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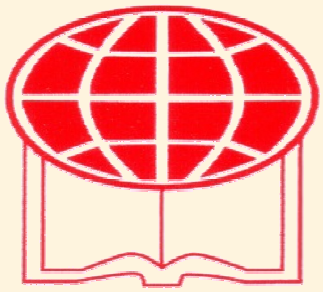

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The International Journal of Comparative Education and Development (IJCED) aims to promote understanding of the practice and theory of comparative education though publication of research findings, theoretical elaborations and reports of projects or developments. Contributions from members and non-members of the CESHK are welcome. Manuscripts should be sent to the Managing Editor at ceshk.ijced@gmail.com.

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Editorial

To be or not to be: Comparative education as a field of study

Over the past years, there have been fruitful discussions over whether Comparative Education should be regarded as a *field of study*, that is, an academic discipline of its own standing. By required characteristics, a *field* should possess a 'threefold principle' of (1) an inner coherence of the substantive subject matter with identifiable boundaries; (2) Bourdieu's principle of *champ*, namely the interplay of structures and human agency; and (3) members' subject specific utterances or discourse.[1] Although readers might find the suggestion rather mechanistic and essentialist, it is of a great value if we are to understand the core of the matter without illusory attempts of accommodating all the nuances of a *field*.

The validity of the threefold justification of what constitutes a *field* could be better understood with a thought experiment. Suppose that there is an area of research *A* with reasonably distinct boundaries, a substantive body of content and logical coherence. Suppose also that there is a growing number of academics attracted to *A* and they now devote to it a great deal of time; they debate with agreements and disagreements; they ripple out on and related to *A* to the wider community, which perhaps unwittingly make them known as 'people doing research on *A'* by scientists in different disciplines and departments; members themselves believe they have a group identity (that of doing *A*), and they have something to say about *A,* hence, contributing to society.

If *A,* as above-described, could be recognized as a *field*, there is no reason why to deny it to Comparative Education. Of course, the issue is open to refutations but, anyway, this is precisely how science makes advances as suggested by Karl Popper. I shall elaborate a few possible refutations.

Ambiguity argument is used by skeptics in philosophy, and it is a common refutation. Can the size of a community of experts determine a *field*? Suppose that the total number of 'people doing research on *A*' equals 5 in the whole world. If so, is *A* a *field*? How about if the total number of experts is 50 or 500?

[1] For this threefold principle, I have profited from Maria Manzon's theorization and apology of Comparative Education as a *field* (2011) albeit our few disagreements. For example, for the term *discourse*, instead of power relation-based one suggested by Foucault, I take a more positive stance: "ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity" (Gee, 2011, p. 29).

Consider a second refutation. Bourdieu's concept of *field* is a social space where the interplay between structure and agency takes place over the pursuit of desirable resources (1969). This could, sometimes, not be applicable to *A* or other comparable research areas. For example, suppose that *A* is the Scarlet Letter "A" for adultery, and *A* is merely a handful of experts in this novel by Hawthorne. There is no resource whatsoever for these bohemian scholars to compete for neither state nor institutional funding. This is not that far-fetching; in fact, most university-based research in humanities and arts are conducted by helping themselves. In this case, there is no *field* at all in Bourdieu's sense of an *arena,* where people compete for resources, power, and ideology as Daniel Katz observed (1965).

A final refutation is a natural aim of science called *reduction* or *inter-theoretic reduction* by which experts merge disciplines and fields into fewer with the principle of Ockham's Razor. Thus, chemistry may eventually be absorbed by physics (particle physics to be precise) and, closer to our field, psychology of education is a potential candidate to be incorporated to neuroscience (see the elimination of classic psychology suggested by Churchland, 1981). From medicine to law, there is scarcity of holistic synthesis, while an exorbitant amount of specialisms tend to further fragment into sub-specialisms. So, wouldn't it be salutary that Comparative Education is merged into, say, education studies? A relatively recent response of higher education institutions to this problem, but rarely successful, is the advocacy and rise of inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary divisions, departments, and research centers.

From the 'threefold principle' mentioned earlier, Comparative Education clearly has a structure/agency and discourse. Comparative Education has a history of an international network of societies devoted to it and a sizable number of scholars who consider themselves *doing* Comparative Education. Furthermore, it has a score of highly reputed academic journals almost at the same level of curriculum studies.

The biggest challenge to be a *field* is the first principle: "an inner coherence of the substantive subject matter with identifiable boundaries". We all know that Comparative Education would sit more comfortably within the *field* of education as a subfield or area of enquiry, for example, under education studies and international studies. The boundaries of its subject matter are rather weak. In geopolitics and biology, when the demarcation is weak, they tend to merge (e.g., the Fall of the Berlin Wall or the European Union) or perish (e.g., a bacterial wall 'punctured' by Penicillin leads to its death).

Yet, 'hell', why not? If a community of scholars such as *A* happily organize themselves and they are free to utter what they deem important to the world, what could prevent them to do so? Polanyi argued: "To accept the pursuit of science as a reasonable and successful enterprise is to share the kind of commitments on which scientists enter by undertaking this

enterprise" (1983, p. 25). This brings us back to the point of departure. Perhaps instead of an almost Renascence argument of 'to be or not to be', what is more interesting and fruitful is to examine the sort of issues and problems mankind faces and figure out what could possibly be solved or eased by Comparative Education. I think, this is the only goal that all education researchers should plausibly pursue, and the International Journal of Comparative Education and Development (IJCED) is committed to it.

Following the present Volume 17, Issue 2, the official journal of our Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong (CESHK), the International Journal of Comparative Education and Development (IJCED), will be published by Emerald UK with highest industry standards in both print and digital formats. As an Emerald journal, IJCED will have its own independent content submission and peer-review platform, currently *ScholarOne Manuscripts*. All current CESHK members will enjoy a group subscription made by the Society with full and free access to IJCED.

The present issue is announcing our theme and call for abstract proposals for our 2016 Conference to be hosted by The Hong Kong Institute of Education. The Conference theme is "Learning to Live Together & Comparative Education," and it will coincide with the "Third Cross-strait Four-region Forum on Comparative Education" with participation of Comparative Education societies of China, Taiwan and Hong Kong.

The authors of the articles published in the present issue cover a variety of units of analysis (comparison) in comparative education, including country, history (time), policy, administration, and analytical methods, yet they all share the common concern of contributing to the betterment of education and society. The authors are as varied from Vietnam, Cambodia, Korea, Russia, Hong Kong, China, Japan and Canada. We editors sincerely appreciate their contributions.

As customary, our gratitude goes to the editorial members and reviewers, who continuously support us to make our journal sustainable. Our special thanks to Miss Chan Ka Ying whose type-setting work made possible the completion of this issue on time.

Jae Park
Editor-in-Chief
Int. J. Comp. Educ. Dev.

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Branding of Higher Education Institutions in Hong Kong: the Role of Core Values

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Abstract
This paper explores role of core values in the brand building processes of higher education institutions (HEIs). The research findings from looking at two universities in Hong Kong show that there are few, if at all, common core value across universities both hierarchically (organizationally and departmentally) and functionally (student offices and academic departments). Interestingly, however, all of the units in the study have their own set of core values directing their branding strategies. These core value-directed branding strategies are linked to the university missions. Consequently, it is possible to suggest a university mission-oriented brand building processes with core value-directed branding strategies. It is argued that universities who hope to balance public good as an educational institute and pragmatic aspect, i.e. competing for funding may get some hints from the results of this study by applying some values or core values in the pragmatic university missions and visions.

Keywords: higher education, core value, brand-building processes, branding strategies, university mission, Hong Kong

Introduction
Higher educational institutions (HEIs) have become competitive enterprises, competing for ranking, status, and funding from the government and private sectors (Altbach, Reisberg & Rumbley, 2009). Consequently, they are forced to commit themselves to and become heavily involved in marketing, especially in branding – as what the commercial world does (Binsardi & Ekwulugo, 2003; Chapleo, 2007; Naudé & Ivy, 1999). Universities require a strong brand name, a reputation in short, as one of their most intangible assets (Keller & Lehmann, 2006) in order to increase both national and international competitiveness, boost awareness of their existence, and differentiate themselves from rivals (Melewar & Akel, 2005; Naudé & Ivy, 1999) among their stakeholders (Keller & Lehmnn, 2006; Villas-Boas, 2004) – for example, students, parents, and governments (Wæraas & Solbakk, 2008).

Consequently, importance of branding has been growing in HEIs, however literature reveal sparse academic study on branding in HEIs but more on marketing of HEIs. These studies were majorly from the perspectives of marketing positioning (Gray, Fam, & Llanes, 2003), market segmentation (Lewison & Hawes, 2007; Reindfleisch 2003), marketing models (Mazzarol, 1998), marketing communications (Cheng et. al, 2009; Klassen, 2002). Empirical

studies on branding in HEIs mainly are on brand personality (Ying & Zhu, 2007), brand architecture (Chapleo 2004; Hemsley-Brown & Goonawardana 2007), pros and cons of branding (Temple, 2006). Nevertheless, these studies on branding focus on branding strategies in a broad sense but not in an organizational sense. Hence, research on HEI branding is at a pioneer stage (Heaney & Heaney (2008); Hemsley-Brown & Oplatka 2006).

Furthermore, literature show that such branding process is not smooth, for example, there were concerns about borrowing branding strategies directly from the commercial world (e.g. Temple, 2006; Hemsley-Brown & Oplatka, 2006). Hemsley-Brown and Oplatka suggested that much research was "needed to examine the notions of ethical perceptions, personal and moral philosophies, ethical values and social responsibilities of those involved managing the marketing of universities" (2006, p.334). Moreover, Heaney and Heaney (2008) suggested that research could be conducted to explore the relationship between core values and brand building processes in HEIs.

According to current literature, scarce such core value-based and integrated brand building model was discovered in HEI literature. Therefore, "a brand building strategic model integrated with certain values" was defined as a niche area to study in the HE context. In contrast, in the business or commercial domain, Urde (2003) defined that there were core values in brand building processes, based on a ten-year longitudinal study in fifty worldly top ranking corporations (i.e. Volvo, Ford, Nestle and etc.) and numbers of previous literature in both marketing and management paradigms.

In this theoretical understanding, the organization has core values developed based on what the organization and what the customers value, performed as a guiding light penetrating in the corporate brand building processes, built into the product, expressed in behavior and reflect the feel of communication (Urde, 2003). Core value is defined as a guiding light penetrating in every step of brand building processes (Urde, 2003). Therefore, due to the treasured data and persuasive theoretical understanding, this Urde (2003) core value-based corporate brand building processes theory inspired this study to investigate whether in HEIs, there is (are) an organization-wide core value(s) as a guiding light penetrating in the university brand building processes.

The case of Hong Kong

Amidst such a global branding competition, the Hong Kong government has come out with the policy of turning Hong Kong into an education hub in Asia (UGC, 2004). Table 1 below shows the constantly increasing numbers of international and Mainland Chinese students. Between the year 2005 and 2012, the rising of these two groups of students are 593% and 226%, respectively. The literature shows that the Hong Kong government has contributed to the increasing numbers by making quite a few polices in order to attract international and Mainland Chinese students. Accordingly, visa requirements were relaxed, non-local graduates could now seek employment, and the institutional restrictions for numbers of fee-paying students were removed (e.g. Cheng & Shun et al., 2009; Li & Bray, 2007).

Table 1 Numbers of International and Mainland Chinese Students' Mobility to HK

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
International Students	404	463	542	675	904	1350	1833	2798
Mainland Chinese Students	3,362	4,370	5,754	6,751	7,713	8,429	8,742	10963

Date from *UGC* (2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 & 2012)

However, there is scarce literature that address what branding strategies that the University Grants Committee (UGC) – funded universities have been taken to target and serve the students. In addition, these eight universities articulate their core/guiding values or moto in their official website, even integrated in their logos. Hence, this paper explores branding strategies in Hong Kong and role of core values in them.

Methodology

With constructivism as the epistemological paradigm (Creswell, 1998), social interactions were explored with a case study approach (Perry, 1998; Yin, 2003). Multiple case studies were conducted as opposed to a single case study aiming at more generic findings (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007) by comparing similar cases (Yin, 2003). For new theoretical understanding as intended to do by this research, multiple similar cases would be preferable to a single case and contrast cases, because this would allow for common branding strategies to be spelled out if they were similar in background, such as history, positioning, and size (Yin, 2009). Comparing similar cases also allows for generating duplications when cases from the same or similar region or context tend to adopt similar strategies.

Two universities X and Y were selected in this study due to their similar background: i) they have similar historical background, both established in 1990s; ii) they are both comprehensive universities; iii) they have similar size in faculty and department numbers as well as students and staff numbers; iv) both of them have explicated core values on their official websites. By studying University X and Y, this research attempts to contribute the knowledge gap of role of core values in HEI brand building processes.

A method of purposive sampling was adopted so that the richest information could be gathered (Merriam, 1998). As shown in Table 2, there were six interviewees altogether; three in each university, and purposefully sampled for comparison across institutional hierarchy (organizational level and departmental level) and dimensions (student offices and academic departments).

The organizational level leaders were the people having richer information than other leaders at lower hierarchical levels. They need to know well both the policies at the institutional level and the different practices at the lower hierarchical levels to make decisions. These organizational level leaders were involved deeply in university strategic plans.

For departmental level participants, it was decided that heads of the Student Office and an academic department were selected, as, they were responsible for the departments directly serving students who are the key or most important body and/or stakeholders for a university. The department heads were the decision makers, capable of considering both university-level and departmental lower-level real-life situations. Hence, they could provide the richest information on non-academic/academic services and programmes provided to students. Table 2 lists the participants with their representative codes of the two universities.

Table 2 *Participants in this study*

Level and Dimensions		**University X**	**University Y**
At the organizational level (Number: One in each university)		An Associate Vice President in charge of international affairs and member of the Strategic Planning Committee (UX1)	The head of the Strategic Planning Office (UY1)
At the departmental level	In the non-academic dimension (Number: One in each university)	Head of Student Office (UX2)	Head of Student Office (UY2)
	In the academic dimension (Number: One in each university)	Head of an academic department (UX3)	Head of an academic department (UY3)

One-to-one interviews were conducted, with deep conversations between two persons, that is, the interviewer and interviewee (Cohen & Manion, 1994). Semi-structured interview questions were designed to seek answers under each research question (Appendix). This questioning method is well known for its capabilities of allowing and inspiring the interviewees to express their values, attitudes, opinions, or beliefs at the maximized level but within the research scope (Merriam, 1998).

A Grounded Theory coding method was adopted to conduct both within-case and cross-case data analysis (Saldana, 2009). This line-by-line coding process is particularly useful for preserving original meanings of participants' statements (Saldana, 2009). For the within-case analysis, four steps were taken. First, the final versions (reviewed and polished by the interviewees) of transcripts were read again and again (at least three to five times) for data familiarity and sensitivity purpose. Second, Initial/Open Coding was conducted, in which these data were put into categories, namely the four research questions. This was followed by Axial Coding, in which themes were developed and then, patterned into smaller clusters with certain names under each research question (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

This theoretical coding method was also applied in cross-case analysis to generate a common model. Comparisons of the two models developed from each case were conducted based on the research questions: first, comparing brand missions hierarchically and dimensionally at the departmental level; second, comparing definitions and performances of core values in branding strategies; third, comparing university brand building processes; and finally, theorizing how core values are performed in universities (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Qualitative researchers have struggled to identify the validity and trustworthiness of their research. Rather than taking terminology from the quantitative paradigm, qualitative researchers have offered alternative ways to think about descriptive validity and the unique qualities of the study (Janesick, 2000). According to suggestions in literature such as Goetz and LeCompte (1984), Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Newman and Benz (1998), the criterion of trustworthiness usually include i) "credibility" which can be achieved by prolonged engagement in the field and triangulation of the data; ii) "validity" that can be realized by observation, triangulation and referential materials. According to Creswell (1998) who recommends that qualitative researchers engage in at least two of the techniques in any given

study. In this study, techniques of triangulation as well as referential materials and expert reviewing were used to guarantee the credibility and validity of the research.

Denzin (1978) suggested four different modes of triangulation by using more than one data source, method, investigator and theory to explore a research question. The approach of multiple data sources and methods are commonly used in empirical organizational studies, which were applied in this research. For instance, multiple data sources, i.e. three leaders were interviewed in each university with the same set of questions. These leaders played their roles at different hierarchical levels and functional dimensions so that their statements were refereed to one another leading to the confirmation of common points and consequently development of the theoretical model in each case university. The contents of the two models in the two cases were further compared with each other resulting in the final theoretical understanding and model.

The other applied triangulation technique is multiple methods, i.e. in addition to interviews, documentary analysis was used for verifying facts of what the interviewees stated, with both their official websites and published brochures. For example, accuracy on expressions of university missions and visions by interviewees was verified with the contents about missions and visions on their websites; and interview data on core values and core value-based programs and services of Student Offices were referred to their brochures, for instance, in university X, it was stated that core values were composed of both western and eastern values, which was confirmed with comparisons to the components of core values in their brochure.

Moreover, the approach of referential materials was applied at the stage of cases selection. According to the research design of this study, similar cases would be selected, hence identification and classifications of the similar cases among the eight UGC-funded universities were conducted. The similarities refer to i) having the key element that this research studies, brand mission and branding strategies in the University Strategic Plan; ii) similar background, i.e. history, positioning and university size (Seawright, Jason & Gerring, 2008). Public University Strategic Planning documents of the eight UGC-funded universities were reviewed in their official websites for discovering their brand mission and branding strategies. After it was defined that all of these eight UGC-funded universities had the key elements studied by this research, brand missions and branding strategies, the backgrounds of these universities were compared. The finally selected cases had similar positioning as comprehensive universities and similar numbers of students and faculties, and established at the same period.

