (For example, in 1992, over 
60,000 left and in 1996 over 40,000 left according to the South China Morning Post, 
6 Feb 2001, p. 19.) The students who wrote the stories were about 9 years old at the 
time of the Tiananmen Square massacre, and in their late teens by the time Hong 
Kong was returned to the Motherland.

There is no suggestion that the children in the stories were interested in politics. 
Indeed, even tertiary students in Hong Kong commonly say they have no interest in 
politics, and many new teachers have told me they are surprised by the “in-school 
politics” they encounter in their first jobs. Nevertheless, the people of Hong Kong 
were affected psychologically by political forces. The psychological trepidation of 
the community during the period is documented neatly in an urban story/myth, 
spread by word of mouth, and in the media, about children playing train in a Hong 
Kong TV commercial, a commercial which had been filmed in China; some people 
claimed to have seen on television an extra child at the end of the line of children, and 
said that this was a ghost child. Soon the story developed that the ghost child had 
killed the other children. Even when the Hong Kong train company, The 
Kowloon-Canton Railway, publicly denied the story, people did not accept the truth. 
The advertisement had to be pulled. The story can be seen as reflecting the Hong 
Kong community’s fear for the future projected onto the children and ghost child in 
China. Anthropologist G. Evans (1997, p. 291) suggests that such stories are created 
to make sense out of disharmony. The feeling of unease in returning to the 
motherland led to the urban myth. This story is well remembered by the students who 
rote the stories of childhood.

Of course, there is little open evidence of the above political fear in the stories; 
however, fear is a theme in most stories in the fear of abandonment, fear of death, 
fear of, and for, the mother, and fear of tradition, and in two stories which use a 
stapler as a symbol. The purpose of a stapler is to connect, just as the re-unification 
with the Mainland was to connect Hong Kong with China. But ironically in one 
story, the stapler instead of connecting mother and daughter, injures the child, and in 
the other, violently divides a mother and daughter (Appendix 1, Story Three and 
Story Four). Four stories are set in the Mainland; one tells of an injury to a child,
another of a near drowning of the child, a river is too polluted for swimming in the third, and a mother is injured in the fourth due to overwork. The choice of such metaphors and such fears may have been influenced by the political background; and certainly, when we take into consideration the large numbers of people who left Hong Kong, it is reasonable to infer that the relatives, neighbours, and friends they left behind were psychologically affected.

But while the foregoing can be criticized as being too indirect, or a personal interpretation, there is direct evidence in the stories of fear related to economic pressures within Hong Kong itself, economic fears, which cannot be separated from the political background. It is to the economic background that we now turn.

**Economic Background.**

In addition to the fear based on political developments, there was also an economic reason for the fear felt in the community. Hong Kong's move from a manufacturing economy to a services economy also took place during these years, with factories being moved across the border into the cheap labour area of neighbouring Guangzhou Province, Southern China. Today only 15% of Hong Kong's economy is manufacturing based as reported in the South China Morning Post, 28 November 2000. The fear of becoming unemployed must have added to the uncertainty felt by the parents of the children in the stories, and partly explains their long hours of work, and the loneliness mentioned by some of the children. Anderson and Hayes (1996, p. 32) also point out that where there is poverty, young children who cannot contribute financially to the family, become "liabilities''. The pressure of work on parents is mentioned in 6 of the 29 stories. In addition, money is an issue in 14 of the stories, and an issue to which we will now turn.

In Planet Project (2000) respondents were asked how important the amount of money their parents had was in how the respondents' lives had turned out. 83% of Hong Kong respondents rated money extremely or somewhat important in comparison to 62% of Chinese and the rest of the world. Only 17% of Hong Kong people rated money as not very important or unimportant. Lack of money, or the effects of poor living conditions are found in 14 stories. That the writers of the stories
were likely to have been affected by economic matters is related to their self-esteem. Hamachek (1991, p. 214) draws on research which provides evidence that parents of low socioeconomic status are likely to pass on low self-esteem to their children.

1.5 Summary and Questions.
To summarize then, we have noted concerns with the content of teacher education courses in general, the lack of self-esteem of certificate student teachers in Hong Kong, and the political and economic background of Hong Kong. Stories of childhood collected from the students led to research into issues of culture, gender, and power. The research raised the question of child-adult relationships, and whether they might be important in developing a particular teaching style. The first part of the question, child-adult relationships, it was believed, could be researched by analyzing the stories of childhood. The first question, therefore became:
1. Do their stories of childhood reveal the student teachers’ early form of attachment to important adults?

It appeared initially that it would be more difficult to research the second, that is teaching style. Administratively, it was impossible for me to supervise and observe the story-tellers for research purposes while they were on teaching practice. To use students for such research during their already stressful teaching practice would be unethical. This led to the decision to use projective techniques to access students' orientation to teaching. Problems with setting up school visits fell away while there was the advantage that students could voice their own feelings. (The use of projective techniques and some difficulties with this type of research are addressed in Chapter 2.) With projective techniques to research potential teaching style, two more questions arose as follows:
2. Do projective techniques reveal the student teachers’ potential teaching style?
3. Is there a relationship between child-adult relationships in the story, and adult-child relationships in the projective technique exercises?

As the research methodology was designed to find answers to the above questions, an introduction to some key concepts becomes essential. These are briefly described below.
Key Concepts.

Key concepts from attachment theory are used to understand child-adult relationships in the stories and in the projective techniques; and are used as a basis to describe three teaching styles, the teaching styles being based on the parenting styles. The following is a brief introduction to the terms.

According to attachment theory, there are three basic forms of attachment between child and mother. These affect the child so the child later develops a similar attachment style when parenting his/her child. The child's attachment style has been researched in the strange situation setting, including cross-cultural settings (Van Ijzendoorn and Sagi, 1999); the adult's attachment style has been researched through interview, and comparison of their responses with the linguist Grice's coherence maxims (in Hesse, 1999). The attachment styles are summarized as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secure/Autonomous Adult</th>
<th>Secure Child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coherent, consistent view; values attachment</td>
<td>Explores, misses parent when separated, greets parent on return, usually physically</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dismissing Adult</th>
<th>Avoidant Child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incoherent; dismisses/normalizes relationships without evidence; brief</td>
<td>Doesn't cry; avoids parent on return; appears unemotional, focus on toys</td>
</tr>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Preoccupied Adult</th>
<th>Resistant/Ambivalent Child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incoherent, longwinded, angry, passive or fearful</td>
<td>Preoccupied with parent; little exploration may seem angry or passive; cries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Adapted from Hesse, 1999, p. 399)

The above terms will be discussed later in the literature review and in data analysis. The hypothesis is that significant adults, by modelling secure/authoritative, dismissing/authoritarian, or preoccupied/permisive behavior, affect the child's orientation towards a similar teaching style. The term projective techniques is used in this research to refer to particular
psychological exercises, not including life stories. This chapter now ends with a brief description of the structure of this exploratory study.

1.7 Structure of the Thesis.

This introduction has summarized the general and particular concerns which led to the study, and the political and economic background of the context for the stories. It has also provided the questions underlying the research, and briefly introduced the key concepts. In the following chapters, issues are discussed in more detail. Here follows a brief summary of the contents of the rest of the chapters.

- Chapter 2 is a review of the literature on (a) the use of narrative in research, (b) research on child development, and (c) the use of projective techniques in research,
- Chapter 3 describes, explains, and justifies the use of the methodology. It describes what data each method is intended to produce, and how the data will be analyzed.
- Chapter 4 introduces, describes and analyzes the data with reference to the original issues.
- Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the findings, and the relationships of the meanings to issues and questions raised earlier. It also provides a critique of the research methodology, its trustworthiness and repeatability.
- Chapter 6 provides general conclusions, some limitations to the study, contributions of this study to teacher education, and implications for further research.
Chapter 2. Literature Review.

2.1 Introduction.
Written narratives of early childhood experience constitute the data for the first part of the research for this thesis. The written stories are used to explore relationships between children and adults, because it is hypothesized that particular aspects of those relationships may have had long-term effects on the story-teller’s attitudes to teaching. Therefore, this review chapter begins with a review of the literature in respect of (a) narrative research in general, followed by the strengths and perceived problems with narrative research; and (b) narrative in educational research.

As this work is based on the theory that parents or important care-giving adults, have a very important, and long lasting influence on children, even to the extent of influencing teaching style, it is necessary to examine the literature, albeit briefly, in respect of personality and child development. This is done in the second section. Projective techniques are used to explore teachers’ relationships with children, so the last section of the literature review examines the literature in respect of (a) the use of projective techniques in psychology, and some criticisms of such techniques; and (b) the use of projective techniques in education.

In each of the above sections, there is an attempt to show the connection between previous work and the research in this thesis. The first section examines narrative research.

2.2 Narrative Research.
Here the narrative form itself is examined briefly to see how narratives are important for
(a) the individual, and
(b) the society.

The discussion is necessary to set the background for the use of stories in educational research pertaining to teachers. I will also explore some of the criticisms in the literature associated with narrative research.
Narratives for Individuals.

People begin to construct a coherent life story for themselves in young adulthood (Thorne and Klohnen, 1993) which finding makes this exploratory study appropriate in its focus on young pre-service education students. The age of those researched, young adults about nineteen-years-old, fits the research finding that this is the age at which people begin to construct their own life story. Research (Singer and Salovey, 1993, p. 24) also suggests that our earliest memories are of incidents that concern us psychologically, that we are still working through them "in order to ... master them." Roberts (1998, p. 103) also points out that there are defining elements in our personal stories or myths to which we return as if to understand them better, with "... a need to find the clues and make the connections ..." (p. 110). Childhood memories can thus be seen to contain incidents or events of potential interest for story-telling, at the very least, at the level of interest to the individual story-teller. This is one reason for incorporating stories of childhood into teacher education, as in this study.

However, narrative is not only concerned with isolated, individual events. Syrjala and Estola (1999, p. 3) see narrative as "... a continuous interpretation of life, which is used by people to organize their experiences and thus create meaning for their lives and themselves." In contrast, (Kerby, 1997, p. 129) says that he is not sure that the majority of people have too great a desire or need to know who they are, and that many people live a partitioned life. However, Kerby can be rebutted by researchers such as Gudmonsdottir (2000) who have reported that teachers and children were happy, even astonished, to have someone to listen to them, indicating their welcome for the opportunity to reflect on meaningful incidents from their life. Students in Hong Kong schools seldom have an opportunity to write personal stories, or even express their own views, and they also welcome the chance to do so, finding it interesting for self-understanding, according to results from a questionnaire, which I administered, separate to this research. In addition, Gudmonsdottir (2000, p.12) reports that the planned 90-minute interviews with teachers in Huberman's (1995) study of 160 Swiss teachers "... frequently stretched much longer, sometimes lasting several hours." Kerby (1997, p. 134) reports the psychoanalyst Roy Schaefer as claiming that "We are forever telling stories about ourselves..." Kerby claims
(1997, p. 125) that the self is constructed through self-narration, and (p. 131) that narrative is not just a description, but an interpretation. Therefore, using narratives in research can be seen as an attempt to understand interpretations of a life rather than receive mere factual accounts of actual incidents; and this study found that young student teachers, like the experienced teachers in the Huberman study, were happy to have the opportunity to share personal stories.

Telling stories of our lives is also described by some as a way of seeing ourselves in time. Narratives of childhood are connected to adulthood both in the sense of trying to make a past meaningful, as well as in connecting to possibilities in the future. In this regard, Moore (1998, p. xv) quotes the novelist Gail Godwin, “Behind every story that begins ‘When I was a child’ there exists another story in which adults are fighting for their lives.” Creating or constructing a life story connects the present with the past. Present thinking on past incidents also points towards possibilities in the future. This makes stories of childhood of interest to teacher educators. The stories offer insight into the present thinking of student teachers, and what possibilities the students see for themselves. The stories of our lives can give us a sense of coherence, and even of development.

But present thinking on the past may also constrict future development. For example, Novitz (1997, p. 151) says:

the view that we take of ourselves, our narrative identity, is the source of our self-esteem. Those who have reasonably high levels of self-esteem ... are more likely to undertake demanding tasks than those who suffer an impoverished identity...one’s self-image or identity is action guiding. A challenge to one’s self-image ... will induce a crisis in confidence. To avoid such a crisis, people may embrace life-narratives which seriously underestimate our capacities and capabilities, leaving us with very little to live up to.

Novitz goes on to stress the latter point, which could be considered as of particular interest to teachers and teacher educators:

The fact that life-narratives tend to guide and regulate our behavior is of the greatest social significance. They are responsible not only for many of the achievements in our society, but also for the many underachievers.
Gergen and Gergen (1997, p. 165-166) suggest looking at narrative form not only in terms of the stability narrative, that is, the perception that the individual remains essentially unchanged. They suggest that there are other ways of examining narrative such as seeing them as regressive and progressive individual narratives. In these cases, the events themselves are not inherently progressive or regressive, but depend on the framework the narrator applies to them, or how the story-teller evaluates them. That some narratives may be used to avoid change or risk-taking, while others offer future possibilities, makes them of concern to educationalists, if education is taken to mean development and change. The stories in this study are explored for how they might show personal development of student teachers being enhanced, or hindered, by their own perceptions of their childhood experiences.

To sum up, therefore, narrative research is of interest to those involved in areas of human development on an individual basis; in the same way, the stories in this study are interesting on an individual basis, as making meaning for the story-teller. But the story-teller is a social being and narratives also have wider social functions, and it is to these functions that we now turn.

**Narratives for Social Groups.**

Apart from its meaning making function for the individual, narrative is important to people in another sense, that is, the sense of communicating with, and understanding others, of developing communities based, for example, on tribe, or social group, religion, or work. For example, May (1995, p. 45) claims "To be a member of one's community is to share in its myths." The importance of stories for two diverse communities is exemplified in the following. Gudmundsdottir (1990, p. 2) has personal memories of the importance of narratives for passing on craft knowledge amongst fishermen. Denning (2001), programme director for knowledge management of the World Bank, claims story-telling as a most effective, but underused, tool for motivating those in the business world. Cortazzi (1993, p. 59) reports that narrative research with American teachers was used to distil the culture of the teaching life. The study reported on in this thesis seeks to describe the student teachers’ perceptions of relationships between adults and children. Students often
tell me that they are surprised at the different perceptions of childhood that their fellow students provide through their stories, although they grew up during the same years and within the same Chinese culture.

But narrative can be used to control society as well as to build it. For example, Novitz (1997) makes the following two points:

- those who are dominant ... often wish to prevent people from adopting damaging or potentially dangerous narrative identities;
- it is the social acceptability of a narrative identity, and not the truth of the narrative that constitutes it, that determines what we regard as natural, worthy, or excellent in human behavior (p. 153-156).

When using narratives for research purposes, it would, therefore, be necessary to be aware of how much the story-teller feels limited to telling a socially acceptable story, as for example in the case of the Dismissing Adults (see 1.6 above) who claim, without evidence, or with contradictory evidence, to have had the ideal mother because that is felt to be socially acceptable. Whether a story is socially acceptable is an issue that arises in the analysis of the stories of childhood in this thesis.

Narrative is important to groups, as understood by researchers in different fields such as anthropology, sociology, history, business, and education as evidenced above; they use narrative research to better understand people in groups. Gergen and Gergen (1997, p. 163) see narrative as:

- a construction undergoing continuous alteration as interaction progresses ... The self-narrative is ... reconstructed by people in relationships... In this sense, self-narratives function much as histories within the society more generally ....

They (Histories) are symbolic systems used for social purposes such as justification, criticism, and social solidification.

Narratives are not only concerned with the individual but with interactions with others. As Gergen and Gergen (1997, p. 178) put it: "narrative constructions typically require a supporting cast." Such a cast may include characters in the story as well as readers or listeners. The fact that stories are important to groups means that the stories collected for this study have meanings that are potentially of interest to
others besides the individual story-tellers, because there is the commonality of childhood, and of career. In addition, the stories in this study tell of the story-teller's relationship with others, and point towards possible effects of such relationships on the future relationships of the student teachers with other children. Thus, the stories are not only stories of the past but connect the story-teller with fellow student teachers in the present, and with children they will teach in the future. Stories, therefore, as something so central to our humanity, in both our sense of individuality, and in our sense of community, are worth researching, even if there are criticisms regarding the “truth” value of narratives.

Problems with Narratives.

Some researchers have raised difficulties with the use of narratives for research. The following are some examples of concerns: the power relationships between the story-teller's account and the researcher's interpretation of the story; the difficulty of knowing the context except through the eyes of the story-teller, and the fact that the event is re-constructed rather than simply remembered. This exploratory study takes the above difficulties into consideration. For example, the set of eleven stories used in the analysis chapter is appended. My interpretations are therefore open to alternative or critical views of others. Whether the incident is “true” is also addressed later in the methodology and in the analysis.

Baird (1996) adds to the difficulties that the stories of the powerless, such as abused children, may be authored by those in control of the children, and even when they grow up, those who were abused may feel they have no control of their own story. Their meaning making is constrained by culture. For example, the abused child “is directed to notice certain data, to ignore other data, and to interpret data in a particular manner.” Thus, it is not only that people feel constrained to tell a story that fits with the ideals of a society, such ideals being controlled by those in power as pointed out above, but that the one in control may even make up the story itself. For example, an abusive adult will tell a child that the abuse is proof of the love between them, or even deny that the abuse took place. Regarding the “truth” of our life stories, Novitz (1997, p. 154) says our constructs of self “are invented rather than
discovered... (and) they are suggested to us in many different ways by the societies in which we live.” Novitz (p. 155) goes even further: “Human beings are notoriously suggestible and can be brought to think of themselves and construe their lives in indefinitely many ways.” This makes it difficult to define what we mean when we ask whether the stories are true. But it also suggests that the stories of student teachers can be used to examine the society at large and not just one family. Scott (1998, p. 32) also reports on MacIntyre’s (1988) reminder that traditions “allow us to say some things and do not allow us to say other things.” Rising numbers of reported cases of spousal abuse or child abuse may be attributed to the knowledge that it has become more socially acceptable to make such a complaint rather than that the number of such cases has changed. Novitz (1997, p. 145) points out:

What we recall depends in large measure on the sorts of questions we ask, and these, in turn, depend on our purposes in asking them: purposes which do not spring out of thin air, but are, in turn, shaped by a variety of social influences.

For example, the students in this study were asked to tell about a significant incident from their childhood, and the request for such a story arose out of an education course on literature. The stories read in class may have helped students remember particular incidents. Just as students may tell one story at one time to one person, so they may tell another story to another person, or the same person at a different time. Novitz (1997, p. 148) “... we are inclined to tell more than one story about ourselves.” The possibility of the researcher/teacher affecting what can be told is addressed later.

Meanwhile, it is clear that the veracity of a remembered event is not simply a question of whether the event took place, or whether it may be told, but also of its interpretation by various people. Scott (1998, p. 44) reports that Stronach and MacLure (1997) even suggest that the researcher should actively seek to foreground ambivalences instead of acting as a comforting authority for the reader. An attempt is made to take this suggestion into consideration in the analysis - see for example, Story Ten. In this regard, Duffy (1999, p. 116) claims that Evans (1997) demolished the postmodern idea that an infinity of meanings can be inferred from documents in
history; if words had no meanings, we could not communicate with each other at all. In studies on attachment through narrative, McAdams (1990, 1993, in Revelle and Anderson, 1995) is less concerned about the veracity of remembered events, and suggests that narrative tone itself is influenced by early attachment so that the tone of the story-telling, not just the actual content, needs to be analyzed. But research on both tone and content may be necessary depending how the findings will be used, as seen in the work of Scharnberg (1996) who has used analysis of both for assessing the truth of sexual abuse allegations in court proceedings. In this study, the events, and the manner of relating them, are both considered in the interpretation after the style of the researchers in the field of attachment theory.

In conclusion, and as a warning that this is a qualitative study, with the drawbacks and complexities that such studies may entail, this quote comes from Bornstein and Lerner (1999-2000):

> Study of the development of human behaviour is unwieldy; life does not submit to elegant scientific analysis or to precise prediction. Therefore, developmental study takes as its goals the general description and explanation of origins, of constancy, and of change in perceiving, thinking, feeling and behaving.

The same can be said of narrative research on human life. Perhaps Banks (1998, p. 17) sums up the use of story best when he quotes Pablo Picasso: “Art is a lie that makes us realize truth.” Research into education has also faced difficulties of complexities, and narrative research is being used to get at the complexity of classrooms and teaching. To this area, we now turn.

**Narrative Research in Education.**

In this section, reasons are given for the use of narrative in education research, different methods of education research through narrative are mentioned, and some criticisms are considered.

Research into teaching through the use of narrative has become acceptable; indeed, Thomas (1995, p. 3) writes: “Since the 1980s, there has been a near-global interest in teacher narratives.” Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p. 2) look back to Dewey for transforming experience into an inquiry term, for inquiring into both the personal and
the social. They describe the struggle to see education in terms of narrative as an effort to avoid getting caught up in viewing education as objectives to count (2000, p. 28); they raise the criticisms/issues discussed in the previous section that narrative could be criticized as "lacking in rigour, precision, and certainty" (ibid. p. 27) and that in narrative thinking, interpretations of events can always be otherwise." (ibid. p. 31).

In his comprehensive study of narrative in education, Cortazzi (1993, p. 6) says:

Three current trends of research about teachers point to the importance of teachers' narratives. These trends are centred around the concepts of reflection, teachers' knowledge, and voice.

Cortazzi reports on definitions of reflectivity: reflectivity is theory applied to action - Schwab (1971); reflection on action – Schon (1983); and in agreement with Clandinin and Connelly, Cortazzi says, “Indeed, Dewey (1910 and 1938a) defined thinking and logic as the reflective reconstruction of experience, a phrase which also neatly describes narrative.” In the present study, student teachers, rather than teachers, were asked to write a story about their childhood, and were thereby given the opportunity to reflect, to use their knowledge, and give voice to their own perceptions.

Cortazzi (p. 7-8) reports on how narrative has been used to encourage teacher reflection: Mass (1991) gets student teachers to share teaching stories in groups; White (1991) gets students to tell “war stories”; Connelly and Clandinin (1988) ask teachers to share stories of their classrooms and look for patterns; and Knowles and Holt-Reynolds (1991) get students to write personal histories of education. The present study differs from the above studies in that it represents an exploration of events that took place before the students entered the profession, and of events that, for the majority, took place even outside of education. They were not forbidden to write of a school experience but few, five out of thirty, chose to do so.

On teachers' knowledge, Cortazzi (p. 9) says: “Perhaps surprisingly, we do not know much about what teachers know... (or) how they come to learn.” According to Cortazzi (p. 9), some researchers, for example Elbaz (1990, p. 21), claim that teacher knowledge is context specific and internalized and not readily articulated; Connelly
and Clandinin (1988) say teachers' knowledge is personal and practical rather than academic; Doyle (1997) says their knowledge is tied to particular events. Feiman-Nemser and Floden (1985), Elbaz (1990), and Gudmundsdottir (1990) describe teachers' knowledge as being imbedded in stories. Cortazzi (p. 10) "All of this suggests that studying teachers' stories could be a productive way of finding out more about teachers' knowledge." This study suggests that stories may unlock for students their unconscious knowledge about teaching. Gudmundsdottir (1990, p. 1) claims that narratives are the preferred model for conserving and communicating practical craft knowledge, and she illustrates with examples from the kitchen in a fishing community, and a school staff-room. She perceives "important similarities between knowledge and surviving at sea and in the classroom. Both sites are unpredictable and surviving is much more a case of "hands on" craft knowledge and common sense than abstract scientific knowledge and theory." In contrast, this study suggests that we do not have to wait until the students become teachers to understand them as teachers; we and they can uncover their orientation to teaching based on relationships in their childhood, when they absorbed, consciously or unconsciously, from adults, the craft skills of teaching. Cortazzi (1993, p. 10) summarizes reasons given for listening to the voice of the teacher: teacher empowerment (Goodson, 1991 and 1992); to help generate understanding of teaching through teachers' thinking on their work (Lytle and Cochran-Smith, 1990; Butt and Raymond, 1987). Grumet (1990) sees interpreting teacher narratives as potentially interpreting their theories, and Elbaz (1990) says teachers' knowledge is organized in narrative. One implication of this thesis is that if the student teachers feel that their stories are valuable enough to be used in education courses as an introduction to education theories, it is reasonable to expect that they will feel empowered, as well as developing an understanding of connections between the practical and the theoretical. Cortazzi (p. 11) raises some problems in using narrative research with student teachers and teachers. He points out the problem of how to gather and analyze stories. With pre-service students (p. 13) reflection to a sophisticated degree might be too much, and (p. 16) collecting and analyzing autobiography and collaborative
biography are time-consuming. There is also a danger (p. 21) of researcher influence on stories told.

Other critics go further, questioning what evidence there is for the truth of the stories. Goodson (1994; in Syjala and Estola, 1999) and Doyle (1997) offer the counter argument, saying that such criticism may arise from the fact that earlier research on teachers was primarily top-down with the teachers as objects of the research, objects needing to be fixed, rather than people with whom to collaborate. The research focused on knowledge about the teachers rather than knowledge for teachers.

