

The Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong

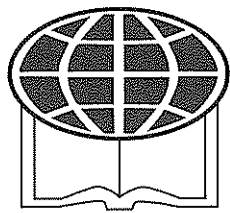
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Editorial

One of the most attractive aspects of Hong Kong is the scope for international interaction. What better place is there in the world to have a comparative education society? The development of comparative education in Hong Kong, now recognised worldwide as a major centre in the field, is a testimony to the hard work of researchers here who have seized the opportunities. At CESHK, we can be proud of our contributions. With over 80 members, we are an active force in the region and increasingly are making our voices heard on the international stage. For instance, CESHK was well represented at the 11th World Congress of Comparative Education Societies held in Chungbuk, South Korea, in July.

Other evidence of our growth is the opening of a new centre, the Comparative Education Policy Research Unit (CEPRU) at the City University of Hong Kong, with two CESHK members, Mok Ka-ho and Michael Lee, playing prominent roles. Our congratulations to them. CEPRU has kindly agreed to host the CESHK Annual Conference 2002 on the theme of "Applying Comparative Education". The details of the conference are given on the flyer that comes with this Bulletin, and on the CESHK website, www.hku.hk/cerc/ceshk/.

Work has been proceeding in recent weeks in upgrading the CESHK website. An improved feature is the links to websites on comparative and international education around the world. There are now over 100 links, making this a valuable resource for researchers. These links have

also been uploaded to the website of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES), www.hku.hk/cerc/wcces/, which is hosted by the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) at the University of Hong Kong, so it represents a further contribution to the field.

This edition of the Comparative Education Bulletin also shows the diversity of our membership and their research interests. Yoko Yamoto examines the complex issues of international schools in Hong Kong. M.V. Mukundan presents an overview of community participation in education in Kerala state in India. Michael Lee comments on recent trends in university administration and evaluation. 李偉成 reports on the successful CESHK educational visit to Shenzhen that took place last December. Ada Shum examines a methodological issue that arose when she wrote her recent M.Ed dissertation on perceptions of school culture in Hong Kong. Patricia Potts portrays a special school in Shanghai, and Mark Bray reflects on a recent collaborative venture with Nina Borevskaya in comparing Russia and China.

You may have noticed a new design to the Comparative Education Bulletin. The intention is to give it a stronger identity in journal, rather than newsletter, form. I would welcome your feedback.

Bob Adamson
President, CESHK

Education in the Market Place: a comparison of systems of International Schools for recruiting and serving Hong Kong students

Yoko Yamato

International schools have been booming for over a decade in Hong Kong (Bray & Jeong, 1996) with more opening each year and existing ones expanding in size. These schools not only serve the expatriate community, they also appeal to Hong Kong emigrants returning from overseas and an increasing number of local families who are seeking an alternative to the local education system. In 2000/2001 there were over 60 international schools (primary/secondary)¹ in this region. One can observe a variety of schools with a variety of systems and curricula as well as media of instruction.

The number of international type schools is still small² compared to that of local schools, but these schools are increasing in popularity among local Hong Kong people who could have sent their children to local government or aided schools free of charge (during the compulsory education period) or to local private schools with lower fees than international schools.

Behind this boom, Hong Kong has been experiencing diverse changes in several aspects, with four particular

¹ Foreign Schools are also included in this number. Those schools with Primary and Secondary sections are counted separately.

² In the school year 1998/1999, about 2% of all schools are regarded as international schools. (Government Information Chart, 2000)

changes that have influenced the field of education. The first is the change of sovereignty, the political transaction of reunification with China in 1997. The second is the current round of major education reforms. The third is the mother-tongue education policy implemented from September 1998, which was the first instance of forceful interference by the central authority concerning the medium of instruction. The last one is the diversification of socio-economic status amongst Hong Kong people, with the increase of well-off families with fewer children than the past.

Having observed excessive demand in the international schools sector from local families, the researcher raises two major questions:

- Who are the students/parents that individual schools are targeting for their educational services?
- At what cost?

The first question can be answered by looking at school systems from various aspects such as the sponsoring or founding body, the year established, the curriculum on offer, the examinations prepared for, the class size, the special mission they have and so on. How much an individual international school charges for tuition along with debenture, annual levy, miscellaneous fees, and school bus service should also be examined to discern the market trends.

International schools could be classified by curricula, the exams the students are prepared for, admission criteria, and the students. Many schools follow a UK-based

curriculum, some adopt an American curriculum, a Canadian curriculum, and an Australian curriculum. All the schools except Australian International School start the school year in September, as do local Hong Kong schools. Australian International School follows the Australian educational year - it starts in January, which enables expatriate children from Australia as well as returned emigrants from Australia to continue their education without interruption.

Some schools do not only target pupils from English speaking countries. Their focus could be local families, returned emigrants or expatriate children from countries where English is not the native language. Since English is the second or third language, many schools in this group have well-established intensive English training classes. Students attending these schools with limited English can master the language while they study other subjects. Since some schools in the first mentioned group give priority to students from other international schools ahead of those coming directly from schools adopting the local curriculum, some parents view the schools in this second category as a stepping-stone.

Schools such as the German-Swiss, French, Japanese, and Korean international schools that offer a bi-sectional programme (i.e. a national and international stream) receive a subsidy or a supply of teachers from their homeland to enable them to teach the national curriculum of that country. Naturally, their top priority are students who are their own nationals with experience in that education system. In fact the foreign schools tend to accept all such students in the national mainstream section as long as parents can meet the tuition fees and other expenses. The tuition fee for their national

mainstream section is usually lower than for the international stream within the same school. The international section in these schools are popular among local people, although each school has different strategies for recruiting pupils and so the student cohort varies from one to another. The Singapore International School is a foreign system school strictly following the Singapore curriculum but it welcomes those who can benefit from receiving an education in both English and Mandarin Chinese at native-speaker standard. The Norwegian International School offers Norwegian classes for Norwegian natives but also accommodates other nationalities.

There are community schools as well, though the number is small. Carmel School was established by the Jewish community and all the pupils and students are Jewish except five students in the international section at secondary level. Since Jews are not a nationality or specific ethnic group, the students have a variety of nationalities and first languages. Sixty percent of the students in this school speak English as a non-native language, but English is the medium of instruction here and the school provides a high standard of education. Another community school is Umah International Primary School, which was founded by an Islamic organization but is open to people of any nationality who wish to study there.