Expert Reviewing was also used for data validity purpose, i.e. the original recordings and transcripts were selected randomly and checked by the researcher's supervisor. Sequentially, these transcripts and interviews were reviewed with a result that the reviewer sung high praise of the interview recording and transcript contents and thought them to be effective. Before this expert reviewing, the transcripts had already been reviewed and polished or confirmed by the interviewees themselves who gave very positive feedbacks to researchers, such as "*Well done*", "*A very good transcript*" and "*It is available for analysis*". In addition to these approaches, the researcher also carefully used other techniques to achieve a high level of trustworthiness throughout the research, for instance, techniques such like blanking, promptly confrontation and paraphrasing during data collection, and sensitive and careful data analysis, for instance, let data speak and not stop analysing repeatedly until no new themes were emerged.

Findings

Brand missions

It was found that the patterns of brand definition/mission are similarly perceived by leaders at same hierarchical level (i.e. institutional or departmental level) and functional dimensions (i.e. academic departments or SOs). Brand is defined as "university image" by organizational level leaders; as "unique identity" by the student office heads; and, as "reputation" by the academic departmental heads, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3 *Brand missions defined by interviewees*

Level and Dimensions		Brand Mission	Interviewee	Codes
At the organizational level		University image building	UX1	"… building an image for the university…"
				"…our image in international students' eyes, our image in our partner university's eyes…"
			UY1	"We build our university image…"
				"…our university image perceived by the employers and public…"
At the departmental level	In SOs	Unique Identity building	UX2	"…consulting for how to do better but not emotional problems…helping with students before…after scholarships…so see we are unique in terms of (being) more approachable."
				"…so it's (our brand is) very different. "
			UY2	"…we put a human factor in every media, we put students first all the time… it's different from other university's brand…"
				"We groom students to be changing agents…this brand is very unique."
	In the academic departments	Reputation building	UX3	"The brand is the name, the reputation, and how people perceive you in a society."
				"…We don't...want to distinguish the department or programs from others... the purpose is not to distinguish from one to the other, (but) we want to have reputation…"
			UY3	"Don't call it a brand…"
				"… branding annoys me because it's not always full of integrity. We only pursue reputation perceived by people… but we don't praise ourselves…"

Branding strategies

Existence of core values

It was found that core values did exist in branding strategies in order to achieve institutional missions, with identifiable patterns at the same hierarchical level and same dimensions at the departmental level. Both of the two organizational level leaders defined core value as *"to achieve the university mission"*. The UX1 answered the question asked by the researcher "Could you please give a definition for core values?" in this way:

> *"No, I prefer 'to achieve the university mission' to 'core values'…We are serving a key mission of our university, internationalization…"*

Similarly, the UY1 answered the researcher's question "How do you interpret core values?" in this way:

> *"How do I interpret core values? Erm...this is not a big organization and at the moment, there is no set of explicit core values so we follow the university mission…"*

The two student office heads define core value as whole person development, however, with different focuses. The UX2 defines it as *Whole person development with student-centered and whole educational experience philosophies and approaches.*

> *"Our core value has been being whole person development, (i.e.) people are developed as a whole… (with) student-centered approaches and a broad educational experience as the fundamental principle of planning and implementing all activities provided to students…"*

According to UY2, his student office also adopts the ideal of *whole person development as the core value with the focus on enhancing students' social concerns*.

> *"Whole Person Development is the core value in the student affairs for various grades of students…"*
> *"I think the most important value in the Whole Person Development is to have a social concern inside and outside campus…they have genuine and real concern about the life, the wellbeing of the people living around."*

Academic freedom is a common definition as or in core values addressed by both of the two academic leaders, UX3 and UY3, however restrained. First, UX3 was reluctant to declare existence of core values for his department. The rationale of not developing their own departmental core values was because they want to share common core values and conventional beliefs with the society. Therefore, the core value is *academic freedom with conditions*.

> *"Core values (with a frustrated laugh). If you want to say, 'Do you want to see those core values?' freedom of teaching and freedom of research could be sort of our (laugh out), if you want say, that's core values; but it is just a basic element to keep you to do research in your interest…However, it won't help us to generate first rate of research. We aim to generate research having global excellence and local impacts …"*

UY3 also mentioned academic freedom with limitations as one of the academic values, that is, government funding determines university functions, and academics have a bit of freedom to identify some areas to study.

> *"…through the government, we have been given various jobs to do, our mission has been prescribed first to some extent; but I think we also have a little bit freedom to identify some areas we would like to explore."*

However, in terms of the definition of core values, unlike UX3, UY3 defines core value as integrity with administrative and academic values.

> *"I think the No.1 core value is integrity, and I don't mean to sound 'goody, goody', but I think for your actions and your beliefs to be in harmony, is to have integrity."*

For UY3, integrity is the foundation for other values, which together forms a system.

> *"…so integrity…it's a core value which goes into every other value…"*

Accordingly, academic values that need to be incorporated are academic freedom (with limitations as stated above), social justice, and honesty.

> *"I agree with Confucius. Confucius is about moderation, is whole person, bigger than teaching, a role model and everything…"*
> *"…so we have a group in our department, strongly committed to international development helping less developed countries to become more developed, and to look at issues of social justice within that development path."*
> *"We teach students with cases delivering social justice…"*

UY3 also suggests that values of "honesty, "transparency", "social justice", and "inclusiveness" are incorporated in their academic and administrative job duties.

> *"We share honesty in our department. Honesty towards our students, honesty in our research…"*
> *"People (our staff) might not agree with it, might think it's unfair, but we have transparent rationales in which social justice is a major criteria…"*
> *"I think the value of inclusivity is a departmental value… we all respect the differences that exist between people."*

Role of core values in branding strategies to achieve the brand missions

The core values are a guiding light penetrating in other components of the branding strategies. At the organizational level, the UX1 collects materials from different functional departments by internal communications for designing their official external communication media. These forms of media are to target international students and other overseas universities to build partnership in education exhibition affairs. UX1 also brings back what are asked or consulted by students and parents as well as the partner universities as feedback given to corresponding departments for further improvement of the department's work or further collecting mend-up information to add in the promotion media.

> *"We are not just sitting here, (but) we need to look around on campus what are doing well…with these information, we'll go overseas and show our university image to*

> *students coming to exhibitions and our partner universities…We gather what they say and bring them back to our relevant units…to see how to make improvement for their work or our brochures…"*

At University Y, the UY1 collects ideas from different functional departments to design the University Strategic Plans and branding strategies. The UY1 thinks that the students themselves are the medium of communication, representing the university in employers' and the public's eyes. The university image or the students' performances, evaluated by the employers and public, are seen as highly important; even the president of the university would warn the relative departmental leaders while negative comments are received.

> *"We gather our colleagues' ideas from different faculties and departments to develop our Strategic Plan…We think it's important that employers and public have a positive image to our students, representing a key part of our university image…Hence, we train them how to dress and behave before internship and in public…The president may say 'Wei, that's (what the employers said) important.' Make sure do something for it..."*

All of these efforts are to achieve the university mission – the core value of these two organizational level leaders. In University X, the UX1 does not only do everything to achieve this university mission with internal and external communications, but this is also embedded in the administrative management. For instance, he himself puts aside any of his own personal values at work and only focuses on doing everything to achieve the university mission all the time; the staff are required to do so too. For example, UX1 says:

> *"…you (the staff) can do whatever you like, going wherever you want after work, but at work you should just do something related to our university mission…What I'm doing here is just to make sure our team is working to achieve the university mission..."*

In University Y, the UY1 does what the strategic plan and president cherish. Hence while the president spelled-out core values, UY1 followed the core values; however, at the moment, *"there is no set of core values"*, therefore the university missions are followed. UY1 thinks that it is hard to make everybody buy in what is written in the Strategic Plan in the universities in Hong Kong with academic freedom; however, if the president constantly highlights it in speeches and on the cover of the Strategic Plan, or by setting up schools with the core values, it will be influential among staff.

> *"A former President used to highly promote the core value…, hence we had a core value at that time… but now, we don't have a set of core values so we just follow the university mission…The staff do not necessarily follow what the president says but if the President really promotes it, that may work…for instance, highlighting the core values on the Strategic Plan, frequently delivering them in speeches or setting up a school with these core values."*

In the SOs, non-academic programs and services are provided to students which are thought to have built up unique identities. In University X, the core values – whole person development with student-centered and whole educational philosophies and approaches – not only direct the way of planning the programs and services but also have been embedded in the staff's mind when implementing. In all programs, they tried their best to help the students as much as possible. This set of core values is also reflected in the evaluation and feedback:

"…they (the set of core values) have embedded in our colleagues' mind and they think they are doing significant work, even after working hours, they would like to help with students coming to us…our basketball team has professors to supervise the athletes' study so their scores in final exams are above average…Our students come to us to consult for how to do better but not emotional problem…this was asked by students from other universities 'Are you crazy?" so see, we are unique…In the big scholarship application, before application, there are trainings to teach how to apply; after the application, if the applicant fails to do it, the staff would meet the student and sort out the ways to do better next time; if the applicant succeeds in doing it, the staff would meet the student to help him or her plan how to use the scholarship. We are unique in this more approachable way."

Moreover, this SO Head sets himself as an embodiment of these core value-based branding strategies. For instance, he meets students, participates in the students' reading club, and takes students on overseas trips and supervises their learning during the trip. Also, the staff is sent to international conferences to learn globally advanced approaches on how to develop students as a whole. In addition, student-centered strategies are taken as important in evaluation and feedback to the provided programs and services. For instance, the UX2 specially stated that an outside accreditation team praised them,

"…you are really student-centered."

In University Y, the core values – whole person development with the focus of educating students to be of social concerns with student-centered philosophies and approaches – drives the branding strategies. For instance, depicting human factors in their media to tie the emotional link between the students and parents and themelves. The program and services provided to students not only lead them to be developed as a whole – "not only physically but mentally healthy" – but also emphasize on the social concerns of the students. Special programs are designed to fulfill this purpose, such as students' leadership training, service learning experience, and 360 degree evaluations during internships.

"We include human factors, students in every media… we put students first…"

Similar to the UX2, the core values are embedded in the staff's mind, directing their daily work. These core values are embedded in the departmental mission and vision, guiding all staff's work. Professionals are recruited, such as those from a social welfare background, or those with a PhD, or those who are well-experienced in leadership training programs. Evaluation and feedback of students is also taken as important in this SO, for instance,

"…after each program, we conduct questionnaires among students for further improvement of our programs or services...and students' reflective reports are also taken as an important tool of our evaluating and feedback for the programs and services provided to students."

In addition, the university missions also affected branding strategies in SOs. For instance, in University X, the spelled out internationalization and excellence in research and teaching force the UX2 adjust their programs and services in order to achieve these missions.

"We adapted a little bit for our programs towards achieving the university mission, internationalization; that is before they go abroad, we provide well-designed lectures,

workshops and materials to enhance their cultural awareness and sensitivity, and then we give them a book written by an author from that country."

In University Y, the departmental mission was designed according to the university mission "grooming caring students…" as shown with,

"Our department just follows this university mission and play a role to groom students as a whole…"

At the academic level, the UX3 places much emphasis on excellent research impacting both global and local societies, as well as to be published in the top journals of the field and producing students as leaders at work after graduation – or at least well-behaved citizens. But the freedom of research, and teaching in these conditions, is embedded in the staff's minds as the basic driver of their daily work in research, teaching and community service.

"…they (freedom of teaching and research) are embedded in our staff's mind, but no spelled out; otherwise, how can they do research without passion? However, we need to generate first rate of research with global excellence and local impact…"

In contrast, although the brand building is defined as reputation building by both the two academic leaders, the UY3 emphasizes much on delivering traditional values linked by the core value "integrity" in both teaching and research within academic jobs as well as the staff in administrative jobs. For instance, social justice can be a research topic and also a case to teach students, as well as a way to treat all staff equally in the administrative practices. In addition, they take what people think about the department as an important evolution and feedback tool for maintaining their reputation. For instance,

"…so integrity is our core value… we are transparent in decision makings… we treat respect both administrative and academic staff… we teach students social justice with cases…Our reputation is given by people in the field, the students and their parents…"

The jobs in both academic departments contribute to their university missions. For instance, the UX3 states that

"According to the university mission, we set our departmental goals…our aims are to develop excellent research and product future business leaders, at least well-behaved citizens."

Similarly, the UY3 addressed,

"We set our departmental goals according to the university mission, grooming caring and competent professionals…"

In addition, it was found that an explicit statement about the value embedded in the mission was necessary although it was not the core value itself; but it did perform as a philosophy behind the mission thus guiding core value (to achieve the university mission)-based branding strategies. For example, the university mission 'Internationalization' of University X, according to UX1 and UX2, is to make all students including those who could not go abroad, be exposed in an international environment with students from different parts of the world thus diversified cultures for their future career consideration as a social person in an globalized working environment.

Similarly, a mission of University Y is "to groom students to be professionals with social concerns" and the philosophy of this mission, according to UY1 and UY2, is to help students to prepare a friendly atmosphere at work and in personal life with good relations with the people around them for their easy life. In fact, they are both student-centered value oriented way of considering and building the brand."

Discussion

Brand building processes in cycles of planning, implementing and evaluating and feedback

From a holistic view of the university brand building processes, the organizational level units majorly play roles of internal and external communications to build a university image. That is, they collect information from bottom to top for developing documentations or speeches for external communications, i.e. brochures and Strategic Plans. Therefore, departments, such as SO and the academic departments, are majorly functioned to provide actual non-academic and academic programs and services to students to build a unique identity and reputation.

This process is performed as "non-stop circle", i.e. "planning, implementing, evaluating and feedback" (Drucker, 2009). The organizational level leaders evaluate these programs and services through questions asked by the targeting students, partner universities, employers, and the public, and consequently bring the feedback to the relevant units for further improvement.

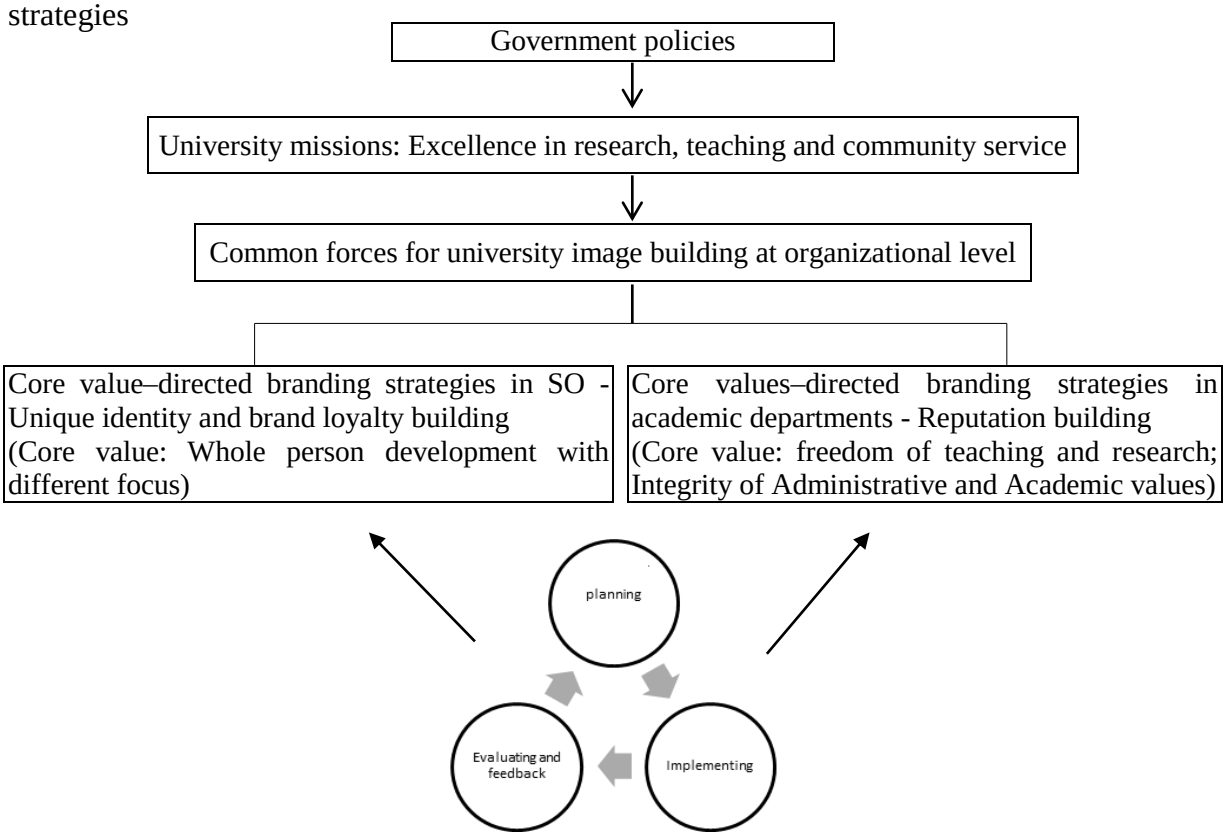
Brand building processes and university mission

It is easily noticeable that a common force that all branding efforts drive for is the university mission(s). For instance, in University X, the two major missions, spelled out as internationalization and excellence in research and teaching, determined the messages on the university image in the internal and external communications at the organizational level. They also affected the efforts made at the departmental level. To contribute to the university mission of excellence in research and teaching, the core value-based branding strategies of non-academic and programmes and services were to cultivate future leaders at workplace, changing agents, or at least well-behaved citizens.