Syjala and Estola, (1999, p. 4) report as follows:

many of the teachers who participated in our project were genuinely astonished that someone wanted to hear their story. We can hence assume that narrative research in itself strengthens teachers' identities by showing that there are people willing to listen to the stories of individual teachers and interested in the horizons of teachers. Narrative research is a way of reflecting their knowledge back to teachers, to allow for the development of insight and interpretation. Novitz (1997, p. 151) “Our life-narratives are imaginative constructs which may be borrowed from others or even forced upon us.” Doyle (1997, p. 96), in agreement with Baird (1996), claims that truth is always “a communal achievement rather than a property of an individual study.” Truth in teachers’ stories can be seen as a literary truth with complexities, rather than a factual truth, and therefore the use of stories is a suitable way to examine complexities of the classroom. As one of the teachers in the Syjala and Estola (1999, p. 8) research framed it, “This is the truth – today.” Doyle (1997, p. 97) sees teaching as context specific, and needing coherent frameworks of interpretation or provisional theoretical models that enable us to see teaching.

The claim in this study is that the use of childhood narratives is a suitable way of developing an appropriate framework for student teachers to examine teaching, because this gives the students the initial comfort of beginning with what they know. Syjala and Estola (1999, p. 1) see the role of the researcher as that of placing the stories in their social and political contexts; this would also be part of the role of the teacher educator if such stories were incorporated into teacher education courses. Such considerations are taken into account in the discussion of the stories.
Novitz (1997, p. 157-158) adds a further argument for the use of stories:
Like narrative identities, works of art are not discovered, but invented; they are the
product of an artist’s creative efforts in a particular social context ... works of art
do not always find acceptance and favor within the community ... they may
challenge prevailing artistic standards and group interests within the art world.
Therefore the State often assumes some control over the arts. In both cases, for
example, art works or personal narratives, societies try to regulate production.
Nevertheless, ... artistic production is central to the lives we lead ... not an
dispensable luxury.
Syjrala and Estola (1999, p. 2) also add the aspect of the moral nature of teachers’
identity: “We want to listen to teachers tell about the ethical dimensions of their work
and the things that inspire them to do their tasks well and help them to cope.” They
add the social dimension for teachers and education researchers: “While telling a
story, we re-assess our own lives, and while listening to other people tell stories, we
acquire ingredients for our own growth.” There is little opportunity for Hong Kong
education students to develop their artistic, creative, or moral side, or to reflect with
the heavy load of classes and assignments. Class-time and teaching practice for
education students means they have a heavier workload than students in other
faculties in Hong Kong. This study suggests that written stories of childhood be
incorporated into education studies, or form a foundation for them, thus combining
the reflective and the creative in the development of student teachers. From the
literature on narratives, we now turn to the second part of the literature review, to
examine theories relating to child development.

2.3 Personality and Child Development.
Debate continues on how much personality is inborn, and how much depends on
environment. The answers to related questions are of great importance to educators
who theorize about how to best help children learn. Such major research issues in
child development, which have been drawn on for developing the focus of this study,
can be only very briefly reviewed below: nature versus nurture, personality theory,
attachment theory, parenting styles and their effects on children, socioeconomic
effects, and connections between parenting style and teaching style. Western
theories are used to avoid the danger of defining themes solely as traditionally
Chinese/Confucian; such one-culture research has been criticized as being simplistic
or misleading (Lau, 1996, p. 358-359). Western is usually thought of as
Euro-American. However, it may really mean, as Yang Kuo Shu (1988) suggests
(reported in Bond, 1991, p. 112), the culture found in a modern, urban society, such
as Hong Kong. In addition, according to Bond (p. 2) Chinese psychologists are more
interested in research into learning and modernization than the concept of “self”
which is of interest to American psychologists, leading to a lack of Chinese research
into self-development.

Nature versus Nurture.

Debate continues on issues of nature-nurture in personality development. From the
fields of population studies and biological sciences, Ehrlich (2000, p. B7) reminds us
of the complexity of the human brain with its 100 000 genes and one billion synapses
per gene, and criticizes those who think that genes are narrowly specialized and
“expect our genetic endowment to accomplish feats of which it is incapable.” (The
number of human genes has since been considerably reduced to about 30,000 but
there may be up to 14 versions of each gene according to research at the Connecticut
Genaissance Pharmaceuticals, reported from Science in the South China Morning
Post, July 14, 2001). Ehrlich says genes do not control the individual, or pre-program
different qualities in different groups. This contrasts with reported findings (in Bond,
1991, p. 7) that Chinese American babies were temperamentally calmer than
Caucasian American babies, which difference was attributed to their genes. Ehrlich
claims that culture can bring about change in human nature much faster than
evolution (ibid, p. B8.), so perhaps the difference between the babies is due to
culture. Bond also says (p. 7) that such calmness in Chinese infants suits Chinese
family demands for restraint. But this is a contradiction. If the Chinese are naturally
restrained because of their genes, their families would not need to demand restraint.
Ehrlich (ibid, p. B9) contends that it is impossible to precisely partition to the genes,
or to the environment, responsibility for our behaviour.

**Personality/Temperament Theory.**

The debate on what constitutes personality, or how fixed it is, is also ongoing. Endler and Parker (1992, reported in Walters, 1999, p. 2) identified the following approaches to personality study:

- psychodynamic- unconscious desires drive behaviour,
- trait- humans are born with certain traits,
- situational – the environment influences personality, and
- interactional- personality depends on the interaction between person and environment.

But the theorists do not fit neatly into these four approaches. For example, Miller (1987, 1994, and 1995), like Freud, deals with subconscious elements in parent-child and child-parent relationships, but her theory would also fit into the situational model with the mothers’ poor parenting skills, and social acceptance of such poor skills, blamed for personality defects in adults. Harris’ (1997, 1998, 1999, 2000) theory, or claim, would also fit the situational model, but absolving mothers, with the assertion that the peer group and teachers have a stronger influence on the child’s development. Both are emphasizing environmental factors but with a different stress. Harris claims that her theory is social in nature. However, in contrast to Harris, Kagan (1998a) says that he knows of no research that shows peers play a major role in sculpting significant personality traits such as introversion, sociability, impulsivity, conscientiousness and others.

As Walter (1999, p. 3) suggests, the range of perspectives indicates the lack of consensus on what constitutes personality. In reviewing research on the “violence-prone personality”, Walter (p. 11) concludes from his research that there is no evidence for such a personality, and that personal dispositions or temperament must be examined against theories of survival, situation, and self-verification, etc. His findings fit with present neuroscience research below. But first we examine key issues in attachment theory.
Attachment Theory.

Attachment theory, first developed by Bowlby (1980) and Ainsworth (1982), posits three styles of care-taking by the mother for the infant, resulting in the infant feeling: secure, insecure, or ambivalent, as evidenced in a strange situation. The theory, according to Van Ijzendoorn and Sagi (1999), is based on small research numbers but has wide cross-cultural validity. The theory is that most infants in African and Asian societies as well as in the West, become securely attached to a significant sensitive adult, resulting in ability to cope with stress, regulate negative emotions, establish relationships, and develop cognitive abilities. Infants lacking suitable care develop problems. This theory is in agreement with Miller (1987, 1994, 1995), but not Harris (1997, 1998, 1999, 2000). Kagan (1994, p. 2) disputes attachment theory's claim to understanding personality. He warns against the acceptance of any one theory to explain the complexity of humans. However, research in neuroscience confirms that abuse and neglect in childhood affect the structure and functioning of the child's brain itself. Teicher (2000, p. 1) warns, "These changes are permanent. This is not something people can just get over and get on with their lives." Such work may vindicate Miller (1994, p. 8) who claims that childhood experiences remain in the very cells of the growing child, whether or not the child is conscious of the experiences.

In addition to observation studies on infant-mother relationships, evidence for attachment theory comes from oral narratives of adults who are asked to talk about their own relationships with their parents. The Adult Attachment Interview has been used to provide profiles of attachment based on the tone of the narratives, following Paul Grice's linguistic theory. For example, coherent narratives correlate with secure attachment, unemotional narratives correlate with insecure attachment, and incoherent narratives correlate with ambivalent attachment. It is claimed that the narrator's attachment with her mother predicts, before the baby's birth, her own adult care-taking style with her infant. Attachment theorists have found no evidence that the personality of the child is responsible for the type of parenting, but that there is a relationship between the kind of care the mother received herself from her own
mother, and the style of care she herself then provides for her child. Attachment theory points towards the importance of inter-generational influences, whether these are gene-borne personality traits, or cultural effects, and are in agreement with Miller’s theory that poor parenting gets passed on from generation to generation. In addition, Hamachek (p. 212) reports (based on the findings of Blackwelder and Passman, 1986) that there is consistency for most families over three generations regarding style of disciplining.

In contrast, Harris (1997, p. 3) challenged the idea that parents have any "important long-term effects on their children's development." She argued (1998, 1999 and 2000) that peer pressure, and teacher influence, are more important than parental influence because the child’s community is that of the peer group, not that of the parents. Kagan (1998) countered that she had ignored research contrary to her views, focusing, for example, on the immigrant child’s ability to pick up the language of the new culture but ignoring research that shows a child’s academic achievements can be predicted from parents’ language. Williams (1998, p. B6) claims that Harris’s theory was taken up in America because it excused parents of personal responsibility for their children’s behaviour. LeDoux (1998) criticizes Harris for avoiding asking whether the way a child is raised influences how the child will act as a parent. He points out that stressful experiences can drastically alter important aspects of the brain’s development and function, the synaptic organization. He raises the question of what happens in the early years when children spend most time with parents, not peers. McCarthy, Moller, and Fouladi (2001) report that research shows that parental attachment is significant at least up to young adulthood while romantic and peer attachments typically are not.

Attachment theory research has found no evidence for the child's temperament/personality shaping parental response despite earlier research to the contrary. For example, Hamachek (p. 215) reports Schaffer and Emerson’s 1964 study, which purported to show babies were either born cuddlers or non-cuddlers; however, the study used mother-reports. Fontana (1990, p. 982) reports on Thomas and Chess' research in 1977, which claimed babies can be placed in difficult or easy categories, and their membership of such categories remains very consistent up to
adolescence. Easy children are less dependent on others for approval while difficult children “are crucially dependent upon consistent, encouraging and above all, patient handling.” However, such studies may begin when the infants are already a few months old. In addition, and in contrast, in attachment research, many infants are secure with one parent but not the other; and if the Adult Attachment Interview is given before the child’s birth, it equally well predicts the mother’s attachment style as when given after birth (Hesse, p. 425). However, cause and effect issues regarding inherited temperament are still under debate. Kagan (1994) has done longitudinal research on inhibited and uninhibited temperaments beginning with babies of four months. I would contend that by four months the child has already learned a great deal from care-takers. On this issue, I would like to give the last word to a child (Kennedy, 1998, p. 11). A three-year-old boy, while sitting on his mother's knee, was told he had not been a cuddly baby; the child explained: "You know, Mummy, I didn't know you very well then."

Kagan (1994) cautions against following any one true way of understanding humans, as for example, by following Freud, Erikson, attachment theorists, or geneticists. He claims that many factors are involved in the complex development of humans. He examines eight factors in his paper including, temperament, the child’s position in the family, the adult the child identifies with, consistency of child-rearing and valuing of the child on the part of parents, and political or social background. As he puts it (p.11), “Yes, parents are important, but there are a lot of other collaborators.” Such issues are addressed in the analysis of the stories.

Parenting Styles and Effects.

Jerome Kagan (in Bornstein and Lerner, 1999-2000) points out in the article on Human Behaviour (p. 1) that 90% of the study of children has been published since the mid-1940s, and (p. 2) that research has been mainly descriptive. Despite criticisms that Freud's theories are elegant but not scientific, and Smial (1999, p.15) even calls them “mere homespun philosophies of life”, Kagan says Freud’s belief that personality is affected early and mainly within the family "continues to prove fruitful in research on infant and child development." Kagan outlines four key
research findings on young children:

- up to 10% of children "develop serious emotional or personality problems at some point." One group internalizes problems and show anxiety and fear; the other externalizes through aggression. Biology can influence aggression in the child, (note that Walter above would dispute this) but extreme and inconsistent physical punishment, or permissiveness towards the child's aggression by parents are important factors;
- child abuse is more common among poor families, though found in all social classes; "children from age seven on are more conscious of what others think of them and show more concern over others' opinion of their behavior. in order to feel the emotion of guilt, a child must appreciate the fact that he could have inhibited a particular action of his that violated a moral standard."
- sex-role identity develops from as early as two years;
- a child's self-concept is also influenced by identification with people to whom they are attached and who seem similar to them. "They seem to identify most strongly with parents who are emotionally warm or who are dominant and powerful."

Factors regarding punishment, moral development, and gender are considered in the analysis of the stories.

Parenting style theory is important for educationalists because of relationships between parenting and teaching, the main focus of this thesis. Diana Baumrind, (Hamachek, 1992, p. 222) in longitudinal research from 1959-1989 identified three parenting styles of behaviour. Parents tend to be generally more authoritative, authoritarian, or permissive in their style of parenting. The following categories briefly describe the adult parenting behaviour and effect on the child.

(a) **Authoritative parents** are affectionate, supportive, conscientious, committed as parents, controlling, but rational, and demanding of mature behaviour, while respecting their child's independence.

Their **children** are mature, competent, socially responsible, with high self-esteem, fairly dominant, and fearless.

(b) **Authoritarian parents** have a set standard of behaviour, often based on religion,
use force rather than reason for discipline, are less affectionate, and have less
discussion within the family.
Their children are moderately self-reliant but somewhat withdrawn, sad, obedient,
lacking in curiosity, and may be cruel.

(c) Permissive parents make few demands, are non-controlling, but affectionate.
They allow their children to regulate their own behaviour.
Their children are the least mature, under-controlled, overly aggressive, low in
social skills, low in goal setting.

Baumrind’s parenting styles can be loosely related to the theory of attachment styles:
authoritative parenting results in secure attachment; authoritarian parenting results in
insecure attachment, and permissive parenting results in ambivalent attachment.
Stereotypically, Chinese parents would be found in the authoritarian group, as
reflected in strict control of children’s application to homework, and children’s good
grades. However, research (Bond, p.18) has also shown that Chinese children whose
parents are more authoritative have more academic success than those who are
authoritarian.

Socioeconomic Factors.
The above theories on nature versus nurture, personality and attachment, do not refer
to the impact of distant powers on parents and how this may impact on parenting.
Bond (p.101) reports that studies of various cultural groups show that “the
socio-economically lower classes are more prone to psychological disorders.”
Hamachek (p. 214) reports on research into socioeconomic status (SES) in the 1970s
which showed higher earning parents tended to be more democratic in parenting,
more authoritative or permissive in line with the importance of self-direction in their
own job requirements. Poor parents have reason to reflect to their children high
stress, low self-esteem and frustration (p. 215). Low level jobs do not require
initiative or critical thinking. The education students at the Institute, the subjects of
this study, fall into the lower economic status group according to a comparison
between the salaries of their parents and the median salary in Hong Kong, (SAO,
1999). Therefore, any findings in the research have to take into account the possible
effects of SES on parent-child relationships. Caution must also be taken here in that these are generalizations. However, David Smail (1999) argues that capitalism is a system which encourages the blaming of the self, or of those near us, for problems which are caused by the inhumane system of profit seeking; he is critical of psychology for colluding with this system in the development of courses on stress management and counseling rather than on researching political power relationships.

Work pressure and money concerns have already been mentioned in the introduction; they are found in the analysis of the stories. The intention of the study is to understand the student teachers, and not to blame their parents regardless of political and economic influences beyond their control or understanding.

Hong Kong is capitalistic with little welfare provision for the poor, and Hong Kong people do tend to view the poor as being responsible for their own poverty, rather than be critical of the few hongs (business leaders) who have so much control in the territory. Hamlett (2000) referring to Hong Kong, writes, “We have a first-world gross domestic product, with a third world income distribution.” He reports that the poorest million workers in Hong Kong earn $5000 per month, only $1000 more than 25 years ago.

Power relationships outside the home also need to be considered when child-parent relationships inside the home are discussed. Kagan (1994) says that political upheavals may mark a generation, while Novitz (p.143) also connects the story-teller with the political: “..like works of art in general, the identities we assume are politically significant.” The education students in this study grew up during a relatively stable period in Hong Kong, in that there were no wars, but insecurity of jobs for parents, the 1989 massacre in Tiananmen Square, and the change from British to Chinese sovereignty form a background that may have been felt, at least unconsciously, as insecure.

_Parenting Style applied to Teaching Style._

Just as there are difficulties with defining personality, there are difficulties with defining good teachers. Furthermore, contextual features obscure research. Fontana (1990, p. 984) suggests that student assessment of good teachers show two major
orientations: achievement and interpersonal. He suggests that adding warmth, identified as important to primary pupils, would provide a consistent picture of a good teacher across most situations. This fits with attachment theory on the secure parent who can offer children consistent standards, together with empathy.

In discussing the importance of self-esteem, Fontana connects parenting and teaching. Fontana (1990, p. 987) extrapolates from research on parent-child relationships to paint a portrait of a teacher who can enhance children’s self-esteem: “fair, consistent, friendly, democratic, and interested in the children.” The close connections can also be seen in research (Swick, 1992, p. 1) on personal attributes required for meaningful parent-teacher partnerships: the common attributes required by both groups include: warmth, openness, sensitivity, positive self-image, nurturance, personal competence, and interpersonal and communication skills.

Bodycott (1995, p. 366) researched the personal constructs on language teaching of Chinese, Malay, and Tamil trainee teachers in Singapore and found that:

- trainees' preferred approach to language teaching is more reflective of the way they were raised and taught language in the context of the home than with their formal schooling experience.

The exploratory study of the present thesis confirms this finding, through the use of a different methodology, the use of story, rather than personal constructs, with the added implication that the stories provided by the students themselves could provide rich content for education studies.

Parenting/teaching style is important for educationalists; Kagan (in Bornstein and Lerner, 1999-2000, p. 13) reports on the research which has shown that infants who feel secure with their care-giver are less frightened in new situations, while the opposite is true for infants who feel insecure. Anxiety may be part biological, but an insecure attachment would make the infant even more anxious, while "Infants with a secure attachment to a parent, are less afraid of challenge and unfamiliarity than are those with an insecure attachment." (ibid, p. 12). The ability to take risks is necessary for self-motivated learning; belief in one's own ability, based on success, furthers self-confidence, encouraging psychologically healthy children to learn through risk-taking, "reaching into the unknown and testing themselves in new ways."
(Hamachek, 1992, p. 356). The important point is that teachers and parents need to provide suitable support for different children whether the differences are based on genes, fixed personality traits, or early experiences. In this connection, Fontana (1999, p. 987) suggests that self-esteem is primarily a learnt response, according to his own repertory grid research, so parents and teachers can influence the child’s development. Novitz (1997, p. 146) "... how we view and think of ourselves strongly influences our behavior." Novitz (p. 150) "Our narrative identities .... are painstakingly acquired as we grow, develop, and interact with the people around us.” This brings together the ideas of narrative and personality. One teacher in the Syrjala and Estola study (1999, p. 9) said that the process of writing about her life had helped her find the child in herself. Miller (1995) claims that finding the child in herself turned her against psychology. This kind of comment brings out the fact that humans do not leave their childhood behind in some place outside of themselves, but that childhood experiences remain within, whether conscious or unconscious. Thus narrative, childhood, and teaching are interconnected.

The connection between sharers of stories can also aid development. Another teacher in the above Syrjala and Estola study (1999, p. 11) said something very close to the words used by one of my students: “I felt that somebody gave me the words to describe the thoughts that I couldn’t clothe in words before.” In Hong Kong such a reference may have a double meaning in referring to meaning-making, and to developing language skills in a second language. Titus (2000, p. 12) goes further: “When they hear stories from others and share their own, they can begin to appreciate the social (and political) in the personal....” This was exemplified in work with my own students when they were surprised to find that gender issues could be discussed in reference to a story in which there were no men or boys.

In summary then, narrative research has opened up a channel of communication for teacher educators to use in order to empower students to share experiences and to develop ideas about teaching. Writing stories provides a channel for communication in an easily accessible form.
2.4 Projective Techniques.

Responses to two projective type exercises (PTs) constitute the data for the second part of this thesis. As a comparison to the use of the stories, with their focus on child–adult relationships, the PTs are used to explore young adults' potential relationships, as teachers, with children. Therefore, this section focusses on projective techniques (a) as developed and used in psychology, together with criticisms of PTs; and (b) PTs as they are used in education. The two forms of data for the research, personal narratives and projective techniques, are connected in that both, in fact, use projection. The story-writer uses projection in writing the story, and as Gudmundsdottir (1990) has pointed out, there is another connection between projection and narrative, that is the very form of narrative itself: she argues that experience does not have a beginning, middle and end, but that narrative thinking projects a narrative form onto experiences.

Projective Techniques in Psychology.

Projective techniques (PTs) have been used since 1879 when Sir Francis Galton developed a word association test. Projective techniques are used to get at "unconscious dimensions of personality" (Sarason, 1999), and Sarason divides them into three main kinds: associative, construction, and completion techniques. The latter two are used in the present study. The former, associative type is not used. Many major associative techniques, including the well-known Rorschach inkblots developed by Rorschach in 1921, and the TAT, the Thematic Apperception Test, developed by Murray 1943, have been criticised as lacking validity and reliability (Dawes 1991; Sarason, 1999; Lilienfeld, 1999). For example, Sarason (1999, p. 4) has pointed out the problem that the analysis of the TAT depends on the characteristics of the evaluator, who tries to interpret in the testing situation. Danger lies in psychologists claiming validity and reliability for PTs which have been analyzed using only the psychologist's personal responses towards what is essentially complex, especially when clear guidelines for others to use in interpretation are not developed and used. The criticism is based on what is
acceptable within quantitative research.

It is argued, however, that some PTs can be used, even if they are not "scientific", on the grounds that they offer the validity of prediction (Sarason, 1999, p. 9). There are three tests used in this study, the childhood story, the projective technique about another teacher, and the projective technique addressed to the student as a teacher. The results should show some consistency if the study has construct validity, that is if it can predict the teaching orientation of the students. This exploratory work makes such a claim; there is some further reference to this area in the discussion chapter and the implications.

Another argument for the use of PTs is one found in the use of narrative for research: that we may learn from the perspectives of others in the same way that we value the critic’s view of a film or piece of literature, whether or not we are in agreement with that perception. Recent experiments have shown how selective we are in what we see. Spinney (the South China Morning Post, 29 Jan, 2001) reports on research from the New Scientist on vision. Visual researchers have uncovered "change blindness", and "inattentional blindness", leading to the conclusion that we use stored images to see, rather than see the actual world. This argues for the importance in education of presenting more than one view of anything. The key element is that the full work, whether art or PTs, must be available for the public/reader so that judgments can be made about the perceptions of the critic. The full set of stories used in the analysis in this study is available for such scrutiny in the appendices, and student responses to the projective techniques are supplied in full in the cases of the analysis of the 10 stories. There are no PTs available for Story 11.

Sarason (p. 7) includes life-stories in projective techniques, saying that the assessing of thought and ideas is relatively new, and that the simplicity of a life-history may be the very reason why it is sometimes overlooked within such work as PTs. He points out that life stories can provide clues to present behaviour. However, this exploratory study goes further by claiming that such information may also predict something about future behaviour.

Another criticism of the use of ambiguous pictures or shapes such as the Rorschach and the TAT is that they depend on pareidoia, the ability to perceive meaning in what
are essentially meaningless patterns (Schick and Vaughan, 1995, quoted in Lilienfeld, p. 2). Other tests are criticized on the grounds that they are too suggestive, as for example, the Projective Story Telling Cards. In contrast to techniques using meaningless shapes, Loevinger (1976, reported in Lilienfeld p. 7) used sentence completion tasks to assess "ego development" the ability to perceive the world in shades of grey. Loevinger's sentence completion test "is one of the few projective tests to demonstrate consistent validity" (Lilienfeld, p. 7). The tests used in my research fit with this latter type of exercise. The contexts are clear while leaving room for difference of response. The PT responses are provided in full with the summary of the corresponding story in the data analysis in Chapter Four.

PTs have also been criticised for lack of "incremental validity" or prediction beyond information already available (Lilienfeld, p. 7). In other words, the student teachers in this study could simply have been asked whether they will be authoritative, authoritarian, or permissive teachers. But sometimes people may be reluctant to say something that they are willing to write indirectly in a story, which offers distance, or they may be unconscious of something, which PTs may help make explicit. LeDoux (1998, p. B8) points out that we have explicit, as well as various kinds of implicit memory. The unconscious does not necessarily mean repressed memories, but memories that the brain manages unconsciously. For example, humans react to danger. Some reaction may be innate, as in the case of fear of snakes, but other reactions we learn consciously. To illustrate how PTs can be used to unlock the unconscious, Weinger's (1998) study is useful. She used a projective technique with children living in poverty in order to research their attitudes and perceptions towards their future opportunities. In the research, children were shown two photographs, one of a cheap house, one of a middle income house, and the children were asked to imagine the future of the imagined child in each house. When these answers were compared with their answers to their own future prospects, there was a difference. The children still had some hope of improving their own position, but the projections onto the imagined children showed a keen understanding of the hopelessness of the situation of the poor in the United States. This research showed how projective techniques can be used in specific areas, and that they are useful for getting at
unconscious feelings when the exercises have a clear focus.