Fees range from \$3,600 (Umah) to \$138,250 (Hong Kong International School, Grade 12) per annum. Almost all the schools charge very high fees to cover the cost of recruiting qualified teachers from overseas. Many of the schools with excellent facilities charge a debenture as well as an admission fee on top of the already

expensive tuition fees. Some schools only charge the tuition fees. Many schools offering classes for ESL students fall in this category. Two international schools charge comparatively low fees. These schools offer educational opportunities for children from economically less fortunate families. It is important to remember that there are minority groups in Hong Kong who cannot benefit from an education in Chinese medium schools in the local system.

The researcher found that almost all the schools in the international sector face excess demand and almost all have long waiting lists for admission. The boom does not seem to be a temporary one. Further studies on why international schools are in high demand, especially from the local families, may give the education authorities in the region inspiration for the betterment of education in Hong Kong in the future.

Community Participation in Education: an overview of Kerala, India

M. V. Mukundan

This brief article describes the experiences of Kerala, a tiny state in India, in the wake of increased community participation in education. Kerala is a southwestern Indian state with an area of about 39,000 sq.km and a population of 31 million. It came into existence in 1956, as a result of the State Re-organisation Act (Sreekumar, 1993). The state has long been considered as a unique model of development (eg. Dreze & Sen 1995, Sen, 1997; Heller, 1999, 2000; Ramachandran, 1997; Franke & Chasin, 1997; Majumdar, 1998; Tharamangalam, 1998; Gurukkal, 2000; and Tornquist 2000). This is due to the way in which the comparatively tiny political entity among the other 27 states of India has been able to show exceptional social achievements and "experiences" (Sen, 2000) in the areas of education, health and demographic transitions.

Kerala's outstanding achievements in education when compared with the other 27 Indian states or developing countries are characterized by universal primary education, near total literacy, low dropout rate at the school level, easy access to educational institutions, gender equality in access etc. These places Kerala on a par with some developed countries (World Bank, 1997; George & Ajithkumar, 1999).

The National Policy on Education (1986) revised in 1992 and the Programme of Action (1992) emphasize the importance of decentralization of planning and

management of education (CABE Report, 1993) at all levels by ensuring greater community participation. The 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution of India (adopted in 1992) and the various national policy initiatives accelerated the local initiatives in education, especially in primary education in Kerala, with the ingredient of more decentralized planning at the village and district levels. This resulted in increased community participation as the state is largely dependent on the central government for finances as well as educational policies.

Citing observations made by Hillery (1955), Myers (1992), and Wolf et al. (1997), Bray (2000, p.3) illustrates the complexity in defining the term "community" and its features as well as the ways in which different communities achieve their objectives. However, Bray (1999, p.4) classifies communities prominent in the field of education as "geographic communities", "ethnic and radical groups", "religious groups", "communities based on shared family concerns" and "committees based on shared philanthropy" and argues that they vary in their degrees of formal structure. In this study the term "community" is treated as including individuals living in relatively small areas of the state such as districts, municipalities, corporations and village panchayats (geographic communities) sharing locally specific needs, family concerns (eg: Village Education Committees, School Management or Betterment Committees, Parent Teacher Associations, Mother PTAs) and philanthropic considerations (eg: Non Governmental Organizations).

"Many analysts consider the concepts of participation and partnership to be related but not synonymous. Partnership is commonly considered a stronger form of

activity than participation" (Bray, 2000, p.10). According to Harriss (2000, p.2) decentralisation and participation go hand in hand. Shaeffer (1994) presents a ladder for analysis of participation in education having seven rungs starting with "the mere use of a service such as a school" to "the participation in real decision-making at every stage – problem identification, feasibility study, planning, implementation, and evaluation". Sharma (1995), citing Smith (1974), Watson (1979), and Matheson (1984) state that the notion of community participation in education involves common interest of at least a section of the population in what is going on in schools based on social considerations. It is this sense of community participation that is used in this study. Popular participation involves the concept of democracy. Participation is a strategy in societies' overall development including educational development. Members of the community participate in educational decision making, discussions and policy making. These sorts of sharing make participation itself a form of education, in that the community learn new social skills and partake in political processes. Normally community participation is ensured through representative organizations and voluntary groups.

Community participation in education in Kerala originated in the form of parent teachers associations in schools during the late 1970s and early 1980s. But most of them did not yield the expected results. Nevertheless, successful attempts involving greater community participation were initiated at local levels. These were exemplars of joint ventures of the community with the strong support of the government, local self-government institutions and active social organizations which are non-governmental and voluntary in character.

In 1988, Kalliasseri, a local village panchayat, in Kannur district of Kerala, as a part of the 'village level resource mapping', activated the idea of "school complex" which envisaged the close relationship of different educational institutions in the village by sharing facilities, helping the teachers to improve their professional talents, developing talent among students, and raising standards all around. The programme was widely known as the 'Kalliassei Complex' (see Tharakan 2000). Another major campaign was the Total Literacy Campaign, conducted during 1989-90 in Ernakulam District of Kerala which was able to tackle competently the problem of illiteracy and on the 4th February, 1990 Ernakulam was declared as the first totally literate district of India. As a consequence, total literacy campaigns were initiated throughout the state. The realization of the importance of a social participatory model and the services of the people, especially of parents and guardians in the improvement of primary education were effectively utilized in the later programmes.

In 1991, District Councils were set up as a part of decentralization of development planning. They provided coordinating support to local efforts and integrated these experiments into district wide programmes. The elected panchayat committees, together with school authorities, representatives of the local public and mother-teacher associations provided shared facilities. The formulation of mother-teacher associations was a new step, based on the assumption that mothers are more influential over their children and show more interest in their studies. By raising additional financial requirements and other resources, the village panchayats fulfilled their academic and organizational responsibilities.

As noted above, the National Policy on Education and Programme of Action, 1986, which aimed at the effective decentralization of educational development, envisaged Village Education Committees (VEC) as means to facilitate community participation in education. The National Government initiated the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) in 1993. The DPEP was introduced first in three districts of Kerala in 1994 and to three more districts in 1996. Under the DPEP, the VECs were reconstituted at the village panchayat level (the lowest rung of the local administrative system).

As part of the democratic decentralisation programme, the Government of Kerala in 1996 initiated a campaign called "Ninth Plan, People's Plan". It is generally known as "People's Planning", which is a part of India's ninth national Five-Year Plan, to run from 1997 to 2002. It covers all aspects of development in Kerala, reveals the importance of community participation in developmental initiatives, and emphasises a system of multilevel planning, where the village panchayat, the unit of administration at the lowest level is encouraged to plan and implement diversified and locally specific programmes. The State Planning Board introduced a Comprehensive Education Programme (CEP) as a general guideline for panchayat level projects. The CEP visualised education as a single process starting from pre-primary to continuing education, gave equal importance to learning processes inside and outside the school, and envisaged the participation of teachers, parents and the society as a whole for imparting education (Ganesh & Ramakrishnan, 2000).