Similarly, in University Y, the mission to nurture and transform competent and professional people with social responsibility led to training programs before internships to enhance proper behaviour and attitude at the host organizations at the organizational level. Moreover, in both SOs and academic departments, a strong sense of social concern was attempted to fulfill the mission to groom professionals. For instance, they are all designed to fulfill the mission of transforming students into those with values, civic minds, and social concerns. Hence, the common point to link various core value-based branding strategies was to achieve the university mission(s). Hence, this may also suggest that values embedded in missions can be followed.

The following figure shows the University mission-driven brand building processes with core value-directed branding strategies, discovered by this research. The government assigns university missions in three dimensions: excellence in research, teaching, and community service. The university missions become the common forces of university image building at different hierarchical levels and dimensions such as academic and administrative departments. All the core value-directed branding strategies are performed as a non-stop circle: planning, implementing, evaluating and feedback.

Figure 1 The mission-driven brand building processes with core value-directed branding strategies



Comparison between role of core values in HEIs and Commercial Corporations

Based on the comparisons between role of core values in the newly developed theoretical understanding and that in the theory of Urde (2003), it is found that University-wide core value-based brand building processes do not exist, which is in contrast to the existed core value-based brand building processes in the commercial world. However, due to the common force, university mission, in the university context, university-wide mission-based brand building processes is the practice. According to the findings of this research, values embedded in the mission can be philosophies directing core value-based branding strategies spread out in different hierarchical levels and functional dimensions. In addition, the university brand building processes, according to the interviewees, are performed as a management circle and the staff have more freedom to choose what to do. However, in the commercial companies, it is described as a relatively top-down linear way in the implementation of the organization missions.

This difference shows the complexity of the HEIs with its multiple functions in three dimensions, research, teaching and community services; in contrast, profit-driven is always the highest mission for commercial companies, hence there can be some organization-wide consistent core value. This also states that academic freedom is still kept as the current practice in HEIs in Hong Kong where difference voices are allowed across the universities.

In contrast to the different ways of organization-wide brand building processes between those in the university and commercial contexts respectively, a similar point is that branding strategies are applied in both of two sectors although the term "brand" is denied and not fully understood in universities. For instance, at the functional dimension of the brand, in fact, the academic programs and services are planned based on students (market) research thus categorizations (segmentations) leading to different branding or marketing strategies'

planning, e.g. programs and services positioning and communication strategies to match the students' brand personality (such as what the students expect themselves to be like after graduation), distribution (students' recruiting) channel (for instance, with other partner universities) cooperation and etc.

These planned branding or marketing programs, services and events are implemented to target the potential qualified students or serve the current students well for maintaining their brand loyalty. And in order to keep the sustainability of the development of the university, evaluation and feedback are done with marketing research, e.g. questionnaire, focus groups, analysis on students' evaluation form by internship organizations and their own reflective report. In addition, the core values do direct these branding strategies existing in different hierarchical levels and functional dimensions.

Therefore, the university-wide core value-based brand building processes do not exist in contrast that it exists in the commercial companies but similar core value-based branding strategies are applied in different hierarchical levels and functional dimensions in the university.

Conclusion

There are some significant findings, which can contribute to the knowledge at practical levels in the branding of HEIs. Core values are diversified at different hierarchical levels and functional dimensions, but functioned as a guiding light penetrating in planning, implementing, evaluating, and feedback of the branding strategies. However, there is no cross-university core value and brand mission, and thus core value-directed branding strategies. These spread-out core value-directed branding strategies are linked with a common force, namely, the university missions which is shaped by the government policies.

According to UGC official website, being an Educational Hub is a key mission of Hong Kong. This study discovered how the brand building processes are performed in universities in Hong Kong, which can inspire the government to review the implementation of these policies. From the branding perspective, the findings showed the impacts of funding allocations may have imposed unnecessary constraints on the universities, especially on funded research topics.

For instance, different HEIs in other countries may have different markets for prospective students, so HEIs can vary from highly vocational to highly research-oriented. However, HEIs in Hong Kong are forced to compete in the current funding schemes to address the government's policies on human resources development and on the strategy to enhance the economic competitiveness of Hong Kong in the East Asia region through the strengths of higher education. HEIs that offer medicine, law, and business studies in their programs tend to be perceived as more prestigious, but the UGC has set regulations on the programs that a university can offer. In other words, it is not a straightforward matter for the university council to enhance positioning through offering more prestigious programs by themselves without some political considerations. Hence, the government policy makers may have to reconsider whether their positioning strategies for the universities may require reviews from time to time because the quest for fund, especially research fund, seems to be keen and affect the ecology of the HEIs in Hong Kong.

In the institutes, regardless of the spread-out core value-directed branding strategies or the whole university brand building processes. This research suggests a model: The

mission-driven brand building processes with core value-directed branding strategies. Core values guide their branding strategies at these different parts/units of the university hence, core value-based branding strategies are applied; and a common point linking these spread-out core value-based branding strategies is the university mission and the value(s) embedded in it. The value (s) embedded in the university mission is usually the philosophies for organizational leaders to make branding strategies. The whole university brand building processes as well as the core value-based branding strategies are all performed as a management circle, planning, implementing, evaluating and feedback.

The fact that the two universities did not have consistent core values might have reflected their relatively short history. On the one hand, twenty years may be too short for them to establish research or academic reputations internationally, in comparison with other HEIs in Hong Kong that have longer history and more prestigious programs. On the other hand, all UGC-funded institutes in Hong Kong are forced to compete for funding, but these institutes vary in terms of their histories, courses and programs offered, and connections with the community. These variables affected the formation and applications of multiple core values found in the studied universities.

For those universities who intend to build a value-oriented brand, it is suggested that values can be embedded into the university missions to make the organization-level leaders follow since they are strong university mission-oriented. The university mission is generally a string internal driver for departments in both administrative and academic dimensions. Hence, values embedded in the missions will be followed by organizational as well as administrative and academic department leaders. It is also worthy of noticing that emphasis of the president would promote the fulfilment of the values, for example, through constant messages in speeches, in highlights in the Strategic Plans, and in the setting up of an organizational body in the university based on some value or values.

In addition, as noted, the participants acknowledged funding resources as one of the key external force that affected the core values of HEIs. From the government perspective, certain competitions among universities in Hong Kong are necessary and healthy developments as they may contribution to the relative competitiveness of HEIs in Hong Kong as a whole in the East Asia regions. Hence, universities who hope to balance public good as an educational institute and pragmatic aspect, i.e. competing for funding may get some hints from the results of this study by applying some values or core values in the pragmatic university missions and visions.

Second, the multiple core values reflected the loosely coupled structure of characterized most educational settings. Hierarchical structures do exist as ad hoc committees which may be formed for different purposes as in University X and the primacy of presidential concerns in University Y, but people are relatively free in their own work and allowed for their understanding and flexibility in determining work emphases in administration, educational programs, and research topics. This was most vivid and evident in the interviews with UX2, UX3, UY2 and UY3. The hierarchy at the universities was relatively flat as complex organizations.

This study may inform future study on brand building processes in HEIs. In particular, students who are interested in moral and core values in both academic and non-academic programs and services may also find the current findings interesting. Hence, focus groups and quantitative survey or questionnaires methods may be used to investigate how students

perceive about the core value-based academic and non-academic programs and services. And these research results could provide more insights from students' perspectives to reflect their core value-based branding strategies thus adapt or even improve in some ways.

Another further research may investigate how more hierarchical leaders, for instance, program leaders, research centers as well as academic and non-academic staff answer these research and interview questions; hence, comparisons can be done with more hierarchical levels in universities leading to further literature contributions.

One more future study can investigate how universities in different regions or areas build their university brand and how core values are applied in their university brand building processes; especially Greater China Region, such as Tai Wan, Malaysia, Singapore and Macau for comparing (with the cases in Hong Kong) purpose,

Moreover, all HEIs seem to be bounded by the norms and practices of the so called academic communities. Academics have their own standards of excellence which is expected ***not*** to be intervened by the funders including the government. The so called academic freedom is highly regarded and taken for granted in some cases. This freedom has allowed for the academics to maintain their independence and their social concerns. From this perspective, multiple core values identified in HEIs may be a healthy feature that reflects its dynamics and relative freedom and independence.

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Appendix

Key Research Questions (RQ) and Interview Questions (IO)

Key Research Questions	Key Interview Questions
RQ1: What is brand mission?	IQ: Has your university (if applicable) and (or) your department been developing a brand? If yes, how come?
RQ2: Do core values exist in branding strategies to achieve the brand mission? If yes, how are they performed?	IQ: Throughout the brand building processes, what brand component(s) play(s) key roles or do you think they are equally important? IQ: Do these components work in an integrated way for building a brand? How do they interact during the processes? IQ: What values do you have in the brand building processes? IQ: What are the most important values to you amongst the values? IQ: According to your sharing so far, do you think there are some core values? If yes, would you like to make a definition of core values (or how would you define core values?) IQ: Do the core values play roles in the brand building processes? What roles do the core values play in these brand-building processes?

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Intercultural Education For All? A Comparative Analysis of Intercultural Educational Policies from Québec and Hong Kong

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Abstract
In this paper, we compare the different approaches to immigrant youth integration public schools through educational and linguistic policies in the contexts of Hong Kong and Québec. We examine the policy discourses, particularly surrounding language, directed at newcomer families and children in these two contexts in a thematic analysis. We highlight the particular ways in which government discourses describe newcomer students, and note that in both Québec and Hong Kong, entry into the dominant culture is mediated by language practices. Our analysis suggests that, in the case of Hong Kong and Québec, the governmental policy discourses are problematic because they demonstrate an inability to welcome students as they are upon arrival to their new societies. The study offers implications to international education and development as it highlights two parallel contexts that position language and culture as necessary for newcomers to integrate into the dominant society. We argue that further inquiry into the needs and desires of newcomers in terms of educational and linguistic integration is necessary in both Hong Kong and Québec.

Keywords: Education; Hong Kong; Interculturalism; Language; Québec; Youth.

Introduction
Interculturalism asks citizens to exchange ideas through respectful dialogue to address challenges that may result from potentially divisive issues in pluralistic contexts (Abdallah-Pretceille, 2006; Walsh, 2009). Both Québec and Hong Kong represent fertile grounds for intercultural comparison given their difficult and sometimes uncomfortable relationships with Canada and China, respectively. Québec, for example, has long struggled with its linguistic and cultural distinctiveness in an anglophone majority country. In Québec, interculturalism constitutes a response to Canadian multicultural policy and seeks to create a public sphere for the integration and participation of newcomers and longtime Québecers while respecting the disparate religious and cultural traditions of its diverse citizenship. In Hong Kong, the legacy of colonialism has enshrined English as a powerful minority language, even after the end of British colonial rule in 1997. Cantonese became the medium of instruction at many government-funded schools, and this has had consequences for its non-Chinese speaking residents. In particular, the discussion surrounding ethnic minority residents' societal integration is often mediated through the Chinese language, and there is perceived need for ethnic minorities to learn Cantonese in order to become an integrated part of the city.

In both Québec and Hong Kong, language and educational policies are major components of the intercultural project. This paper explores the distinct approaches of both Québec and Hong

Kong towards the integration of newly arrived young citizens into the public school system through educational policies. We look to a comparative analysis of Québec's classes d'acceuil (welcome classes), and Hong Kong's Induction and Initiation Programmes, both of which are geared towards the educational integration of newly immigrated children. Notably, these programs do not solely touch on language education, but inevitably cross, to varying degrees, into the murky territory of cultural integration, which may have deleterious effects on newcomers. In our thematic analysis (Charmaz, 2005) of online governmental education policy documents from both Québec and Hong Kong, we explore the ways in which welcome classes are designed for newly arrived children and youth. Here, we investigate the themes and values that emerge from these documents, and we ask how intercultural exchange is addressed in welcoming education for youth in both contexts.

Research Questions

The focus of our inquiry on intercultural education in Québec and Hong Kong has been guided by three specific research questions:

1) What forms of welcoming education have been designed for newly arrived children and youth in Hong Kong and Québec?
2) Which common themes and values emerge from these forms of welcoming education? In this, how are immigrant children and youth being welcomed into the "new" society?
3) How has intercultural exchange been articulated in welcoming education for immigrant youth in Québec and Hong Kong in online policy documents, and what are the implications?

To situate the study's context, we first look to the distinct political locations and histories of Québec and Hong Kong.

Socio-cultural Contexts

Québec

Interculturalism admits a need to both recognize and protect minority cultures. Québec's intercultural policy sees its roots in two concerns. In Québec, intercultural policy grew out of both a recognition of the need to protect minority cultures and the rights of immigrants, as well out of opposition to Canadian multicultural policy[1]. This bicultural policy left other minority groups without adequate access to government support, and the government responded to these complaints by implementing multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework gave primacy to the French and English languages, while at the same time making federal support available to minority groups so that minority languages would have an equal opportunity to flourish.

French-speaking Québecers responded negatively to multicultural policy because they felt it diminished the official status of the French-speaking minority. Interculturalism provides many of the same protections to minority cultures as the multicultural policy, while at the same time acknowledging linguistic and cultural recognition to the Francophone population of Québec. Although multiculturalism and interculturalism share many similarities, namely their interest in integration over assimilation primarily accomplished through the removal of obstacles to integration, and their basis in basic civic frameworks and primary legal documents, interculturalism showcases a distinct integration model containing three main characteristics (Waddington, Maxwell, McDonough, Cormier, & Schwimmer, 2012). First, interculturalism is

[1] Canadian multicultural policy is a response to the government's previously held bicultural policy, which mandated support for French-speaking minority groups outside of Québec, as well as Anglophones within Québec (Waddington et. al., 2013).

committed to understanding integration as a dynamic and open-ended process of social transformation. Dialogue is a crucial aspect of interculturalism. In this sense, interculturalism invites a type of co-authorship of public space through intercultural contact. Waddington et. al. (2012) refer to this as a "co-constructive" process.

Second, interculturalism recognizes social asymmetry, where the power imbalance between the values and beliefs that newcomers to Québec society bring with them, and those held by longtime citizens, is acknowledged rather than glossed over. Interculturalism asks longtime citizens to welcome and accept newcomers as they work to integrate and adapt to the society into which they immigrate (Waddington et. al., 2012). In this way, interculturalism sets up a relatively clear and problematic divide between types of members of Québec society. This recognition of this divide is at once realistic and troublesome, as it holds the potential to be construed as delineating genuine or authentic citizens from others for whom this status is implied to be largely unattainable. Finally, and perhaps most notably, interculturalism is explicit about the moral contract to which newcomers and longtime citizens are subject (Waddington et. al., 2012). The moral contract is particularly interesting because it insists that citizens and newcomers support social values that are important to Québec society. Waddington et. al. (2012) highlight citizenship engagement in democracy, individual rights and freedoms, support for French as the language of public life, an acceptance of plurality, and finally, intercultural dialogue as the values fundamental to the social contract.

Developing the classes d'acceuil Model

The inextricability of language and culture is apparent throughout Québec's history. Here, it is important to note that although French had long been the language of the majority of speakers in Quebec, it had not been recognized in public institutions as the dominant language until 1977. With the passing of Bill 101 in 1977, the law that rendered the French language the official language of Québec, French attained a protected and privileged status (Breton-Carbonneau, 2011). Given the importance of the French language in public life, immigrants' integration into Québec culture has largely been positioned about the importance of learning French.

Born out of a belief that learning the French language would facilitate the social integration of non-French speaking immigrant children into Québec schooling and society, the Ministère de l'éducaton, de loisir et des sports (MELS) developed the *classes d'acceuil* (CA) program (Breton-Carbonneau, 2011). The CA is normally a ten-month long program aimed at students between the ages of 6 and 17. The focus of the CA is the initiation of these children into the French language, and by extension, Québec culture. As students learn to speak and write in the language of public life, the *classes d'accueil* simultaneously targets grade-level competencies in order to facilitate the transition into 'regular' classes within public schooling for the students (Breton-Carbonneau, 2011).

There are a number of tensions that play out in the *classes d'acceuil*. While Québec interculturalism is geared towards welcoming and integrating new Québecers, it aims as well both to simultaneously to protect Québec's status as a nation, as well as to safeguard the French language (Breton-Carbonneau, 2011). Relatedly, CA teachers hold competing views of their responsibilities, some viewing their roles strictly as language teachers whose aim is to increase the linguistic competence of their students, and others as who understand their task as the production of new Québecers (Breton-Carbonneau, 2011). The *classes d'acceuil*, then, are not merely an arena for language learning, but for social integration and arguably manipulation.