The specific classroom contexts of the PTs used in the research for this study avoid problems such as trying to give meaning to shapes that have no meaningful pattern. Instead, like the subjects in the Weinger research above, the subjects here were given a context in which they were asked what they would do in a classroom situation, and were also given another situation in which they could project what another teacher might say in the classroom. It is hypothesized that the responses to the two PTs may not match. That is, when asked directly what they would do as a teacher, student teachers may provide the answer they think is acceptable, or give responses showing their conscious awareness of action. In response to a context where they project a response onto another teacher, the student teachers may give an unconscious response.

Psychologists recognize a single test is unreliable (Epstein, 1979, in Lilienfeld, p. 8). In the research in my own study, there may be problems with the mood of the respondent, or their perception of the researcher on the day they wrote their responses to the projective exercises; these issues are addressed in my methodology. Sarason (p. 9) warns that those who want to measure personality for “descriptive and predictive reasons must concern themselves with the ethical and legal implications of their work.” In this regard, the content of the stories, and the PTs, is intended to be used to develop reflective student teachers, and not to expel students who are deemed unsuitable candidates for teaching. However, while it is recognized that research can be put to unethical use, research with student teachers may also raise issues of concern for their future pupils. For example, if a student teacher holds very strong racist or sexist views, what is the ethical reaction, especially when the research is done not by an outside observer, but by someone involved in the teacher education programme?

Projective Techniques in Education.

Projective techniques have been used with children in educational research. Siu (1999) has reported some research in cooperative learning using projective techniques to explore pupils’ views on interaction in group work (Galton and
Williamson, 1992); patterns of pupil response to teaching (Murray, 1993); incentives/goals (Grisham & Molinelli, 1995) and (Johnson and Johnson, 1987). Siu points out that children may find PTs relatively non-threatening so it is a way to minimize defensiveness; but she also stresses the need for other methodology to substantiate findings. The use of PTs in the present study also lessens the chance that the students might feel defensive about their orientation towards a teaching style, for example a traditional style, and not write what they feel.

In addition to being non-threatening, a projective approach, according to Joiner and Barnett (1994, p. 3), can have the advantage of "obviating problems of bias associated with self-report." In my own study, stories of childhood (Heron, 2000) are used as the major form of research and the PTs are used to confirm or disconfirm findings in the stories. Novitz (1997, p. 157) writes:

we try through dramatic projection, not just to get others to see ourselves as we would be seen, but to get them to treat our narrative structures and individual identities as norms in terms of which to judge and understand other human beings. This connects narrative to projective techniques forms; narrative itself is a form of projection. As will be seen in the analysis, there is the opportunity for the student teachers, through the use of two projective exercises, to provide unconscious (in PT1) and conscious (in PT2) orientations to teaching.

2.5 Summary.

The following points summarize the literature review on narrative research. Although there are still reservations about narrative research on the part of some researchers, narrative research is now widely used in the social sciences. In the field of education, narrative research is considered a useful way to develop understanding of the complexities of teaching, and in this study, it is hoped narrative is seen as a potentially powerful method to prepare students for teaching.

Debate continues on the relevant importance of nurture and nature in human development. What constitutes the personality and how fixed it is, and the relative importance of parents on personality and long-term development, and brain development, are also debated. But that there are cultural influences on human
development, whether through parents or peers, encourages research, such as this research, on how humans influence one another. This exploratory study builds on previous research in eliciting childhood experiences, in the form of stories, in order to help student teachers make meanings and share experiences related to their personal development. Projecting ideas, conscious or unconscious, into the written form of the story, puts the ideas into a form which allows for reflection by self and others. Such projection connects with the next section.

There is a consensus that projective techniques should never be used in isolation in investigations. This concern is addressed in the present study because the PTs were used in addition to the stories of childhood. PTs can be useful in circumventing defensiveness about particular contexts, as is the case in this study, where attitudes towards teaching were elicited using particular teaching contexts. The issue of researcher bias in the analysis of PTs is addressed in the methodology chapter.
Ch 3. Methodology.

3.1 Introduction.
There are four main sections in this chapter on the methodology used in the research. First, the use of narrative research for this exploratory study is described and justified, and some potential problems discussed. The projective techniques used in the research are then dealt with in the same manner, with a description, justification and discussion of some problems. In the third section, there is discussion on the ethical issues, which arose with the use of these two methods. The fourth section gives an outline of the analytical framework, in order to demonstrate what each of the methods is intended to produce in terms of data, and the connections between them. The chapter finishes with a brief summary. We begin with the methodology used.

3.2.1 Narrative Methodology- the Method Used.

The Story-writers.
The 29 students who wrote the stories and projective techniques used in this study are on a three year pre-service teacher training certificate course at The Hong Kong Institute of Education. The students will be generalist subject teachers in primary schools, and this group had chosen English as one of their general subjects. The entry level requirement is low, that is, it depends on the students' O' level examination results. In fact, the students have all sat for A' level examinations, but failed to get good enough results in that examination to enter the two year programme. The result of entering at this low level is that students lack confidence in themselves. The research for this study came about through the endeavour of English language teaching staff to build up student confidence by enabling them to learn about literature by experiencing their own creativity. The module Introduction to Literature was written so as to involve the students with hands-on experiences. In brief, in the literature module, they wrote poetry, they created and dramatized scenes for the novel The Little Prince for radio; they produced and acted a play which they took out to two primary schools, and published a book of short stories. In the context of most
Hong Kong schools, these are unusual and liberating experiences for students. Only a handful of secondary schools introduce Hong Kong students to literature of any kind in English.

Collecting the Data.
Stories of childhood are used in this study to research child-adult relationships. The data were collected as follows. The stories were written as part of the assessment for a module Introduction to Literature. Having read and discussed some short stories about children, the student teachers were asked to choose an incident from their own childhood, and develop it into a short story.

Each student listed incidents from their childhood, and selected a student partner who chose one incident that they wanted to read about. The initial draft of the story went by email first to the student partner, and then to the teacher, for questions or suggestions for development or clarification. It was emphasized that the reader's concern should be with meaning, and not grammar or spelling. Second drafts were then read aloud in tutorial groups, and group members made suggestions for further development. The students, therefore, knew that the audience included fellow students, and not just one teacher. Widening the audience was intended to encourage students to see themselves as story-tellers with valuable stories to share, and to see themselves as people with the ability to encourage others to improve their stories by providing a sensitive listening audience. Munby and Russell (1996, p, 110) have stressed that the inclination to listen to teachers and trainee teachers has been the "most significant contribution" of qualitative research to teacher education. The rich content of the stories, both for this year group, and in previous years, and personal communication with students, confirms that the majority of students did feel encouraged to narrate incidents of personal significance. In addition, the stories were written and developed over a period of six weeks. The time-frame allowed for reflection and considered choice over what to tell. There is no attempt in this study to claim that the students do not have different stories they might tell to different others, or that the meanings in the stories here are fixed forever in the mind of the story-teller. The study claims only to provide a snapshot of the student teachers'
thinking at this time, before they go on initial teaching practice in schools.

The Researcher.

Cortazzi (1993) has pointed out the importance of knowing something of the investigator in the collection of personal narratives on the grounds that the person of the interviewer, in this case, the receiver of stories, will influence what is told. At the same time, there is a need to take heed of the warning of Miller and Glassner (1997, p. 99) to avoid “confessionals” by the researcher. Although the narratives in this study were written, rather than oral as in the Cortazzi study, the person of the teacher may have influenced what was told. The researcher/teacher is a white, female, middle-aged Westerner. She modelled the role of the story-teller in the teaching method described above. It is acknowledged that her personality may have influenced what was told in the stories; it is hoped that the use of student peer listeners/advisors would have balanced any possible strong bias. However, the fact that the researcher, does, as a teacher, express appreciation of the students’ writing, is not only a courtesy, or a teaching strategy, but is an expression of belief. As Chau and others (1999, p. 137) report, there has been much research to show that “meaningful considerations of a learner’s feelings, or affective, emotive states are one of the key determinants in successful learning.” The teacher/researcher reflects to students the importance she attaches to stories, not only through her teaching of literature, but also in her use of stories in her own teaching; again this may influence what students write.

Bage (1999, p. 14) has warned of the importance of self-monitoring on the part of the writer. I found that I wrote the above about myself in the third person form. Perhaps unconsciously, I was trying to pretend that I am not emotionally involved with the content of the stories.

3.2.2 Narrative Methodology – Justification.

Narratives of Young Student Teachers.

The main aim of the first part of this exploratory study is to develop an understanding
of student teachers' perceptions of their relationships with adults when they were children. Such research with young pre-service students is appropriate because McCarthy, Moller, and Fouladi (2001) have found that parental attachment remains significant at least through college years. Researching stories by young adults about their childhood, when relationships with parents are still significant, is pertinent to accessing such perceptions.

Stories of the self provide access to the inner person on a very personal level, and insights into individual differences in response to the world. From the individual differences, however, common themes may be unravelled. Thus, narratives have been used in education research on teachers, but the stories are often anecdotes from the school and based on the adult life of the teacher (Cortazzi, 1993; Gudmundsdottir, 2000). They tell about the teachers' stance or beliefs, but may not explain why the beliefs are held, or how long they have been held. In this study, the stories are stories from the childhood of education students. When the students wrote the stories, they were not only reconstructing their past relationships, but also developing their own present personal myth (May, 1995). It is believed that the stories provide access to both students' conscious and unconscious perceptions of relationships. For example, the stories may reveal social relationships based on power, or they may reveal cultural or gender issues in child-rearing of which the story-teller may be only partly aware. Analysis of content and form may reveal more than would be revealed in other forms of inquiry, such other forms being considered below.

Point of View and Power Relationships.

The focus of this research is on student teachers' attitudes to children, and therefore it might be queried why the student teachers were not asked to write a story in the present time, from the point of view of a young adult, rather than set the story in the past, from the point of view of a young child. Research in psychology from Breuer and Freud to McAdams (Thorne and Klohnen, 1993, p. 226) has revealed that early memories from childhood form, or are formed into, a personal myth which influences later perceptions of the world. Therefore, a story about one's childhood is likely to reveal present thinking. Thus, the requirement to write the story was
appropriate to the level of the psychological stage of development of the student teachers, while also offering insight into their present perceptions of their past child-adult relationships.

An argument can be raised that the student teachers could be more efficiently and simply asked about their views on their relationships with adults and children through interview or questionnaire. However, this raises two methodology issues. The first is concerned with point of view. The researcher, a female Westerner, is likely to impose her own world-view, or *a priori* assumptions, when developing a questionnaire, or, in an interview, ask questions that are focused from within that point of view. The narrowness of what is taken in visually, and the importance of stored images in how we see the world, demonstrates in physical and psychological terms, how narrow our cognitive and affective view may be (See the work of Simons and others online at the Visual Cognition Lab, Harvard University). It is suggested that a questionnaire designed by the researcher would result in a loss of the rich data that come from narrative methodology, “a fresh picture built on primary data” as Hite (1995, p. xv) describes it. Narrative methodology, in this research, also frees the Hong Kong student teachers, to some extent, to bring up issues of interest to them, which tell of their own viewpoints and culture, and allows them the opportunity to develop through self-expression, an understanding of their perceptions and feelings about various issues including gender, culture, social issues, and power relationships. The proviso above about freeing the student teachers to some extent brings us to another issue of power relationships.

If the students answered a questionnaire or were interviewed, they might answer according to their view of what the researcher might like to hear. For example, if they know something of the researcher’s views on political issues, some students might feel constrained to give “politically correct” answers. One illustration, drawn from an area of interest in the study, gender, is provided to put this point in context. Many student teachers, according to personal communication with them, do not believe that there is gender discrimination in Hong Kong schools, or at the Institute, where they are studying. Even after they themselves conduct simple research exercises in Institute classrooms, which demonstrate gender bias by lecturers
(Forrester and Heron, 1995), student teachers cannot believe that they themselves hold biased views, or would act in a biased way. Therefore, if they were simply asked whether they will treat boys and girls equally in a questionnaire or interview, it is likely that they would say they will. The use of story avoids this problem because, it is suggested, the story-writers may provide their views unconsciously. The reality may be uncovered in stories of their own childhood, in which both conscious and unconscious gender attitudes may be discovered. The use of story for this research is therefore intended to release both conscious and unconscious attitudes. The fact that the students invest something of themselves in a creative piece of work is believed to lead to a more realistic portrayal of their deeply held, and perhaps unconscious, beliefs, and be less constrained by power relationships, than might be he case in an interview situation, or in answering a questionnaire.

Context.
The context in which the research took place argues for written stories rather than stories collected by interview. The subjects of this study, the student teachers in Hong Kong are using English as a second language. Writing their stories allows time for them to choose the words they want, whereas an interview might impose language restraints on them. If they have to focus on searching for the right vocabulary in an interview, it is likely to interfere with the telling of the story. It can therefore be argued that story-writing rather than story-telling is better suited to the language abilities of ESL (English as a Second Language) students, allowing them the time to focus on the meaning they are trying to convey. There are other issues relating to time, and psychological development.

Benefits to the Researched and the Researcher.
The use of written narratives has potential benefits for the subjects of the research in a way that could not be claimed for questionnaires, or interviews. Benefits to the subjects of research are of concern to them. Researchers have found that young people are eager to know what happens to the research in which they take part, and teachers hope their stories will help others.
The task of writing about a childhood incident is particularly suited to young student
teachers because previous research shows that young adulthood is the period during
which people begin to construct a life story (Thorne and Klohn, 1993). Thus the
requirement to write the story was first appropriate to the educational needs of the
student teachers; in addition, the collecting of the stories fit within a module, and
therefore, did not require students to give extra time to provide data to a researcher.
Using this method to conduct research was time-saving for those researched.
Cortazzi (1993) says in his research on teacher narratives, that in narrative the
teachers are “redefining and regenerating their personal and professional selves.”
Russell (1995, p. 100) points out that once teachers enter teaching they must depend
on their own experiences and voices to guide them. Therefore, they “should be
shown how to recognize and develop the authority of personal experience.” Thus,
there are two arguments for using narrative research with the student teachers in
Hong Kong: asking them to write personal stories provides them with an opportunity
to recreate and define their personal lives, which they are unlikely to have had the
opportunity of doing in the examination-driven Hong Kong education system before.
In addition, it is an opportunity for them to put forward their own experiences as
valuable for self and others. Miller and Glassner (1997, p. 105) claim that young
people feel themselves as valued when they are put in the position of teaching one
who is recognized as a teacher by society. In this study, the student teachers were the
ones with information that could teach the teacher. The use of narrative research can
therefore be seen to be of benefit to the researched.
A third benefit of narrative methodology to the researched is the potential for
building self-esteem: a defence against attacks on the teaching profession in Hong
Kong, similar to those in Britain (Galton et al, 1999). In addition, most education
students are female, "socialized into taking a passive role..." (Anning, 1994, p. 69),
and during early adulthood, female self-esteem goes down slightly while male
self-esteem rises, according to Revelle (1999; reporting on longitudinal studies of
Block and Robins, 1993). The research method demonstrates to students,
particularly females, that their meaning-making is important.
A fourth benefit arises from introducing student teachers to studies on childhood
incident took place, "that subjects might present plausible as opposed to authentic responses" (Cooper 1993, p. 324.) There is no second person to verify that the incident in the stories researched here ever took place. I do not ask all the students whether the incident is true. In some cases, further conversation reveals that the incident in the story is true. But because there may be students who present a created story rather than one based on a true incident, I have included an example in the analysis, Story Ten, to show that such material may still be used to develop understanding of orientation to a teaching style.

Second there is the question as to whether the incident took place according to the way it is recounted by the story-teller. The author of this paper is not concerned about how to “validate” the stories in the latter sense; the story-teller tells the story as how she or he experienced/imagines it. It is understood that the narrator is looking back and re-constructing from the stance of the present. Indeed, the reconstructing is taken as a strength of the material for informing teacher educators because it tells something of the student’s present orientation to the world, according to the research reported above. Therefore, it is not necessary to have collaboration of how the incident took place. But that leaves the question of whether the story has been plagiarized. This issue is addressed next.

In Hong Kong, tests and examinations are taken very seriously by parents and students even at the kindergarten stage. Tutorial schools thrive and students do learn compositions by heart for public examinations. It is possible that some stories are of this type. However, over a six-year period, with over 250 stories, the author has not received a duplicate of a story. Therefore, it seems unlikely that a tutorial school learned-by-heart story has been presented. In addition, students read their draft aloud in a tutorial group. On only one occasion (not in the class from which the stories in this study were collected) did students say that they did not believe the incident being told and the story-teller admitted her story was not true. She subsequently wrote a new story which was “true”, although she needed assurance that she had stories to tell, which were worthy of sharing. The use of an unbelievable incident, for a story, rather than her own experience, can be taken as an example of lack of self-esteem, a problem referred to already in the research on females.
Third, there is the danger of contamination of the material in the hands of the researcher. Is it unethical to do anything with the material apart from faithfully reproducing it? Polkinghorne (1988) argues that life histories can and should be analysed; that it is valid research to draw out significant factors. Gray (1998, quoted in Bell, 1999, p. 16) claims that

Narratives allow voice – to the researcher, the participants, and to cultural groups – and in this sense they have the ability to develop a decidedly political and powerful edge.

However, it must be admitted that the significance brought out, when stories are analyzed, lies in the eyes of the researcher. The full story for each of the eleven used in this study is included in the appendices to give an “uncontaminated” account of each childhood incident in the voice of the student teacher. The presentation of the complete stories allows the reader to determine whether the explanations are in Janesick’s word (1994, p. 216) "credible". She warns of the danger of accepting terms such as validity, generalizability, and reliability and seeking to apply them to qualitative research to the extent that we "depersonalize", or "decontextualize" individuals.

Summary.

To summarize then, the stories were written over time for both peers and teacher. The use of such data for researching perceptions of childhood relationships with adults has been justified on the grounds that the writers are at the stage of developing their own personal myths or their life-story, while their relationships with parents remain significant. That the data were written over some time allowed for reflection and control by the researched, while they also provide access to the inner person. Such research is of direct benefit to the researched. The truth of the stories has been addressed in terms of the stories providing snap-shots, at a particular and pertinent time, of the perceptions of pre-service student teachers.
### 3.3 Projective Techniques

In the previous section of this chapter, there was discussion on the use of narrative research to unlock student teachers' perceptions of child-adult relationships. It is believed that the stories themselves reveal the writers' orientation to a particular teaching style. However, there was a need to triangulate the findings, to go outside the stories for some kind of confirmatory findings. In part, this was done through a Chinese colleague who read the analysis of the stories in order to check for cultural misunderstanding. But there was a concern to provide from another source of data, verification that there were different teaching stances held by the story-tellers, and that these might verify or falsify what was revealed in the analysis of the stories. It was administratively impossible for me to observe all the student teachers on teaching practice so I chose to use two projective techniques (PTs) to research their adult-child attitudes.

The PTs were chosen because they could be designed to elicit, easily and quickly, students' attitudes to teaching and children in written form. The projective techniques were used to elicit connections between the present, conscious or unconscious, attitudes towards teachers and children, and the student teachers' future relationships with children, according to their present feelings or perceptions. Two projective exercises were used; the first was designed to reveal unconscious, and the second conscious attitudes to adult-child relationships. My research attempts to fill a gap in the research by attempting to predict future behaviour, based on retrospective views and current conscious and unconscious views.

**The Data.**

I used two PTS, the first to get at unconscious views and the second conscious attitudes.

The first PT (Appendix 3) consists of a cartoon showing a female teacher in front of a traditionally seated class, that is boys in one row and girls in another. The teacher is standing in front of a blackboard; there is nothing written on the blackboard. This cartoon was adapted from a common textbook but changed so that the teacher's face shows less of a smile, and a more neutral, expression. This change was made to allow
a wider range of responses. The instructions are as follows:

*Look at the cartoon below. Think about it. Then write down what the teacher is saying, and what a boy or girl is saying or thinking. Underline who is talking or thinking.*

Under the picture, there are two spaces. The first space begins with:
Teacher says: and there are five lines to write on.
The second space begins with Boy/Girl/says/thinks: and again there are five lines.

This cartoon was intended to elicit unconscious attitudes or perceptions, because the students were projecting onto another teacher.

The second PT (Appendix 4) provides a situation and students are asked to say what they would if they were the teacher. The instructions are as follows:

Read the following situation and then write what you would do if you were the teacher.

*The Situation*

You are marking class tests. Suddenly you notice that Mei has done much better than usual on the test. When you re-check her paper, you notice that she has two answers, which are wrong. These wrong answers are the same answers as Ching has. Ching is the best pupil in the class.

What I would do as the teacher.

There are six lines for writing on. This PT was intended to elicit conscious attitudes as it was addressed to the student teachers themselves. However, it is a projection as they are asked what they would do if they were in this position. As the situation is a fairly common one in the Hong Kong test-driven education system, the responses can be taken as a projection of what the students think they will do in future. The responses in both PTs should connect to the stories, if the stories reveal aspects of relationships which will impact on teaching orientation.
The PTs were not required for any assessment purpose in the module in which the stories were written. Students were given the PTs before the module on Literature began, and asked if they would complete them and return them for research purposes. They were told that there was no connection between the PTs and their grades, and that the PTs would not even be read until their module and assessment was completed. It was necessary to assure them of this point because they were asked to provide a student number on the sheet. They knew, therefore, that they could be identified. The students knew the researcher from a previous module and had to decide whether they trusted her enough, or whether they could be bothered enough to fill in the PTs. In the event, 23 of 29 students returned the PTs. Whether the number was related to matters of trust, or being unwilling to help the research, is not known.

3.3.2 Projective techniques - Justification.
There were some advantages to using PTs with ESL students. For example, their use made it unnecessary for me to explain vocabulary items related to my analysis. For example, I did not need to explain words such as: authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, or words associated with attachment theory. The students did not need to understand such vocabulary items, or the concepts associated with them. This was important in light of the fact that the student teachers were writing English as a second language. Instead, the responses came in their own words. Because the responses are in written form, the responses to the PTs are available for analysis by others. The use of projective exercises such as the ones used here also allow of their use by the researched themselves for discussion.

3.3.3 Problems with Projective Techniques.
Projective techniques have been criticized most heavily in areas where responses have been called for relating to meaningless forms. This research avoids meaningless shapes; in contrast, it provides two very clear contexts with which the Hong Kong students are very familiar. The PTs which have received most acceptance are sentence completion type PTs. The techniques here are closer to the sentence completion exercises. Even those who are less critical of these techniques,
emphasize that the PTs should not be used alone but only be used in conjunction with
other techniques. In this study, two PTs are used in conjunction with the stories.
There may be a gender problem with the first PT, the cartoon. The number of male
student teachers in the class was small, and as most primary teachers in schools are
female, I decided therefore, to leave the cartoon character as female. It can be argued
that I should have proved a male figure for the male students. I hoped that the
possibility of using female or male students in the second section could be used as a
balance by the respondents if they so wished. The name of one child, Ching, could be
read as male or female.

**Summary.**
As the PTs are used to predict teaching orientation, as well as to triangulate the
analysis of the stories, this summary draws together the narrative and projective
strands of the research. I refer to the framework of Moghaddam (1998, p. 109) on the
conditions necessary for attitudes to predict behaviour. The conditions are as
follows:
(i) There must be correspondence between attitude and behaviour specified.
(ii) There must be multiple measures of attitude and behaviour.
(iii) The attitudes should be based on direct experience.
(iv) The attitudes must be attended to.
(v) Attitudes must be based on knowledge.
The methodology used in this study addresses all these conditions. The stories are
used to analyze attitudes through behaviour as recounted in stories, and the PTs are
used to elicit potential behaviour in specific contexts, that is, between teachers and
children in classroom situations. The use of two PTs and the stories is an attempt to
address the requirement for multiple measures of attitudes and behaviour. The
attitudes should be based on direct experience. The stories were used for that
purpose. Attending to the specific attitudes is required in the PTs where teacher
attitude is elicited. The last requirement is addressed because the student teachers
have knowledge of their own childhood as well as knowledge of Hong Kong
classrooms. The requirement that attitudes be fairly measured is addressed in the
analysis in the next chapter. But first ethical issues are addressed.

3.4 Ethical Issues

Ethical issues were considered in the methodology used. For example, questions raised by the teacher or fellow students about the stories of childhood were written down for consideration by the story-writer, but were not allowed to be answered immediately either through email, or orally at the tutorial meetings. This rule ensured that no writer felt obliged to reveal personal details without reflection, but had the choice to answer, or not answer, questions when re-drafting the story. Giving such authorial control to the students was essential to avoid ethical problems in using biographical material, such problems as have been raised by McCarthey (1993) - teacher coercion, and Elshtain (1991) - pseudo-psychotherapy. Thomas (1995, p. 18) argues that tutors may have a problem if therapeutic problems come up (referring to journals) when tutors may wish to focus more on teaching or learning. But earlier (p. 11) he said that the classroom and the world outside cannot be separated, that it is difficult to separate the private self from the teaching persona. I suggest that therapeutic problems may make it difficult to teach, and would need to be dealt with first in some way.