Increased enthusiasm and awareness among parents and the community as a whole is perceivable in matters

related to education in Kerala, because of the consistent efforts put in by the various socio-political as well as voluntary organisations, along with progressive policies formulated and implemented by the successive national and state governments. The new culture of community involvement in decision making and implementation at local level envisaged in the democratic decentralisation process has gradually gained momentum in education. Most of the civil works and other improvements to physical facilities in schools have already been undertaken by PTAs or VECs through community participation. The importance of community intervention for the qualitative improvement of education has been realised. Nonetheless, although some uneven, individual instances can be cited as exemplars, community supported programmes and projects related to education still lack a sound philosophical basis and a well-structured and strong organisational and administrative back-up.

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The Evaluative State and University Education

Michael H. Lee

The latest developments in higher education around the world are the cultivation of quality, efficiency and enterprise. Higher education reform is nowadays more likely treated as an essential component of the public sector reform in most countries. The principles of financial accountability, quality service and managerial efficiency also apply to the university sector. The interrelationships between higher education, government and society have been affected by reform measures. The notion of the "evaluative state" has become more popular to examine the impacts of higher education reforms on universities and academics. This article delineates the concept of an "evaluative state" and discusses its implications for university education.

Neave (1988) suggests that the notion of an "evaluative state" is an alternative to regulation by bureaucracy. Detailed and close control over higher education institutions is taken over by evaluation of outputs, with a paradigm shift towards quality control at the output stage and the creation of a greater degree of institutional freedom. The "evaluative state" is interpreted as the rationalization and redistribution of functions between the centre and periphery in a sense that the centre maintains overall strategic control through fewer and precise policy levers, the setting of mission statements and goals, and the operationalization of criteria in relation to output quality. Rather than witnessing the retreat of the state, government is withdrawing from its

detailed and overwhelming control to "steering higher education by remote control." A greater degree of initiative and ability of individual universities to respond to changes at the local, regional and global levels can be assured (Neave, 1988: 11-14). The notion of "evaluative state", though not new, is revolutionary because it nurtures individual initiative and enterprise, and also instills a competitive ethic among individuals and institutions amidst strong market forces and the trend of marketization (Neave, 1988: 20-21).

The origin of the "evaluative state" was a response to government demands for quality, efficiency and enterprise with the introduction of the market as the supreme principle of regulating higher education institutions. The evaluative state represents a fundamental shift from the traditional form of state control to a more remote, hand-off nexus between university and central authority. The rhetoric of efficiency, adaptability and flexibility has moulded the triadic-relationship between higher education, government and society during the process of massification. Increased institutional autonomy and self-regulation also resulted from the strengthened system of accountability to public authority or central government. With the identification of higher education as a public service without cultural or academic service, the principle of "the best service for the best price" is applied to the university sector. Both public and private universities are considered equally as a "service provider". In short, the evaluative state steers higher education towards market demands (Neave, 1998: 268, 273-275, 277).

Henkel (1991) believes the concept of "evaluative state" is generated from instrumental values like economy, efficiency, effectiveness, performance and value for money, which are the core principles of New Public Management (NPM). With an aim to restrain the growth of public expenditure on social policy areas like health care, social security and higher education, a new managerial culture has been nurtured amidst the current tidal wave of public sector reform. Evaluation is perceived as an effective means to reflect financial accountability and motivate accountable management that requires the measurement of performance with the use of performance indicators (Henkel, 1991: 121-122).

The logic of evaluation embraces four steps: first, developing justifiable criteria of merit; second, selecting justifiable standards of performance; third, measuring performance on each criterion to specify specified standards; and finally, integrating the measured results into a single judgment against other issues (Henkel, 1998: 288). Under the influence of the core values of public management and the dominance of market forces, there has emerged a public theory of evaluation as an instrument of public accountability and rational management, which is aimed at making authoritative evaluations by the means of converting those evaluations into quantitative measures and then using them as the basis of accountability for more effective allocation of resources. Academics are now being challenged by stakeholders in the process of evaluation on higher education. Moreover, there has been the rise of economic rationality that governs evaluation systems and activities as a political process (Henkel, 1998: 291, 294-295).

The ideological foundation of the "evaluative state" is related to NPM (Bleiklie, 1998: 299). Universities are commonly perceived as three types of organizations, namely public agencies, autonomous cultural institutions and corporate enterprises. As public agencies, universities are set within a hierarchical bureaucratic order, in which the state is an active actor to manage universities through legislation and budgetary policy. As cultural institutions, the primary task of universities is to engage in academic activities based on research and teaching. There is a dominance of academics through "the invisible vertical collegium" together with informal ties between professors, colleagues and students. As corporate enterprises, universities are significantly affected by the ideas of NPM, managerialism or management by objectives, which serve as ideological justifications to public sector reform. The differentiation of functions among academic and managerial staff has become more conspicuous. Corporate enterprises in the university sector are concerned with efficiency that relates to universities' capability in the production of services and research that are beneficial to stakeholders.

The rise of the "evaluative state" and the perception of universities as corporate enterprises can be revealed from the policy directions of both centralization and decentralization. Three major impacts are related to the notion of "evaluative state" on university education. Firstly, authority and power over university affairs are separated from disciplinary competence. Secondly, the competence and authority of leaderships and administration of individual universities are strengthened. Finally, academic performance is redefined from inherent quality to measurable quantitative aspects which are translated into various performance indicators

in terms of the number of research outputs and journal publications. Even though individual institutions can enjoy more autonomous power in the policy context of decentralization, this is paralleled by a trend of centralization whereby the dominance of academics among universities is taken over by the growing influence of university administrators. The result will be the "bureaucratization" of the university with a more assertive and active administration at the university sector (Bleiklie, 1998: 304-309).

Dill (1998) sees the notions of "evaluative state", managerialism and NPM as interchangeable (p. 361). The application of NPM focuses on the evaluation on teaching and research in university education. The "evaluative state" indicates that government has become not only a sole producer but also the biggest purchaser developing explicit performance contracts with academic institutions for teaching and research activities. However, Dill also questions whether the effectiveness of "evaluative state" as increasing the overall efficiency of university education. In fact, performance indicators may contribute to inefficiency because not all academic outputs are measurable in terms of their quality. Moreover, the measurement of performance in the university sector could be very expensive. The emphasis on output measurement, quality assessment and administrative flexibility reveals the notion of "evaluative state" as an instrument of improving public services and university education (Dill, 1998: 363-264, 372).