Hong Kong's Colonial Legacy

To understand Hong Kong's brand of welcoming education through its Induction and Initiation Programmes, we must first turn to its political and social context in light of its legacy of colonialism. In Hong Kong, this colonial legacy has been "[linguistic and] cultural but [it has also been] also demographic" (Law & Lee, 2012, p. 120). Throughout the 155-year period of British rule, colonized peoples from across the British Empire moved their labour—(both voluntarily and involuntarily,—which changed Hong Kong's ethnic and cultural make-up. Since its independence from Britain in 1997, Hong Kong has operated as a Semi-Autonomous Region (SAR) of China. This political shift has had implications on newcomers, both ethnic Chinese, but linguistically Mandarin-speaking, and ethnically non-Chinese, but linguistically diverse (inclusive of Arabic, Bengali, English, French, Hindi, Nepali, Punjabi, Tagalog, Thai, Urdu, and Vietnamese, among others). Ultimately, Hong Kong's linguistic tensions are complicated by its status as a Semi-Autonomous Region of China, and its legacy of British colonialism. Hong Kong has existing and separate immigration laws and policies from Mainland China, and a protected, national border, but it is not autonomous (Loper, 2008). Hong Kong itself is struggling with its political identity as a Semi-Autionomous Region, as we have seen with the recent Occupy Central protests. As Law and Lee (2012) have argued, the challenge in this murky conception of sovereignty can have a deleterious effect on its newly arrived citizens.

The Racial Discrimination Ordinance (2008)

Hong Kong's Racial Discrimination Ordinance (2008) provides another avenue into understanding the way in which newly arrived children are introduced into the dominant society. Law and Lee (2012) have argued that Hong Kong has been described as a "harmonious multicultural society." (p. 117). In this multicultural society, a variety of racial, cultural, linguistic, and ethnic groups have lived in close proximity to one another without "serious conflicts" (p. 117). Law and Lee emphasize that the concept of multicultural harmony in Hong Kong "merely describes the presence of various ethnic groups," rather than a real exchange of ideas, ways of knowing, cultural practices, or community-building (p. 117). From this particular vision of multicultural harmony, Hong Kong's Racial Discrimination Ordinance (2008) was established to address the rights and needs of its ethnic minority population. Yuen (2004) suggests that Hong Kong's approach to intercultural education has been distinctive as it approaches not only ethnically diverse non-Chinese speaking (NCS) students, but also ethnically Chinese who have diverse linguistic practices—many of whom do not speak, or write Cantonese. Defining the parameters of protection in the Racial Discrimination Ordinance (RDO) exclusively through race and ethnicity is inherently problematic as it completely excludes Mainland Chinese immigrants from its provisions (Kennedy, Hui & Tsui, 2008). Before the 2008 Ordinance was signed into law, it created a great deal of controversy, particularly amongst legal scholars. Chan (2005) argued that:

> *Whilst the government's move to enhance and reinforce equality rights in Hong Kong is laudable, the race anti-discrimination consultation paper…is defective in certain material respects. It being now a rule and not an exception, the government is manifestly particularly keen on excluding [Mainland Chinese immigrants] from a particular piece of proposed anti-discrimination legislation… such selective exclusion is the antithesis to the principle of equality perforce inherent in a piece of anti-discrimination legislation. (p. 601)*

This legislation certainly impacts the way in which new immigrants from Mainland China are welcomed into Hong Kong society. It is from this socio-political context, and in light of this

legislation, that we must examine Hong Kong's Induction and Initiation Programmes to understand the way in which new immigrant young people are welcomed into its schools.

Hong Kong's Welcoming Education

As Liz Jackson (2013) has argued, Hong Kong does not have a tradition of multicultural or intercultural education, but faces educational equality issues due to its multiethnic and multilingual populations. Hong Kong's EDB developed two programs to support newly arrived children in their transition prior to their entering public schools. In 1995, the government created a 60-hour Induction Programme, which was originally intended to support newly arrived children who came from Mainland China. The Induction Programme teaches Cantonese and English skills, local culture and expectations at school. In 2000, this program was expanded to provide assistance to ethnic minority children who were looking to attend government-funded schools (Heung, 2006). The 6-month Initiation Programme has similar pedagogical aims as the Induction Programme, and upon successful completion of the Initiation Program, the EDB will help newly arrived students to find a "local" school (p. 36). Hong Kong's EDB also provides support for students with cognitive and physical challenges through their *Special Education Services*. These supports include referral to specialists, and assistance with physical challenges (such as speech/auditory processing challenges). However, there are no existing supports for non-Chinese speaking (NCS) or newly arrived children from the Mainland who have learning disabilities or intellectual challenges, including ADHD (p. 37).

The Initiation Programme

The Initiation Programme is a full-time six-month program of instruction for newly arrived children (both from the Mainland, and those who are categorized as NCS). Initially, the programme began in March 2000 in a pilot project, and has been operating on a regular basis for newly arrived children from the Mainland since September 2000 (EDB, 2012b). After two years, the programme expanded to include both returnee children and NCS students. The programme is offered in two sessions per year, one beginning in September, and another in March. Learners and their families can choose to enrol in this programme, as it can be easier to find a school placement for the learners once they have taken the 6-month course. Operating within a government-funded school, the programme works to integrate newly arrived students into the Hong Kong school setting. The EDB has noted (EDB, 2012b) that the preferred size of the class is 20 students. Therefore, the government calculates a grant for each school that operates the Initiation Programme based on an enrolment of 20 students. The school that operates the programme has the discretion to spend the grant as they wish within the school. The Initiation Programme's curriculum focuses on written and spoken Chinese and English skills, "learning skills / study skills," "personal development," "social adaptation," and "cultural subject" (EDB, 2012b). Further, its main goals are to increase its learners' understanding of English and Cantonese, to encourage the learners to develop personally, adapt to the social conditions in Hong Kong, and expose these learners to "real classroom situations" (EDB, 2012b). In this, we wonder, are the EDB's discourses suggesting that before the learners arrived in Hong Kong, their classroom experiences were less than "real"?

The Induction Programme

The Induction Programme allocates 60 hours of government-funded instruction for newly arrived children to Hong Kong. This programme targets returnee children, recently arrived children from the Mainland, and NCS students between the ages of six and eighteen. These students must have been living in Hong Kong for less than one year to qualify for admission to the Induction programme. The programme is organized in small classes (generally between 10-15 students), and is operated primarily by non-governmental organization. This means that

unlike the Initiation Programme, the Induction Programme is not necessarily held in a school. The programme is organized to support the needs of the students, and can be offered during "daytime, evening, weekdays or weekends at the discretion of the non-government organizations and depending on the needs of the children" (EDB, 2012a). The Induction Programmes generally target either NCS and returnee children, or newly arrived children from the Mainland. In the 2013-2014 school year, there are presently 32 locations that offer the Induction Programme for newly arrived children from the Mainland (EDB, 2013a), but only 3 locations to support NCS and returnee children (EDB, 2013b). Thus, students who come from the Mainland, and students who are categorized as non-Chinese speaking are not integrated in the Induction Programmes (EDB, 2012d; 2013a; 2013b). Although the programme is administered by non-governmental organizations, the EDB subsidizes the programming. The curriculum of the Induction Program focuses on a number of critical issues for new students to Hong Kong, including: understanding the "local community, the local culture, the cultural differences", Cantonese and English reading and writing, learning the ins-and-outs of the education system itself in Hong Kong, "acquiring basic learning skills", "handling emotions," "enhancing self-image and self-confidence" and "basic life education" (EDB, 2012a).

School-Based Support Scheme Grants

Schools that are willing to accept newcomer students (particularly NCS ethnic minority students) are also supported by the EDB through a *School-Based Support Scheme Grant (SBSS)* where schools are given a "block grant" for every NCS student enrolled at the school, and this grant can be used at the school's discretion (p. 37). Originally, when it was conceived in 1997, the grant was meant to target the extra needs of children who arrived from Mainland China, and who did not speak Cantonese. However, the grant was expanded in 2000 to address the needs of NCS students and children who have returned to Hong Kong after a period of time away from the school system. The *School-Based Support Scheme Grant* funds particular programs to encourage the integration of newly arrived children from the Mainland and NCS students, including extracurricular school support, orientation programmes, counselling and guidance services, and access to extracurricular activities (EDB, 2013a). The grant is meant to support schools that allow space for larger numbers of newly arrived children to study. The grant is also purportedly used to create programming that targets the particular needs of newly arrived children (EDB, 2013b).

Theoretical Framework

Interculturalism

Interculturalism acknowledges social asymmetry: that societies- and schools as an extension of societies- privilege certain cultures, language practices and ethnicities in an asymmetrical fashion (Maxwell, Waddington, McDonough, Cormier & Schwimmer, 2012). While resistance to these ideas is not uncommon, it is important to note that interculturalism does not create these inequalities. Rather, interculturalism simply recognizes their existence within society. Kramsch (1998) suggests that educators must understand the social and cultural contexts of the communities, schools, and the student populations in which they teach for effective and respectful intercultural exchanges to realize. Thus, denying social inequality is simply not an option in the intercultural framework. We must be able to recognize the political dynamics that exist in order to be able to effectively find our place and negotiate within these. For robust intercultural exchange to be realized in the contexts of Québec and Hong Kong, we must also question the privileging of particular ways of knowing and communicating within schools and societies, or these intercultural exchanges will remain at the surface level (Abdallah-Pretceille, 2006).

Citizenship Theories

Early citizenship theorist, T.H. Marshall (1977), parceled the concept of citizenship into three specific pieces: civil, political and social. He suggested that the notion of citizenship would encourage increased equality between religious groups, races, ethnicities, genders, and others. Marshall argued that civil conceptions of citizenship encompass individual rights, and suggested that the courts are most connected with civil expression of citizenship. In his account, the political element of citizenship includes the ability to freely belong to or express political action, and as such parliaments and councils are the institutions that rightfully uphold the political expression of citizenship. In his discussion of the social expression of citizenship, Marshall referred to the "right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society" (p. 149). Barbalet (2010) suggests that Marshall's concept of citizenship is linked to economics (specifically capitalist economics). Here, citizenship rights are discussed as developing alongside capitalism (rather than being separate from this economic system) (p. 202). This is an important distinction to make as we compare the distinct political contexts in Quebec and Hong Kong, and how these have impacted welcoming education for newcomers.

As time has progressed, and geopolitical realities have changed, notions of citizenship have also shifted. Buckingham (1997) called for a redefinition of citizenship to address postmodern ideals, describing citizenship as more fluid and dynamic than it was originally thought to be. Similarly, Harris (2005) suggests that the notion of citizenship is contested, and has shifted with the changing notion of community. In the same way that communities are no longer fixed, neither is citizenship. With this social unpredictability comes changing citizenship practices.

Methodology

Constant Comparative Analysis

In our exploration of intercultural education in the contexts of Québec and Hong Kong, we look to thematic analysis (Charmaz, 2005) to guide the generation of themes by submitting the online policy documents to the constant comparative method, while simultaneously providing opportunities for researcher transparency. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) note that in the constant comparative method, "reviews of relevant documents increase[] the likelihood that the phenomenon of interest is being understood from various points of view and ways of knowing" (p. 146). The constant comparative method provides clear steps to develop themes by creating categories based on rules of inclusion, and accounting for outlier data. The data is segmented into specific chunks of meaning, and then examined thoroughly to see if any themes can be generated. These chunks of meaning are eventually divided into smaller and smaller categories of conceptual concepts, which can lead to theories about the data. These theories are interrogated by the researcher, who explores them by writing about the data in a narrative (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). In doing so, we promote transparency with our processes, and account for all data considered (Butler-Kisber, 2010). While some have suggested that this method attempts to remove researcher bias from the findings (Thomas, 2009), the process of looking at data, and looking again to glean understanding is helpful in that it allows the data to speak for itself. Incorporating researcher positionality to the data, and also to the analysis is necessary here. Indeed, employing thematic analysis brings the researcher's position to the fore (Patton, 2002).

We compare the discursive formations present in the Quebec and Hong Kong policy documents to analyze the way in which intercultural education has been developed for

immigrant youth in each context. In our constant comparative analysis, we have identified emerging categories, and segmented each text into chunks of meaning. Each chunk has been broken down into single units of meaning. We have written the essence of the meaning of each chunk of meaning by specifying a particular word or phrase. Each unit of meaning sorted based on the topic. The generation of topics has been guided our research questions and by the round of coding that was completed in our first examination of the online policy documents.

Next, we created a discovery sheet to organize our findings graphically. Our discovery sheet referred directly to the three primary research questions. Upon reflecting on the discovery sheet, we identified each of the single units of meaning, and pasted these units of meaning onto index cards that were broken down into several large categories. In the case of Québec, the categories included: competency for further education, general knowledge about society, curriculum/ evaluation, linking French language with culture, communication, and legal French language requirements. In the case of Hong Kong, the categories included: resources and support for newly arrived children, immigration and residency status, low skills/deficit positioning, curriculum/evaluation, school placements, required knowledge for schooling. We have organized multiple units of meaning that fall under a similar category onto the same index card. We have labeled each index card with information about the category, including its definition.

On the front of the index card, we have written a clear rule of inclusion for each category. The rules of inclusion are as follows:

Québec:

- Competency acquisition for further education: any unit of meaning that refers to the importance of learning French as a tool for future formalized education in French/ Québec.
- General knowledge of Québec society: any unit of meaning in which emphasis is placed on the importance of learning French as a prerequisite for learning more about Québec society/ society more broadly.
- Curriculum and evaluation: any unit of meaning that provides information on formal curriculum content and evaluation methods and strategies.
- Linking French language and culture: any unit of meaning that explicitly links knowledge of the French language with culture.
- Communication: any unit of meaning that emphasizes the learning to communicate orally or in written French.
- Legal French language requirements: any unit of meaning that makes reference to the legal status of the French language.

Hong Kong:

- Resources and support for newly arrived children: any unit of meaning that refers to support, grants, or other resources directed at children who are newly arrived from Mainland China, non-Chinese speaking, and/or returnee children.
- Link between linguistic and cultural knowledge: any unit of meaning that provides a link or correlation between linguistic knowledge or practices and Hong Kong "local" culture.
- Immigration and residency status: any unit of meaning that describes the immigration and/or residency status of learners from the Induction and/or Initiation Programmes.
- Low skills / deficit positioning: any unit of meaning that discusses the students in the Induction and/or Initiation Programmes through a deficit positioning (highlighting their lack of skills, lack of understanding, lack of linguistic skills needed for Hong Kong schools, etc.).

- Curriculum/evaluation: any unit of meaning that illustrates the curriculum of the Induction and/or Initiation Programmes, and/or the way in which these programs are assessed and evaluated.
- Required knowledge for schooling: any unit of meaning that provides insight on what newly arrived children need to know before being placed in a mainstream/public school.

Upon coding all of the individual units of meaning, we were left with a number of pieces of outlier data. Next, we consulted this outlier data to determine if any particular unit of meaning could be added to another category of inclusion. Upon deciding on the final categories for the data, and identified all outliers, we created outcome propositions **(**Maykut & Morehouse, 1994) to make necessary connections between the rules of inclusion for each category of meaning.

Outcome Propositions from the Québec Data Set:

- The classes d'acceuil online documents ask new immigrants to integrate into local cultural and linguistic practices.
- New students to Québec are positioned as having distinct integration needs. Though these needs are positioned primarily as linguistic, concerns around culture and linguistic integration are frequently conflated.
- The classes d'acceuil online documents repeatedly ask new immigrant children to integrate into Québec society. This is done explicitly primarily through linguistic practices. However, in spite of the repeated mention of linguistic competence, adequate linguistic integration is frequently associated with cultural competence.

Outcome Propositions from the Hong Kong Data Set:

- NCS students and recently arrived children from the Mainland are positioned as simultaneously having different learning needs, and requiring the same treatment as local students.
- NCS students and recently arrived children from the Mainland are situated in deficit-views as needing to learn the skills to adapt to the local culture, and requiring support from the government. These supports include: Chinese language learning, after-school support, support measures, to learn about China, for newly arrived children, subsidies, school-based supports, etc.
- The Induction and Initiation Programmes position a correlation between linguistic (Cantonese / English) and "local" cultural knowledge.
- The EDB asks newly arrived children to learn how to integrate and adapt to the "local" culture through the Induction and Initiation Programmes.
- The discursive formations employed by the EDB highlights describes children--both NCS and newly arrived from the Mainland—through deficit positioning, often highlighting their lack of linguistic and cultural knowledge.

Upon creating the outcome propositions, we have developed a clear set of findings based on our examination of Québec's CA model and Hong Kong's Induction and Initiation Programmes.

Findings

We completed the outcome propositions together, examining both the Quebec and Hong Kong data to see the way the policy discourses spoke in each context. We note that in these parallel contexts, the discourses positioned on newcomers have particular characteristics in the Quebec

and Hong Kong contexts. We have separated these findings before elaborating on their importance, and comparing each context in the discussion section (to follow).

New Québec Students Called Upon to both Adapt and Integrate

New students to Québec are positioned as having distinct integration needs. Though these needs are positioned primarily as linguistic, concerns about culture and linguistic integration are frequently conflated. The information documents on classes d'accueil specify the importance for new immigrants students to integrate into local linguistic practices (See: Pennycook, 2010), and indeed to access local cultural practices through this sociolinguistic integration. Integration into local cultural practices such as the education system is repeatedly tied to, and indeed predicated on the new student's ability to speak the French language. Additionally, linguistic competency is positioned as a stepping-stone specifically into future educational opportunity. French language competency is described not only as a tool for communication, but also for all future learning at school. Learning French is a gateway for entry into "regular" classes within the public school system.