The story-writers in this research had control over what to tell, to choose what was significant to them individually, and to decide how much to share. Students were prepared to share personal stories of pain and loss as well as funny stories with their peers and the teacher. When the module had been completed, student permission was sought to publish their stories in a book, and they were also asked whether they wanted their identity to be hidden. Permission was given to publish, and the book was published through a printing company, which uses the web to print small collections of books (Heron, 2000). For reasons of space, only the ten stories used in the analysis are provided here, together with one story from a previous collection.

Another ethical issue of inquisitiveness was raised by Thomas (1995, p. 11) - an interest in personal narratives “requires some additional moral prop besides inquisitiveness.” He suggests that such research may help teachers with their professional development. This may have advantages for pupils, and if becoming
professionally and politically transforming, help bring about systemic changes. Willinsky (1989, p. 225; in Thomas 1995, p. 16) points out that individuality of voice is lost when the researcher seeks to generalize and find “shared meanings.” I do not think this is a problem in that the reader knows that the researcher is in a role similar to a critic; the reader knows that one view is being presented but that there are other views. The researcher’s voice should be at least as acceptable as the teacher’s voice, or the student teacher’s voice. However, I would also agree that the researcher has the duty to provide enough samples of the teacher or teachers’ voice(s), so that the reader may judge how accurate the interpretation or common meanings may be. Reading only the interpretations would not do justice to the teachers. But we should acknowledge that the stories themselves suggest particular readings. For such an argument, see Watson, (1997, p. 95) on text analysis in which he points out “that texts of all kinds depend greatly upon the ordinary, common-sense properties of the language in general.” If all was arbitrary in language, we would not be able to communicate with each other at all.

Cortazzi (1993) has pointed out the importance of knowing something of the investigator in the collection of personal narratives on the grounds that the person of the interviewer, in this case, the receiver of stories, will influence what is told. Although the narratives in this study were written rather than oral, as in the Cortazzi study, the person of the teacher may have influenced what was told. The author of the paper is a female, middle-aged Westerner. She modelled the technique of the teaching method described above, providing a series of story titles from which students selected what they would like to hear and then telling the story. Her personality may have influenced what was told in the stories, or how the story was told; it is hoped that the use of student peer listeners/advisors would have balanced the effects of any such bias. However, the reading of short stories in class each with a child as the main character is likely to have made students aware of the teacher and researcher’s interest in the child’s point of view. In turn, this may have influenced how the story-tellers portrayed adults. Miller and Glassner (1997, p. 104) have discussed Richardson’s idea of the difference between the cultural story, told from the prevailing point of power, and the
collective story, told from the individual’s point of view. They suggest that the listener must be not too entrenched in the control group, or too outside it, in order to encourage the sharing of individual experience. In this research the researcher was part of the control group being a teacher at the Institute, but other listeners were fellow students, relatively powerless.

There was one ethical problem with the PTs. As I needed the results to compare with the stories, I had to ask students to write their student numbers on the top of the form. This may have been the reason 6 students did not complete/return the PTs. I explained that I wanted the PTs to do research about teaching but did not say I would compare the PTs with the stories as I did not want to affect what they would write in the stories. I especially did not want to influence students towards writing stories set in schools. This was an ethical dilemma that I did not resolve. I did not examine the data in the PTs until after the module finished so I could not explain or share findings with the students while I was teaching them. (This dilemma was solved in another ongoing research exercise in which students were asked to analyze and compare their own data in the stories and PTs.) The framework for the analysis is provided next.

### 3.5 Framework for Analysis.

I have taken the framework of parenting styles developed by Baumrind (in Hamachek, 1991, p. 222) together with attachment theory, to explore the possibility of classifying three teaching styles. The framework for examining the stories is illustrated below. If the hypothesis is correct, this should provide evidence for the student teacher’s child-parent attachment and predict parenting/teaching style. In the third column I have added a classification for teaching styles based on attachment theory, with the understanding that teaching and parenting styles are similar.

Unconscious and conscious teaching style orientation is explored in the students’ projective technique exercises, 1 and 2 respectively. Results are compared to find out whether early attachment predicts orientation to a particular teaching style. The table is read vertically for the three main groups. Group 4 refers to a very small number, according to attachment research, and such people fit into one of the other groups, apart from odd lapses into this group.
## Table of Teaching Orientation based on Child-Parent Attachment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parent</th>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Secure/Autonomous</strong></td>
<td><strong>Secure</strong></td>
<td><strong>Secure/Autonomous</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Authoritative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Authoritative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coherent</td>
<td>Explores</td>
<td>Takes risks; plans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborative</td>
<td>Misses parent when separated</td>
<td>Collaborative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Values attachment</td>
<td>Greets parent on reunion</td>
<td>Empathizes with child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>May initiate physical contact</td>
<td>Objective/evaluates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consistent</td>
<td>Returns to play</td>
<td>Consistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warm</td>
<td></td>
<td>Warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Dismissing</strong></td>
<td><strong>Avoidant</strong></td>
<td><strong>Detached</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Authoritarian</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Authoritarian</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organized focus on positive but avoids particular events</td>
<td>Ignores parent on re-union</td>
<td>Brief in planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attachments not valued</td>
<td>Little/no attempt at physical contact, turns away</td>
<td>Pretends all is well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normalizing/idealizing without evidence</td>
<td>Unemotional</td>
<td>Doesn’t evaluate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contradicting self</td>
<td>Focus on toys/environment</td>
<td>Attachments not valued</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brief in narration</td>
<td></td>
<td>Text/curriculum/ knowledge centred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cold</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Preoccupied</strong></td>
<td><strong>Resistant</strong></td>
<td><strong>Preoccupied</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Permissive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Permissive</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not coherent</td>
<td>Wary pre-separation</td>
<td>Fearful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focussed on past attachments/experiences</td>
<td>Little exploration</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angry/passive/fearful</td>
<td>Preoccupied with parent</td>
<td>Poor planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long sentences</td>
<td>Angry/ passive</td>
<td>Discipline problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long narratives</td>
<td>Fails to settle</td>
<td>Teacher talkative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overwhelmed</td>
<td>Can’t be comforted by parent</td>
<td>Can’t be assisted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fails to explore again</td>
<td>Teacher centred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. Unresolved/Disorganized</strong></td>
<td><strong>Disoriented/Disorganized</strong></td>
<td><strong>Breakdown/Disorganized</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In narrating loss/abuse temporary lapse in reasoning; otherwise fits one of above categories</td>
<td>With parent temporarily freezes/huddles/ clings but looks away</td>
<td>Drops out of TP but returns; depends on supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Avoids eye-contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Collapses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the results of research by attachment theorists (in McCarthy et al., 2001), encouragement of autonomy is associated with greater capacities for emotional regulation. Overprotection is associated with lower self-confidence in regulating negative emotions and higher stress and suppression. They also report on predictions of Grossman, Grossman and Zimmermann (1999) which suggest that encouragement of "secure exploration" is related to evaluating sad experiences, and the use of active rather than avoiding coping. An important point from the above findings is that if young adults are at the stage of needing to achieve autonomy, but are not supported by parents, the move towards independence would be stress-inducing. This research was with college students in the USA, however, and Chinese students in Hong Kong might feel less stress over independence issues, as it is still common to live with parents at least until marriage.

One example from another collection, written also by a student on the same course, but a different year, may be an example of 4 in the preceding table (Appendix 2). The story fails to follow the cooperative maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner (developed after Paul Grice. See Yule, 1996, p. 37) for oral cooperation, which were used by attachment theorists to analyze data from their Interview protocol. I am using the maxims to look at the form of the stories.

Quantity. How long is the story? Is it too short or too long? Does it give too much or too little information?

Quality. Is the story true in the sense of being believable to others, or does it lack evidence?

Relation. Be relevant.

Manner. Avoid obscurity or ambiguity. Be brief. Be orderly.

The above are unstated assumptions in oral communications, which I am applying to the written stories and written PT exercises. There is an argument that the spoken and written are two different genres and that the same criteria cannot be applied. I will offer some explanation on this point in the analysis.
Hypotheses.

1. the story of childhood, according to attachment theory (and Grice’s principles of coherency in communication) will reveal the student teacher’s form of attachment as a child;
2. the Projective Technique exercises, according to Baumrind’s parental teaching styles, will reveal the teacher’s potential teaching style;
3. there will be a match between child-parent relationships in the story, and teacher-child relationships in the Projective Technique Exercises.

The theory proposed: The style of parenting the student perceived she received as a child predicts the student’s own teaching style.

3.6 Summary.

This chapter has outlined how the data were collected using narratives and projective techniques. Justifications have been made for the use of these methods of data collection, as well as claiming benefits for the subjects in the use of such research methods in the Hong Kong ESL context. The analytical framework has been provided. We turn now to Chapter Four for an analysis of the data.
Chapter Four. Data Analysis.

4.1 Introduction.
In this chapter, the data are introduced; stories and projective techniques are then analysed within the framework developed from attachment and parenting theories in an attempt to categorize the stories into one of three groups: authoritative/secure, authoritarian/detached, or permissive/preoccupied. There is one sample of a fourth group, which attachment theorists refer to as disorientated. We begin with an introduction to the data.

4.2 Choosing Representative Data: Stories and Projective Technique Exercises.
There were originally 29 stories, 10 of which are found in Appendix 1. Stories, for which no corresponding PTs were collected, were not used in the following analysis. This left 23 stories: 19 by females and 4 by males. Nine of these remaining stories were chosen as representative of the three main categories and are numbered from one to nine in the analysis below. In addition, I have attempted to provide a wide overall view of the stories by choosing stories which represent other features, besides the three categories above. For example, I have chosen a story which features grandparents rather than parents; this writer was chosen because grandparents often play a key role in rearing young Hong Kong children whose parents both work. I also chose one story, which features a teacher and does not mention parents. Finally, I have also chosen a story which relates an unbelievable incident, Story Ten. Story Eleven (Appendix 2), which fits into the category of disorientated according to attachment theory, comes from a separate collection of stories, from the previous year. This story is only briefly discussed here because there are no PTs with it so a full analysis is impossible; it is presented because there were no examples of this category in the main collection. The story in Appendix 2 was written by a female. Two stories representing perhaps a movement towards authoritativeness are included in the section on authoritative as there is only one clear categorization of an authoritative parent. Three stories represent Authoritarian, and three Permissive adults. No adults in stories by males fell into the group of authoritative. Therefore,
because there are three stories by females in the first group, I included two stories by males in the second group. In the third group there is one male. Overall, then there are six stories by females and three by males from this collection. There was no attempt to provide stories based on the ratio of male to female stories received. Instead, more male stories have been presented than would accord with the ratio, in order to provide some insight into gender differences, if any.

For ease of data handling, within this chapter, summaries of the stories are used. However, each story appears in full in Appendix 1, and the analysis refers to the full story, not just the summary.

Following each story summary and analysis, there are the full responses to the two projective techniques, together with the analysis of each. The PT responses have been cleaned up in respect of spelling or grammar, for ease of understanding, but with as little interference as possible. Connections are made in the analysis between the story and the PTs. It is important to remember that the PTs were completed before the students read or wrote any short stories.

4.3 Analytical framework.

First, I categorize the stories into three groups. In the first category, the child has a relationship with adults who were authoritative/secure. In the second category, the child has a relationship with adults who are authoritarian/detached. In the third category are adults who are permissive/preoccupied.

For purposes of triangulation, and to avoid possible cultural misunderstanding on my part, assistance was sought from a Chinese research assistant. She has wide experience in conducting research, has worked in Hong Kong kindergarten and primary schools, and has an MA. She was asked to independently categorize the stories using the same criteria. I have called her the Chinese reader in any further references.

Following each story summary and analysis, there are the two projective technique exercise responses written by the same storyteller. The responses are given in full. The first response is analysed for the student teacher's unconscious attitude towards teaching as the response refers to the teacher in the picture. The second response is
analyzed as giving conscious attitudes towards teaching as the student teacher is asked to say what she or he would do in a particular situation. The analysis of the relevant PTs of each writer follows each story. The summary of the story appears in italics, as do the responses to the two projective techniques. We begin with stories under the category of authoritative adults.

4.4 Analysis.

Section One.

There was only one clear example of a story about an authoritative parent, and this was written by a female about her mother. This is the first story below. The other two stories are not truly representative of authoritative close adults. They are analyzed here because there seems to be a move within them towards the authoritative; they provide evidence of the writer’s ambiguity about the authoritative/authoritarian adults; story two describes a teacher's apparent shift across these stances, while in story three, the writer contrasts the warm behaviour of neighbours with her mother’s detached behaviour. First, we examine a story which is clearly representative of the category of authoritative parenting.


Writer: Female.

Story Summary.

In the story the girl was playing chasing with her sister. In an effort to avoid being caught, she rushed down the "cruel and wicked" stairs, fell, lost a tooth and hurt her knee. Her mother comforted her, and stopped the bleeding. However, the child continued crying loudly so the mother used her own slipper to slap the stairs. The daughter and her sister then turned this action into an amusing game, and beat the staircase in various ways so that the child soon forgot her injury.

Analysis.

The girls are active. The mother is sensible and calm and knows what actions to take. She diverts the child's attention from the pain, teaching her a technique of mind over
matter. I read the mother as authoritative, in her actions. She doesn't scold or warn the girl to be passive in future, but she shows empathy for the child's suffering in comforting her, and in directing her to beat the stairs; the latter action may also encourage the child to use her imagination.

The Chinese reader felt some doubts about my interpretation. She disliked the mother's beating of the stairs, feeling it was related to the Chinese custom of beating a slipper on the ground and calling on the name of an enemy, thereby bringing a curse down upon him. This custom is still followed on a certain day in Hong Kong. One pays the beater for the calling down of curses upon the enemy. The act of beating the stairs with the slipper, the Chinese reader felt, could also be seen as encouraging aggression.

It is possible that there is a connection with the Chinese custom. However, people in other places, besides Hong Kong or China use this diversion for children, the staircase is not a person, and the incident happened in the Mainland, not Hong Kong. Hong Kong tends to have more of the old customs than the Mainland because of the political upheavals in twentieth century China.


*Teacher says:* "Boys and girls, I am very happy that you have behaved very well in this term, so I'm going to reward you all a prize."

*Boy says:* "Wow! How nice!"

*Girl thinks:* "Oh! We will be rewarded if we behave well."

**Analysis.**

This exercise is taken to be unconscious attitudes towards teaching. Initially the concern with discipline points towards an authoritarian stance; however, the rules that the children followed appear to have been reasonable since they will all get a prize and the two children appear happy with the announcement. The stance is therefore categorized as leaning towards authoritative in that there are clear, fair boundaries. It is notable, too, that the teacher has addressed both girls and boys.
PT2. Category: Authoritative Teacher.

First I will check the seat plan, to see if they sit near or not. If they don't sit near, but where there is no chance of them seeing each other's paper, then I will give "good" on both their papers. If they sit near, then I will look at the right answers of their papers if they are the same. If the same, one must have copied the other's work. I will investigate this matter seriously.

Analysis.
Few students (only five out of 23) mentioned checking where the pupils were sitting. This is a key point, seeing from the pupils' point of view. It indicates the use of imagination and empathy, already modelled by the mother in the story. The writer does not rush to blame (authoritarian) but neither does she avoid taking action (permissive). She will investigate. She models the style of her mother, which is authoritative.


Writer: Female.

Story Summary.
At three years of age, the writer found that examinations are important even in kindergarten. She describes kindergarten and the teacher as lovely and kind. During the first test, her best friend waited for her to finish writing so they could both be champions. The teacher was sweet to them both, but later announced the writer as the champion. Recognizing her mistake, the teacher apologized and then gave the championship to the friend. The writer was devastated. However, she now claims her teacher was right.

Analysis.
The teacher appears to be authoritative in the way she treats the children. She has a beautiful voice, and smiles, and calls the pair, "My dear ladies". She set the rules and keeps to them. She also apologizes for her mistake. However, the writer's strength of
feeling that there is an injustice appears strong despite the disclaimer at the end. Perhaps the writer retains some sense of unease without being able to understand why. The friend's desire to win jointly with the writer was rejected, even though the teacher was warm. I suggest that the teacher has upheld the education system and the system is a competitive one in which children are taught to compete rather than cooperate. This may also reflect a rejection of a female tendency to cooperate in comparison with a male tendency to compete. Thus, the teacher was also upholding a male-dominated education system, which is competitive and authoritarian. The rules are most important.


Teacher says: Where do you want to go on the coming School Picnic Day? You can give me some suggestions and we can choose one of them.

Boys says: How about going to Ocean Park so that we can play many games.

Girls thinks: How about we go to a beach and have a sunbath?

Analysis.
The teacher's question about a picnic could reflect a desire of the writer to escape from the school system. Her request for suggestions is authoritative, and the choice will be made jointly, between pupils and teacher, or among the pupils. The responses of the pupils show active males and passive females. The males speak up, and suggest a day of action. The females think rather than speak up, and dream of lying passively on the beach. As girls do not voice their choice, one presumes the boys will prevail and the male choice will be upheld. This fits with the stance of the teacher in the story; outwardly authoritative but inwardly authoritarian, if the latter includes traditional attitudes to gender.

PT2. Category: Authoritative Teacher.

I will ask Mei to come and ask her the questions on the test paper. If she can answer most of the questions, I will believe that she had prepared very well before the test and I will give her the mark that she has. But if she can't answer the questions, I may
think that she has cheated on the test and I will ask her to tell me the truth. If she tells me the truth, I will forgive her and give her a chance.

Analysis.
Here the conscious stance of the student teacher is to be authoritative. She will not necessarily uphold the system since she will forgive the student for breaking the rules of the competition. The PTs offer confirmation that the writer is facing a struggle between her unconscious authoritarian stance based on tradition/rules, and a possible authoritative stance.

Story Three: Green Stapler. Category: Authoritative Adults.
Writer: Female.
Story Summary.
The writer was often lonely as both parents worked, but she didn't complain. Her mother expected her to manage things on her own. She wanted praise from her mother or even sweets if she did something good. The mother had warned her that the stapler was dangerous but the child used it to staple her school notes, and stuck a staple in her finger. Her tears fell but she didn't cry aloud as mothers don't like helpless girls. She left a phone message for her mother and then opened the outer door and called for help. Neighbours came running and removed the staple and cleaned and bandaged the wound, while offering emotional support. When mother returned, she thanked everyone. Although neighbours said the child was brave and clever, Mother did not. But she didn't scold. Instead next day she put away all other dangerous items such a scissors and cutters.

Analysis.
The adult neighbours are supportive when the child is in trouble. I read them as authoritative according to the way they treated the child, helping and calling her "Sweetie", as well as how they relate to each other, using the endearment "Honey". The Chinese reader pointed out that such endearments would not be used. Instead, adults would use the Chinese names "Little Sister" or "Little Daughter". I take it that

73
the writer has used the endearments as an English equivalent for the Chinese. Having clear rules and giving reasons for them is authoritative so perhaps the mother did not praise the child for her bravery after the injury, because she had broken the rule. But throughout, despite her appearance near the end of the incident, indicating that she did return home when she got the message, the mother shows no warmth. For example, she expresses no feelings about the child's injury, or her bravery, or intelligence. She appears cold and fits within the category of authoritarian. The portrayal of the warm neighbours counterpoints the mother's cold behaviour. The Chinese reader felt that the mother's behaviour fits within traditional thinking in that "parents don't praise when children do the correct things. But parents would scold or beat their children when the children are not good enough." Thus the mother would not praise the child for tidying her papers as such good behaviour is expected, and nor would the mother praise her for being brave, also to be expected. That she was not scolded by mother for using the stapler was "kind" enough, according to the Chinese reader.


Teacher says: Good morning, my name is Miss Chan, and I will be your new teacher in Chinese in this new semester.

(Not clear which child speaks or thinks): Good! Miss Tsang was too bad!

Analysis.

The unconscious stance is that the writer will take over from another teacher and improve things. The children are not differentiated in the brief reply, showing perhaps a lack of empathy. We only know that they (or one of them?) are glad because the former teacher was bad. The writer expects to manage things better than Miss Tsang so there is a confidence which the child in the story also exhibited. But there is little empathy with the children in that it is unclear who is talking or thinking. It is enough for them that the new teacher will be good. Perhaps this is a similarity with the mother in the story who seems to lack empathy in neither expressing sympathy about the child's injury, nor praise for how she dealt with the problem.
PT2.

Category: Authoritative Teacher.

Try to remember where Mei and Ching sat during the test to see if Mei had a chance to look at Ching's answer. If she had, I will talk to Mei before giving out the test result, and say, "Ha! You had the same wrong answers as Ching in the test, how funny!" Then I would see the reaction of Mei, if she looked pale or not. Because it is hard to prove anything, what the teacher can do is try to find out the truth in a psychological way. Although there may be a risk that Mei is a good liar, it is still better than punishing her or Ching if they haven't done anything wrong.

Analysis.

Few student teachers mentioned the seating plan. This indicates seeing from the child's point of view, an attribute of authoritativeness. The indirect investigative approach and the suggestion that the child may be a good liar are suspicions of cheating. It is unclear why the child is not asked directly; it appears to be an attempt to catch the child out. What she will do if the child has cheated, is unclear. The answer that it is better to risk Mei being a good liar rather than punish the children if they did not do anything wrong is democratic.

However, it is unpleasant to think that the teacher might wrongly think Mei is a good liar, without ever asking her directly whether she cheated. The writer failed to use the connecting tool correctly in the story; her use of the tool of psychology also raises questions. There is distance between the teacher and the child. The writer can be categorized as consciously wishing to hold an authoritative style, but perhaps not fully understanding how to do so.

Summary of the Category of Authoritative.

The three girls have examples of warm adults in their stories. The first describes a warm mother; the writer's unconscious and conscious orientation towards teaching are authoritative. The second girl seems to accept now the authoritarian action of a teacher she first perceived as warm. But the first PT reveals her unconscious stance as ambiguous, while the stance in the second PT is clearly authoritative. The third writer describes, through neighbours, how she would like her mother to behave, but
is like her mother in her unconscious authoritarian teaching stance, while consciously wanting to be more like the neighbours, that is, supportive and empathetic. That orientation towards teaching is not firmly fixed admits of the possibility of change.

Section Two.
In the second section, we look at stories in which adults have been categorized as authoritarian. One story is by a female writer and two are by male writers. I have chosen two male writers for this section because I did not have a suitable story by a male writer with an authoritative adult to put in section one, but wish to present male views.

Story Four: The Bloody Hit. Category: Authoritarian Mother.
Writer: Female.

Story Summary.
The elder of two sisters describes a happy childhood with lots of playmates. We learn indirectly that she was popular, because children called to her flat to ask her to play. The sisters were responsible and "never worried Mother". Mother also enjoyed living in the estate, playing mahjong with neighbours. Once when the tiny flat was crowded with neighbours playing noisy mahjong, her mother ordered the writer to wash the rice. Tired from studying, and of often being asked to do this, the child refused, accusing her mother of neglect. The mother threw a stapler at her, cutting her forehead. They did not speak for a week. Neither apologized. Mother never referred to the incident again but the writer feels a wound in her mind as well as on her forehead.

Analysis.
The mother appears to be either permissive in that she neglected the childcare, and the housework, or authoritarian in that she lashed out at the child who dared to criticize. She appeared cold when the child was hurt, leaving a neighbour to look after the wound. This fits into an authoritarian pattern. The Chinese reader says that
traditionally, Chinese parents would not say "Thank you" or "Sorry" to their children as it would be a loss of face. In addition, the children asked permission to go out to play if mother was home so it seems her main parenting style was authoritarian. The writer seems to be idealizing the happy childhood, but outside the family/home. This also fits into the pattern of authoritarian. The Chinese reader said that any injury to a girl's face would be taken seriously in Chinese culture as possibly affecting marriage prospects. Boys are considered to be more active and their scars are of less importance.


Teacher says: "We'll have our school picnic next week.

Boy: "Wow. Cool! Where will we go?"

Analysis.

This appears as an escape from work, mirroring the mother's escape from work, and the child's happy childhood outside the home in the story. But this is merely a brief announcement. The children are not asked where they would like to go. Indeed, the response of the boy indicates that they expect to be told. The unconscious stance appears to be authoritarian.

PT2. Category: Authoritarian Teacher.

(I would check carefully again and ask if Ching had given her answers to her friends.) I would make an appointment with her and meet her in a private room, just the two of us. Then I would ask her feelings about the result and if she feels satisfied with the grade. I would explain to her that the spirit of the test is not the grade.

Analysis.

The first sentence in parenthesis above was inserted by the writer at some point after she had started writing, or finished writing the response. In it she mentions friends, in the plural. Note that there is only one possible friend mentioned in the given situation. Suspicion of friends is interesting as she considered friends important in
her story. The spirit of the test in Hong Kong is very much the grade, and children's results are posted up in some schools so the teacher's advice is rather disingenuous. Would the child accept this reasoning? Initially, the teacher suspects that Mei has cheated. Later, she inserted the sentence at the beginning, saying that she would also ask Ching whether she had given the answers to Mei. So she is suspicious of both girls, the weaker and the more academic. The attempt to be empathetic is in conflict with the belief that both children have cheated. This is analysed as basically authoritarian but with a conscious attempt to move towards an authoritative or empathetic stance.