The rise of "evaluative state" resulted from public distrust of universities. Widespread concerns over the university sector are related to the pursuit of excellence, the competition for resources and public finance, and

the improvement of the quality of teaching and research in response to market demands and the principle of accountability. Universities are now controversial places. As Kennedy (1997, p 27) states, while the society needs higher education, higher education also needs public trust without sacrificing the spirit of academic freedom in tandem with minimal external interference.

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專題報告： 深圳學校參觀記

李偉成

十二月十八日，我們參加了香港比較教育研究學會舉辦的深圳考察團。此次考察團共參觀了四所學校，包括一間中學，兩間小學及一所幼稚園。通過這次學校參觀，使我們對深圳近年的教育發展及辦學模式等有了大概了解。以下為同學們做一次關於這次參觀的專題報告。

這次活動共有來自教育界的三十二人參加。其中有香港教育學院的講師及學生，還有來自科大及中大的師生，另也有來自澳門大學的講師。而其中佔最多數的為港大教育文憑中文組的學生。

我們首先參觀位於羅湖區愛國路的深圳明珠學校。該校屬國有民辦。所謂國有民辦，即政府負責興建校舍，然後交由社會團體經營管理，因此學校的財政、經營效益、師資等都受到政府的監督。學校四周環境綠樹環合，清靜幽雅。學生人數共有 1218 人。學校設施完備，不僅有一個小型田徑場，還有一座大型室內運動場。各種體育設施，實驗設備一應俱全。校內建有學生宿舍，可容納 700 多名學生。無論寄宿與否，學生一律須在校自習至晚上八時。校內聘有十多名廚師，負責師生膳食。另聘三名清潔工，只負責諸如會議室、廁所等清潔工作。學生宿舍，校園環境的清潔皆由學生負責。學生宿舍打掃清潔，內不設洗衣機，學生衣服全自己用手清洗，藉此培養學生的自立能力。

隨後我們參觀由深圳百仕達實業有限公司創辦的百仕達小學。這間也是屬於國有民辦，不過其教學模式卻不同深圳明珠學校。該校力圖與國際接軌，其教學模式大致和本港國際學校相似。全校採全方位英語教學（當然中文科除外），要求老師上課全用英語授課，倘有一句中文，被校長發現，即要扣分。另聘有多名外籍教師與學生溝通。該校具創意的地方，是沒有集中各科老師的辦公室，老師的辦公室全設在課室內，因此可隨時和學生溝通，而且老師的辦公室也可以配合本科的特點進行設計，為學生提供學習的氛圍。而學生上課也恍如大學生，到了這一節是中文，就到該老師的課室去上。藉此使學生明白，學問須自己去求，而不是老師向學生灌輸。當然初入學要訓練他們如何找課室。課室內學生的座位可隨意編排，或圓形，或梯形，或馬蹄形，或干脆席地而坐。老師則穿行於學生中間，或和學生圍在一起，說課文、講故事，做遊戲。每班人數約十五至二十人左右。

最後參觀的是卡通城幼稚園及龍園小學。這兩所學校屬私營，即個人自資辦理，創辦人是馬榮女士。她在深圳成立了“馬榮教育機構”，創辦了五

所幼稚園及一間小學。幼稚園教學，力圖提供一個實境讓小朋友接觸社會，例如園內設有模擬超級市場，小朋友參與購物，從中可學習到一些基本常識。另外，又設有郵局，商店，銀行，花店等，有些小朋友自己擔任經理，有些是顧客，小朋友就從買賣之中學習各種技能。操場上，樂聲飄起，小朋友在老師帶領下翩翩起舞。有的小朋友則三五成群聚在一起玩耍。可愛的小臉蛋對我們這些不速之客既好奇又有點害羞。龍園小學內的現代化設備則令我們嘆為觀止。校內有一個中央廣播室，可對全校進行廣播。在廣播室內放映節目，每間教室內的電視都可直接收到，當然還可以對每個年級播放不同的節目。縱觀這次行程，有幾點使我們印象特別深刻。

首先幾間學校的設備都很先進。校舍寬敞，校園面積大，幾乎每間學校都有一個小型田徑場。教師的辦公室也很寬敞，大約二至三人共用一間辦公室，空間仍綽綽有餘。相比香港學校課室、辦公室的擁擠，我們只好徒呼奈何了。每間教室高映機、電視是必備品。有的課室內掛滿了同學的習作。總之，整個學校的佈置就是要盡量提供一種學習的氣氛。

老師隨時都要接受各種考驗。參觀明珠學校，校方並沒有特意安排我們觀哪一個老師的課，而是提供一時間表，讓我們自行選擇，然後每人拿一張凳子自行到課室坐下。當然，事前老師也並無特意準備。這就要求老師時時都能以最佳狀態出現在課室。因為市教育局的領導隨時都會突然來校巡視（猶如本港教育署的視學督導），突然出現在某個課室內。我們參觀當日，有教育局副局長陪同。他當日也乘機突擊檢查，事後向校長“勉勵”，同志仍需努力。即使參觀百仕達小學，我們也很隨意在課室外駐足參觀。

深圳教育界可謂人才鼎盛。創辦馬榮教育機構的馬榮女士畢業於北京師範學院，其助手則是來自陝西的教育碩士。百仕達小學的校長來自安徽師範學院，職稱是副教授，校內還聘有國際級的專家教授。而且深圳經濟條件優厚，吸引了大量來自全國各地，乃至國外的人才。參觀百仕達小學，就有一個外籍老師整天捧著攝錄機，亦步亦趨，拍攝整個參觀過程。

此次參觀雖離我們期望尚遠，不過宏觀的了解亦可使我們一新耳目。深圳教育的某些措施其實是頗前衛的，有些甚至走在香港前頭。這些常促使我們思考，深圳可以，為什麼我們不可以？如果不可以，是什麼原因？有什麼需要改進的嗎？我想，這就是參觀比較的好處。至於課堂的實戰經驗，這次接觸太少，始終有點遺憾。

花絮

1 深圳教育界女強人

馬榮，約莫三十開外，紮著馬尾辮，身材高大，精練干達，笑起來臉上露

出兩個酒窩。她既有北方女人的堅毅果斷，也有南方女士的嫵媚。馬榮畢業北京師範學院，專攻兒童學前教育。她於十多年前就已在湖北武漢創辦私立幼稚園。後來覺得湖北發展機會不多，遂南來深圳，創設了“馬榮教育機構”，集學前教育、小學教育為一身，融辦學、科研、師訓為一體。現今機構轄下共有五所幼稚園及一間小學。我們參觀的卡通城幼稚園就是她利用共約八百多萬人民幣向政府買地興建裝修而成。幼稚園內以提供適合兒童主動發展的環境，實施英漢兩種語言教育。機構並積極開展國內、國際交流與研究，先後成功舉辦三次全國性的學術會議。在師資方面，機構轄下的小學教師大多要先在幼稚園任教，這樣可充分掌握幼兒的心理，使小學教育更順利。