French Language Competency is Crucial in Québec for Future Educational Success

Tied to this concept of French as a gateway to successful integration, the online documents make much of the support that is available to new immigrant students. The documents make clear that student success is a priority. In contrast to the relational process that is at the heart of interculturalism, successful integration in these documents is positioned solely as a unidirectional process, meaning that the newcomer students need to successfully produce French before being accepted into the larger school (and societal) culture. Integration requires learning the competencies to be able to function in the host society, but fails to acknowledge any need for flexibility on the part of the host society. Here, we acknowledge that the newcomers are asked to be flexible and shift to meet their new society, while the dominant group creates the categories by which the newcomers need to adhere to.

The classes d'acceuil online documents repeatedly ask new immigrant children to integrate into Québec society. The integration of new immigrant children is done explicitly and primarily through linguistic practices, as is evidenced by the CA curriculum. However, in spite of the repeated mention of linguistic competence, adequate linguistic integration is frequently associated with cultural competence. Here, the ability to speak French is required in order to enter the general body of the school. Cultural and linguistic competences are positioned as critically intertwined with one another throughout the classes d'accueil online informational documents.

It is with this picture from Quebec, that we now turn to our examination of the findings from our Hong Kong data set. Here we see that, like Quebec, the reliance on language is necessary for social integration, and that newcomer students are positioned through a deficit lens.

Hong Kong Students Have Different Needs; Require Same Treatment

One of the primary findings from the thematic analysis has been that NCS students, returnee students, and recently arrived children from the Mainland are positioned as simultaneously having different learning needs, and requiring the same treatment as 'local[2]' Chinese-speaking students. The Hong Kong government reported in 2012 that, "regardless of the parents' permanent residence status, students eligible for receiving education in Hong Kong will enjoy the same educational support services as local students" (Hong Kong SAR, 2012).

[2] Here, we problematize the term 'local' because many non-Chinese speaking ethnic minorities are in fact born in Hong Kong, and yet grow up without the term 'local' being applied to them.

Deficit Positioning

Another finding from the inquiry showed that NCS students and recently arrived children from the Mainland are positioned in government discourses as though they possess a deficit. These learners are described as having the wrong set of skills to enter into Hong Kong classrooms, "students cope with adjustment problems and learning difficulties which they may encounter when joining local schools". In a later document, the government changes from their hedging language, "may encounter" to the use of the discursive boost, "they generally encounter." The EDB states that supports are put in place:

> *to help the newly arrived children cope with adjustment problems and learning difficulties which they generally encounter when they are newly joining the local education system, the Education Bureau has introduced an Induction Programme. (EDB, 2012a)*

In this, the newly arrived children's existing learning styles and practices are positioned as disruptive, and unwanted. In one government policy document, these students are positioned as lacking basic skills, "these children who could hardly take care of themselves and lacked basic skills such as recognizing numbers, etc., had created much difficulty for the teachers who teach them." As a result, these students are discussed as needing to learn the skills to adapt to the local culture, and requiring support from the government. Some of the supports that the government puts forth include: Chinese language learning, after-school support, support measures, to learn about China, for newly arrived children, subsidies, school-based supports, among others. While it is clear that newly arrived children need to be supported in their transition to public schooling in Hong Kong, the deficit discourses set forth by the EDB suggest that new immigrant students are lacking the basic skills to integrate into to the local curriculum and society. This positioning does not acknowledge their reserves of skills from their previous contexts, including their diverse linguistic and literacy practices, and cultural stores of knowledge.

Correlation Between Linguistic and "Local" Cultural Knowledge

Another finding that emerged from the constant comparative analysis was the correlation between having linguistic and cultural knowledge. The discursive formations employed by the EDB describes children—both NCS and newly arrived from the Mainland—through deficit positioning, often linking and highlighting their lack of linguistic and cultural knowledge. In the case of Hong Kong, linguistic knowledge refers to traditional written Cantonese and English. In Mainland China, Chinese is written in simplified characters. Again, this distinction between 'local' language and 'local' cultural knowledge is made by positioning newly arrived children through a deficit lens. The Education Bureau notes that, "newly arrived children may encounter language and cultural adaptation difficulties such as delay in language development or speaking with their native accent, etc." This statement is problematic as there is no correlation between language ability and native accent. However, the government posits that students will have trouble adapting to the local culture if they do not produce the appropriate accent. Linking the ability to access and adapt to the local culture with students' accents is particularly problematic here. These discursive formations are worth interrogating. We wonder, what might parents and students learn about their place in Hong Kong society as they read such statements? What would successful cultural adaptation look like in the eyes of the Hong Kong government?

Call on Newly Arrived Children to Integrate and Adapt

The EDB asks newly arrived children to learn how to integrate and adapt to the 'local' culture through the Induction and Initiation Programmes. The Induction and Initiation Programmes assert that newly arrived children and non-Chinese speaking students need to acquire "required

knowledge" before being placed in mainstream or public schools (EDB, 2012a; 2012b). The EDB states that both the Induction and Initiation programmes "include both academic and non-academic elements, which are equally important in helping the children integrate in the local education system and community" (EDB, 2012b). Stress is placed on students to learn to adapt to the welcoming society, and to integrate into schools and the communities. The discourse of adaptation and integration permeate the EDB's online policy documents for immigrant children. Ultimately, the EDB suggests that the Induction and Initiation Programmes can help "newly arrived children integrate into and adapt to the local education system" (EDB, 2012b). What these discourses leave out are the reserves of knowledge, language and linguistic practices, and diverse ways of seeing the world. These are reserves that newly arrived children bring with them to Hong Kong's forms of welcoming education. If these diverse ways of knowing and representing are positioned as a deficit to students, they will likely feel alienated from the schooling process, rather than welcomed.

Discussion

This comparative study contributes an insightful perspective on intercultural education in both Québec and Hong Kong, as well as by extension, to what is known about the experiences of linguistic minority and immigrant students worldwide through an intercultural framework. This framework provides a way of looking at policy discourses to highlight the way in which language unavoidably mediates the welcoming country's process of integrating new citizens. While we have explored the cases of Quebec and Hong Kong's welcoming education programs, this intercultural framework might easily be applied to other receiving societies in order to understand the role of language in the *naturalization* of immigrants.

Hong Kong's current conception of intercultural education fails to adequately support the integration of newly arrived children from the Mainland or Non-Chinese Speaking students, which has serious consequences with regards to their social and economic mobility. With Cantonese language skills as a priority for successful integration into the society, we wonder how these goals have been met, particularly as the Education Bureau's 'Chinese as a Second Language' curriculum is still in development, and the teaching of Chinese as a Second Language has only been in place for one school year (2014-2015). Clearly, the Hong Kong government is making changes to address the role of language in its welcoming process for its new permanent residents and citizens. It seems evident that notions of language and citizenship are being negotiated in real time in Hong Kong, as it continues to deal with the aftermath of the Umbrella Revolution, as well as the renewed calls for democratic reform. Language and civic engagement are linked here, and we anticipate more emphasis on language instruction as a necessary step to social inclusion. Here too, we wonder, how might these calls for democratic reform impact the ways that new and historic migrants experience welcoming education?

Québec's model of intercultural education, while acknowledging the importance of citizens' capacity to dialogue in a common language, demonstrates a similarly inadequate understanding of the inseparability of language and culture. This has the potential to muffle the expression of immigrant populations in the authorship of a common public culture. We wonder, how might a welcoming education program be redesigned to more effectively acknowledge the benefit of creating a diverse public dialogue while at the same time allowing space for diverse peoples' multilinguistic practices and multicultures? Within Quebec, can we create a public space that both acknowledges and includes these diverse perspectives? How might welcoming education support these goals? Is welcoming education the right space to aim to create a common culture, and how can we make space for non-dominant cultures within these classrooms?

Remaining Questions

Upon completing the analysis, we are left with a number of significant gaps that call for further qualitative inquiry. Some of these questions include, how might an intercultural framework include newcomer students from Québec and Hong Kong? What are the lived experiences of students who have undergone Hong Kong's Induction and Initiation Programmes? How might these two contexts rethink the way in which they educate newcomer children to promote inclusion, and support diverse needs, and honour diverse ways of knowing? What do newly arrived children in Hong Kong and Québec feel that they would like to know before they enter the general school populations? What are the existing and desired needs of these ethnically and linguistically diverse newcomer and longtime communities in the intercultural contexts of Québec and Hong Kong?

Conclusion

In the analysis, we have provided two perspectives about the way that interculturalism is currently being practiced in two distinct societies. Our analysis has examined the potential of intercultural education to provide a forum for respectful exchange, social cohesion, and the construction of a common and inclusive future for new immigrants in Québec and in Hong Kong. We have also ascertained that the current model of welcoming education does not serve to include the newcomer students into the 'welcoming' society. We have highlighted the particular ways in which government discourses describe newcomer students, and noted that in the case of both Québec and Hong Kong, entry into the dominant culture is being mediated by language practices. The connection between language and culture is enacted through these distinct forms of welcoming education. We have pointed to the need for additional inquiry into the newcomer communities' existing and desired educational rights with regard to welcoming education. We also acknowledge the need for further research into international education and development as this study highlights two parallel contexts that position newcomers as deficient. Finally, we suggest that, in the case of Hong Kong and Québec, the governmental policy discourses do not genuinely welcome the newcomer students as they are.

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A Comparison of General Education Policies for Institutions of Higher Education in Japan and China since the 1990s

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Abstract

In Japan and China, a common emphasis on general education reform can be identified in educational policies since the 1990s. This article aims to gain insight into the research question: What can Japan and China learn from their respective experiences of general education reform? To resolve this question, it is necessary to clarify the distinctive characteristics of general education reform in both countries.

First, general education policies since the 1990s are compared and commonalities and differences identified in terms of its goals, content and implementation. Second, the policy context is reviewed to search for the main sources of these commonalities and differences.

When experiencing overseas education reform, one common lesson is to fully consider the suitability between their own educational goals and domestic circumstances rather than imitate every feature. In addition, two phases exist in general education reform—the initial and adaptation phase. The former is when imitation is prominent, whereas, in the adaptation phase, goals and content of general education are adjusted for suitability in each individual country. Therefore, identified commonalities and differences of general education policies can be ascribed to their being different in historical phases of educational reform.

Keywords: General education policy, General education reform, Higher education, Japanese and Chinese Educational Reform

Introduction

After World War II, Japan and the United States entered a post-war relations period (1945–1952) in which the United States had a major influence on Japan's politics, economy and education. The United States sent a mission to Japan in 1946 which recommended introducing general education to cultivate citizens with broad, humanistic perspectives capable of free thought and participation in a democratic society. From 1960, however, policymakers stopped emphasizing the importance of general education and focused instead on producing more science and engineering graduates to meet the needs of the booming economy. After the bubble economy collapsed in the 1990s, Japanese industry[1] began calling for education reform that emphasized the cultivation of diverse abilities, such as communication skills. These demands have been reflected in educational reports since 2002, fulfilled by a return to general education.

In the 1950s, majors in Chinese universities were narrowly classified according to specific occupations, therefore, making it difficult for students to develop a broader cultural and social perspective and the ability to adapt to change. In the early 1990s, China's economic system

[1] Industry means economic organizations in Japan, given the fact that in Japan, the educational demands placed on universities by industry are given importance by policymakers. Keidanren, the Japan Business Federation, and the Japan Association of Corporate Executives are the three major economic organizations in Japan.

underwent a transformation from a planned to a market economy, resulting in changes in the supply and demand for human resources. This made it difficult for graduates whose majors were linked to specific occupations to find jobs. Hence, the aim of higher education changed from cultivating specialists to cultivating generalists who would be able to withstand changes in society. The government began providing universities with official guidance about general education in 1998. From 2000, universities began restructuring their curricula and they looked to the United States as the main example of how to proceed with implementation (Yang & Yu, 2007).

There are two main problems shared by Japan and China which make the comparison of general education possible. First, both China and Japan do not have the tradition of general education and introduced the United States style general education in different periods – in the early 1950s in Japan and the 1990s in China. Before the introduction of general education, undergraduate curricula were dominated by specialized education which resulted in students lacking interdisciplinary knowledge and the flexibility to resolve problems across disciplines. It was thought that general education was necessary in order to solve these problems. Second, higher education institutions in Japan and China have similar organizational structures. Unlike those in The United States, universities in Japan and China have a vertical structure, in which faculties are divided according to academic disciplines. This makes it difficult to implement a common general education curriculum composed of content from different disciplines and with a common teaching staff. The main reference for China and Japan when implementing their general education has been from the United States, however, due to these commonalities, they have also needed to refer to what each other has done in order to obtain useful hints in order to provide more effective solutions regarding general education.

There are two reasons for mainly focusing on general education policies from the 1990s to the present. First, 1990 was a crucial turning point for both countries in their economic development and higher education. Both Japanese and Chinese universities needed to weigh the social demands more than in the past. On one hand, in Japan, following the collapse of the bubble economy, there was an increase in job shortages. The industry was becoming dissatisfied with the inabilities of undergraduates and, hence, universities had to cater to the increasing requests for higher education reforms. On the other hand, since China entered into a market economy in the 1990s, universities were required to cultivate human resources with resilience to social changes. Second, a common emphasis on general education reform can be identified in both Japanese and Chinese educational policies since the 1990s.

Based on this context, the primary goal of comparing general education policies in Japan and China is to gain insight into the research question: What can Japan and China learn from their respective experiences of general education reform? This question can be further developed into three sub-questions: (a) What are the distinctive characteristics of general education reforms since the 1990s in Japan and China? (b) What are the social, economic and historical context of general education policies? (c) What are the sources of the commonalities and differences in general education policies?

Methodology

In order to compare policies, it is important to understand what they are (Yang, 2014, p. 243). Yang (2014) classified several definitions and suggested it is a complex concept and, therefore, achieving a definition is not easy. It can cover a very broad arena and can be understood and used in diverse ways. Hogwood and Gunn (1984) proposed that policies can be interpreted as a process (p. 19). It means that policies should not only include written

forms issued by governments, but also embody the decision-making process of them. In this paper, the analysis rather than on the policy process, is focused on the proposals, formal documents and plans published by Japanese and Chinese governments, in order to identify both the education trends and distinctive characteristics of general education reforms that have been implemented and evaluated.

There are two perspectives for viewing policy: rational and conflict (Yang, 2014). The former is a positive attitude to see the policy process as a sequence of events that occurs when a political system considers different approaches to public problems, adopts one of them, tries it out, and evaluates it (Yang, 2014, p. 245). Hence, from the rational perspective, by analyzing general education policies, one can identify important education problems and predict trends in future education reforms. In contrast, the conflict perspective has a negative view on policies. It is advocated by critical theorists and sees policies as compromises between competing interests and, hence, policy effects are not consistent with policy intentions (Yang, 2014, p. 249). Although both perspectives have met much criticism and have their own limitations, the rational perspective seems to be more pertinent to understanding and interpreting policies, according to the research purpose of this study.

Four prerequisites were addressed to make comparing education policies meaningful (Yang, 2014). First, policies cannot be derived from social, cultural, economic and political contexts. Second, in comparative policy studies, there are dominant theoretical contributions from English speaking countries, especially The United States. Third, statistical methods are rarely used in comparative education policy studies. Lastly, it should be noted that potential biases based on researchers' prejudices, implicit values and preconceptions are inevitable in this area (Yang, 2014, pp. 252-261).

Hence, analyzing and studying policies in Japan and China, both of which are marginal in mainstream comparative studies in education, are helpful in order to have an overall understanding of changing higher education landscapes. Policy contexts, namely social, economic and historical backgrounds in Japan and China, are considered vital to make their general education policies sensible. Nevertheless, since comparing policies relies largely on the researcher's interpretation, it is important to perceive the limitation of how the attitudes or upbringings of a researcher influence the results before comparisons are made.

The Development of General Education Policies Since 1990

It is important to note the differences in how policies are made in Japan and China. In China, educational policy decisions are almost always made by the National People's Congress[2], Ministry of Education and Central People's Government. Whereas, in Japan, requests and recommendations regarding education from industry, especially large companies or their managers, have an important influence on making policy decisions (Iiyoshi, 2008). Education policies for university curricula originate in reports from the Central Council for Education, which is part of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Technology (MEXT). MEXT is endeavoring to promote educational reforms, taking into account reports submitted by the Central Council for Education.[3] However, it takes time for the reports to be reflected in actual policies. In many cases, universities have begun implementing the recommendations in these reports before the actual policy has been created. Thus, it is necessary to examine the reports in order to identify which distinctive changes have occurred in the past few years. In this

[2] The highest organ of state power of the People's Republic of China.

[3] Retrieved Feb. 2, 2015, from website of MEXT: http://www.mext.go.jp/english/organization/1303054.htm.

section, how the respective goals, content, and implementation of general education policies in Japan and China have changed over time are examined.

The Development of General Education Policies in Japan since 1990

Table 1 shows reports from the University Council and the Central Council for Education related to general education from 1991 to the present. [4]

Table 1 *Reports Related to General Education in Japan since 1990*

Year	Reports
1991	The Improvement of Higher Education
1997	On the Further Improvement of Higher Education
1998	The Ideal University in the 21st Century and Future Reform Schemes
2000	The Ideal Status of Higher Education as Required in the Age of Globalization
2002	The State of General Education in the New Era
2005	The Future Outlook of Higher Education in Japan
2008	The Reconstruction of Undergraduate Education
2012	The Qualitative Transformation of Undergraduate Education to Build a New Future: To Create Universities that Cultivate Continuous Learning and Practical Thinking Abilities

Note. Information from the website of Chuo Kyoiku Shingikai (Central Council for Education), Daigaku Bunkakai (Sub-committee for Higher Education, MEXT in Japan).