Story Five: **Gold Thief.**

**Category: Authoritarian Males.**

**Writer:** Male.

**Story Summary.**

*In the story, the young boy goes to the store with his father, is allowed to walk around, and is ignored by the father and the two salesmen. He steals a chocolate in the form of a gold coin although he doesn't know why he wants it. He was not able to ask his father for the candy because he might not allow him to buy it. Shoplifting by kids may be a cry for recognition but the three adults did not realize he had committed a crime. He was unable to explain why he took it except that he wanted it as his own. He doesn't mention eating the chocolate. There is no conversation reported between him and any adults. He talks to himself. He lacks adult direction or interest. The adults may be permissive or authoritarian although they seem more remote than anything else.*

**PT1.**

**Category: Authoritarian Teacher.**

*Teacher says: I will quit in future from here.*

*and*

*Mr Lee will replace me as your teacher later.*

*Girl thinks: Oh! Why?*

*Boy says: Oh! It sounds good!*

78
Analysis
The writer had first ended with the sentence about quitting; note the full-stop. Then further information was given. If the first sentence was the sole reply, the response would be categorized as unconsciously permissive because it represents an escape from work in school. If the writer projected onto the female teacher initially, that is the case. But the use of a female teacher for the male writer may have interfered with his projection. Thus, he continued his response as above.
The teacher who is leaving is female and the girl thinks why; she doesn't speak, while the boy says what he thinks, expressing a favourable view. On the grounds that these responses are based on traditional gender views, passive female, active male, and the male view that the male teacher is better, the response overall is categorized as authoritarian.

PT2. Category: Permissive Teacher.
It is okay because it is not a special case in school.
Maybe Mei had put a lot of effort into it.
We should not always be doubtful about the result.

Analysis.
The teacher is consciously permissive. He shows no sense of being responsible for the child's development, academic or moral. There is no communication with the girl. The lack of communication mirrors that of the silent males in his story. In addition, in the story the little boy got away with cheating in the form of stealing; in the PT the little girl may also have got away with cheating in the test.

The Writer: Male
Story Summary.
The little boy was eagerly waiting by day and even in his dreams for the day of the school picnic. Early that morning father got news on the telephone. Without explaining the circumstances, and ignoring his child's question as to whether he was
unhappy, he ordered the child to change his clothes immediately. The child changed into clothes for the picnic. Then his mother told him Grandfather had had a heart attack and was in hospital. Father shouted again for him to change his clothes - his second change of clothes. At the hospital the dying grandfather asked him to promise that he would "obey what your parents teach you and work hard in school."

Analysis.
The child wants to get away from duty to go on a picnic. Escape from work could be categorized as permissive. The father and the grandfather are authoritarian in that obedience was important, without explanation for orders. The boy promised his grandfather to obey. Perhaps guilt is found in the story when he says that while in the car he felt nothing although his parents were weeping and praying for Grandfather. A child might feel guilty when he does not receive explanations for things. (Such guilt has been found among children whose parents divorce.)


Teacher says: I will give you a test now!
Boys (smiling): Hoho! I studied what she taught yesterday la.
Girls: Oh, no! Why didn't she mention it before. I haven't prepared for anything yet!

Analysis.
The unconscious orientation towards teaching is authoritarian. The teacher is like an arbitrary god. The test is suddenly announced without any pre-warning for the children. This exercise fits with the story in that bad things happen suddenly without warning. The adult teacher shows no empathy for the pupils just like the parents in the story. In this case there is also a difference in gender with the boys being prepared, and girls not. The boy in the story also promised his grandfather to work hard in school.
PT2. Category: Permissive / Authoritarian Teacher.

Nothing! Because there is no evidence to prove that Mei cheated in the test! And in the next test, I will separate them in order to prevent the cheating!
(That is my fault if I can't find her cheating in the test.)

Analysis.
To do nothing is permissive. But there is also the element of guilt because, in an additional sentence on the margin of the paper, in parenthesis above, he blames himself for failing to discover the cheating during the test. He takes the girl's cheating as his own fault. Guilt may also be found in the story where he excuses himself for not feeling enough about his grandfather's death or for thinking too much about his picnic. When he says that in the next test he will separate the children, he presumes there was cheating. Just as in the story he is not supported and so fails to build a realistic picture of his own responsibility so he cannot help Mei accept responsibility for her actions, if she did cheat. When he tried to help in the story, asking his father what was wrong, he was rebuffed. He dressed for a picnic instead of for a death-bed. His father expected him to know what was in his mind - what Miller calls an arbitrary god. Now as a teacher, the writer expects to be a god (an all-powerful authoritarian) and thinks he must see everything, or he cannot deal with it (powerless and permissive).

Summary of the Category of Authoritarian.
The girl's unconscious and conscious orientation appear authoritarian. Her continuing grief at the way she was treated may point to possibility for change, as does some attempt at authoritativeness in the second projective technique exercise. The boys are authoritarian but with an element of permissiveness. The lack of clear-cut agreement between unconscious and conscious orientation allows of the possibility of development.
Section Three.
In the third section, we find stories in which adults are preoccupied. Two stories were written by females and one by a male.

Story Seven: A Heavy School Bag. Category: Preoccupied Adults.
Writer: Female.

Story Summary.
The little girl questions why her gambling father and teenage mother abandoned her, and why her grandparents, unlike other adults, never help her carry her heavy school bag. An adult neighbour expresses admiration for her maturity, but she is unhappy with the lack of emotional support and the need to be mature.

Analysis.
The story maximizes attachment-related experience in general, as well as in one event. The child is insecure in not being emotionally attached to her parents or grandparents. The category of Resistant/Ambivalent Child is evidenced in her distress and preoccupation with her parents' abandonment. The parents are preoccupied and have no time for the child. The grandparents provide for her physical needs but not her emotional needs. She is expected to look after herself, to carry her own burdens. It is not clear whether the grandparents refer to the child's father or mother's parents, but the child's parents may have been brought up in the same way, expected to take care of their own needs, possible evidence of permissive parenting can be suggested for the father's gambling and the mother's teenage pregnancy. The Chinese reader suggested that Chinese grandparents might be expected to spoil a grandchild and that their lack of support for the writer might be related to the fact the child is female, and an economic burden, or that the grandparents do not love the parent(s), the mother or father, of the child.

Teacher says: “Today I am glad to have lessons with you all. Then please pay attention to me.”

Boy thinks: My teacher is really friendly.

Analysis.

The focus is on the teacher's feelings, in "I am glad" and "attention to me". In addition, the child also focuses on the teacher's emotional tone. The teacher’s request for the children’s attention matches the preoccupation of the child in the story with the lack of parental attention. Note also the use of "please" above as a request for attention.

PT 2. Category: Preoccupied Teacher.

I would tell Mei, “Oh you've got a very high mark in the test. But your wrong answers are the same as Ching has. Why? Would you like to tell me something about it?”

Analysis.

Despite the apparently friendly question at the end, which would lean towards authoritativeness, the teacher believes that children do bad things because she begins by assuming that Mei has cheated. This may mirror the child in the story who found that adults cannot be relied upon. There is no indication of any plans for further action, following the child's reply.


Writer: Male.

Story Summary.

The boy was about nine and his mother thought him too big to collect from school. He claims he was active and often punished in school. But he obeyed his parents, especially his mother, or he would be seriously hit. One day he was invited by
another boy to go and play after school. He was afraid that he would lose male friendship if he refused so he went although he thought Mother would punish him and worry. The friend asked him to have a fishing competition but he refused because he knew he couldn't compete. Later he went home to a very upset mother who had called the police about her missing son. He promised he wouldn't do it again but the promise is followed by a series of dots indicating that the promise be taken with a grain of salt by the reader.

Analysis.
The parents, especially the mother, appear to be authoritarian at the beginning of the story but at the end of the story, the mother appears to be hysterical. The boy seems to be confused, caught between the female world from which he wishes to escape, and a male world of competition for which he is not ready. The mother seems hysterical on his return. She embraced him but was angry and even said that she "was going mad" and then she cried. He said he felt scared and strange. The mother appears to be angry and fearful and incoherent, indicating the preoccupied category.

The teacher: Every student, you know, women and girls are jealous animals. They tend to be easy to anger when they face anything difficult. Also in some situations, especially opposite sex relationships, females are always envious.
Boy says: Ha, you know ladies will easily be affected by something. Do you envy males?

Analysis.
The writer hints through the boy that the female teacher is unsure of what identity she wants. This may be a projection about his own uncertainty about his own gender role. There is a preoccupation with negative characteristics attributed to females: jealousy, being easily angered, envious, easily affected. Prendergast and Forrest suggest the following (in Bendelow and Williams 1998, p.169) "If proper boys are 'everything that girls are not' (Jordan 1995) it is conceivable that boys emotionally and
physically engage with girls as 'other', ambiguous, potentially overwhelming, out of control" or as the teacher here describes them, as less than human, mere "animals". The boy even asks if the teacher envies males. The content also appears unsuitable as teaching content, and therefore fails to satisfy Grice's maxim of the need for Relation in communication. That is the teacher is not teaching something that would be considered relevant.

PT2. Category: Preoccupied Teacher.

As a teacher, I would firstly call Ching to ask what happened to him/her. After that I would investigate this case with other people's help, and ask for a frank explanation about this case. Ching will not cheat so that Mei will be punished in a different level depending on her explanation and honest attitude.

Analysis.

There is confusion in response here. First Ching is called but no clear reason is given for calling Ching. Then the teacher shows a lack of independent spirit in that he asks unspecified others for unspecified help in dealing with the possible cheating. It is unclear who will provide a frank explanation. He expects Mei to be dishonest, and she will be punished, but who will punish her is not clear, as the passive construction has been used. The manner of dealing with the situation is obscure, according to Grice's maxim of Manner.


Writer: Female.

Story Summary.

In the story the pre-kindergarten girl says she liked Grandfather very much because he was playful and "he usually gave me what I wanted." Grandmother disliked this but always agreed with the grandfather. Once she had to stay at the grandparents' shophouse because her mother had had twins. Grandfather allowed the young child to try alcohol. She was not supervised so that she took more alcohol, despite
Grandmother's warning, and became drunk. Grandmother only warned her it would make her feel uncomfortable but didn't stop her. She was allowed to get drunk but was punished indirectly in that she felt hot and uncomfortable. Grandmother put her to bed, pointing out that she had warned her. Her father tells her she was drunk but does not reprimand her about it.

Analysis.
The males are permissive, allowing the child to experiment but without boundaries, or not pointing out her wrong-doing. Grandmother plays a traditional role, following grandfather even when she does not approve of his actions. But Grandmother, the traditionalist, is proved right in the end, in that punishment - being drunk - followed taking the drink without permission. The child found the male role attractive in allowing her freedom, but the female role threatens that fate will punish you even if adults do not provide boundaries.

No feelings are expressed about the child having to go away to live with the grandparents because her mother had twins. Attachment theory categorizes a lack of valuing of attachment as Dismissing or Detached which corresponds with authoritarian parenting. The writer describes her cup, "my big pink cup" and says, "I liked that cup very much as there was a cute cat picture on it." The colour and the animal may represent her understanding of her own role as a female. Despite her telling the story of a permissive Grandfather, it seems that she feels closer to the female, in this case, the traditional Grandmother, who behaves in a passive way with Grandfather. The traditional parenting way would be authoritarian. The Chinese reader pointed out that in Chinese tradition, it would be the responsibility of the female to educate the children.

PT 1.
Category: Authoritarian Teacher.

Teacher says: We'll have a field trip next week.
(Unspecified child; unspecified whether thinking or speaking): Where will we go?
Analysis.
The field trip can be read as an escape from school, fitting with Grandfather's permissive ways. However, the giving of an announcement can be read as authoritarian. In addition, on a field trip, the children would do some academic work, presumably. Therefore, the teacher is categorized as authoritarian. The playful side, like Grandfather's, is seen in that the activity will take the children and teacher out of the usual place of work. The Grandmother's traditional stance is seen in the teacher's making of the announcement with no evidence of her initiating interaction with the children. The children are hardly imagined at all since there is no indication on the paper as to who is talking or thinking. The overall unconscious teaching stance based on the announcement and the detachment from the children is categorized as authoritarian.

PT2. Category: Authoritarian Teacher.
I'll ask Mei some questions about the test content to see if she really studied for the test. If she cheated, she'll be punished.

Analysis.
The teacher suspects Mei, questions her on the test content to see whether she studied for the test and then, if not, she will be punished. So the teacher is authoritarian here. The match with the story is that bad behaviour will be punished. In both cases the bad behaviour included 'cheating'. In the story the child took more beer without asking for permission; in the PT exercise, the girl is presumed to have cheated in the test. The use of the passive construction, "she'll be punished" echoes the punishment in the story when the child is punished by drunkenness rather than by the adults. The teacher in this PT does not say clearly that she herself will take responsibility for punishing Mei. Perhaps someone else, the school principal, will punish her. Perhaps this is a conscious wish to be more permissive, and not be the one to bear the responsibility of punishing.
Summary of the Category of Permissive/Preoccupied.

The first two writers show a strong orientation to the preoccupied, both unconsciously and consciously. Only the third writer shows some uncertainty, suggesting the possibility of movement.

Section Four.

A Created Story.

I include the story below to account for what Bage (1999, p. 15) calls "the awkward evidence". This final story from the collection in Appendix 1 is a story that I have designated created, in contrast to other stories which I believe are based on real incidents. I believe the story has been created because it would be difficult to get locked into a Hong Kong school. There are not only teachers and clerical workers in the schools after lesson times, but also auxiliary staff such as cleaners and janitors. The latter clean classrooms after lessons so it is highly unlikely that children could openly remain behind working in a classroom. The following story is well written within the genre of a girls' comic school story, in which three girls are locked in school but manage to get out, although two require help.

I have decided to present the analysis of this story and the corresponding PTs because I think it still provides insight into a potential teaching style. I believe that the student teacher peers who heard this story would have known this story was not "true" but may have had reasons for not challenging the writer. The fact that the story can be analyzed raises the question of whether real incidents are needed from any of the writers. I think that real incidents are of more interest to the writers themselves, and are therefore more useful for teacher development if used for teaching about teaching styles. But the created story allows someone to provide a story, who might have reasons for not using a factual incident.
Story Ten: *Trapped.*  
Category: *Preoccupied Mother.*

Writer: Wong Yuen Yan

Story Summary.

*The writer and two classmates remained at school to tidy books for their teacher. The teacher left them and eventually they found everybody had left and they were locked in the school. The writer appears to rank in the middle for courage in being less adventurous than one classmate and less fearful than another. The fearful Amy failed to open the door with a wire. The resourceful Helen escaped by climbing down a rope from the first floor to outside the school. The writer phoned home but her mother was unable to find school staff and told the child to call the police. The police found them and called the fire brigade and the girls were brought down from the first floor by ladder. The writer and her mother went home relieved. Next day the writer told the headmaster the story and thanked the teacher for giving them such an adventure.*

Analysis.

The class teacher was irresponsible in leaving the children to work unsupervised or without warning other adults they were there. The school staff were irresponsible in not checking all children had left before locking the school. The self-reliance of Helen is envied by the writer. The writer admits her fear but also excuses it by saying the hanging rope made the school unsafe. The rope and acrobat may be taken to represent overcoming the everyday, and as the school system in Hong Kong does not allow for the imagination, the writer, unconsciously perhaps, understands this. The mother initially tried to help to find school staff but failed. She then placed the responsibility on the child to seek police help. Initially the social services, the police, disbelieved the children's plight. The writer felt angry. However, the police came to the school to check and then called the firemen. The latter rescued the two girls by ladder. Thus, adults closest to the children failed to help while more distant adults, social services, males, eventually saved them. The brave child Helen disappeared out of the story after saving herself, ignoring the plight of her classmates. The relieved
mother appeared only after her daughter had been saved, to walk home with her daughter. The latter disappearance and appearance, plus the whole context of being locked in the school can be read as failing Grice's criteria of quality, that is, the quality of being believable to others. The writer refers to the two other girls as classmates, not as friends. Perhaps the three represent different aspects of the writer herself.

PT1. Category: **Authoritarian Teacher.**

*Teacher says: Well done! You all passed the test.*

*Boy and Girl say: Yeah! We've tried our best!*

Analysis.
The teacher's focus is on a test which may be taken as authoritarian. She congratulates the children on passing. The children express the feeling that it was up to them to try their best. They were responsible for passing because they tried their best. This is echoed in the story where the children have to take responsibility to escape from being trapped in school, one by using a rope, and the other by calling the police.

PT2. Category: **Disorientated Teacher.**

*I would give the marks to Mei. But when I sent back the papers to the class, I would be especially amused towards Mei and ask her to tell the class about her hard work and ask her to see me in order to investigate more deeply about the truth.*

Analysis.
The teacher seems to be disorientated because she will first give the mark to Mei, but then seek to humiliate her in front of the class before investigating. The sequence of actions is confused. The behaviour of the teacher is cold, lacking any empathy for the child. In addition, she immediately believes the child has cheated, in the same way as the police are initially skeptical about the story of the trapped child when she telephones them. Mother and teachers in the story are disorganized or disorientated,
while the male authority figures come to the rescue. The female teacher here is disorientated. The category of Disorganized/Disorientated is a temporary category, according to attachment theory; the person fits into one of the other major categories for most of the time. The next section provides a clearer picture of the category of Disorganized/Disorientated because the lapse in reasoning is seen throughout the story.

Section Five.
According to attachment theory, in the interviews with adults about their childhood, there is a small number of responses, which are difficult to categorize, and which are labeled Disorientated. These are people who provide stories, but in places, which relate to deeply felt emotions relating to child abuse or death, show a lapse in reasoning, or in orientation to time. For example, they may lapse suddenly into the present tense as if a dead person is still alive, or present a piece of fantastical information as if it is true. To illustrate, I provide a recent example. A colleague whose father had recently died related that a tabloid article reported that there was now a technique by which dead people's heads could be hooked up to a computer and their thoughts translated by the computer into words. The report was repeated as if it was true. The story in Appendix 2 is provided as possibly representing this kind of story. In addition, it is provided as an example of a story that is difficult to categorize. However, there are no projective exercises with this story, as none were collected from that group of students.
The original story in Appendix 2 must be read to understand the attempt at analysis. The summary below in no way illustrates the strangeness of the story.

Writer: Female.

Story Summary.
The writer fell and felt she was pushed by a lovely girl of her own age who disappeared. The same day on a family picnic, she fell again and felt she couldn't
breathe. Her parents woke her. On their return home, the lovely girl appeared again and called her into the rain.

When the writer slept, she dreamed that the lovely girl pushed her into the sea but she found herself could float and sink freely.

Analysis.

The possibility that the story may be a literary style appears to me to be most unlikely as the students have not studied literature at school and do very little, if any, reading of literature for pleasure. Therefore, I do not think that this story can be taken to represent a style of writing. The possibility that it is an attempt at writing a ghost story is more likely but it still fails to follow a normal sequence. For example, the time sequence is unclear. The reply of the parents: 'You drowned!' they said happily.' - is very odd. There is nothing connecting the lapses into unconsciousness. That is they do not seem to be either the result of the ghost girl's actions, or the result of any illness. The student was writing with other students and heard in class the drafts they wrote so she had clear examples of the form of a story. In addition, the students had studied some short stories written in conventional styles. I conclude that the topic set, asking for a story from childhood, caused the student, for whatever reasons, to produce a disorientated story. Kerby (1997, p. 131) says:

it is not at all clear how they (memories) can serve as the basis of personal identity, or even become “personal”, unless they are themselves united by a narrating reflection or, as Ricoeur would say, by emplotment, and thereby contextualized. With memory, however, this often begins at a pre-linguistic level- a recollection or reverie that comes upon one like a silent movie, a picture-consciousness.

Is it possible that this "story" has arisen from one unclear memory or one dream and because it was not long enough, the student has tried to repeat the incident in different ways rather than develop a story? However, even if the incident was a pre-linguistic reverie, or dream, it could have been developed into a story. There are no projective type exercises to compare with the story as the story was
taken from an earlier collection. It is presented here as a possible example of what attachment theorists call Disorientated.

4.5 Summary.
This chapter has presented the data, consisting of stories and projective technique exercises, within the framework of an analysis based on the work of attachment theorists and Diana Baumrind. The analysis has provided evidence of three orientations towards teaching. There is only one clear example of authoritativeness, the other two within this sample suggest possible movement towards such an orientation. Three examples of authoritarianism and permissive teaching orientation have been provided. One example of an imaginative story has been analyzed using the same framework. The final example of a Disorientated child was presented for interest as it appears to fit with a group defined by attachment theory as a small group of people who show temporary lapses in reasoning but who would otherwise fit within the other three categories. In the next chapter the overall findings are discussed in relation to previous research.
Chapter 5. Discussion.

5.1 Introduction.
In this chapter, the stories are scrutinized in terms of what overall meanings they may present. "The Dictionary of Symbols" by Chevalier and Gheerbrant (1994) has been used as a reference for understanding some of the symbols or metaphors used in the stories. These are marked *. The discussion takes into account the theories described earlier. There are references to the PTs but the main focus is on the stories. There is an attempt to make sense of the data in terms of the questions raised earlier. Finally, the methodology is critiqued. We begin by looking for the overall meanings of the data in terms of

- constructing the past;
- myth making;
- adult support for the child;
- the child's connections with society;
- the child's attachment to adults;
- the emotional tone of the writing;
- self-esteem, and
- the story as a genre of stability or change.

At the end of each area for discussion, there is an attempt to link the issue with teaching. We begin with the issue of a personal narrative as representing a reconstruction of events.

5.2.1 Constructing the Past.
In this section we look for evidence that the young adult story-writers are constructing a life myth, not simply providing a factual recall of an event (Kerby, 1997; Roberts, 1998; Singer & Salovey, 1993; Thorne & Klohnen, 1993). Evidence for such re-construction is sought in the following ways. In the story, there is a connection with the present, or the writer has learnt a lesson from the incident, and/or there is a direct address to the reader. There is a necessity to take into consideration
that being aware of the audience may also constrain the writer as to what meanings to make (Novitz, 1997).

Section One.
The first three stories provide evidence that the young adults are re-constructing rather than merely recounting incidents in attempts to connect the past and the present, and in trying to see through the eyes of a child. Stories One and Two clearly connect past and present.

Story One:  *The Silent Staircase*.  No lesson but reference to silent dutiful staircase as still being there 15 years later. The incident is the only memory from China.

Story Two:  *The Champion*.  Tests bring back this memory. Lesson is the teacher was right, fair.

Story Three:  *Green Stapler*.  No lesson specified. Reference to child of seven having an impossible mission represents looking back. Indirect lesson, silent mother hid sharp tools.

There is no reference to a lesson in Story One. But there is a connection to the present time; if the staircase symbolizes knowledge*, then it is still performing its duties, or bringing back this memory to the adult writer. Story Two provides a lesson, that the teacher was right to uphold the rules of competition. In fact, one is obliged to learn this lesson in order to fit into the education system in Hong Kong. Therefore, the lesson may be one the adult writer believes suitable for the audience of Hong Kong student teachers. It also represents a lesson she needs to learn if she is to fit easily, as a teacher, into the education system. The child's feeling of unfairness may represent a deeper truth for the writer than the truth she espouses as an adult. In Story Three, it is stated that Mother put away sharp objects; but there is no sense that this was a wrong action, that the girl should have been taught how to use such tools. While Story One and Two provide lessons indirect and direct respectively for the writers, and connect with the present, Story Three does not except in expressing the
adult writer's empathy for the child of seven years. All three stories have the feature of empathy.

Section Two.

There is connection between past and present in the stories here. There is little learning.

Story Four: **The Bloody Hit.**

Looks back on the golden years of childhood. Supposes mother has forgotten but writer is still wounded on forehead and in mind.

Story Five: **Gold Thief.**

Involves reader in general comments and question on crime. Addresses reader.

Story Six: **The Day Grandfather Went Away.**

Still remembers. Addresses audience. Describes his childishness, lack of feelings, his littleness.

The point of view of the child is well represented in the stories but there is no development in the sense of something being learnt. The adult in Story Four still feels hurt. The adult in Story Five still thinks stealing by a child is understandable. The exception ironically lies in Story Six in which the child begins to develop some understanding of death, the stage at which development ends. Both male writers speak to the reader; as children neither was successful in communicating with adults. Connecting with the reader indicates re-constructing, but such closeness to audience may also indicate a strong feeling of constraint about what can be told.

Section Three.

There is little connection with the present but strong presentation of the child's perception.

Story Seven: **A Heavy School Bag.**

Looks back on child's burden.

Story Eight: **Psychological Force.**

No lesson. Sets incident at nine years of age. Open ending suggesting he is lying to Mother.

Story Nine: **Grandpa's Gift.**

Tasted beer years later and puzzled how people could drink the awful smelling beer.
Only Story Nine clearly connects past and present with the adult puzzlement about how people can like beer. The other two stories concentrate on the child's view only. The reader is not addressed. There is no mention of lessons learnt.