站在我們面前的馬榮，興致勃勃地帶領我們參觀她的辦學成果，歡喜之情溢於言表。言談之間，我們充分感受到她對教育事業的熱忱。團員中有人問：“你請不請香港教師？”答曰：“正在考慮。”

2 “阿姨，叔叔，你們好！”

參觀學校，最開心的就是見到天真爛漫的學生。在百仕達小學，適值小休，學生紛紛湧出走廊，見到我們，立即展現那燦爛的笑容，高聲向我們說：“阿姨，你好！”、“叔叔，你好！”一時之間，“好好”聲此起彼伏，使我們應接不暇。唉，如果他們能說：“哥哥、姐姐你們好！”那就更加好。

我們每至一處，都可見到學生開心的笑容，或者燦爛，或者帶點腼腆。學習猶如玩樂，一點也不辛苦。我們很容易就可以感受到那愉快的學習氣氛。

3 白話 = 廣東話？

此次參觀，內地官員為照顧我們不諳普通話，每每問講者：“可不可以用白話？”而他們所指的“白話”不是我們所說的白話文，而是指粵語。“不可用白話”就是說“不可用粵語交談”。這和我們平時學的白話文定義不同。在內地人的觀念中，白話是屬於日常的、非正式的場合，而普通話則是屬於官方的、正式的場合。大抵因為方言比較接近口語，所以用“白話”（所謂平白如話）來指稱日常用的方言。

4 觀課 = 聽課

香港流行“觀課”，內地則流行“聽課”。觀課與聽課其實都是一回事，只不過叫法不同，前者注重視覺，後者注重聽覺。而其實無論聽課還是觀課，都要耳目俱到。

Why a Case Study for My Dissertation?

Ada Shum

Since the early 1980s, the Hong Kong Government has shown a preference for Chinese-medium instruction (CMI) in secondary schools. After 1997, the Hong Kong SAR Government continues to implement this policy in an increasingly coercive manner. In September 1998, the majority of the secondary schools in Hong Kong has converted into using Chinese as the medium of instruction. In order to compensate for students' decreased exposure to English as well as to appease these schools and the parents because most of them were reluctant to the change, the Hong Kong SAR Government has employed over 700 expatriate native English-speaking teachers to teach English in Hong Kong secondary schools.

Only in Hong Kong have so many Native English-speaking teachers (NETs) been employed to teach students English. Thus my research is to study the perceptions of the NETs and the Hong Kong students on the culture of their schools. In the initial phase, I interviewed a NET for my pilot case study in order to provide understanding of the context and issues concerning the culture in the school he is teaching in. The primary aim was to broaden and to enhance my knowledge about the study. This was then followed by interviews with nine NETs from various English-speaking countries, which include Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States. After the pilot study and the first round of interview data, four NETs were then selected among the ten NETs for in-depth study. They were selected because for their distinct perceptions, clear articulation and willingness to participate in the research.

The case study approach was adopted in this study to explore the perceptions of the NETs' and the students' perceptions of culture in Hong Kong schools for several reasons. Firstly, it could illuminate the general by investigating the four NETs; secondly, it could enhance understanding by studying the four cases in detail through examining relationships and social processes; thirdly, it could offer more opportunities to probe into different aspects of cultural assumptions by the NETs; fourthly, it could provide flexibility in terms of the use of multiple sources and multiple methods; and fifthly, it could unravel the NETs' phenomenon which has existed ever since the majority of secondary schools in Hong Kong changed from using English as the medium of instruction to Chinese as the medium of instruction after the changeover on July 1st 1997.

A case study is a holistic research method that uses multiple sources of evidence to analyze or evaluate a specific phenomenon or instance. Most case study research is interpretive and seeks to bring to life a case (Anderson & Arsenault, 1998, p. 152).

Unlike historical research, a case study deals with contemporary phenomena in their natural context. It is also different from evaluation research because it is concerned with "how things happen and why", rather than to "find out what happened and compare it to what was planned" (Anderson & Arsenault, 1998, p. 153). As a form of educational research, it posits an alternative different from research methods based on the scientific paradigm which can be "tested by experimentation, replication and refinement" (Cohen & Manion, 1994, p. 106). Alongside the scientific research methodology, case study is increasingly recognized for its complementary

nature as it is interpretive and to some degree subjective in order to enhance understanding of the reality. The methodology is often adopted when researchers require to “examine a case, collect data, analyze and interpret findings within their context and report results in a systemic manner”. Thus, a case study is most appropriate when the research is “process-oriented, flexible and adaptable to changing circumstances and a dynamic context” (Anderson & Arsenault, 1998, p. 152).

Case studies can be classified in different ways. Based on Stake’s (1995) classification, there are three types of case study: the intrinsic case study, the instrumental case study and the collective case study. For an intrinsic case study, researchers need to learn about the particular case so as to understand or interpret in depth, and “in its idiosyncrasy, in its complexity” (Stake, 1988, p. 256). The function of an instrumental case study is to inquire and understand an issue through the examination of a particular case. In a collective case study, researchers select a number of cases in order to learn and understand a phenomenon. Besides, it adds “confidence” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 29) to findings.

This research is an amalgamation of the above three types of case study. The researcher is interested in how each NET and the students in the same school look at different aspects of culture in Hong Kong schools, which includes teacher culture, particularly that of English subject teachers, student culture, administrative culture and the Hong Kong education system in general. I selected four NETs and students for case studies because as Stake points out, the purpose of collective case study is to provide “balance and variety” (Stake,

1995, p. 6) for learning and analyzing the phenomenon – the employment of NETs in Hong Kong secondary schools. Each NET and the students interviewed in the same school are considered a case, and each case is studied as a “whole”, not as “collections of variables”. Thus, “the different parts or conditions that make up a case are understood in relation to each other”. Together the four cases are treated as “a single situation” (Ragin, 1987, p. 52). It is intrinsic in the sense that the four particular cases are selected to explore in depth how each NET and the students’ cultural backgrounds and values have affected their perceptions, comparisons, and interpretations of school culture in Hong Kong. Further, the case study is instrumental to learning the issues and concerns pertaining to Hong Kong schools. Through the examination of the NETs’ and the students’ perceptions, I hope that the study can highlight some issues or concerns in order to gain insights into why students, teachers and administrators in Hong Kong secondary schools practise the way they do.

The rationale for the case study approach in my study is that “it has character, it has a totality, it has boundaries. It is not something we want to represent by a score...not something we want to represent only by an array of scores...it is a complex, dynamic system...to understand its complexity...the case study tells a story about a bounded system” (Stake, 1988, p. 256).