The 1991 report (the University Council of Japan, 1991, pp. 7-39) marked a turning point in discussions about general education policy. The goal of undergraduate education was defined as "teaching arts and sciences related to majors, together with fostering a broad cultural perspective, comprehensive judgment, and a rich sense of humanity" (the University Council of Japan, 1991, p. 15). Second, regarding the content of general education, the report stated that credit limitations and subject classifications should be removed in order to integrate general education and specialized education in the undergraduate curriculum. This is because the government anticipated that universities would develop their own general and specialized education by taking advantage of their own features. Third, the policy called for the reorganization of colleges of general education in universities.[5]

The 1997 report[6] identified specific problems in curriculum reform and future directions to promote general education. It noted that in many universities, general education had been neglected and implemented without a clear purpose. General education subjects, it stated, were treated like the starter lessons of specialized education. Therefore, it was necessary to "clarify the purpose of general education as well as the knowledge or abilities that students should acquire through it". As for the general education institutes, it called for the necessity of clarifying the responsibilities for all the faculty members to implement general education, in order not to concentrate the burden on just some faculty members.

From 1998, the goal of general education became concrete and more attention was given to balancing the relationship between general education and specialized education in the

[4] In 2001, the University Council was merged with the Central Council for Education. Reports before 2001 were issued by the University Council.

[5] In the 1940s, national universities absorbed high schools, specialized schools, and higher normal schools in their neighborhood and established colleges of general education based on these institutions, which were responsible for providing general education within the universities.

[6] Retrieved Feb. 2, 2015, from Web Site of MEXT: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/old_chukyo/old_daigaku_index/toushin/1315873.htm

undergraduate curriculum. Additionally, the goals of general education have transformed from the cultivation of broad perspective to a series of abilities.

The 1998 report[7] aimed for "the development of diversity and individuality of institutions of higher education" as the basic idea for higher education reform. This report advocated four fundamental ideas, specific future reform schemes, and a foundation for advancing higher education reform. One of the four ideas provided was "to foster the ability to explore tasks". This involved "adapting to changes proactively, exploring one's own future tasks and making flexible and comprehensive judgments regarding these tasks based on a broad perspective". Likewise, the definition of general education was also enriched. In addition to previous requests that included "broad knowledge", "comprehensive judgment", and "rich humanity", new requests were added to the definition such as "to view things from different angles," "to think about things independently and comprehensively and to make accurate judgments," and "to evaluate one's own knowledge and life in relation to society". To realize these qualities, the policy stated that it was necessary to consider "the importance of general education" and ensure a "coherent connection between general education and specialized education". Concerning the management of general education, policies were set such as "the construction of an autonomous system" and "clarification of respective responsibilities inside universities". This indicates that functional decision-making institutions responsible for general education inside universities were becoming more necessary than before.

The 2000 report[8] was the start of higher education reform for the adaption of globalization. It presented directions for higher education reform such as "increasing international transferability and commonality" and "strengthening international competitiveness" in response to the development of globalization and environmental changes related to higher education. Concerning the goal of education, the 2000 report stated that it was "to enhance education to increase the capability of human resources in the era of globalization" and also reiterated the importance of general education. To realize these goals, it was important to "provide curricula across departments and faculties at the undergraduate level".

In 2002, the importance of general education was further emphasized in policy. The 2002 report[9] was particularly on the topic of general education. First, this report presented the direction of general education reform based on a common recognition of the importance of "inner richness and "contribution to the international society". Under this goal, general education in the 21st century involved developing various qualities and skills, such as "knowledge, morals, and physical health", "intellect, emotion, and willpower", "necessary social skills, such as values and perception and others", "information literacy", "communication skills in foreign languages" and "imagination". Second, the report listed three important abilities that should be fostered through learning, namely "determination to learn and live a better life, the intellectual ability to find, acquire and integrate necessary knowledge from a large amount of information and understanding of other cultures". It emphasized that general education at the higher education level should be implemented "through the curriculum and students life". Through the curriculum, students should study several aspects such as "language, science, nature, classics, labor, community service, arts,

[7] Retrieved Feb. 2, 2015, from Web Site of MEXT: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/old_chukyo/old_daigaku_index/toushin/1315932.htm

[8] Retrieved Feb. 2, 2015, from web site of MEXT: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/old_chukyo/old_daigaku_index/toushin/1315960.htm

[9] Retrieved Feb. 2, 2015, from web site of MEXT: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/old_chukyo/old_chukyo_index/toushin/1309780.htm

sports, literature of all ages and countries, music, fine art, and theatre". Additionally, the report stated that specialized education and general education should be integrated rather than separate components of undergraduate curricula. Third, regarding the implementation, the report proposed several universities as "Lead Universities" that were leading a pioneering role in general education reform. The report addressed the importance of "raising awareness of all faculty members with regard to general education" and "improving the system for implementing general education". The general education institutions or centers were required to "have human resources familiar with curriculum management and effective teaching methods to establish clear responsibilities and authority", rather than just being "coordination centers".

The reports in 2005, 2008, and 2012 all emphasized the same basic reform orientation and cultivation of the same abilities to be included in general education that were described in two earlier reports. Nevertheless, there were several changes. First, these three reports clarified the status of general education at the undergraduate level, which was ambiguous insofar as the education system in Japan was concerned. General education and specialized education should be treated as integrated parts in undergraduate education rather than independent components. Second, the definition of "abilities" addressed previously in the goal of general education was enriched and classified into several sub-categories.

The 2005 report[10] called for various combinations of general education and specialized education at undergraduate and graduate levels in accordance with the characteristics of different disciplines. There were two requirements for general education. First, universities should make efforts to promote the acquisition of "common knowledge and thinking across disciplines, deep insight into what it means to live as a human being, and ability to correctly understand reality". Second, faculty members should demonstrate "a high degree of cooperation in general education" and "awareness of themselves as professionals in teaching general education". The 2008 report[11] was organized based on the essential element of undergraduate education. The new keyword was "learning outcomes". The background to this was the evaluation of learning outcomes in developed countries and stronger demands from Japan's industry. The report did not issue clear demands concerning general education, but reflected the trend to measure the outcomes of general education as several abilities. The keywords in the 2012 report[12] were "learning time" and "initiative". Unlike other reports, it did not state the goals of general education and specialized education separately, but used the phrase "to cultivate abilities through different majors and disciplines in undergraduate education". These abilities included "cognitive abilities, including critical and rational thinking", "creativity and imagination" and "the culture, knowledge, and experience to make correct and precise judgments, etc". To achieve these abilities, it was necessary to have qualitative transformation of undergraduate education to promote initiative and proactivity by students with regard to learning. Also, the overall curriculum, including the general education curriculum, was required to be organized more systematically.

The Development of General Education Policies in China since 1990

[10] Retrieved Feb. 2, 2015, from web Site of MEXT: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chukyo/chukyo0/toushin/05013101.htm

[11] Retrieved Feb. 2, 2015, from web Site of MEXT: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chukyo/chukyo4/houkoku/080410.htm

[12] Retrieved Feb. 2, 2015, from web Site of MEXT: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chukyo/chukyo0/toushin/1325047.htm

Table 2 shows policies from the Ministry of Education of China related to general education from the 1990s to the present.

Table 2 *Policies Related to General Education in China since 1990*

Year	Policies
1995	Notice on the Trial Promotion of General Education
1998	Several Suggestions on the Enhancement of General Education
1999	The Provision on Establishment of 32 General Education Bases From 53 Trial Universities (January 1999); Decision on Intensifying Education Reform and Promoting General Education Reform (June 1999).
2003	Notice on Printing and Distributing "The Bulletin of the Symposium on the Promotion of General Education and the Creation of General Education Bases" in Higher Education Institutions Nationwide
2006	Decision on Increasing General Education Bases in Higher Education Institutions
2010	The Outline of National Long-term Education Reform and Development from 2010 to 2020

Note. Information from the "General Education" section in the Higher Education Chapter of the "China Education Yearbook"; web site of the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China.

The policy in 1995 marked the beginning of general education reform in China. A total of 52 institutions of higher education[13], comprising 16 universities and 36 colleges, were designated as "Trial Universities" to enhance general education. The majority of these institutions were located in the eastern and central parts of China, which are relatively wealthy areas of the country. Institutions of higher education were chosen by their classifications rather than their rankings, especially those that had made pioneering general education reform or had the potential to promote further reform. Hence, it can be seen that what the government intended was not a unified reform, but a reform with diversity, by increasing the exemplary effects of "Trial Universities". Also, a "working group for general education" was set up for the designated universities to promote common work, such as "creating a list of must-read books" and "enriching faculty members" (China Education Yearbook Editorial Board, 1996, pp. 65-71; pp. 191-197).

The policy in 1998 marked the start of official guidance from the government with regard to general education. The goals were: (a) "to strengthen education related to humanities and social sciences such as literature, history, philosophy and arts" and (b) "to improve cultural quality, esthetic sense and broad perspectives across disciplines through the enhancement of natural science education to students majoring in humanities". Regarding distinct educational issues in China, the report pointed out that "the flourishing of utilitarianism was caused by the previous higher education system, which was mainly composed of colleges and geared toward specialized education". Therefore, "it is essential to implement well-rounded education, broaden students' perspectives and teach basic knowledge about culture and cultivate creativity" (China Education Yearbook Editorial Board, 1999, pp. 227-228). Regarding the content, the report noted that every university should provide a well-balanced curriculum: humanities and social science subjects should be offered to students majoring in natural sciences, while natural science subjects should be offered to students majoring in humanities or the social sciences. Also, moral and political subjects should be offered to all students. Additionally, regarding the specific implementation method, the policy required the Ministry of Education to conduct regular lectures and training to develop the capacity of faculty

[13] These higher education institutions include 24 engineering colleges, five agriculture and forestry colleges, three medical and pharmaceutical colleges, one finance college and one foreign language college, and two normal colleges.

members who were responsible for general education. University management should exercise leadership concerning general education and universities should invest money to improve the academic level and cultural knowledge of those responsible for implementing general education.

In January 1999, the Ministry of Education ratified a proposal to establish 32 general education bases in areas where the designated trial universities for enhancing general education were located[14]. As a result, general education entered into a full-scale development stage. The feature of this proposal was that it highlighted "the construction of a distinctive education system of general education". Institutions of higher education in each base should "develop humanities resources locally and promote reform creatively" (China Education Yearbook Editorial Board, 2000, pp. 192-193). The Ministry of Education was to formulate a scheme for construction of these bases and invest 1.3 million yuan in each (50,000 yuan to each university). Additionally, the trial universities were to invest 200,000 yuan every year in the construction of the bases. A June 1999 policy issued by the National People's Congress further extended the scale of the reform by stressing the importance of the goals of general education and the enrichment and training of faculty members (China Education Yearbook Editorial Board, 2000, pp. 1-8).

Through these policies, each university was given greater autonomy to carry out reform, but they were to be managed at the level of the bases. Reform in the trial universities occurred nationwide and set examples for other universities. Each university was required to organize their general education curriculum focusing on humanities and social sciences, enriching faculty members and creating their own textbooks.

Since 2000, general education reform has become more flexible and expanded nationwide. The Chinese government has issued several policies concerning "the enhancement of general education" focusing on improvement of the overall qualities of students. Universities gradually incorporated general education subjects into the undergraduate curriculum, which marked the formal start of general education reform. There are no obvious changes regarding the goals and content, but an increasing focus was given to expand the exempt effect of trial universities.

In 2003, the Ministry of Education announced that each department of education in the provinces, autonomous regions, or cities should print and distribute the "Bulletin of the Symposium on the Promotion of General Education and Construction of Bases". At this symposium, how to extend and deepen implementation of general education reform and each university's ideas and actual reform were discussed. The Ministry of Education noted that "through the distribution of this bulletin, each university should learn about valuable experiences from others and proactively promote general education". Clearly the reform in trial universities has highly impacted other universities. In 2006, for example, the number of general education bases increased from 32 to 61. Universities that were newly designated as bases were those deemed worthy of serving as examples to other universities because "they had made steady efforts to implement general education and had obtained certain results" [15]. Each base was composed of only one or several universities. Compared to the designated

[14] Retrieved Feb. 2, 2015, from the web site of the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China: http://www. moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_1113/201011/110836.html.

[15] Retrieved Feb. 2, 2015, from the web site of the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China: http://www.moe.gov.cn/srcsite/A08/s7056/200604/t20060420_110814.html; http://www.moe.gov.cn/srcsite/A08/s7056/200510/t20051020_110836.html.

universities in 1999, the universities designated in 2006 were located not only in the central or eastern parts of China, but also in the western part of the country. This shift showed that general education reform had expanded nationwide. The 2010 policy stipulated that the main strategy of higher education reform from 2010 to 2020 was "enhancing the overall qualities of human resources and promoting general education nationwide" [16]. The outline emphasized the cultivation of "creativity, problem-solving ability and practical skill".

Comparison of Japan's and China's General Education Policies since the 1990s

Since the 1990s, both Japan and China have emphasized the significance of general education. Thus, some commonalities and differences can be identified in their general education policies in terms of its aim, content and implementation. These differences may be ascribed to their distinctive historical educational issues and respective social demands, which will be discussed in the next section.

Comparison of Goals

Japan and China both adopted the basic idealism of the United States' definition of general education, but have different descriptions of the aim of general education. During the 1990s in Japan, the goals of general education were vaguely defined and the same with the aim of the United States' term "general education[17]". From 2000 to the present, the Japanese government adjusted the goals of general education to allow them to combine with new social changes in the country. Since 2000, the goals of general education have been concrete: mastering diverse abilities. In China, however, the goals of general education are more vaguely defined as improving the overall quality of students and turning them into well-rounded human beings with a good knowledge of the humanities and social sciences (1995 & 1998 policies). China follows the aim of the United States style general education, whereas, it also addresses the importance of "the humanities and social sciences" and "to improve cultural quality, esthetic sense and broad perspectives across disciplines" (China Education Yearbook Editorial Board, 1999, pp. 227-228).

Comparison of Contents

Both Japan and China maintained three areas—the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences—that were defined in the Harvard Committee Report (Harvard University, 1950, pp. 51–64). In addition, neither Japan nor China strictly specified the aspects that students should study only sets out of the framework of general education. This shows that institutions of higher education in both countries have been provided substantial autonomy with regards to general education curricula.

Meanwhile, general education curricula have also included some areas with distinct domestic characteristics. First, in Japan, general and specialized education are not independent components but integrated into the undergraduate education curricula. In contrast, in China, these two are treated as separate categories. Second, by the influence of evaluation of learning outcomes in developed countries, Japan enriched the content of general education by defining it as different categories of abilities, such as creativity and imagination. Additionally, the general education curriculum in Japan is not limited to the three areas, but expands across diverse disciplines such as labor, community service and theatre. In contrast, general

[16] Retrieved Feb. 2, 2015, from the web site of the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China:http://www.edu.cn/html/e/jiaoyuguihuagangyao.htm.

[17] According to the Harvard Committee Report, "General Education in a Free Society" (1945), the original aim of general education in the U.S. was to create well-rounded people and provide common competence for professional careers and involves everyone in a society (pp. 51-64).

education curricula in China still adhered to the three classifications of disciplines. It focused on providing a well-balanced curriculum; students majoring in natural sciences should take humanities and social science subjects, and vice versa. Third, in China, political science related to socialism subjects takes up a large number of credits in the general education curriculum.

Comparison of Implementation

Both Japan and China have designated several universities as models for other universities and emphasized their exemplary effects. In addition, they both emphasized the importance of cultivating human resources for teaching general education. In Japan, however, reports have stressed the need to clarify respective responsibilities of university administration for implementing and running general education effectively rather than just being coordination centers. This was not addressed in the Chinese policies, which only suggested creation of a training system for faculty members and emphasized the importance of raising their awareness about general education. In most Chinese universities, due to insufficient understanding of the concept of general education, it has become only a slogan. One of the dilemmas for universities in implementing general education is the lack of instructors capable of teaching general education subjects (Guo, 2007).

History of General Education Reform in Japan and China

It is important to review the history of general education reforms in Japan and China in order to identify what are the major sources of these commonalities and differences in general education policies in terms of its goals, content and implementation.

According to the basic theory of supply and demand in the education labor market (Kaneko & Kobayashi, 1996, p. 76), the automatic matching interaction between universities and industry balance the education labor market. Thus, the number and quality of universities have an impact on the supply of students, while demands in the job market are influenced by economic development and changes of industrial structures, such as employment system reform. This balance, however, is not always achieved autonomously, and the role of the government is to facilitate this interaction, make suitable policies to ensure the equality of educational opportunities, and make this system work more effectively. Thus, this section is not merely a review of histories, but also uses: (a) the quantitative expansion of higher education; (b) changes of demands in job markets; and (c) the relationship between general education and specialized education as common factors to analyze and interpret the process of general education reform.

History of General Education Reform in Japan

General education was first introduced after World War II. The U.S. Education Mission visited Japan in 1946 and submitted “The Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan”. The report held that the necessity of general education to Japan was to balance the overwhelming bias toward specialized education and to cultivate a broad humanistic perspective to provide a better foundation for students’ later life (United States. Education Mission to Japan, 1977, p. 61; pp. 68-69). It was implemented by the Japanese government as an important part of building a postwar democracy.