Section Four.

Story Ten:  **Trapped.**  
Thanks teacher for the exciting experience of being locked in and rescued from school.

No specific lesson is learnt and the incident is not connected with adulthood. Thanking the teacher for the exciting experience contradicts the feelings of fear in the story. This ending is set within the time-frame of the context in the story, and is not a later reflection.

Section Five.

Story Eleven: **A Strange Day.**  
No lesson. She felt the dream was strange.

No lesson learnt and not connected with adulthood.

Reconstructing the Past and Teaching.

The strength of the content in the stories is the clear empathy shown for the child. This empathy for the child could be built on in education courses. There is a weakness in a lack of a sense of learning, and of awareness that there is a connection between the incident and the present self of the writer.

5.2.2 Personal Myths.

Here we briefly note the mythic character (May, 1991) the writer has constructed for herself or himself, and add an alternative myth that could also be used for the same story. The reason for the latter is to provide evidence that the writer has a choice in what myth to select for expression in the story, and to show an alternative myth that could also be constructed from the same incident. Only one alternative is provided; others are feasible.
Section One.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Myth</th>
<th>Alternative Myth</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim</td>
<td>Mistress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim</td>
<td>Rebel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Heroine</td>
<td>Power-seeker</td>
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</table>

Story One is unusual in that the movement from one myth to the other lies within the story itself. The girl becomes the Mistress of the Staircase/Knowledge. In Story Two the writer could choose to be dissatisfied with the competitive system of education. In Story Three, the girl could choose to see herself as seeking power within the family.

Section Two.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Myth</th>
<th>Alternative Myth</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim</td>
<td>Rebel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thief</td>
<td>Seeker of Morals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim</td>
<td>Explorer</td>
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</table>

Story Four: *The Bloody Hit.*

In Story Three, the girl could view herself as a rebel against the older generation. The boys could see themselves as looking for searching for higher truths or alternatives to the social systems.

Section Three.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Myth</th>
<th>Alternative Myth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim</td>
<td>Superwoman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard Boy</td>
<td>Explorer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cute Girl</td>
<td>Explorer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The girl in Story Seven could focus on her personal strength. The boy in Story Eight and girl in Story Nine could see themselves as exploring and questioning rigid differences between the male and female worlds.
Section Four.

Story Ten:  *Trapped.*  Dependent Girl  Free Artist

The writer in Story Ten could view herself as capable of escape from rigid systems through use of her imagination, and creative skills.

Section Five.

Story Eleven:  *A Strange Day.*  The Drowner  The Swimmer

The girl in Story Thirty could rebel against the idea that dreams are unimportant, and take them as providing power through expression of the unconscious.

**Personal Myths and Teaching.**

A majority of the writers chose a personal myth, which cast them in the role of victim, either a victim of personal situation or of a system. A personal myth of victim-hood could hinder self-development of the teacher. The stories themselves can be perceived from other more positive mythical perspectives, as suggested in the last column above. Personal myths, therefore, have potential as a foundation for critical reflection and professional growth in teacher education.

5.2.3 **Adult Support.**

The young pre-service student teachers are beginning to construct a life story so the stories provide their interpretations of actual or in one case imagined events. They are trying to present a child's point of view in the story, so the story represents their present ideas (Kerby, 1997; Syrjala and Estola, 1999) about how children perceive relationships with adults, and how children learn. In general, adults, the "supporting cast" (Gergen and Gergen, 1997) are *not* perceived as supportive of children's development in communication. In some cases the behaviour of adults disappoints, in others puzzles. We look for examples of support or lack of support through the language of the adults in the stories.
Section One.

There is communication between the child and adults in the stories in this section.

Story One:  *The Silent Staircase.*  
Mother - consoling, offering imaginative solution.

Story Two:  *The Champion.*  
Teacher - congratulatory, apologetic, upholds rules.

Story Three:  *Green Stapler.*  
Mother reported as explaining and reasoning.  
Didn't phone back or speak to child.  
Neighbours friendly, supportive.

The mother in Story One is exceptional in offering support. The teacher in Story Two offers impersonal rules. I wonder whether she could have given an acceptable explanation to the child. The over-protective mother in Story Three did not communicate or support the girl by teaching her how to use tools before or after the incident. Neighbours helped the girl but the girl as a victim. The girl as a victim is an acceptable role. The girl as user of tools may appear threatening to the mother, rather than just endangering herself. But the key to the relationship is that the mother does not speak directly in the story.

Section Two.

Communication is top-down, and one-way, in this section, from adults to children.

Story Four:  *The Bloody Hit.*  
Mother - ordered. Did not apologize.

Story Five:  *Gold Thief.*  
Parents would punish, not discuss.

Story Six:  *The Day*

   *Grandfather*  
   *Went Away*  
Father ordered, shouted, did not explain.  
Mother explained. Grandfather's dying request for dutiful behaviour.

The adults in Story Three were silent when the mother struck the child. There has been no mention of the incident ever since. The males in Stories Five and Six were not supportive of their boys in terms of talking, explaining or sharing feelings.
Section Three.
In this section, there is a lack of communication, or confusion in communication.

Story Seven: A Heavy School Bag. No speech with parents or grandparents.
Story Eight: Psychological Force. Parents order, mother spoke angrily, and cried.
Story Nine: Grandpa’s Gift. Grandfather - no words reported. Grandmother warned, and pointed out results as warned.

Father said she was drunk.

There is no communication reported between family adults and the girl in Story One. A neighbour upholds the present situation, praising the girl for her maturity. The father in Story Eight and the Grandfather in Story Nine are not reported as speaking, and the father in Story Nine merely reports to the girl that she was drunk. He expresses no feelings on the matter. The mother in Story Eight speaks in an emotional way, which makes the boy feel strange, while the grandmother in Story Nine issues warnings.

Section Four.
The speech of the closest person to the child is not given directly.

Story Ten: Trapped. Mother’s speech reported indirectly; she instructs child to get help. Police express disbelief but then offer reassurance and promise help.

Mother’s actual words are not reported directly, but in indirect speech in Story Ten. This may indicate a barrier beyond that of the telephone. In comparison, direct speech is provided for the children and the officials. The mother appears to be ineffectual. The officials offer verbal support.

Section Five.
Story Eleven: A Strange Day. Mother expressed concern at first fall. Parents called her to wake up, were happy she drowned.

Mother said it was just a dream she could swim.
**Adult Support and Teaching.**

Apart from the first mother, there is a lack of adult support for children in the form of communication among the females. This is interesting because communication on a personal level is commonly considered more of a problem for males than females. Lack of communication would be expected between children and authoritarian parents because communication would tend to be one way and consist mainly of parental orders. This is seen in the stories in section two. In Story Eleven, the girl appears isolated, in a sequence of drowning dreams or trances, in which parents appear, offering a strange comment, or failing to understand the girl's fear. (This story brings to mind, the title of the best-selling book on the problems of adolescent girls "Reviving Ophelia" by Mary Pipher. Pipher claims that girls are drowning because of the contradictory messages they are being sent about appropriate behaviour for females.)

Lack of support in developing communication skills is also apparent in the male stories. The boy in Story Five learns that males don't talk; attractive material things do not satisfy some need he is aware of having, but he is unable explain this need even to himself. The boy in Story Six learns that males do not explain, but expect to be understood even without communication. He learns that he should work hard and be obedient. In Story Eight a boy learns that in the male world he is expected to compete even if the competition is unfair for some competitors, and although such a male world appears unfair, he cannot stay within a female world, which, as represented by his mother, is emotionally uncontrolled or even unstable. For the males, emotions and talk appear to present problems. The general result, as evidenced in adult language, is that there is little support for the children from close adults.

With the poor models of communication in most cases above, the student teachers, both female and male, would need great support to develop their own communication skills with children.

**5.2.4 Connections to Society.**

The stories provide insight into student teachers' thinking about children as members
of a particular society (Cortazzi, 1993; Gudmundsdottir, 1990; May 1995). What kind of connections do they feel? Is there any sense that they feel constrained to tell stories that are socially acceptable (Novitz, 1997)?

Section One.
The girl in the first story tells only of the family. The other two girls set their stories in the Hong Kong contexts of kindergarten and housing estate.

Story One: **The Silent Staircase.** Connected to sister and mother. Refers to other troubles in China indirectly. Father not mentioned.


Story Three: **Green Stapler.** Child lonely while parents worked. Power held by father. Desires mother's attention. Male and female neighbours friendly and supportive.

In the first story, the family, consisting of females, offers stability and happiness. There is a hint of outside troubles relating to living in Southern China, as against Hong Kong. The second story offers a view of a happy early childhood education but trouble comes with competition, which is a requirement of a society in which not all children can succeed, despite helpful friends or friendly seeming teachers. In Story Three, the girl mentions that both parents worked and her own loneliness. Although the stapler belonged to her father, her concern is with gaining attention from her mother. It is of interest that the connecting symbol, the stapler, belonged to the male. But the child is unable to use the connecting tool safely. Mother has warned this tool is dangerous. However, the girl felt supported by male and female neighbours. The old style Hong Kong flats/rooms with gated doors opening onto a long corridor allowed for human interaction to a greater extent than the more modern flats with small corridors and few flats per floor or section. There is social support for females.
in these three stories, from a mother and sister, from a friend, and from neighbours. Male power lies un-examined in the background. This may be an example of control over what stories can be told Novitz, (1997). It also fits with Smail's (1999) theory that people blame themselves or close others for problems rather than the distant, unseen powers. Competition is accepted in Hong Kong schools, and by Hong Kong society in general, as also are traditional gender roles.

Section Two.

Social worlds of a housing estate, a small convenience store, a school picnic and a hospital are brought into the stories in this section.

Story Four: *The Bloody Hit.* No father mentioned. Mother appears to be housewife, but neglectful of children. Separation of adult and child worlds, though parallel in playfulness.

Story Five: *Gold Thief.* The boy is isolated in a silent male world of business.

Story Six: *The Day Grandfather Went Away* The boy longs for escape, his school picnic, but society demands duty comes first. Fate ensures it.

Harris (1998) might claim that Story Four shows the importance of the peer group, but it is the mother who has the power to wound, and it is the mother who appears as important in the story, not peers. The social game of mah jong brings the adults together but isolates the child. In Story Five the male writer mentions mother only in passing as in the fact that if he had told his crime his parents would have punished him. In the rest of the story the silent father and two male shop assistants are remote figures. The boy is not connected socially. The moral issue conversation in the story is addressed to himself, and the reader. He was not able to refer the problem to his parents. The writer of this story did, in fact, wrestle with the problem of what can be told. When the students came to publish their stories, he considered carefully
whether he wanted his story to be included. He chose in the end to publish but under a short form of his name. He used an English name and his surname, the latter a common name in Hong Kong, rather than his full Chinese name. This may show how we are constrained as to what stories we can tell.

In Story Six, the boy tried to connect with his father asking about his feelings but is rebuffed; mother explains events, but not feelings to him. School is something about which one dreams of escape. Grandfather gives dying instructions to the boy to attend to duty to family. The boys in both stories appear isolated in their society; the shoplifting and the enquiry about father's unhappiness can be taken as attempts on the part of the boys to form connections with family adult males. Both fail.

Section Three.

Social expectation of girls and boys are clear in the stories in this section.

Story Seven: *A Heavy School Bag.* Society expects a child/girl to be mature; not expect to feel loved.

Story Eight: *Psychological Force.* Society expects boys to naughty and competitive. Females are too emotional.

Story Nine: *Grandpa's Gift.* Males are more playful, permissive. Females more restrictive but less powerful.

Story Seven shows a child who feels isolated emotionally from family adults. She asks a female neighbour whether there is something wrong with her and whether that is why she is not loved, but is merely praised for her maturity in thinking of the feelings of others. Society here is seen as demanding but not supporting. Story Eight also deals with some isolation issues as the boy struggles with needing to be accepted by male peers, the leader of whom is somewhat threatening and also competitive. But this requires breaking away from a very emotional mother. There is no mention of a father modeling male behaviour. The boy understands being male means being active and outrageous, being competitive, and lying in order to escape from emotional females. His need to get away from his mother is related to research
findings on the need for boys to develop their hard side, and ignore the emotions. See Prendergast and Forrest (in Bendelow and Williams, 1998, p. 168-169):

Seemingly the safest place is out of reach, out of touch; ... boys emotionally and physically engage with girls as 'other' ambiguous, potentially overwhelming, out of control.

The need for physical and emotional distancing from the mother is expressed in the story, and in the writer's PT1.

In Story Nine, the girl is connected to her permissive, playful, powerful grandfather. He appears as more attractive to the child than the traditional grandmother. The child has some security within the grandparents' home; but the child's drunkenness, and now adult puzzlement regarding the attraction of alcohol, may point to other questions about male and female roles. The parents are mentioned factually, the mother is going to give birth to twins while father tells the child she was drunk. The absence of any emotional words about the parents or between the child and her father may point to some feeling of unexpressed isolation, or lack of closeness with her parents.

Section Four.

Story Ten:  **Trapped.**  
Society offers official male support to females.

Story Ten shows a girl who is not helped by adult females closest to her, her teacher, and her mother. One female classmate escapes but then disappears. But the writer is helped by male officials of society: policemen and firemen. The classmates are not referred to as friends, but classmates, so the child appears emotionally or psychologically isolated even though she is with other children. But she is able to create a socially acceptable story, in the genre of a school adventure story

Section Five.

Story Eleven: **A Strange Day.**  No indication of social support. Mother offers some physical but not emotional support. A ghost girl is threatening
The girl in Story Eleven appears to be connected with a world of spirits or dreams or water rather than with the real world. This may be an example of a story-teller not being able to tell an acceptable story of her childhood (Baird, 1996; Hesse, 1999; Novitz, 1997). This last story-teller does not appear to have even the power of creating a story, as the writer of Story Ten did.

**Connections to Society and Teaching.**

There is evidence in the stories of a need for teacher education to critically address issues such as the economic, political and social background to education in Hong Kong. Connected to these are issues such as the debilitating effects of gender stereotypes on both girls and boys, competition, and an understanding of powers that constrain us to tell stories in a particular way.

**5.2.5 The Stories, PTs and Attachment Theory.**

Writing a story of childhood does not have the same power to surprise the writer as the Adult Attachment Interview Protocol has to surprise a speaker. Therefore, we may not expect to uncover as much through the written stories in this collection as might be expected in the immediacy of oral interviews. However, the stories and PTs do provide parallels with results of the AAIP, as reported in Hesse (1999, ch. 19). For example, speakers in the AAIP who told coherent stories with sufficient and not too much information, whether the story was of a happy or sad event, were judged to be secure/autonomous. Their children were judged as securely attached in the infant strange situation. This pattern is found in my exploratory study where there is correspondence between the amount of security in the story and in the PTs. I do not provide a full comparison here as the content has already appeared in chapter Four. Instead I provide some representative examples. I note here that I did not find a correspondence between length of story and type of attachment. This may have been a feature of two facts: (a) the stories were written, not spoken; (b) the stories were written in a second language.
Examples from Each Section.
The child in Story One is secure and her PTs also show empathy with children. Story Two shows disappointment with a teacher who appeared authoritative but then proved to be authoritarian, causing some confusion to the child. The confusion is shown in the PTs in the writer's present unconsciously authoritarian, and consciously authoritative, attitudes to children.
In the second set of stories, Story Four shows the child's contempt at the mother's neglect of childcare and housework, and her interest in playing mahjong. The PTs show a basically authoritarian teaching orientation.
In the third set of stories, Story Seven shows a child preoccupied with lack of emotional security. The corresponding PTs show a preoccupied teacher, the first especially showing the teacher's focus on herself. These matches between the stories and the PTs are in line with attachment theory findings.

Stories, PTs, Attachment and Teaching.
There are connections in the stories and PTs between parenting styles and teaching styles. Such material would therefore be a valuable resource for teaching and learning. Its value in education programmes would be enhanced because the material is elicited from the learners, and personal experience can be used as the starting point for critical study. The similarities and differences between the stories and the PTs offer points of discussion.

5.2.6 Tone and the Attachment Theory.
By looking at the self-references in particular, as well as the story as a whole, I ascribe the following tones to each story. Emotional tone is considered very important by researchers in different fields (McAdams 1990, 1993 in Revelle 1995; Scharnberg, 1996). I then compared these references with those found in the Adult Attachment Interview Protocol as reported by Hesse (1999). There is a correspondence between tone in the stories and in Hesse's findings as well as a correspondence with findings in the PTs.
Section One.
There is a quality of liveliness, freshness, and humour in the stories in this section whether the incident relates success or failure. Attachment theory claims such a quality for securely attached adults talking about their childhood.

Story One: The Silent Staircase. Playful; humorous; imaginative.
Humour and being able to imagine from another's viewpoint are associated with Securely Attached/Autonomous.

Story Two: The Champion. Angry about injustice; questioning; accepting.
Forgiveness is associated with Securely Attached/Autonomous. It can be argued, however, that accepting may not mean forgiving.

Story Three: Green Stapler. Needing mother; planning and organizing; humorous.
Humour, references to missing/need of other persons, and being coherent are associated with Securely Attached/Autonomous.

Section Two.
Story Four: The Bloody Hit. Happy outside; neglected by mother; wounded.
Contempt is associated with Dismissing.

Story Five: Gold Thief. Bravado; isolation; self-justification.
Bravado as lack of expression of emotional vulnerability, and fear of going with a problem to a parent are associated with Dismissing.

Story Six: The Day Isolation; wish to escape duty; guilt.
Went Away.
If guilt here corresponds with contempt for self, it corresponds with Dismissing, as does a lack of security suggested by isolation.

Section Three.
Story Seven: A Heavy School Bag. Sad; despairing; no self-esteem.
Maximizing attention to attachment issues corresponds to Preoccupied.
Story Eight: *Psychological Force. Naughty; fearful; confused.*  
Fear is associated with Preoccupied.

Story Nine: *Grandpa's Gift. Playful; curious; drunk.*  
Confusion (drunk) is associated with Preoccupied; lack of emotion relating to parents corresponds with Dismissing.

Section Four.

Story Ten: *Trapped. Dutiful; fearful; relieved.*  
Fear is associated with Preoccupied.

Section Five.

Story Eleven: *A Strange Day. Fearful, Strange, Unsafe.*  
Fear is associated with Preoccupied; lack of reasoning corresponds with Disorientated and may be associated with the arousal of unintegrated fear. Collapse or trance-like behaviour is associated with Disorientated.

The above comparison of tone in the stories with the findings related to tone and attachment in the AAIP show a close match. Some AAIP work (as reported in Hesse, 1999, p. 405) has a "cannot classify" category when a small percent of scripts seemed to fit into the Dismissing, and later the Preoccupied categories. (This brings to mind Kagan's warning not to rely on any one way of understanding human nature.) Such may be the case with Story Nine, in which there are two correspondences. However, they may also be a result of obtaining the data through the written form rather than the spoken form. But when we add the information from the PTs, the orientation of the writer is clarified. Such discrepancies, or puzzling cases, do not appear to me to be problematic, as I would like to see the stories being used to develop thinking about teaching styles. The possible different interpretations of a story, or differences between conscious and unconscious orientation in the PTs, would, I hope, lead to in-depth discussion and reflection on the part of the student teachers and teacher educators. For example, Story Two in this collection, *The Champion,* has already
been read with pre-service kindergarten teachers in another class. There was a great deal of discussion about the teacher's behaviour, and about whether the story-teller had really accepted the teacher's decision, and if so, what that meant about her own orientation towards teaching.

Stories, Tone and Teaching.
The expression of feelings, as evidenced in the tone of the stories, allows of discussion of emotions, and some of the constraints on their expression. For example, males may feel free to express anger but not sadness. Females may feel free to express happiness but not anger.

5.2.7 Self-Esteem.
Self references in the stories are used to examine self-esteem (Bednar and Peterson, 1995; Deigh, 1995; Hamachek, 1991) and to investigate differences. The references refer to the views expressed by the writer-as-child rather than any later writer-as-adult views.

Section One.
According to Thomas (in Dillon, 1995, p. 261) those with high self esteem "tend to be more confident and independent" in what they do, and expect that "what they do will be well received by others."

Story One: The Silent Staircase. Lively, active, wild; determined not to lose game; expresses physical pain, anger, is comforted, naughty, rude mistress.

Story Two: The Champion. Enjoyed KG till test made nervous, determined, active, so happy to be champion, lost, disbelieving, cheated, questioning.

Story Three: Green Stapler. Alone, lonely, bored, naughty, humorous, self-managing, brave, quick-thinking.
The girls provide evidence of their high self-esteem in being active, and determined, the first two wanting to be winners, and the third wanting to manage by herself, and to be recognized for her bravery and cleverness. The girl in Story Two is shocked when the teacher fails to recognize her as a champion.

Section Two.
There is a quality of distance between children and adults in the stories in this section. The children act as if isolated rather than independent. They lack regard from adults.

Story Four: *The Bloody Hit.*
Golden childhood on estate, playful, obedient, responsible, never worried mother, suffered, puzzled, studied alone, tired blank mind, silent, mind wounded.

Story Five: *Gold Thief.*
Discussion on theft and arrest, wandered, felt coins for no reason, desire to steal, couldn't ask, pretended all normal, fear of jail, never told parents, child can't resist magic.

Story Six: *The Day Grandfather Went Away.*
Dreaming of picnic, asks after Dad's feelings, obeyed, childish, no feeling, not cold-blooded, didn't know Death, only six, promises to obey and study, knew feeling of pain. Pictured grandfather taking care of him.

The girl in Story Four has a feeling of self-esteem with playmates, but feels overburdened with responsibility at home. She appears to feel used rather than respected. The boy in Story Five lacks a moral sense; he has learnt to pretend, but not reason clearly about his actions. He is under the influence of magic. Lack of respect from adults and lack of power reflect lack of self-esteem. The Boy in Story Six dreams of escape from a world in which he understands pain, but adults do not help him understand feelings. He appears burdened with duty as does the girl in Story
Four. The last picture of Grandfather may represent that filial duty is required by him to repay adult care. Each child attempts escape from duty, through play outside, through the excitement of shoplifting, or through dreaming. Lack of respect from and communication with adults, lack of power and the need to escape reflect lack of self-esteem.

Section Three.
There are negative and confused feelings in the stories in this section, as well as difficulties with independence.

Story Seven: A Heavy School Bag. Mother left me, father in debt, parents abandoned me, no one carried my bag, no one loves me, should be mature, I could not bear it.

Story Eight: Psychological Force. Active, punished at school, never disobeyed parents, mother would hit, forced to stay out, confused by boys, won't compete, scared/strange at mother's embrace.

Story Nine: Grandpa's Gift. Needed to stay, didn't feel bored, liked permissive strong Grandpa, curious, liked her pink cup with cat picture, poured carefully, didn't understand grandma, drank without permission, felt hot, sleepy, annoyed, remembered "You are feeling bad".

The parental abandonment of the girl in Story Seven leads to lack of self-esteem expressed in her negative feelings about her childhood, and responsibility. She does not want to be mature and understanding of adults, or independent. The boy in Story Eight shows a need for self-esteem in feeling he must stay out late to keep his friends, and in trying to break away from his mother. The girl in Story Nine shows lack of self esteem when she claims lack of understanding as an excuse for taking more
drink without permission despite grandmother's warning. In addition, both Story Eight and Nine show confused feelings about gender roles. The boy knows that he should not be emotional like his mother, but has difficulty with the role offered by his male friend. The girl knows she should not be strong like grandfather, but has difficulty accepting the less attractive, traditionally dependent role of the female demonstrated by grandmother.

Story Ten:  **Trapped.**

A light heart, frightened, worrying, shocked, my safety, not brave, too frightened, scared, relieved could hold mother's arm.

There are references that can be taken as showing self-esteem and lack of self-esteem. The anger when the police disbelieve her at first indicates some self-esteem in that she expects them to believe her. Holding mother's arm could indicate dependence. But the self-references to fear are common in the story. While some fear is normal, being afraid of phoning the police indicates lack of self-esteem.

**Section Five.**

Story Eleven:  **A Strange Day.**

I am falling, slid down, Baby, felt strange, fell, felt unsafe, could not breathe.

Fear is pervasive in Story Eleven and there is no resolution at the end of the story. There is no feeling of self-esteem; there is not even a clear picture of the self unless it is of a baby figure. However, the child is five years old.

**Self-esteem and Teaching.**

The lack of self-esteem in many of the stories is cause for concern. Teachers who do not feel self-esteem themselves cannot help children feel esteem. Neither will they be able to work in a collegial way with professional colleagues, because in lacking confidence, they would find it threatening to be observed teaching, or to discuss alternative teaching methods.
5.2.8 Stability versus Change.

The idea that our stories help us to see ourselves in time, and may be used to encourage change, or to cling to stability (Gergen and Gergen, 1997; Novitz, 1997) is an important one for teacher educators interested in narrative. Do the stories present ideas of stability or possibilities for development?

Section One.

Stories in Section One suggest development.

Story One: The Silent Staircase. Going down the staircase, symbolizing seeking self-knowledge, may be painful but can be done. Humour and imagination can help.