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**Learning about another culture through
the story of one school.
Changning District Special School,
Shanghai**

Patricia Potts

I have been working with colleagues in China since 1988 and I have visited this particular school several times and I have shared seminars, conversations and correspondence with members of staff over the years. From the story of Changning School, I have learned how far educational reforms undertaken in the name of modernisation can influence its capacity to respond to a wider range of student. I shall describe my relationship with the school and its teachers, then I shall consider what have been the main changes over the last twelve years, discuss what seems to me to be their significance and relate my conclusions to my perspective on policy and practice in the UK, where modernisation is also a central aim.

Changning District School for children and young people classified as "mentally retarded"

The first classes in China for students who were not able to keep up with the demands of the mainstream were opened in 1979 in a Shanghai school for Deaf students. This was some time before there was a national policy commitment to making education accessible to these students. In the post Cultural Revolution reconstruction of education, elitism and a severe shortage of trained teachers resulted in many students being excluded from school. In 1982 Changning special school was opened in a new building, with Yin Chun Ming, deputy head of the

Deaf school, as its first headteacher. Now retired, Yin Chun Ming retains his standing as an educational innovator in China and makes regular contributions to national and local publications, conferences and inservice training. He edited a book to commemorate twenty years of provision for students seen as "mentally retarded" and he visits Changning School every week.

The 1986 Compulsory Education Law, a brief document that followed the much longer "Decision" of the previous year, shifted the emphasis back to providing for the mass of students. The drive for universal basic education and the revelation (in a survey of 1987) of the millions of disabled young people excluded from school, were two of the contexts for an increase in specialised provision and in exchanges with overseas educators. I first visited China in 1988 to participate in an international conference in Beijing. I began my trip in Shanghai and the school visits I made then, ahead of the conference, gave me some idea of what the issues were for Chinese colleagues.

Changning School seemed to me to operate like a mainstream elementary school but at a slower pace and with much smaller teaching groups. Their work was not differentiated and was assessed by examination. There were few materials: a combination of national textbooks and the teachers' own handiwork. There was no reprographic equipment then and no specially published materials. The teachers of Chinese were then closest the school came to the equivalent of a UK primary school class teacher. There were specialist teachers of craft, music, maths and PE. Most of the teachers would not have had relevant training, which was only set up in the early 1980's, in Nanjing and Beijing.

Though I met colleagues from the school during the early 1990's, my next visit to the school was in 1997. After Yin Chun Ming left the school to become the local authority inspector for special education, there was a period of instability at the school and I think he was not keen for me to see this. However, in 1994, following the national policy statement on the education of "mildly mentally retarded" students in the mainstream, the student intake changed and expanded and a new head was appointed, Zhu Yin Zhen.

The school moved into a bright new building, which included a kindergarten and a physiotherapy room. A vocational training building was planned. Students were organised into classes on the basis of ability as well as age and Zhu Yin Zhen was looking for instruments with which to test the abilities of her students. There were new vocational and science courses. Zhu Yin Zhen told me she emphasised moral development, which encompassed behaviour and psychological and mental health. She wanted to involve families more and she wanted more social support. She also wanted provision for speech therapy, which does not exist in China as it does in the UK. New opportunities for staff development were one of the most striking differences between my first and second visits to the school. All these changes reflected the much more diverse student population compared to 1988. The school now included students whose behaviour and learning were less easy to predict and control.

Between 1996 and 1999 I enjoyed discussions with Yin Chun Ming and teachers from Changning School during seminars, lectures and informal meetings at the teachers' university in Shanghai. Topics included the reform of

teacher education, social inclusion, educational research and what was happening in the UK.

In 1998 Zhu Yin Zhen told me that she wanted to move away from the teaching of “knowledge” teaching of “skills”. Ye Lin, now the deputy head and my regular interpreter since 1988, told me that they used to be concerned with how to teach the students but that now they were thinking more about what to teach.

In 1999 I participated in a British Council event, part of their Lifelong Learning Festival, which was opened by a day of activities at the school. The focus of the afternoon’s conference session was parental involvement and one parent made a contribution, speaking very positively about her son’s experience at the school. Since then, I have corresponded with Ye Lin about more recent changes. These include reorganising the use of space and time: there are now two teachers responsible for one class. They do not team teach but, as in a Nanjing kindergarten I visited, they job share. They have their own desks in the classroom and there is no longer a separate teachers’ workroom. The teachers stay in the classrooms, especially during break times, which are seen as valuable for working with students one-to-one. The teachers do still have free periods and can go to the library or out to weekly inservice sessions but they are encouraged to do their preparation and administration in the classrooms.

Main changes at the school 1988-2000

The number of students has doubled during this period, from 90 in 1988 to 185 in 1999.

The school population has dramatically changed. In 1988 the students were all seen as “mildly” or “moderately mentally retarded”. By 1997, all these students were referred to the mainstream and students identified as “severely mentally retarded” were enrolled in school for the first time. Until 1994, they would have been either in welfare institutions or at home. More recently, about 30 students identified as “autistic” have been enrolled.

The facilities have been transformed. The 1982 building was just like a small-scale elementary school, several stories high, with strings of identical classrooms along external balconies. The 1997 building, still several stories high, is built round an inner courtyard, which creates a space for assemblies, performances and public events. The materials are of much higher quality and there is more colour. The size of the rooms still seems to be fairly uniform but there are also a number of specialist rooms and outside play areas, reflecting the wider variety of activities undertaken by students and staff.

Opportunities for staff development were more or less non-existent in 1988 and are now extensive. They involve the use of technology and distance learning and teachers undertake their own research projects. They can upgrade as well as update their qualifications.

Finding additional staff. The number of teachers and classes has not increased in proportion to the number of students, so class size has increased at the same time as has the diversity of students. The school has therefore utilised other sources: retired staff, a few parents (to act as classroom assistants) and student teachers. There are more student teachers nowadays, from the university’s

initial training course, so their level of formal education is higher than most of the school's experienced teachers.

Curriculum development. Personal, social and vocational courses have been introduced and are based on locally produced materials. These are linked to independence, employment, moral education, health education and counselling for emotional and behavioural problems. These courses are still absent from mainstream provision, though there is evidence that sessions on social and study skills and counselling are being introduced.

Individualising students' work. Teachers are trying to develop individual education plans for their students, recognising the sense of matching tasks to their interests and abilities.

Outside the classroom. There are parent education sessions and outreach work in local mainstream schools. The outreach work is seen as a task for the student teachers.