Regarding the content of general education, universities under the new educational system commonly referred to the report cited above (Harvard University, 1950) for guidance. However, because universities introduced general education without fully understanding its aim and purpose, the quality of general education curricula was not as high as in specialized

education. In addition, the Harvard report suggested the separation of learning into three areas: the humanities, social sciences, and natural science (pp. 58–64), but Japan emphasized highly on the form, rather than the content of the Harvard recommendations (Kinukawa, 2011). Furthermore, in most universities, general education curricula were offered as an extra and separate component of education. This may have resulted in students' difficulty in attaching much importance to general education curricula.

Following the enactment of the Basic Act on Education and the amendment to the School Education Law in 1947, general education was introduced in Japanese universities and linked to equal opportunities for higher education. Under this new education system, national universities absorbed high schools, specialized schools, and higher normal schools in their neighborhood and established colleges of general education based on these institutions, which were responsible for providing general education within the universities (Kinukawa, 2006). Both teachers in colleges of general education and students, however, considered general education as a burden, and its educational standard was not high. In addition, compared to teachers in the specialized faculties, teachers in colleges of general education had a lower status (Kinukawa, 2011).

From 1960 to 1974, due to the development of the economy, demands for higher education increased. As the percentage of students attending colleges and universities increased from about 8% to approximately 27%, Japan moved to a system of mass higher education. There was a huge gap between the increasing demand for higher education and the limited number of national universities. Thus, science and engineering faculties of private universities quickly expanded and absorbed the increased number of students, but the quality of candidates was not satisfactory. The abilities of undergraduates did not improve due to this fast quantitative expansion of universities. In addition, it was not clear what kind of abilities general education could foster in contrast with specialized education, and this further weakened the significance of general education in the undergraduate curricula. Furthermore, criticisms from educators and scholars increased regarding unequal treatment of teachers of general education and specialized education. For these reasons, it was widely held by the mass media that general education was unnecessary. From 1975 to 1990, due to the slowdown in economic development and the decrease of the general population in the number of 18-year-olds[18], the percentage of students going on to university remained at about 25%. Around this time, the Provisional Council on Education Reform began to resolve the quality problems of universities. The Council suggested that universities should be given the autonomy to reorganize their curricula (Kaneko, 2009; Oosaki, 1999; Yoshida, 2013).

Since 1990, higher education in Japan has moved from a system of mass higher education to one of universal access. The number of 18-year-olds has been steadily decreasing since reaching a peak in 1992. Due to the decline in the number of students enrolling in university and the increase in the number of institutions of higher education, the admission rate has increased.[19] As a result, supply outstripped demand in higher education, therefore, the selection function for entrance to universities no longer effectively worked. Following the bubble economy's collapse in the early 1990s, however, Japan entered into a long-term recession, and the role of universities as providers of human resources to the labor market

[18] Japanese students typically enter university at age 18.
[19] The admission rate in 1999 was about 49%.

weakened.[20] The oversupply of graduates led to excess labor in the job market, resulting in job shortages. Based on these changes, industry in Japan altered lifetime employment and seniority systems and introduced a performance-based wage system, emphasizing individual ability. Moreover, after 1990, the number of requests for education reform increased, which emphasized the cultivation of diverse abilities (Iiyoshi, 2008). These requests were stronger than in the years prior to the 1990s. In Japan, undergraduate curricula constitutes the essential part of higher education, and to improve the quality of higher education, it was necessary to have undergraduate curriculum reform and the reform of general curricula pave the way for overall curriculum reform. The realization of these demands was mainly borne by general education, which is considered as more flexible in modifying the content rather than specialized education. Since 2000, the need for general education has been emphasized and become more diversified and individualized. In addition to previous demands to foster things as humanistic qualities, fundamental specialized knowledge and a wide range of knowledge, industry has also required students to master other skills, such as logical and critical thinking before graduation (Iiyoshi, 2008). These demands further improved general education reform.

History of General Education Reform in China

In 1949, shortly after the People's Republic of China was founded, it was confronted with the major problem of a ruined economy with virtually no industry. To cultivate sufficient human resources effectively, the Chinese Ministry of Education reformed "the Major Classification List for Institutes of Higher Education" according to occupations in society. Based on this classification, the government subdivided the faculties and majors of comprehensive universities and set up new colleges based on them. As a result, universities that had diverse disciplines disappeared, and more than 90% of universities became polytechnics or technical colleges, which made it almost impossible to provide multidisciplinary education (Yang, 2013, p. 122). The goal of higher education was "to teach in response to the demands of the country and to develop human resources with mastery of both theories and practical technologies" (Hao & Long, 2000, p. 42). The social function of higher education was prioritized, while its role in developing students was neglected. In this period, general education comprised four compulsory subjects, namely foreign languages, physical education, information technology, and political science related to socialism. These subjects aimed toward political education and cultivating communist successors (Yang, 2007). Compared to general education, specialized education was highly prioritized during this period.

This higher education system was effective for a short period of time in providing the necessary specialists to contribute to the development of the country in the early 1950s. The system, however, resulted in several problems (Dong, 2007). First, since faculties were independent and had no interactions with one another, students were unable to gain interdisciplinary knowledge, which negatively impacted development of their creativity. Second, neglecting humanities and the emphasis on science led to a lack of broad, humanistic perspectives. Third, the new system produced students who had difficulty in adapting to changes in society; it hindered the development of students' individuality. Higher education reform was necessary to resolve these issues.

In the 1980s, several higher education reforms were implemented to overcome the negative effects of the previous system and these reforms provided the foundation for general education. In 1978–1981, China began to adjust the goal of higher education "to broaden

[20] According to research statistics from the MEXT, the employment rate decreased from 80% in 1990 to 50% in 2004. In addition, the job opening-to-application ratio decreased from 3:1 in 1990 to 1:1 in 1996, and continued its steady trend to the present.

specialized education and promote interactions between liberal arts and sciences" (Hao & Long, 2000, p. 70). Universities merged, reorganized majors, and established new majors such as literature, finance, and economics. Between 1985 and 1992, China was transitioning from a planned economy to a market economy. Universities increased the number of practical subjects and elective subjects, decreased the number of compulsory subjects, implemented the credit system and the double-degree system, introduced inter-disciplinary systems across disciplines and made the system for cultivating students resilient to changes (Yang, 2013, p. 123). From these reforms, more interactions can be seen between specialized education and general education.

Since 1990, China's economic system has undergone a transformation. As a result, changes occurred in the supply and demand for human resources, and graduates whose major was linked to an occupation where demand had fallen had difficulty finding jobs. Higher education in China moved from a system of being enjoyed by the elite to one in which education was the goal for the masses.[21] After the quantitative expansion of higher education, the policy focus was gradually changed to improving the quality of higher education. Simultaneously, in elementary and secondary education, educators began paying attention to the fact that excessive emphasis was placed on gaining entrance to a university and harmful effects of emphasis on memorization. To improve the overall knowledge of the population and to develop students into well-rounded individuals become the major goals of education, a concept called quality education[22]. In higher education institutions, the implementation of general education was thought to be necessary to counter the neglect of humanities and foster the overall development of students.

The government began implementing general education in the period 1993–1998 based on previous reforms of the higher education system. In November 1995, the Ministry of Education of China held a meeting of the National Higher Education Management System Reform Council. The Council reported that since 1993, 70 universities had been consolidated into 28 universities, and in 1995 alone, 42 universities had been consolidated into 17 universities (China Education Yearbook, 1996, p. 193). Clearly, the previous higher education system that emphasized specialized education had undergone remarkable changes, which laid the foundation for general education reform. In addition to the previous compulsory subjects, elective subjects common to students from all majors were added to the general education curriculum by 1998. The new subjects spanned the humanities, social sciences and natural sciences. Compared to specialized education, however, general education was still treated like an extra package added to undergraduate curricula rather than integrating with specialized education.

Since the 2000s, influenced by the situation in developed countries, each university has gradually showed interest and paid attention to general education. In view of this change, in November 2001, a "Symposium on General Education Curriculum and General Education" was held in Hong Kong by The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Tsinghua University, Beijing University, and other top Chinese universities. After that, similar symposia were held

[21] According to the "Education Statistics Yearbook of China," in 1998, the number of enrolled undergraduate students at higher education institutions was about one million and this number doubled in 2000. In 2002, the number of enrolled undergraduate students was 3.2 million and in 2010, it was 6.6 million.

[22] Compared to general education, quality education highly emphasizes education in Chinese culture and tradition and skills, including creativity, morals, and a humanistic perspective, as a countermeasure to an exam-oriented education. Also, quality education is the legal basis for general education, since general education has been mandated for specific implementation in universities (Yang & Yu, 2007).

one after another. This led to several university administrators and scholars becoming familiar with general education. Universities started to restructure their curricula aimed at general education, while learning to implement general education mainly from the United States' universities (Yang & Yu, 2007).

Summary and Discussion of Japan's and China's Histories

In both countries, the previous higher education system focused on specialized training and vocational education. This produced specialists who lacked a broad interdisciplinary perspective and common competence for their later life. With the aim of overcoming past limitations, Japan and China introduced United States' general education in different periods—in the early 1950s in Japan and in the 1990s in China. It can be seen that general education in Japan and China developed in different ways before the 1990s, but from the 1990s onward, a common trend on general education reform could be seen in both countries. The identification of the two periods is crucial for evaluating general education policies. In each period, both countries had their own distinctive educational issues.

The commonalities and differences of general education policies in Japan and China can be ascribed to the fact that they were both influenced by the United States, but their general education reforms were at different stages. In Japan, general education reform had undergone a long development process, and many problems have accumulated. Thus, not only the concrete aim and implementation of general education were clearly provided in reports, but also the ways of resolving previous problems. On the other hand, as China's general education reform has just begun, the policies only stated vague goals of reform and stipulated the framework of general education curricula but did not specify the method of implementation as in Japan.

Sources of Commonalities and Differences in General Education Policies

Even though Japan and China introduced general education from the United States, they needed to adjust its goals, content and implementation methods to fit it to the previous higher education system and meet their social demands. Through the analysis of the policy context, several main sources can be identified as follows:

Sources of Commonalities and Differences in Goals and Contents

In Japan, before the 1990s, at the recommendation of the United States, the original motivation for introducing general education was to help build democracy in the postwar period. Less emphasis was placed on general education during the period of high economic growth, due to the high demands for science and engineering-related personnel, more focus was put on specialized education. General education was treated as a burden for both students and teachers, although it never disappeared from the curricula. During this period, the influence from the United States had a dominant role and, thus, the goal of general education was vaguely defined. From 1990 to the present, the goals and content of general education have been adjusted to be more suitable for Japan. Undergraduate curriculum reform has been driven by the increasing demands from industry due to the recession and reform of the seniority system. The cultivation of well-rounded individuals with specific abilities was considered important by industry. In addition, because it is difficult to have an abrupt large-scale reform of specialized education curricula, the demands of industry were mostly borne by the reform of general education curricula. Hence, the goal of general education in policy has also been enriched as abilities. The credit limitation of general education and specialized education was cancelled in 2002 and general education was provided as an integral part. This aimed to avoid the treatment of general education as an extra part added to

specialized education, as in the past. Also, this approach gave more freedom to universities in organizing their undergraduate curricula by taking advantage of their resources without considering credit distribution requirements. Essentially, the original aim of general education reform was to pave way for the overall undergraduate curriculum reform (Huang, 2001). Thus, the integration of general and specialized education curricula appears to be inevitable in higher education reform in Japan.

The previous higher education system in China put much emphasis on natural sciences and it was strongly tied to training students for very specific occupations, which has resulted in graduates lacking a broad cultural and social perspective and being vulnerable to changes in the job market. During this period, the general education subjects were close to literacy subjects in Japan. Political science subjects related to socialism played an important role in general education to cultivate socialism successors. The social function of higher education was prioritized than the cultivation of individuals. After the 1990s, employees with broader knowledge, flexibility and creativity were in high demand compared to specialists with deep knowledge in specific occupations. Also, the general education reform was implemented to overcome the drawbacks in the previous higher education system. Nevertheless, China has just begun its general education reform, and it takes time for every university to accept the concept. China ought to be more cautious, by looking at what other countries had done and building more bases for general education to kindle large-scale curriculum reform in universities. Hence, the goal of general education policy in China was more vaguely defined than that in Japan in order to give more autonomy for each university. General education was provided as an independent part different from specialized education because what China aimed for was to broaden the specialized education, not for an overall undergraduate curriculum reform like Japan. Furthermore, China did not only adopt the three areas as suggested in the Harvard Report, but also included content with distinctive domestic characteristics. To be specific, in order to overcome the bias towards natural sciences, the importance of humanities and social sciences are specially addressed in the policies. In addition, political science subjects still takes up a large amount of credits in the general education curricula. This can be interpreted that the function of higher education has been transforming its focus from the social function to developing individuals since the 1990s, but the former still performs an important role.

Sources of Commonalities and Differences in Implementations

Although Japan and China both designated several universities as the reform models for other universities, the backgrounds are different. In Japan, even with its long history of general education reform, there were only few universities in which drastic reforms were implemented. To restructure general education nationwide, it was necessary to intensively support the reform of these universities. In contrast, in China, the basic implementation of reform started with a small number of universities, and then proceeded steadily based on accumulated experiences.

Japan sought out examples of how general education had been reformed in other countries as references for what was important and necessary from 1950 to 1990. Since Japan did not have institutions to be responsible for general education, it was urgent to create ones. In most national universities, colleges of general education were established by absorbing secondary higher education institutions within their neighborhood. This led to teachers' lower status compared to those in faculties. In addition, due to the low quality of educational standards, the colleges of general education had to be dissolved in 1991. Instead, general education courses were provided by faculties or other education institutions inside universities. Therefore, how

to promote interactions between faculties and how to utilize resources reasonably regarding general education became new challenges. Since the 1990s, the dilemma faced by universities regarding general education has not been the cultivation of teaching staff, but has become to clarify respective responsibilities of the university administration and create an effective commission at the university level to manage and arrange the resources, as stipulated in the policies.

In China, general education reform is still in the initial phase, when some universities still face the dilemma of implementing general education reform due to a lack of capable instructors. In addition, although the universities that belong to general education bases can receive sufficient subsidy from the government, other universities are not so optimistic. They have to decrease their budget on specialized education to save funding for general education. Moreover, instructors were hired from both inside and outside campuses on a short-term base, resulting in instability in general education subjects. In many cases, teachers have been reluctant to teach general education because it means an additional burden compared to teaching specialized education. Therefore, it is important to motivate staff and increase their understanding of the importance of general education. This is the reason why China's policy addressed the importance of raising the awareness of general education and the training of faculty members.

Conclusion and Implication

Policymakers should understand the policies underlying general education and be aware of the commonalities and differences of its goals, content and implementation between Japan and China. More importantly, they need an overall picture about the policy context to make informed and objective decisions about what aspects of the reform model they should emulate.

One lesson that could be learned from both Japan and China is that when learning experiences of education reform from overseas, it is better to fully consider the suitability between their own educational goals and domestic circumstances rather than imitate every feature. This is because it may lead to potential problems in subsequent reforms. For example, Japan created colleges of general education in the 1950s, but had to dissolve them in 1991. Concerning general education, Japan's efforts were very limited before the 1990s because the concept was adopted from the United States without full understanding, and its goals were not fully consistent with Japan's social demands. In contrast, despite the fact that general education was introduced to China much later than Japan, it was accepted by Chinese universities quickly, as its goal was better aligned with Chinese social demands and could also resolve problems left over from the previous higher education system. In addition, there appears to be two phases regarding the development of general education reform in Japan and China—the initial and the adaptation phase. The former is when the concept of general education is not familiar to universities and one has to learn how to proceed from other countries that have gone through such educational reforms. The adaption phase is when several changes in general education are made, to adapt to the social demands in the country that has introduced it. From 1950 to 1990, Japan experienced the initial phase and since 1990, has entered into an adaptation period during which Japanese universities have had more freedom to determine their curricula. In contrast, China is still in its initial phase.

Based on this comparison, there are several challenges for both Japan and China in the near future. The first is how to search for the most suitable pattern of general education reform. On one hand, it is necessary to give universities more autonomy to develop undergraduate

curricula by following their own values rather than having a unified reform. Since each university has its own culture and specialized characteristics, having a unified reform may hinder them from making the best use of their resources. On the other hand, governments should have a generous stipulation to ensure the basic reform direction. In addition, governments are also required to be aware of the social demands, which are driven by the level of development, the needs in job market and the admission rate for universities. Especially in China, since the general education reform has just begun, how to step into the adaptation phase seems rather crucial in the present situation. It is important to grasp the changes of social needs and modify the goals and content of general education in accordance to both these changes and the suitability of Chinese circumstances. Another challenge is how to improve the institutional structure for providing general education in universities. In both Japan and China, there were no traditions of general education and faculties in vertical structure became the biggest obstacle in implementing general education. They need institutions to facilitate interactions among faculties and organize general education curricula, but from Japan's experience, building colleges of general education on a full-time basis may not be advisable for China. It may lead to the discrimination of general education instructors from other specialized faculties, based on the truth that specialized education is still prioritized in universities. Possible solutions need further discussion, including creating commissions at university level to promote interactions between faculties, or creating colleges of arts and science on a part-time hiring basis.