Story Two: The Champion. The conclusion is that rules prevail but the emotion suggests otherwise.

Story Three: Green Stapler. The relative power of males/females is symbolized in access to the stapler; the girl's attempt to usurp power is punished; her bravery wins social applause, not maternal support.

The stories in Section One suggest movement, and possibilities for self-development. Story Two claims acceptance of the status quo at the end but such equanimity is challenged by the strong feelings evident in the telling. Even the writing of an incident from early schooldays is telling. Such memories may not be normally strong because as Mayall (1998, p. 141-144) says, at school, the cognitive is distinguished from and takes precedence over the emotional and physical ... Our data indicate that adult and child social worlds are in tension at school, the social order of the school is formally fixed and children have little chance to take part in its modification. These factors may explain in part why people do not recall their school-days as subjectively important: school is not experienced as participative.
In Story Two, the child's discomfort may be seen as reflecting this sense of unease between the rule or cognitive, and the emotional. The fact that she has recalled this incident and writes about it with strong feelings indicates a tension, a feeling of mismatch. Such feelings may lead to development, but support in reflecting on wider power relationships would be needed to challenge deeper thinking and/or support movement.

Section Two.
The stories in section two, with an authoritarian background, would be expected to suggest lack of movement. Moghaddam (1998, p. 360) reports that research shows authoritarians as being "rigid, conventional, and more likely to see the world in categorical, right/wrong terms (that is, they do not see shades of gray on issues)." He quotes from Bob Altemeyer's studies on the subject during the 1980s: highly submissive, conventional people come to feel gravely threatened by social change or disorder. This fear seems to originate with their parents' warnings that the world is a dangerous and hostile place ... Other emotions such as envy may feed the authoritarian's hostility, but not to nearly as great an extent (Altemeyer, 1988, p. 38, in Moghaddam, 1998).

Story Four: **The Bloody Hit.**
The mother plays. Housework/order is neglected.

Story Five: **Gold Thief.**
Power/order symbolized in the gold coin, can be stolen. There is unease as well as bravado in disordering. Silenced boy.

Story Six: **The Day Grandfather Went Away.**

Moghaddam (1998, p. 251) "cross cultural research suggests that parents from low socioeconomic status (SES) groups value and emphasize obedience more than do middle-class parents." There are indications in two of the stories that the children
were in lower SES groups: the very small flat in Story Four, and the desire for the gold coin in Story Five. Stories Four and Five may also include some feeling of envy - the girl envies her mother's play while the child studies, and the gold thief who cannot name his own needs is perhaps envious of the power of the males around him, evidenced in their business dealings. The world is a dangerous place for these children, one may be struck by mother, another cannot even dare talk about moral issues with his parents, for the third, death may strike at any time, a punishment for his desire for pleasure over duty. There is disorder, too, in the home of the child in Story Four, and in the arrival of death in Story Six. Obedience is important in Story Four and Story Six.

The fact that the stories were written allows of the possibility of the thinking behind them being further examined, and reflected upon, and such action may allow of movement.

Section Three.

The stories in this section point towards stability but stability associated with pain or confusion. Perhaps there is some spark in the second and third story, the avowed naughtiness and coinage, or the attraction towards novelty, but the first story is without hope.

Story Seven: A Heavy School Bag. The bag symbolizes all the burdens carried. No sense of possibility of relief/change/help.

Story Eight: Psychological Force. A future of either unfair male competition/female emotionalism is fearful. The former will win.

Story Nine: Grandpa's Gift. Beer, the drink of the gods*, is rejected as awful and puzzling.

A gender issue may be relevant to Story Seven. The Chinese reader suggested that the grandparents might have less interest in this child because she is a girl and because they do not love her parents. Gender is relevant to the other two stories.
Moghaddam (1998, p. 424) reports Susan Fiske's theory on the justification function of stereotypes, that the powerful, more likely to be men, use stereotyping to exert control because then even those not biased know the stereotypes and stereotypes can be prescriptive, telling people how they ought to behave. Story Eight shows the boy's understanding of his role based on stereotyping. His projection of emotion onto his mother, and his failure to compete with the older boy tell of an inner struggle over taking on his allotted role. Moghaddam (1998, p. 419) quotes cross-cultural research that shows that girls "hold fewer traditional attitudes toward gender roles than do boys." This may be why grandfather is the favourite character in Story Nine.

The female writer found grandfather attractive, and even drank his male drink* despite grandmother's disapproval. But now as a young woman, her role requires that she find the drink awful. In the complete collection of 29 stories there are four stories by females in which a male is admired, but only one by a male in which a girl is admired but only in a background, passive role as the beautiful princess, needing rescue. Girls can admire males or females but boys are more restricted.

Discussion on inner strength as related to Story Seven, and the possibility that choices may not be so stark as epitomized in Eight and Nine might provide some support for development. Fishing* in Story Eight can symbolize a search for the soul, or the inner person, not just a male competition. The fact the boy went on the expedition can be used to suggest he wants to develop.

Section Four.

The created story has within it the idea of movement through the story itself having been created, through the image of the acrobat*, and the use of a ladder for escape. But there may also be a gender issue here. Mayall says that there is research to show that:

Girls learn not to develop their muscles, if they are to be socially acceptable, and to restrict their bodily movements within smaller spaces than boys do (in Bendelow and Williams, 1998, p. 139).
Story Ten: *Trapped.* The acrobat symbolizing freedom/overcoming natural limitations, but movement arouses fear.

The claim at the end of the story that the writer thanked her teacher for giving her this adventure, and the use of the images of escape and freedom could be used as starting points for discussion on freedom and self-development through the arts. But in the story, fear is the main restriction on movement.

*Section Five.*

The last story may fall within Gergen and Gergen's (1997) definition of a regressive narrative. There is movement of a kind but it is going back towards the helpless infant. The story repeats the idea of falling and losing consciousness and drowning. When the child announces that she can swim, mother tells her it was only a dream.

Story Eleven: *A Strange Day.* The child falls, pushed by a foreign child. She loses consciousness, dreams of drowning and swimming.

The last sentence of her mother's, a rejection of dreams and imagination, might be used as a point for discussion towards development, as for example, in the idea that water can symbolize a re-birth, a new life.

*Stability versus Change and Teaching.*

Overall, there is potential within the stories to raise issues, which might lead to development, even with stories, which in themselves, suggest stability or regression. But as an educator, I have to believe in the possibility of development. Syrjala and Estola (1999, p.12) wondered why their teachers' stories often had happy endings. They offer the explanation: "in order to be a teacher you need hope." Hope makes people optimistic and want to make sense from experiences.

*5.3 Connections with the Theoretical Questions.*

The discussion of the content of the stories and PTs has borne out findings elsewhere, that a young adult constructs a biography of a mythic self in relation to
close adults, set in a particular culture/society. The mythic self may have a strong or weak sense of self. Relationships with adults may support or hinder the development of the self in terms of self-esteem. Despite their strength to damage lives, the influences of the culture/society may lie unexamined in the background of the story. The stories do not show the writer as a fixed character, but the construction of the story indicates the dangers of choosing the role of victim. The stories themselves provide evidence for the possibility of changing the self-role.

The research has revealed, through analysis based on attachment theory, and Baumrind's parenting styles, that

(i) stories of childhood can be analyzed to reveal different forms of child to adult attachment;
(ii) Projective Techniques can reveal unconscious and conscious attitudes towards teaching, that is adult to child relationships;
(iii) there are connections between the child-adult relationships in the stories and the teacher-child relationships in the Projective Techniques.

The overall findings confirm that stories of childhood reveal a teaching orientation based on secure/authoritative, insecure/authoritarian, or ambivalent/permissive. This is not a claim that the orientation is necessarily fixed. Grice's principles of coherency in communication were found useful for examining quality, and manner, but not for length. The latter may have been due to the fact that the students were using a second language, and that the stories were written rather than spoken.

5.5 Critique of methodology.
I would like to raise four issues related to the methodology. First there is the question of whether it is necessary to use "real" stories, and how trustworthy they need to be. I do not know whether the stories in this collection were based on real incidents or imagined. I chose not to ask students, to allow privacy to those who may, or may not, have felt empowered to deal with real incidents. Whether students would have the
same depth of interest in defining and comparing parenting style and their own potential teaching style based on an imagined, as against a real story, would require research. However, Moghaddam (1998, p. 74) reports that research shows that "associations linked to the sense of self are richer and more complex than associations linked to other persons." This suggests the importance of the use of the personal as a starting point for studies in education.

Second, the use of a female teacher in the PT1 picture may have made it difficult for the male writers to project their teaching orientation onto her. Different answers might have been received if the male writers had been given a cartoon with a male teacher. On the other hand, the use of the female may have freed students to express negative views towards females. Such views need to be addressed within a teacher education programme.

Third, the use of a second language for writing the stories may have presented difficulties for some students. Perhaps there were times when they couldn't find the words they needed to express themselves. Alternatively, the use of another language may have freed the students to present a story they might not have ever told in Cantonese to Cantonese peers or a Cantonese teacher. The researcher-receiver of stories was a foreigner so writing in English may have empowered the students because they were knowledgeable about their own culture in a way the teacher was not. They had expertise.

Finally, there are no classroom observations to confirm or disconfirm findings regarding teaching orientation among the story-tellers. However, since this study has been completed, there has been one drop-out from the Institute - somebody who, for whatever reason, will not teach, the writer of Story Six. One hopes he has escaped from an imposed duty, school-teaching, to follow a career of his own choice, his "picnic".

5.6 Trustworthiness and Repeatability.
This study demonstrates an efficient and beneficial way to research student teachers' orientation towards one of three main teaching styles. The collection of stories and PTs written by student teachers demonstrated here, means the data collecting fits
within normal allocated teaching-learning time. The writing of the stories was a benefit to the researched as well as the researcher, because the data served the purposes of fulfilling module requirements for students as well as research for the teacher educator. Furthermore, the potential use of the analytical tools by the students themselves would be another benefit to them. The study may easily be replicated by teacher educators in other places.

The use of attachment theory tools to analyse the data, the presentation of eleven stories in full (Appendices 1 and 2), and the responses to the PTs in full in the analysis, allows of scrutiny by others of both the methodology and the findings. This is one element in the attempt to provide a trustworthy account; the second is that where there have been discrepancies, they have been discussed.

5.7 Summary.

In this chapter, the stories and the PTs have been discussed in relation to previous research in child development, particularly attachment theory. This exploratory study has borne out findings elsewhere, that a young adult constructs a biography of a mythic self in relation to close adults and set in a particular society. Stories of early childhood experiences provide insight into present thinking about child-adult relationships and the PTs provide insight into future teacher-child relationships. The data are connected in showing orientation towards teaching based on experiences of childhood as related here. There are suggestions, moreover, within the content of the stories, either through tone or topic, that the feelings of students are not fixed, and that there is hope for development. Differences between the unconscious and conscious orientations to teaching in the PTs, and their connections to the stories, imply the possibility of personal development in a supportive framework.
Chapter 6. Conclusions and Implications

6.1 Introduction.
This chapter begins with some general conclusions drawn from the exploratory study. It then evaluates the research in terms of its limitations, as well as its contribution to the field of teacher education. Finally, suggestions are made regarding further research.

6.2 General Conclusions.
Three main conclusions can be drawn from this study. The first relates to narratives and child-adult relationships; the second to the use of projective techniques for eliciting teaching orientation, and the third to the framework used for interpreting the stories.

Narratives and Child-Adult Relationships.
This exploratory study has demonstrated that stories of childhood can be used to research the student teachers' explicit or implicit beliefs about relationships between children and adults. Although the stories are set in the past, they have significance for the present because they tell us something about the present state of the student teachers' beliefs about child-adult relationships because people "selectively recall past behaviours to make them consistent with their current attitudes" (Huberman, 1995, p. 137). The first general conclusion reached, therefore, is that the beliefs of the student teachers about child-adult relationships, as found in their stories of childhood, suggest their general orientation towards one of three styles of parenting or teaching.

Projective Techniques and Teaching Style.
Two projective technique exercises, which were context specific, drew out student teachers' unconscious and conscious orientation to teaching. In some cases, there was a match, while in others there was not a match, between the unconscious and the conscious style. A discrepancy could suggest inner conflict about teacher role, a
conflict also found in the matching story. Conflict suggests the possibility of
development, if the challenge becomes explicit to the student. A second conclusion
is that the combination of both resources, stories and projective technique exercises,
offers both student teachers and researchers a potentially rich insight into student
teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards the role of the teacher.

Framework for Inquiry.
In this study, a framework developed from attachment theory and parenting styles
allows implicit beliefs in the stories and the projective technique exercises to be
made explicit, not only to the researcher, but also to the story-tellers. A third
conclusion, therefore, is that attachment theory and parenting style theory provide
useful tools for examining child-adult relationships and adult-child relationships as
perceived by young adults. Access to such perceptions is important for teacher
educators and their students.

6.3 Limitations.
There were several limitations to this study. First, the findings are based on a small
sample of 29 student teachers. However, ongoing research with two more groups
suggests similar findings.
Second, the findings relate only to a group of Hong Kong student teachers. Whether
similar findings would be found with other cultural groups or within diverse groups,
remains to be seen.
Third, orientation of the students towards a particular teaching style was assessed
mainly through stories and projective techniques. A further study of the students’
orientation to teaching, as evinced by their orientation at pre-service level and
in-service level in the classroom, would be needed to confirm or negate the findings.
The investigation was carried out by one researcher. However, two measures were
taken to allow for scrutiny of the findings by others. First, a Chinese reader checked
the findings for any cultural misperceptions. Second, the full set of stories is
provided in the appendices. Nevertheless, a fourth limitation is that this is essentially
a one-woman Western view and similar research would need to be undertaken by
other researchers to confirm or disconfirm the findings.

6.4 Contribution to Teacher Education.

In this section, I would like to connect the study with criticisms of teacher education, outlined in the Introduction, as well as suggesting six contributions this study makes to the field of teacher education in terms of:

- implicit beliefs;
- the student as resource;
- connections between the personal and the theoretical;
- change from within;
- attachment theory;
- from the personal to the powerful.

Implicit Beliefs

The results of this exploratory study confirm that students have already "learnt how to teach" in their own schooldays before they enter education programmes (Cortazzi, 1993). However, when they were given a choice, few students set their early childhood stories in the school; the context for their learning is more likely to have been in the home/family. This may explain one of the difficulties in bringing about change in teaching. Beliefs about teaching may relate to relationships with family members, particularly the mother, rather than school experiences, and such beliefs, having become implicit in childhood, may not normally be available for examination. This finding, confirming, through different research, the research of others, such as Bodycott (1995), is a contribution to the field of education. The key for teacher educators would be to use the resource of childhood stories as a basis for teacher education, to help students make explicit their beliefs about teaching. The beliefs would then be open to challenge. At present students may well hold the common belief that they learnt to teach during their schooldays.
The Student as Resource.

Hargreaves (1994, p. 251) writes of the need for genuine discussion in education, "Voices need to be not only heard, but also engaged, reconciled and argued with."

The evidence from this research is that students, even at the pre-service level, provide different views of relationships between children and adults. These differences, if made explicit through the support of the teacher educator, allow of debate. That the students themselves are capable of providing a varied and rich resource for learning and teaching is another contribution to teacher education.

Connecting the Personal and the Theoretical.

While attribution theory research has made clear the importance of addressing teacher beliefs, education theories may appear as irrelevant to student teachers because they think they already know how to teach, or they claim challenging theory is unworkable (Rath 2001, p. 2). But the stories of childhood provide evidence for student teachers that they have already developed, as a group, different beliefs or theories of teaching. By beginning with their personal but different stories, and helping students make their implicit beliefs explicit, the teacher educator can help students make connections between personal experience and the theoretical. This study has shown how stories of childhood and PTs could make such unconscious and conscious beliefs accessible to students. Such accessibility is necessary if students are to be encouraged to critically examine their own ideas, instead of simply dismissing the ideas of others out-of-hand. This study has shown how frameworks of analysis can be used with personal writing to make beliefs explicit; the study suggests using such personal beliefs as an introduction to educational theories. The connection between the personal and the theoretical makes it more difficult for students to simply dismiss alternate views without reflection. The demonstration in this study that childhood stories provide evidence of different orientations towards teaching style suggests their potential usefulness in education programmes.
Change from Within.

Just as there are perceived problems with beginning teacher education with theories, so too there is a problem with the idea of the apprentice model. For example, the student may express admiration for the model teacher but feel/claim inability to emulate. But perhaps real change in education will only come from within the teachers, rather than through imposition, theories, or models. The investment already made in writing the stories, and their interest in each other’s stories provide a strong personal starting point for examining issues in education, more involving, perhaps, than reports of other people’s research findings. The personal connection would be more valuable than lectures, for example, on treating male and female pupils without discrimination. Indeed, Titus (2000, p. 1) states, based on feminist issues in social studies with student teachers, that “their attitudes will not be altered through a teacher’s moralizing posture of advocacy.” Instead, “Resistance has been found to decline when students’ own work rather than professors’ lectures uncovers the stratified nature of our society” (Davis, 1992, in Titus p. 8). What needs to be taken into account is the personality of the teacher, personality not as something fixed, but as containing possibilities for development. This study has provided evidence that possible seeds for personal development lie within the student teachers, through their own stories of childhood, their own personal myths, and their unconscious and conscious beliefs about teaching. Whether their beliefs can be changed has not been researched. However, there is clear evidence in the stories that the story itself does not demand a particular myth; the story contains the possibility of developing other myths. Gilbert (1993) calls this “the potential power of storying to construct new stories.” This study has provided evidence that there are alternate possible views of their myths; the study suggests that the students could be supported in developing their myths, especially in developing a personal myth, which empowers. The role of the teacher educator in using the stories would be to provide support, for interpreting experience anew with the aim of helping development. Support would be especially necessary, even vital, for students whose stories suggest acceptance of passivity or the role of victim, or of students who have problems in dealing with childhood.
Attachment Theory.

This study has provided evidence that analytical frameworks developed from attachment theory and parenting styles could be used to make students' implicit beliefs about teaching explicit to the teacher educator, and to the student teachers, and therefore open such beliefs to question, reflection and challenge. The study does not suggest attachment theory as the only true way (Kagan, 1994) but has provided evidence of its value to research in teacher education.

From the Personal to the Powerful.

Although only a snapshot in time, the stories and PTs in this study provide insight into student teachers' present perceptions of child-adult relationships and adult-child relationships. Such perceptions could form the foundations for teacher education courses. The courses could begin by addressing the present unconscious and conscious attitudes towards teaching and learning of student teachers. More specifically students can study their own stories, together with classmates, to develop their reflective skills in relation to personal issues, and then move towards the many unseen issues which impact on childhood and education, such as, for example, gender roles and power, social roles and expectations, political control, economic issues, power relationships, and cultural diversity. Hargreaves (ch. 2) would agree that it is imperative that students understand their stories against their social and political background, that in story-telling, the students are not merely self-indulgent and narcissistic. Zeichner (1995; p. 22) goes further in demanding more than just understanding the forces around us: he calls for “a concern for social reconstruction that will move us towards a society where what we want for our own children is available to everyone’s children. This is the only kind of world with which we should be satisfied.” These might be considered dangerous words: no wonder governments fear education, which is not in their tight control. This study has shown that stories of childhood contain material for broadening discussion on education to encompass the many unseen powers which impact on the lives of children and teachers.
6.5 Implications for Future Research.

The stories and PTs in this exploratory study provide data, which could be analysed in many other ways other than those provided here. Apart from analyzing the data in different ways, there are implications for research on the usefulness of such work to teacher education. Implications from this study point towards the need to explore the connections between such data and the following areas: field experience, gender issues, empathy, and changing views.

Childhood Stories and Field Experience.
A fruitful area for research would be to connect the research with field experience. This could be done through analysis of student teachers' field experience journals and a comparison with the results of their stories and PTs. A post-field experience research study could involve students in the analysis. The information would be potentially self-developing. At present, field experience journals at the Institute do not point students towards the wider meanings of what happens in schools. The tendency is to focus on small areas such as Instruction or Classroom Language or Management or Lesson Planning. There is no sense of either wider connections between the classroom and the outside world, or more intimate connections between the classroom and the personality and previous life experiences of the teacher.

Gender Issues.
The need for education courses to address gender issues is known generally from research around the world, in Cross and Markus (1993), and specifically in The Hong Kong Institute of Education (Forrester and Heron, 1995). The analysis of stories in this study has shown that Hong Kong boys may be grappling with the same needs as girls although taking different routes. Both girls and boys have problems communicating with adults and having their needs met, and role models do not appear to be available for modeling adult authoritative behaviour. Further research is needed into gender roles in terms of the perceptions of children and student teachers.
about the aims of their gendered roles, the needs they are trying to fulfill.

*Empathy.*

Finally, making meaning of their own childhood may enable student teachers to empathize with each other as children, and therefore with children. Novitz (1997, p. 148) "...we find life-narratives attractive ...(because they demand) ... the imaginative participation of those who attend to them" and "...most people desire and need the empathy of others." Novitz (p. 15) "How we see ourselves affects what we regard as important, and this, in turn, must affect how we behave towards others." Whether the story-telling and sharing helps develop deeper understanding of children, or empathy for fellow student teachers, is another potential area for research.

*Empowerment and Changing Views.*

A key study to follow the present one is to research how students reflect on their stories and PTs, and whether there is development of reflection on teaching, whether there is movement. Raths (2001) raised the issue of student teachers using criticism of professors as self-protection when faced with dissonance. However, when the dissonance is found within the stories, student teachers may feel more comfortable reflecting and questioning their own beliefs. Thomas (1995, p. 15) "it may be that the act of writing itself is a critical adjunct in clarifying experience. The possession of a voice is a source of potential empowerment.” Further research would be needed to confirm whether there is empowerment through writing and reflecting on stories of childhood.

There is also the question of whether knowing about something is enough to change stereotypical views. Here, research results are mixed, with some researchers warning that knowing about something may not in itself be enough to change stereotypes, because categorization simplifies thinking; other research, from 1974-1991 reported by Cross and Markus (1993, p. 70-71) and Bednar and Peterson (1995) from 1890 to the present, suggests ways in which people can be challenged to alter their schemas. According to research reported in Moghaddam (1998, p. 109) although many attitudes are automatic, they can be changed when people are made conscious of
them. Whether becoming conscious of their unconscious and conscious orientation towards teaching, helps students challenge their own beliefs, is another area for research.

6.6 Summary.
This chapter has provided some general conclusions of the study, relating how narratives and projective techniques can be used to research orientation to a teaching style. Some limitations of the study have been outlined, as have its contributions to the field of teacher education. Finally, suggestions have been made for further research.

6.7 Conclusion.
This exploratory study suggests that teacher educators have a rich resource for facilitating communication with students, a resource found within the students themselves. Students' stories of childhood, if handled sensitively by their tutor, open up many opportunities for students to learn about and question theories of learning and teaching.
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Appendix 1

Story One: *The Silent Staircase.*
Writer: *Helen Lee Wai Kuen*

I spent my last Chinese New Year holiday at my village in Southern China. I had never returned to it since I left fifteen years ago, and I couldn’t remember anything that I had gone through over there, except that I fell down the stairs. When I stepped into the house I saw that staircase which used to be cruel and wicked, lying silently alone at the far end of the house. Then, that accident came to my mind again.

One evening I was playing ‘chasing’ with my sister, Sim.

"Come and catch me," I called to my sister. "Come and catch me."

She started to chase me and I started to run. I ran as fast as I could and she chased as fast as she could. We were yelling and shouting, like mad dogs chasing each other. When I came to the stairs, I did not stop. If I stopped, I would be caught; I would lose the game. Without hesitating, I rushed down this cruel and dangerous staircase. Here, it took its chance, kicked my leg and I was thrown down to the ground.

"Mummy! Help!" my sister shouted with fear.

Blood was coming out of my mouth and my leg was bleeding too. I felt terrible pain. I yelled and cried. Mother rushed to me. She stopped the bleeding and comforted her little girl.

"Don’t cry, my little girl," said Mother. But I kept on crying, and even more loudly. "The naughty staircase tripped my little girl and made her hurt herself. Okay, we’ll go and punish him."

She took me to the staircase and slapped it hard with her flip-flop.

"Well, I have punished him. You can stop crying now," mother said.

I stopped crying but I became angry. Why were the stairs so naughty as to injure me? I took mother’s flip-flop and started slapping the staircase.

"You silly, stupid, wicked staircase, don’t you ever do that again. Otherwise I’ll have Wong Wong (our dog) bite you," I said.

My sister came to join me. We did everything that we thought might hurt the
staircase; we stepped on it as hard as we could, slapped it with our hands and banged it with our pencil boxes. Soon I forgot my pain although I had lost my tooth and my knee was injured. The staircase never said a word to defend itself though its naughty mistress was rude to it.

Fifteen years later, it still performs its duties silently.

Story Two: *The Champion.*

Writer: *Ma Kit Ying*

Every student has examinations every year and of course they are so aware of the results. Every time I get results, I remember that when I was three years old, I also needed to face this situation. When I was studying in kindergarten it was a nice place for children.