Discussion

The story of Changning School raises a number of issues for discussion. For example, responding to students as individuals. This would seem to be a sensitive and imaginative move, but the school has imported the "Western" idea of the Individual Education Plan (IEP), which is a checklist of targets, based on behaviourist principles and which may be criticised for being artificial, technical and isolating. It also leaves the wider contexts of learning unreformed. Chinese colleagues have said to me that the strategy is hard to implement when there are still nationally imposed assessment regulations, as there

are in the UK. IEP's may seem to give students more autonomy and value but who sets the targets and how far do they vary between students?

I have been impressed by the way in which staff at the school have broken with conventional pedagogy. They have a lot to offer the educational mainstream in terms of learning support and it will be interesting to see if institutional barriers can be eroded.

The development of inservice professional education and school-based research have entailed closer collaboration between teachers, local authority personnel and university educators and does represent a significant erosion of the traditional separation of theory and practice. Experienced teachers have a role in the university and academics support the work of teachers in schools.

When I first visited special schools in China, they were small, neighbourhood schools. Not well equipped or prestigious but everyone knew everyone, teachers and families. Now, schools like Changning, which have been modernised, expanded and professionalised, where up-to-date resources are concentrated, are removed from their communities. Parental involvement becomes a priority when students now come from further away.

The discipline of psychology has re-emerged as important in education in China. The classification of students has increased and the ownership of a professional territory is confirmed through psychologists' control of the assessment of ability and the conduct of educational research. Unlike in the UK, sociologists and others have not yet challenged this

supremacy. In China, it seems that behaviour problems are still understood in medical rather than social terms. However, the personal needs of students and staff are now being recognised, as is the importance of positive relationships between teachers and students.

Relating Changning School to developments in the UK

The shock of the familiar. What happened in Shanghai in 1994, a major movement of students from special school to mainstream school and into education for the first time, reminded me both of what happened in the UK in the early 1970's, following the 1970 Education Act and of the rhetoric of "special needs in ordinary schools" that followed the Warnock Report of 1978. Also, in reading the curriculum for teacher trainees at the university in Shanghai, I was struck by how similar it was to my own experiences in the late 1960's, when we studied academic disciplines and our own subjects to the exclusion of current policy and practice.

Gender inequalities. These seem to be the same everywhere: many more boys than girls in all segregated settings, except perhaps those for students with sensory difficulties. But they are rarely acknowledged or analysed.

Vocational education is being taken more seriously, as the world of work is transformed and the idea of competence is redefined for the twenty-first century.

In the UK, the power of local education authorities is being weakened, as the government and individual schools take control. In China, the reverse seems to be true.

The rhetoric of modernisation has had similar effects in both countries. For example, the increased specialisation of schools. The "backbone" and "key" schools in China and "beacon" schools in the UK, identified centres of excellence, have become the containing supports of modern systems. Additional resources go to these model settings. However, in the UK, where the official rhetoric also includes empowerment, active citizenship and democracy, the pragmatics of a market approach lead to particular contradictions.

Conclusions

Changning School has been transformed in a number of significant ways. It has changed much more than local mainstream schools.

It seems to me that the changes reflect a combination of charitable warmth and "scientific" professionalism rather than the recognition of the rights and entitlements of the students to full membership of their communities.

The traditional and communist views of "normal" ability as plastic, largely shaped by environmental factors, is a contrast to the pathological view of the abilities of people seen as "abnormal". There is still a clear boundary between "them" and "us".

The story of Changning School reflects a style of educational policy-making that can be sudden and far-reaching in its effects and shows how conventional pedagogy can be creatively revised. However, the high value still placed on competitive excellence in education, despite the reforms of the 1980's, limits what the school can do to respond to the requirements both of its own students and those who remain unsupported in ordinary schools.

Comparing Education in Russia and China: an experience of collaboration and a consideration of approach

Mark Bray

At the 2001 CESHK Conference, Mark Bray presented a paper that he had co-authored with Nina Borevskaya entitled 'Financing Education in Transitional Societies: Lessons from Russia and China'. The paper has now been published in Comparative Education, Vol.37, No.3, 2001. Readers are referred to that journal for the paper itself; but here Mark Bray reflects on the process of preparing the paper and on some of the associated methodological issues.

The article written by myself and Nina Borevskaya was a product from cross-national collaboration. It opened new horizons for us personally, and permitted us to compare two countries which have not often been compared in the field of education. I am myself based at the Comparative Education Research Centre (CERC) of the University of Hong Kong, while Nina Borevskaya is based at the Institute of the Far East in the Russian Academy of Social Sciences, Moscow. Our collaboration arose from a visit to Hong Kong by Nina in 1999. CERC had been awarded some 'Areas of Distinction' seed funds by the University of Hong Kong to develop comparative education projects. Nina's name was introduced to me by Ruth Hayhoe at the Hong Kong Institute of Education. Nina is a specialist on education in China, and had worked with Ruth in that capacity. Ruth Hayhoe pointed out that, in addition to bringing to CERC her specialist expertise on education in China (and with the distinctive perspective of a scholar based in Moscow), Nina could inform CERC members about

education in Russia. Ruth added that Nina has considerable linguistic talents, for she is fluent not only in Russian (of course) but also in Chinese and English. This did indeed seem a valuable set of skills, and we were delighted when Nina accepted our invitation to come to Hong Kong.³

The hope of sponsors who provide seed funds is that the seeds will not only germinate but also grow into plants which bear fruit. This was certainly the case with Nina's visit. Her presentations on Russia opened the eyes of CERC members to a part of the world which few of them had previously considered in depth. Indeed, one CERC (and CESHK) member was inspired to travel to Moscow at his own expense in December 1999 and again in August 2000, and subsequently focused on education in Moscow for his MEd dissertation.⁴ In parallel, Nina and I decided to prepare a comparative article on Russia and China.⁵

Many meaningful themes could of course have been chosen for such an article. Russia and China are both large countries with socialist histories and deep educational roots. Indeed, a huge agenda awaits comparative educationalists who have the energy and expertise to undertake it. In order to limit our scope, at

¹ See *CERCular* [Newsletter of the Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong], No.2 of 1999, p.6.

⁴ See articles by David Yan in *CERCular* No.1 of 2000, p.8 and No.2 of 2000, p.5.

⁵ We decided that although Hong Kong and Macau had been reunited with China, education in those territories remains so different from that in the rest of China that we would simplify our task by focusing only on the Chinese mainland. Throughout this article, 'China' refers only to mainland China.

least in the first instance, we decided to focus on the financing of education during the 1990s. This was a period of transition in both countries, and we aimed through our paper not only to explore similarities and differences between the two countries but also to contribute to conceptual understanding of the nature and impact of transitions.