Every teacher was so kind, and all the classmates were so lovely. We enjoyed ourselves very much. At the end of the year, we had an examination. The teacher passed out the examination papers and said in her beautiful voice, "You should write the English letters from A to Z. The one who finishes in the shortest time and with all the letters correct will be the champion. And, you must hand in your paper as soon as you finish."

I was so nervous and wrote the letters one by one. I repeated and repeated the letters in my heart, "A, B, C, D." Just when I was writing the letter "X", my best friend, Amy, turned around and told me that she had finished. She said in a soft voice, "Kit, hurry up! I am waiting for you!"

In just a moment, I also finished the paper. We got up to hand in our papers together. We held our hands and ran towards our teacher as fast as we could to make sure that we could be the champions.

Our teacher smiled at us and said, "Oh! My dear ladies, you are the first pair that can finish the papers. You are so great! I know you are so happy but remember that you still need to go back to your seats and keep quiet as the others still haven't finished."

After two days, we got our results. At first, my teacher said in her strongest voice, "The champion is Kit!" I was so happy because it was the first time that I had been a
champion. However, my teacher continued to say, "Wait, wait a minute! Oh sorry! I have made a mistake. The champion is Amy, not Kit. Kit is the second champion."
At that time, I felt lost and didn't believe it. I thought that I was cheated and I cried bitterly. I asked myself, "Why am I not the champion? Is it the truth? It's not fair. I handed the paper to madam with Amy. At least, we can both be the champions. How can she be champion, but not me or why can't both of us be the champions?" No one could answer this question for me.
Now, I understand that my teacher was right because she saw that the first one to finish the paper was my friend, and not me. It was fair that Amy was the champion.

Story Three: **Green Stapler.**

**Writer: Lai Shuk Yi**

When I was seven, both of my parents had their jobs, so I was alone at home all the time. Every day, I felt lonely and bored, but I never expressed my feelings to them, simply because I knew they were really busy with their jobs; I didn't want to bother them although they were my parents.

One day, I was alone at home again, with no cartoon on TV and had no homework to do, so I decided to tidy up my books and notes.

"Mother will say I am a good girl if she knows I tidied up all the papers," I thought with a smile, imagining my mother would buy me candies as a reward. After I had classified all my notes, I thought it would be more organized if I stapled them by subject, so I looked for the green stapler, which belonged to my father.

At the very beginning, I was a little scared of the stapler, because my mother had told me before that it was too dangerous for me to use, and said I might get hurt easily. Instantly, I thought again about my mother. She would say I was a good girl when she saw what I done with the stapler, and I thought also of the candies she might buy for me! So I became brave. I picked up the piles of notes, used the green stapler to staple them, while my mind was full of "good girl" and candies, and my mouth was singing some little songs: "These are the Chinese notes, those are religion, now, it's the turn of those for music. La! la! la!"
And here, the accident happened while I was trying to staple the music notes together - a staple got stuck in one of my fingers and blood poured out. It was really painful and tears were coming out of my eyes. I told myself not to cry, because I needed to be an independent and smart girl. Mothers hated girls who always cried, and screamed and couldn't take care of themselves.

I really wanted to manage the matter by myself, but it was an impossible mission for a seven-year-old girl. What I had in my mind at that moment was not to cry or scream (although there were already many tears running down my face), and so I paged my mother. I left a message, hoping my mother would phone back to home, tell me what to do, or even come back home.

"Daughter hurt; please come back in a hurry," I said in a calm voice to the lady on the phone, although my body was shaking. Then I put down the phone and waited, but my mother didn’t call me back.

I looked at my finger; red blood kept on running out of it. The wound became more and more painful, and I became more and more frightened. Suddenly, I remembered some TV serial I usually watched. Those actors always opened the door and asked for help when an accident happened! It refreshed my brain, made me get the keys, open the door and, keeping the gate locked, I took a deep breath, and shouted for someone.

"Help! Help! Anybody help!"

Soon, some of my neighbors came. When they saw me, they were shocked at the blood on my finger and hand.

"What happened to you?" Mrs. Wong asked.

"God! There is a lot of blood!" Mrs. Fung shouted.

"Honey, go and get some isopropyl alcohol, cotton wood and the first aid box," Mr. Cheung said to his wife.

"Anyone get the contact number for her parents?" Mrs. Chung asked.

The grown-ups kept on asking this, shouting that, so I didn't know whom I should respond to first.

"I paged my mother and told her I was hurt; I think she will know this," I said, in a calm voice, but in tears. But none of the grown-ups were listening to me. They just
kept on talking among themselves, discussing what they should do. Then Mrs. Cheung came back, with a first aid box in her hand.

"Sweetie, it may be a little painful, but don't be scared," she said to me in a soft voice while Mr. Cheung helped me to pull away the staple from my finger and put some alcohol on it to clean the wound. The feeling of the alcohol was terrible; it felt like the wound was burning!

"Don't scream! Don't cry! Mammy will not like this!" I kept on telling myself these words a hundred and a thousand times.

"What a brave girl! She doesn't cry or scream!" Mrs. Fung said.

I felt happy when I heard that, imagining these words were coming out of my mother's mouth. When my mother came back, she was shocked because so many people were crowded in front of our home!

"What happened?" my mother asked.

"She stapled her little finger," explained Mrs. Wong.

After Mr. Cheung had done with my wound, mother said thank you to all of the grown-ups, and they all went back to their homes. The next day, my neighbors were talking about how brave and clever I was, but my mother took away all the staplers, scissors, and cutters before she left home for work!

Story Four: *The Bloody Hit.*

Writer: Clara Li Ming Lai

My family and I lived in Lai King Estate for almost ten years, where the golden years of my childhood were spent. I loved living there because I made a lot of good friends with my next-door-neighbours. We always played many different games in the corridor of the eleventh floor where we lived, such as football, basketball, table tennis, "Hide 'n' go seek", chasing and skipping games. Whenever my peers were free, they came to the door of my flat and asked, "Hey, Ming Lai, would you like to join us to play some games?"

If my mother was at home, I asked for her permission first.

"Mama," I asked slowly, "can I?"
"Yes, sure," she enthusiastically replied. The answer would come so pat that I would think she had been looking forward to my question! But my little sister and I were responsible kids, we did our homework and revision ourselves and never worried Mother.

My mother loved this estate, too. She had even made more friends than me! However, she never went out to play games in the outside corridor! Instead she liked to stay at home and play mahjong with neighbours. Whenever my mother’s friends were free, they came to the door of my flat and asked, "Oh little Ming Lai, is your mother here?"

If my mother was at home, I yelled, "Mama, it’s your friend at the door." I knew, for sure, the reason they came was not to ask my mother to borrow some salt or sugar! Instead, they asked my mother if she was free to play mahjong with them.

"Yes, sure," my mother answered enthusiastically as I supposed. I wondered if she had ever known how to refuse. I could hardly remember when I first learned to play this adults’ game of mahjong. However, it was mahjong that made me suffer so much.

One day, when I was about seven years old, my mother’s friends were playing mahjong in our house again, as usual. The flat was only around 200 square foot, so I was puzzled how a large crowd could fit into such a tiny room. However, they proved it could be done, so, when they had all managed to squeeze into this small abode, I could only stay in my own space to study alone on the top bunk of the bed. As the sun was setting, night seemed to move slowly into the sky, and then the sky suddenly turned black. I had concentrated on my studies too much, so that I felt tired and drained of energy. The adults, however, were still energetic in their games, shouting loudly.

"Ming Lai, wash the rice," my mother ordered. I was not surprised as my mother had asked me to do this task time and time again. My tiredness had taken a heavy toll, and I surprised even myself when I retorted.

"Mama, it’s your duty to finish your housework, not mine! You always play mahjong with neighbours instead of taking care of us. How can you play without finishing your work?"
My mother was indignant; she grabbed something which I could hardly
figure out and threw it in my direction. Suddenly, I felt pain in my forehead. Oh, my
God! I realized it was a stapler! Even my mother was amazed at her eagle eye.
Anyhow blood was dripping down my face and onto my clothes. At that moment my
mind was blank. Not even a thought of crying and screaming entered my head. The
adults saw what had happened, but they kept silent. After eyeing me for some
moments, the first one to respond was my sister, by way of fainting. After that, I
started to sob out of control and one of the women directed me to the washroom and
helped to wash my wound.
My mother and I did not talk with each other for a week. She did not apologize for
striking me, and neither did I apologize for my impolite speech. I believed that all
parents never said sorry for their faults to their children. I suppose that my mother
has forgotten this story. Nevertheless, it has left a deep wound in my forehead, and
even worse, in my mind. I came to hate playing mahjong. And now, whenever my
friends ask me to play mahjong with them, I say with a grin, "Oh, no! I don't know
how to play it!"

Story Five: Gold Thief.
Writer: Paul Leung

Stealing is a kind of the crime. If you commit the crime, you will have the risk that
you will be discovered by people and then be arrested. Therefore, everyone is
advised against doing it. However, if you are not discovered after stealing
something, will you want to do it again? You need not answer me at once, but after
reading my story, you can take it as a reference for your answer.
Once upon a time, when I was just a child, my father took me with him when he went
to a store near my home to buy something. The store was not so big, but neither was
it a small store such as the 7-11 and Circle K stores in Hong Kong. There were a lot
of goods and products, for instance, candies, canned food, ice - cream, different
kinds of drinks, detergents and fruit there. Then, my father ordered what he wanted
while he let me walk around within the store.
When I had entered the store, I found that there were just two salesmen inside. One began preparing my father’s order, and another was just standing inside the cashier’s section reading a book. I wandered around, and then, suddenly, I stopped. I stopped in front of a bottle full of chocolates. I knew that they were chocolates though they were packaged as golden coins. It was a common style for candies, so, being a child, I could recognize them easily. I put my hands into that big bottle for no special reason. I stirred the ‘coins’ many times and felt they were so interesting and then I picked up one ‘coin’ and looked at it.

Suddenly, I did not know why, but I just desired to steal it. I just wanted to take it as my own. Nevertheless, I couldn’t request it from my dad, because I knew that he might not allow me to buy it. Therefore, I made a big decision, and I stole it!

I put that chocolate ‘coin’ into the pocket of my jacket quickly, and I saw that no one had discovered me doing that! My dad was still reading his newspaper, and that salesman inside the cashier’s section was still reading his book and another was still preparing the goods for my dad. Oh! No one realized that I had committed the crime!

I pretended everything was normal. Then all the goods were prepared well and that salesman started to put his focus on the bill instead of the book. My father paid for everything and then took me home with that stolen chocolate in my pocket.

When I was back home, I went to my room and locked the door. I picked that ‘coin’ out at once and looked at it. Seeing the coin, I told myself that I risked my life to steal it, and I might have the risk of being put in jail. Fortunately, I had escaped without any troubles.

However, I also asked myself, "Why did I steal it? Am I happy now after getting it?"

I did not think it so. After that, I started to be afraid. Supposing I was discovered, my life would be over! I was a thief! Therefore, at that time, I swore to myself, "I will never do it again whether I am discovered or not!"

Did I tell it to others? No, you are the first one, which means I never talked about it even with my parents; otherwise, I would have had a big punishment! You may ask me about the morality of stealing that chocolate, but I will reply that a child cannot resist the magic of the gold candies, so, understand...?
Although this incident happened twelve years ago, I still remember it very clearly. It was a day in October. As you know, the annual picnics of primary schools are usually held in October. So, at that time, I hoped the date of my picnic could come as fast as possible. I thought of my picnic even in my dreams! At about 7 am on that day, the telephone rang.

"He...Hello. Who’s calling?” Father answered the phone in a gentle voice. But then he seemed to be alarmed by a piece of scary news. He shouted, "What?...What? Okay, we’ll come as fast as we can!

After he answered the phone, his facial appearance changed immediately.

"What’s the matter, Daddy? Are you unhappy?” I asked.

"Change your clothes immediately!” he answered.

In my mind at that moment, the only thing that I could think of was My Picnic. I misunderstood that the phone call was from my school, telling my parents that I was Late! So, I put on my Physical Education uniform without hesitation. How childish I was! In fact, my grandfather had been sent to the hospital because of a heart attack. So, my mother asked me, "What are you doing, Tung?"

"Oh, my class mistress told you that we should wear school uniform on the picnic!"

"Yes, I know," she wondered, "but now you’re not going on the picnic!"

"Why? Is it cancelled?"

"No! Your grandfather was sent to the hospital because of a heart attack!” she replied.

"Don’t talk anymore! Change your clothes immediately! We’re in a hurry!” Father shouted.

We took a taxi to go to the hospital, because this was the fastest way to go. On the way, my parents seemed very nervous and sad. "Dad, wait for us! We’re coming!” my father whispered. He repeated this several times in the taxi. And my mother prayed for Grandpa on our way, "Dear Jesus, bless our Father.” Although they knew that their actions could not help at all, they tried. This scene was extremely touching,
but at that time, I did not have any feelings. Of course I am not cold-blooded. Maybe at that time, I still did not know how terrible Death was. You know, I was only six years old at that time. I had not had any experience of death before!

When we arrived at the hospital, I saw my dearest grandfather, dying on the bed.

"Are you all right, my dearest Grandpa?" I asked.

"I'm okay, my dear Grandson," he tried his best to reply to me in a very low voice and continued, "promise me, Tung, you will obey what your parents teach you and work hard in school."

"Okay, I will, I will," I cried immediately because I knew that my grandfather was in great pain. Although I was very little at that time, I knew the feeling of pain was not good. After a short while, he left us.

At that moment, the room was full of the sound of crying.

"Don't leave us!" my grandmother screamed.

"Daddy! Daddy!" my father cried.

The only picture in my brain at that time was of Grandfather taking care of me. And then I began to understand how and why Death made people so sad.

Story Seven: A Heavy School Bag.

Writer: Lee Yuk Lan.

After I was born, my mother left me. She was sixteen on the day that I was born. My father liked spending a lot of money on gambling. He was always in debt.

When I was very small, I wondered why my parents had abandoned me. Why did they not love me? Fortunately, my grandparents took care of me and brought me up. However, every time I carried my heavy school bag, I was thinking about the fact that no one carried it for me while many of my schoolmates' parents carried bags for them.

One day, I was going to school with one of my classmates, Lily. I talked to her.

"Your mother loves you very much. You see! She always carries your school bag for you. But no one loves me."
Lily smiled at me. "You have your grandparents. They love you."
"I can't let them carry it for me. They are too old," I said.
"Why don't my parents love me, Auntie? Am I naughty? Am I not good enough?" I asked Lily's mother.
"No, Eva. You're a good girl. You love your grandparents. You think about their feelings."
"Yes, I don't want them to worry about me. I should be mature and understanding."
"Oh! You sound like a grown-up now."
"Yes, but, if I don't do so, they will not be happy."
No one understood that my school bag was so heavy that I really could not bear it. But I had to carry it every day. And this was my childhood.

Story Eight: Psychological Force.
Writer: Paul Lam Hoi Bor

This event occurred in my childhood when I was nine years old. I was an active boy in my school so that my teachers punished me many a time. However, I never dared to disobey my parents' orders, especially my mother's, because mother would hit me seriously. At that time, I always came home on time after school, and mother didn't want to come to collect me from school because she thought that I was a big boy. Therefore, she did not worry about my safety. But, something happened which forced me to come home late!

On that day, after school, I prepared to take my school bag to leave the classroom. Suddenly, one of my class-mates, called Little Sea, said, "Ha! Friends, is there anybody with nothing to do? Why don't we go out to play together for a while? I know a wonderful place, so which guys are willing to come?"
I was very confused because all my friends were willing to go. I think I wanted to play with them, or otherwise I would lose my friends. I knew that they liked exciting things; they liked playing wherever the place was.
Simultaneously, Little Sea said to me in a serious way, "I really hope that you can go
with me! I see you as my best friend so I think that you don’t want to annoy me, all right?” As he said it seriously, I decided to go with them.

Shortly afterwards, he brought us to a place where I had never gone before. Walking along the road, I just thought that my mother would punish me because I did not get in touch with her, and also she would worry about me to a large extent.

Little Sea brought us to a river and then said to me, "Paul, Paul, can you see that? There are a lot of fish in the river, active and beautiful; I have played here many times. You will be very happy if you see a small fish. I am not cheating you; there are really a lot of fish in the river. Oh, yes, why don’t we have a fishing competition? If you lose, you give me ten dollars, if I lose, I give you twenty dollars; this will be fair to you as you don’t know fishing!"

I responded to him immediately, “No, no, no, you know I know nothing about fishing but you can catch a fish even if you close your eyes; this is unfair to me, you know!”

He made no response to me, just silence!

Eventually, we just played at the river until night and then I found that my clothes were all dirty, and I said to Little Sea, “Little Sea, Little Sea, you have become a dirty sea.” Then, I looked at my watch and I decided to leave.

When I arrived home, I found that there was something wrong. Many voices were coming from my house. I went in and a policeman stared at me. My mother ran to me and embraced me. I was scared and felt strange, and then mother said to me angrily, “Where did you go? You know you made me cry! I was worried about you! I thought I was going mad and I even called a policeman!” And she just cried.

I said to my mother, "Ma, I am so sorry that my behavior aroused your anxious feeling. You know I just like playing, and this won’t affect my studies. Ma, don’t cry. Can you forgive me? I have come back!" I could feel that she was very happy seeing me back safe, but I had no surprised feeling owing to being an active and outrageous boy!

I swore I wouldn’t do it again! I swore ...!
My grandfather had a store at Tsz Wan Shan. It was a traditional store, which mainly sold rice, oil, eggs, canned-food and some kinds of snacks. The store was quite big. There was a bed at the back of the store and a kitchen beside it. My grandmother always prepared our meals there.

When my mother gave birth to my brother and sister, who are twins, I needed to live with my grandparents. I stayed there from day to night since I hadn’t reached the age to go to kindergarten. But I didn’t feel bored even though there were no other children to play with me as my grandfather would play with me. He was tall and thin, just the opposite of my grandmother. He always put me on his knees and used his beard to touch my face. It made me feel itchy and want to escape, but he was too strong. He always sat in the chair that was near the door of the store to see whether there were any people coming in. I liked my grandfather very much as he usually gave me what I wanted. My grandmother didn’t seem to like this, but she always agreed with what grandfather did.

One evening, I had nothing to do. I walked around in the store and played with the rice as if it was sand. Then I saw Grandfather was drinking, sitting in front of a table, and he seemed to be enjoying himself very much.

"Oh, that must be a delicious drink which I haven’t tasted before!" I thought.

"Grandpa, can I try a little bit?" I asked out of curiosity.

My grandfather smiled and implied that I could drink. I brought along my big pink cup. I liked that cup very much as there was a cute cat picture on it. I poured the soft drink into my cup carefully. When I tasted the soft drink, the feeling was very funny, like there were many bubbles in my mouth. My grandmother came out of the kitchen, saw that I was drinking, and said,

"If you go on drinking, you’ll feel very uncomfortable!"

"Uncomfortable?" I didn’t understood what she meant. I only knew that this soft drink gave me an interesting feeling. I liked this feeling, so I poured another cup by myself without asking my grandfather, and a little later another.
I can’t remember how many cups I drank, but after a while, I felt very hot and sleepy. My grandmother put me on her bed, moved the fan beside me to make me feel cooler and said, "I told you if you drank too much you would feel uncomfortable! See? You are feeling bad now!"

I was very hot and annoyed. I could think of nothing and don’t know when I fell asleep. I only remember that was the last sentence I heard before sleeping. When I woke up, my father told me I had been drunk as I drank too much beer. Many years later, when I tasted beer again, I thought its smell was awful and puzzled about how people could put this thing into their mouths!

Story Ten: *Trapped.*

Writer: *Wong Yuen Yan.*

I remember the day of my primary school graduation ceremony. After the ceremony, I stayed in school with two classmates to help my teacher to tidy up the books in the classroom. Since my teacher needed to leave earlier, she asked us to leave after we had finished. My classmates, Amy and Helen, and I paid great attention to our job without being concerned about the time. When we had finished, it was very late. All the people had left except us.

"Ah! The school is extremely silent! All the people have already left! Do you think we are the only three who are here in school?" I said with a light heart.

"What a pity! If no one is here to open the main door and let us out, we will be trapped in school!" Amy said nervously.

"Aha! if this true, we will have an unforgettable camp tonight, but we don’t have enough food. Ho! I feel hungry now!" Helen said.

"Don’t joke now! If we don’t go downstairs in a hurry, this will really come true!" I urged.

Then, we went downstairs quickly and wanted to leave as usual. But, the main door and the other exits were firmly closed. We were so frightened!

"Oh! My words have come true!" Helen shouted.

"What should we do now? All the doors are locked!" Amy said, nearly crying. When
I was worrying about what I should do, Helen and Amy walked around the school and tried to find tools to open the lock.

"I have found a wire. Let me try to open the lock like a locksmith," Amy said, and acted confidently. Of course, she failed to do so.

While I was searching for something useful, I didn't know Helen had done something special and was shocked. I glanced through the glass door and saw a black rope hanging down from the floor above to the ground outside the school and Helen suddenly appeared on the rope in front of my eyes!

"I found a rope. I tried to slide down from the open window in the office on the first floor to the ground like an acrobat!" Helen shouted quickly and excitedly to me on the order side of the door. "I've succeeded! I've succeeded!"

I was shocked by what she did! Then I wondered whether I could try this also. But suddenly, I thought of my safety, and the security of my school.

"If I act like you, how about the rope that will be left from the first floor window to the ground? It may bring a thief to the school! So, I can't do this! I am not brave enough to do so! I can't! I am too frightened to be an acrobat!" I felt scared.

"Yes! I won't do this either. I will stay with you, Priscilla!" Amy followed me, and we continued to look for something. Then we saw a telephone in the drawer of the reception counter. I phoned home first.

"Mum, I am trapped in school! I don't know what to do!" I nearly cried when I heard my mother's voice on the other end of the phone. Mother told me to stay calm and she would try to find the staff of my school, but she failed. Then, she asked me to call the police. I called 999. This was my first time to do so. I was really frightened while I was waiting for the phone to be connected.

"I am trapped in school!" I told the police.

"How did this happen? Can't you find any staff to help?" the police asked.

"I have tried this but failed."

"Really? Is this true?" the police said doubtfully. I felt some anger that the police seemed not to believe me!

"It's true! I am really trapped! The night is coming, I am afraid!"

"Okay! Keep calm, and don't be afraid. We'll call some patrol officers to check."
Then, I kept calm and told the police the place where I was trapped, and the police
told me to wait for help. Finally, after ten minutes, two policemen came to check.
They found Amy and I were really trapped.
"Two beauties are really trapped in school and they are separated from us by a glass
door. Over, over!" One of the police called to the head sector by the walkie-talkie.
Then, they called the firemen to come and save us. When the firemen arrived, they
decided to take us from the open window on the first floor to the ground by a moving
ladder. Finally, I was safe outside the school.
I felt relieved when I was able to hold my mother’s arm and go back home. And I
could also feel my mother’s relief. The next day, I was called to see the headmaster
and report all that had happened. The teacher who asked us to do the job felt regret,
but I thanked her for giving me such an exciting experience!
Appendix 2.

Story Eleven: A Strange Day.

“Oh! I am falling.” I slid on the wet ground. When I slid down, I felt something push. “It is a girl!” She was very lovely – her face was like an apple, and her eyes were like stars, and with curvy yellow hair. She was the same age with me – about five, I think. “Baby, are you all right?” my Mum said. She held me in her arms tightly. When I turned back my head, the lovely girl disappeared in the mist.

It was a Saturday morning, and my family went to picnic at Sai Kung. After I met the lovely girl, I felt strange. “Where did she go?” I think. After a while, we arrived. We played and ate happily. I played with my sister. Suddenly I fell.

“Help! Help!” I saw many circles in front of me. I could not catch anything. I felt unsafe, I could not breathe. I hated this feeling. I was falling into a deep cave. I felt very tired, and I wanted to close my eyes.

“Baby, wake up!” Mum and Dad cried. I heard her hazy voice, and opened my eyes slowly. “Are you all right? You drowned!” they said happily.

“I ... I ... I am very frightened, Mum,” I cried.

As we returned, the weather became bad. The rain came down heavily. As we came back, the girl appeared in my garden again, and she shook her hand to call me to go into the heavy rain. I was very afraid and I went back to my bedroom and slept. However, I also saw her. She pushed me into the sea, and I was very frightened. At this time, I could float and sink freely! “Baby, it is time for dinner.” Mum woke me. I said to her that I could swim. “It was just a dream.” Mum shook her hair. I felt this dream was so strange!
Appendix 3.

Do not write your name. Student Number: _________________________ Sex: _____

Side A.
Look at the cartoon below. Think about it.
Then write down
1. what the teacher is saying, and
2. what a boy or girl is saying or thinking.
Underline who is talking or thinking.

Teacher says: _____________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Boy / Girl / says / thinks: _________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
Appendix 4.

Read the following situation and then write what you would do if you were the teacher.

The Situation

You are marking class tests. Suddenly you notice that Mei has done much better than usual on the test. When you re-check her paper, you notice that she has two answers which are wrong. These wrong answers are the same wrong answers as Ching has. Ching is the best pupil in the class.

What I would do as the teacher.

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________