In the most productive partnerships, the collaborators have complementary skills and knowledge but sufficient overlap to provide common ground. At the outset of this particular exercise, I knew very little about education in Russia; and although I had first visited China in 1981 and had made many visits since, Nina's knowledge of many aspects of education in China was deeper than mine. Nevertheless, I was able to contribute to our article elements on various dimensions on education in China. Also, in August 2000 I visited Moscow to reduce my lack of knowledge of Russia. Through Nina's excellent organisation I was able to meet senior personnel in the Ministry of Education as well as a number of academics and teachers. Moscow is of course far from representative of the whole country; but it did at least give me a basis for understanding, and extended the common ground through which I could explore issues with Nina. My further contributions within the partnership included work on the conceptual framework and the structuring of our article.

Throughout this process, I was very conscious of the role and implications of language. Our article on Russia and China was published neither in Russian nor in Chinese but in English. As far as I was concerned, that was the only language that I could handle. Nina perhaps will in due course prepare a Russian version, and she

may, either on her own or in collaboration with a native speaker, also proceed to a Chinese version. However, in the first instance we decided to aim for an English version because we wanted to reach an international audience and felt that this could be done more effectively through English.

Along the way, of course, we needed to find out who else had prepared comparative studies of education in Russia and China. We found very few studies, in any language. Nina scoured the Russian-language literature and found that while some people had written in Russian about education in China, within the last decade nobody, at least in the sources that she checked, had actually made comparisons. The Chinese-language literature was little different. For example, over the decade 1991 to 2000, Beijing Normal University's Comparative Education Review contained 22 articles on education in Russia, but none of them actually compared education in Russia and China.⁶ In English the comparative work of Ronald Price has been a notable contribution to the literature but is now dated;⁷ and no articles compared

⁶ The only item which might be considered an exception was a piece by B.B. Davydov entitled 'Developing Cooperation and Exchange, and Improving the Advance of Educational Science in Russia and China', and published in *Comparative Education Review*, 1996, Vol.97, No.1, p.5. However, the whole article occupied only 11 lines (and each line was only 7 cms wide, to fit two columns on the page). The article took the form of an announcement rather than an academic analysis.

⁷ Ronald F Price (1977): *Marx and Education in Russia and China*. London: Croom Helm; Ronald F. Price (1987): 'Convergence or Copying: China and the Soviet Union', in Ruth Hayhoe & Marianne Bastid (eds.), *China's Education and the Industrialized World: Studies in Cultural Transfer*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, pp.158-183.

the two countries in the Chicago University Press Comparative Education Review between 1991 and 2000.⁸

This neglect of comparison to a large extent reflects the limitations in interflow between the two countries. During the 1950s, China and Russia had been close allies and contacts had been extensive.⁹ These contacts were sharply curtailed by the diplomatic break between the two countries in 1960, and while some interflow was maintained in subsequent decades it never resumed its former strength. When China opened up in the 1980s and 1990s, English rather than Russian was the most popular foreign language. Likewise, most Russians were much more interested in learning English or other foreign languages than Chinese. Thus opportunities for direct communication between the two countries were rather restricted.

However, the 1990s brought a growing body of literature on each country in English. Some parts of the literature were written by outsiders who visited Russia or China; and other parts were written by Russians and Chinese who wished to reach an international audience.

⁸ However, two articles did compare the two countries in earlier decades. They were: Karl W. Bigelow (1961): 'Some Comparative Reflections on Soviet and Chinese Higher Education', *Comparative Education Review*, Vol.4, No.1, pp.169-173; and Martin K. Whyte (1974): 'Educational Reform: China in the 1970s and Russia in the 1920s', *Comparative Education Review*, Vol.18, No.1, pp.112-128.

⁹ See e.g. Leo A. Orleans (1987): 'Soviet Influence on China's Higher Education', in Ruth Hayhoe & Marianne Bastid (eds.), *China's Education and the Industrialized World: Studies in Cultural Transfer*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, pp.184-198; John Cleverley (1991): *The Schooling of China: Tradition and Modernity in Chinese Education*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, pp.127-140.

Thus, particularly at the macro-level, much comparative documentary analysis could be conducted through English. For example, the Chinese central government in 2000 released in English a very informative report on Education for All;¹⁰ and scholars such as Min Weifang have written articles in English for international journals.¹¹ Concerning Russia, English-language items which we found useful for our study were written by Lugachyov et al. and Lisovskaya.¹² Moreover, for both countries a considerable amount of information is available in English through international bodies such as the World Bank.¹³ Nevertheless, this material is of course still limited, and deeper consideration of issues requires access to sources which are only available in Chinese or Russian.

Another challenge for us arose from the decision to focus on two huge countries in a single article. Critics might argue that this was over-ambitious, and doomed

¹⁰ China, People's Republic of (2000): *National Report for EFA 2000 Assessment*. Beijing: Ministry of Education and National Commission for UNESCO.

¹¹ For example Min Weifang (1991): 'Higher Education Finance in China: Constraints and Strategies for the 1990s', *Higher Education*, Vol.21, No.2, pp.151-161.

¹² Lugachyov, M., Markov, A., Tipenko, N. & Belyakov, S. (1997): 'Structure and Financing of Higher Education in Russia', in Hare, P. (ed.), *Structure and Financing of Higher Education in Russia, Ukraine and the EU*. London: Jessica Kingsley, pp.144-176; Lisovskaya, Elena (1999): 'International Influences on Private Education in Russia: The Case of St. Petersburg, 1991-1998'. *International Journal of Educational Reform*, Vol.8, No.3, pp.206-218.

¹³ For example The World Bank (1995): *Russia: Education in the Transition*. Washington DC: The World Bank; The World Bank (1997): *China: Higher Education Reform*. Washington DC: The World Bank.

to superficiality because it had to gloss over the differences between and within Russia's 21 republics, 52 oblasts, six kraia and 10 autonomous okrugs, and between and within China's 22 provinces, five autonomous regions, four municipalities, and two Special Administrative Regions. Our reply would be that focus on the country level certainly precluded detailed analysis of within-country differences. However, the focus on the country level is meaningful because many of the patterns of educational financing are influenced by national-level policies and forces. The theme could of course be a focus for a book, or even a series of books. However, we limited the scope by defining a particular focus; and we feel that even within a single article we were able to make some key points. One major observation was that although China and Russia operated separately from each other, many trends in the financing of education during the 1990s were in the same direction. This partly reflected the wider forces of globalisation.

Our paper is of course only a limited contribution in a huge domain. Nevertheless, we ourselves found the processes of preparing the paper stimulating and meaningful. The possibilities of such collaboration are not open to every researcher in the field of comparative education; but we would encourage all scholars who have such opportunities to seize them. Such collaboration makes possible forms of analysis which could not easily be undertaken by individuals operating by themselves.