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China's Third Attempt of Education Reform with a Global Outlook

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Abstract
This article is a historiography or critical analysis of history of education reform in the Chinese modernity. The main question from this manifold phenomenon which we address is that there were three clearly identifiable attempts of education reform in the history of modern China. Our central thesis in addressing this question is that they share a number of common aspects, albeit their unique contexts, making them distinguishable. Our aim and purpose in this paper is thus to offer a critical comparative analysis of the history of the three education reform attempts in their respective contexts of modernization and globalization. We examine both the tackled and unsolved problems at every stage of the education reform in order to suggest the main features and difficulties of China's further development of education. The research context of this study is in the domain of history and meta-sociology of education. We conclude by examining the third and unfinished stage of Chinese education reform. We argue that despite the fact that it is the most successful modernization effort of education, Chinese education reform is not without its own uncertainties and challenges.

Keywords: Education reform, Chinese modernity, globalization, historiography

Any significant social and political reform goes hand in hand with controversies and disputes. From the May Fourth Movement in 1919 to the recent Sunflower Movement of Taiwan and the Umbrella Movement of Hong Kong, the imagery of assembled Chinese intellectuals and students on the streets reflects the struggles in and for an unfinished modernization of Asia. Intellectuals and students have not only been the real pioneers and protagonists of the Chinese modernization, but they were also firm believers that social and political progress is impossible without a corresponding reform of education itself.

This paper attempts to analyze what we identify as China's three historical attempts of education reform with a comparative education perspective with *times* as the unit of comparison (Bray, Adamson, & Mason, 2014). Historiography or critical analysis of history is a methodology of its own standing in comparative education. Moreover, not only the field history of education overlaps with comparative education but all historiographical works such as interpretation and re-interpretation of events and contexts are essentially comparative (Sweeting, 2014).

The first two out of three attempts of education reform were during the efforts to modernize China with western science, technologies, political institutions, and thoughts during the Colonial Globalization (1800-1940s), a sub-era of the Modern Globalization (Hopkins, 2002);

the third started in 1978, after nearly three decades of communist isolationism throughout the country.

Before the Communist Party's leadership takeover in 1949, two consecutive regimes confronted with the wave of globalization had felt the urge to reform their education system. Having gone through a series of military defeats and concessions to foreign powers, the late-Qing Dynasty (1800-1911) witnessed the Self-Strengthening Movement (Zì Qiáng Yùn Dòng 自强運動) from 1861 onwards (Fairbank & Liu, 1980), which reached a climax with the Hundred Days Reform in 1898 (Wang G., 2001) and the abolition of the Imperial Examination. After the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, the nouveau régime counted on the intellectuals returning from renowned foreign universities through the Boxer Indemnity scholarship program (Fairbank & Liu, 1980), and initiated series of landmark reforms in the education modernization process. In our view, while the efforts of the Qing Court and the Chinese Republic form a continuum, they were eclipsed by revolts, political intrigues, foreign invasions, and wars, and their endeavor did not come to the fruition as China was unable to attain basic levels of stability.

In the second part of the 20th century, China saw the ascendency of the Mao Zedong's 'Red Regime' and a series of events including the devastating decade of the Cultural Revolution. During that period, China underwent massive social changes, but was also entrapped by rehearsed isolationism while lagging behind the western world as well as most of the East-Asian countries that made significant social advances. Following Mao's death, Deng Xiaoping, a major contributor to the reform and opening-up policy since 1978, reconnected China and its education problems to the world. However, China's third attempt of education reform is by no means less challenging under the persisting influence of traditional Chinese values and decades of ups and downs of the communist revolution in the context of a post-colonial wave of globalization worldwide.

Rise of Education Reform Need in China

Like other western scholars in the early 20th century, Bertrand Russell was slightly poetic in his description of the psyche of ordinary Chinese people after his one-year sojourn in the Republic of China in 1920. His book *The Problem of China* reflects his surprise at witnessing the jokes and laughter of Chinese coolies after harsh work, and attributed their humor and optimism to the virtue of Chinese character (Ref. Russell, 1993[1922], pp. 200-201).

However, the living conditions of common Chinese people at that time were rather incompatible with the coolies' virtue described by Russell. In the 1920s, a serious famine that lasted roughly for three years killed millions of people in northwestern China. Dead or ailing skeleton-like bodies were often seen lying and even piling up on the streets. Children who could only eat bark, sawdust, or soil had purpling bellies protruding like tumors. Numerous women or girls were sold as maids or concubines to wealthy landlords by starving peasant families for a bit of food (Snow, 2005). Under such duress, even honest and law-abiding people would steal or rob anything edible. As the influential novel *The Good Earth* aptly wrote, 'Hunger makes a thief of any man' (Buck, 1931). In this way, those same virtues acknowledged by Russell seemed to be feeble in front of starvation. What is worse, especially in the remote rural areas, is that the huge amount of death along with poor medical conditions aroused various kinds of epidemics, which further aggravated the circumstances. In sharp contrast, many towns had rich landlords and corrupt officials who hoarded tons of food stored by their guards. They often stole foreign or domestic aiding funds while profiteering enormously and squandering money in entertainment (Snow, 2005). These were not new but

did recurrently occur with the vicissitudes of every regime in Chinese history until the 20th century.

Although China has thousands of years of civilization, most of the old Chinese philosophers, scholars, and poets were elites with an aristocratic or bureaucratic background (Esherick et al., 1990). Scholarship was traditionally deemed as the most prestigious human endeavor in China, and scholars who achieved high officialdom by excelling in examinations were venerated throughout the country for generations (Reed, 1998). Before the Imperial Examination System first adopted by the Sui Dynasty in AD 605, Chinese rulers recruited talents by recommendations and selections from aristocratic families. Theoretically, all the levels of office were open to every Chinese citizen after the commencement of nationwide examinations, but under the persisting influence of the ancient social order 'Li' (禮) – which asserted that people should behave in accordance with their respective class – Chinese government, for centuries, had provided little support on public education. As graceful and civilized as the works and thoughts of Confucius or Lao-tse are, the vast majority of people were farmers and coolies who lived in poverty or under the tyranny and exploitation of local governors, and could not express their sufferings because they were illiterate (Esherick et al., 1990). Therefore, the path to knowledge was highly valued but difficult to achieve (Reed, 1998).

Moreover, traditional Chinese education has persistently emphasized learning from the past sages and conforming to social rules. Many traditional Chinese scholars proudly claimed, "Why seek progress when you already enjoy what is excellent?" (Russell, 1993[1922]). The source of such a self-ostracizing conformism or lack of curiosity, which is inimical to the development of science, has been attributed by some contemporary Chinese scholars to the general culture deriving from thoughts of Confucius and Zhuangzi (Gong, 2012). Arguably, making such a direct cause-effect correlation could be rather simplistic. In the minds of many participants of the May Fourth Movement of 1919, culture related to Confucius and Zhuangzi were at odds with the Chinese modernization and her belated enlightenment. Thus, it was only natural that people felt that the traditional education system had to be modernized.

With foreign invasions and domestic weakness, the years between the break of the First Opium War in 1840 and the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 were eventful for China's education reforms. By the examination tradition, China seemed to always have the belief that state management should be done by selected talents. Since the late 19th century, having made aware of the backwardness of China's education system, governments of Qing Dynasty as well as the Northern Warlords and Kuomintang Party in the Republic Era tried to learn from the Western education system by setting up modern schools and universities (Stuart et al., 2011). The Imperial University of Peking was founded in 1898 to cultivate talents with broad knowledge of Chinese civilization as well as western science and technologies, marking the first step of modern higher education in China.

In 1905, the Imperial Examination, a system testing examinees' mastery of Confucian classics and writing proficiency, was abolished with the establishment of China's first Ministry of Education (Reed, 1998) by the last emperor with real political power. This is, by the way, both intriguing and paradoxical since there remains the possibility that civil service examination system in the West was borrowed from China. As early as 1570, the West knew the existence of written civil service examination system in China whilst the practice of any written examination was unknown to the West until 1702 (Têng, 1943). In spite of this, the pioneers of Chinese education reform at that time regarded this system as backward.

Consistent with the tradition of worshiping ancestors, the classics written by ancient sages were still holding the monopoly of culture, so to speak, when the second Industrial Revolution had already been consummated in some other countries. Therefore, the Imperial Examination started being seen as outmoded and of little practical use (Su, Lei, & Zhang, 2013). Meanwhile the invading western powers brought with them the 'West and the rest' (Hall, 1992; Chen, 2010) sort of discourse, and praxis of modernity and a huge amount of imperialist resources and funds, which significantly accelerated the ongoing education reforms. Tsing Hua College, which was built by the Boxer Indemnity, soon developed into one of the best and most influential national universities. Among wars and invasions, thirteen major Colleges with excellent academic reputations were also established by missionary organizations. Furthermore, the Peking Union Medical College supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, was established in the ancient capital in 1906, and it became the most modern and best-equipped medical school and hospital in the entire Orient (Stuart et al., 2011).

During these years of turmoil, China looked up several major approaches of learning from the west. The first one, supported mainly by scholars and officials working for the Qing court, was to learn western science and technologies while keeping the status of Chinese culture and hierarchical institutions intact. The so-called Self-Strengthening Movement (Zì qiáng Yùn dòng 自强運動), however, did not save China from her rooted social problems and damages inflicted by wars and negotiations with foreign colonial powers.

Then, inspired by the successful political reform of the British Empire as well as the 1868 Meiji Restoration of Japan, some Chinese elites felt the necessity of deeper reforms even at a very high cost. Some conservatives suggested adopting the British constitutional monarchy; while witnessing the empire decaying day by day, revolutionists led by Sun Yat-sen were determined to rescue China by toppling down the Qing Dynasty and transforming it into a nation-state with president elected by citizens, and principled with a Constitution and a corpus of laws passed by the parliament (Fairbank & Liu, 1980). Thus, the second approach was to learn from western political institutions. After a chain of incidents, the last emperor stepped down embodying the fall of the Dynasty.

Shortly after the establishment of the Republic of China, China fell into a civil war between various warlords, the Kuomintang Party, and the Communist Party. Meanwhile, the majority of Chinese people led their lives as usual in extreme poverty and oppression, which was metaphorically exposed and pitied by the avant-garde writer Lu Xun in his famous satire-novel *The True Story of Ah Q* (Lu, 2000). It portraits the tragedy of the Chinese populace and their psyche caught in chaos generated by untenable social structure, political instability, corruption and, above all, abject ignorance/illiteracy. Edgar Snow recollected in his memoir that 'Chinese peasants had gone on tilling their fields in the very midst of battle, with apparent unconcern' (Snow, 2005). Even after the new republic state was founded at the expense of the blood of thousands of intellectuals and soldiers, the significance of this new regime still appeared insignificant for many Chinese people who were concerned only with their agrarian tasks. Such a climate signaled an urgent need for change in education that was no longer restricted to scholars and intellectuals. There was now a genuine public concern (Dewey, 1954[1927]) about the future of China among ordinary people who became aware that modernization cannot be done without the modernization and liberalization of people's minds through education.

Led by Chinese elite scholars, many of whom had come back from prestigious western and Japanese universities, the New Culture Movement (Xīn Wénhuà Yùndòng 新文化運動)

started from the mid-1910s a series of significant debates and introspection on traditional Chinese culture (Mei, 2011). It was during this movement that Humanism, Pragmatism, and other western schools of thoughts were introduced, studied, and intellectually debated in China's academia. Furthermore, during the republic era, a large number of revered interdisciplinary masters and initiators of various modern subjects in Chinese universities had actively made contributions to China's modernization as well as traditional culture (Li, 1997). The liberal environment with the intellectual basis of patriotic elite scholars enabled universities such as the Peking University, Tsinghua University, Nanjing University, Zhejiang University, and Jiao Tong University to reach their prime during the Republic Era. Notwithstanding these developments, the aforementioned recurrent famines and wars still cast uncertainty on the viability of China's education reform.

Education amidst Dialectical Discourses and Re-revolution

The Republic of China and its decades of a glittering education industry were before long shattered by the whopping communist inner struggles from 1949 to 1976. John Leighton Stuart, the former US ambassador to China and the first president of the Yenching University, when back to the United States of America after the communists took over the mainland commented, "All that I had accomplished in the country to which I was accredited was apparently being destroyed" (Stuart et al., 2011).

An official history document of the Government of Taiwan attributed the loss of mainland China to the "assassination by the communist gangsters while the country had not been recovered from continuous wars since 1840" (Mao, 1996). It is clear that the Nationalist Government in Nanjing did take precautionary measures to maintain its authority, including building first-rate universities. From the first civil war between the Kuomintang and the communists in 1927, the former had utilized nearly all kinds of approaches such as executing communist party members and military assaults and spy activities to wipe out its rivals.

Nevertheless, there were more and more people, mostly peasants from the vast rural areas, joining the 'Red Army' which had 1,200,000 men in its regular formations by October 1945. In Snow's words, there must be an inexorable force that drove them to support 'suicidal political opinions' (2005, p.5). Thus, the second attempt of education reform, which the Kuomintang Party would take pride in, miscarried with the collapse of its regime.

To analyze the failures of the first two attempts, certain factors should not be neglected. First of all, post-civil war bankruptcy and insufficient funds were a huge hindrance for education reform. Although the commodity economy thrived in some dynasties, merchants were usually ranked the lowest in the 'four occupations' social hierarchic structure in ancient and medieval China (Brook, 1998). The administrative inclination of inhibiting business and trade while stressing agriculture may partly explain why so many wealthy merchants, after achieving certain amount of property, would invest more in purchasing land and preparing their offspring for the imperial examinations and scholarship instead of further expanding their business or improving productivity.

When British warships first entered China's borders, the Qing government had cut off foreign trade for over a century (Fairbank & Liu, 1980). Therefore, when China was inevitably involved in wars against countries that had undergone the Industrial Revolution, expenditures on military soared. Although the Qing government desperately set up some modern schools to translate and research on the economy, it eventually went into bankruptcy and breakdown. Such problems terribly haunted the Republic of China. Civil wars between the northern

warlords, the Kuomintang, and the Communists, overlapped with the Anti-Japanese Wars that lasted for more than eight years, all took a deadly toll on state-fund, resources, and human capital.

In spite of this terrible domestic situation, the Kuomintang government had high expectations and detailed plans for the advancement of the national education system. They knew the importance of universal education, and built up and left behind, to the Communist government, about 340,000 primary schools, 4,000 middle schools, and 200 universities and colleges in 1949 (Reed, 1998, p.5). However, the seemingly never-ending wars and deep-rooted corruption tortured the republic for too long for the national economy and Chinese people to bear. Consequently, the Communist insurrections spread out with the support of illiterate and poor farmers, who constituted the majority of Chinese population, and offered a glimpse of hope.

The Communist movements historically put peasants and workers, namely the proletariats, on the political arena at a national level. However, after the establishment of the 'New China' in 1949, some senior officials, under Mao's leadership, interpreted and practiced, often exaggeratedly, the drastic dialectical discourses between traditions, modernization, different social classes as well as the western world. Besides, a combination of factors including the decades of class struggle experiences, obsession in classics of Chinese literature in his late ages, and his insufficient knowledge of contemporary social sciences (Li, 1992) backfired at Mao's already authoritarian leadership. To the subsequent loss of his own power, Mao reacted with a re-revolution from within—the Cultural Revolution. For a decade, millions of Chinese people were instigated to fight for the eradication of 'exploiting classes' including feudalists, capitalists, and revisionists.

This had a direct impact on education. At the height of the Cultural Revolution, the 'Red Guards', composed of youth loyal to Mao Zedong, took control of schools, universities, and even local governments to eliminate the 'revisionists' within the Party. Many teachers and school or university officials who purportedly said anything 'reproachable' would be punished, imprisoned, and even killed by mobs. Institutions which should be managed by professionals were often under the control of the ignorant and neophytes. The consequence of this internal crisis for the Chinese education system was grave; it meant, as it is often referred to, a 'lost decade' (George, 2012).

The situation had premonitions. Mao wanted to uproot the difference in education between rural and urban areas. It was plausible because students from urban families of intellectuals were more likely to get higher scores in school allocation examinations and better education resources. Mao's approach to it was idealistic and went to extremes (Fairbank & MacFarquhar, 1991). In 1966, Mao abolished the National College Entrance Examination, also known as *Gāokǎo* (高考) – a meritocratic system created in 1952 – and gave orders to select students from farmers, workers, and soldiers to go to universities. Mao also encouraged young students, or the 'intellectual youth', in urban areas to go to the rural areas and learn some practical knowledge from illiterate yet 'ideologically pure' farmers.

The referred ideology-driven movements inflicted significant damage to China's education system. They not only stalled the progress of higher education, but also undermined the moral standards and social psyche of millions of Chinese people once more. In addition, the education blackout during the Cultural Revolution produced a generation of inadequately educated individuals who now have already raised their children or even grandchildren. This

internally generated turmoil caused a very serious loss of talent and decline of the overall quality of citizens. China's front gate was again bolted tightly to the outside, especially the developed world. The education system itself, a key instrument for social cohesion (Durkheim, 1973), was a primary source, focus, and instrument of the devastation.

Post-Mao Education Reform

We could say that China's Post-colonial Globalization (Hopkins, 2002), that is, 1950 onwards, started in the antipode of the spirit of globalization. After Mao's death in 1976, the Cultural Revolution, which had lasted nearly a decade, was also called to an end, but the damage done was far from recovery.

Chairman Hua, the successor of Mao after the Cultural Revolution, continued on Mao's path by proposing the 'Two Whatever' policy: "We will resolutely uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave" (People's Daily, 1977). But shortly after this policy, Deng Xiaoping took power in the Central Politburo and required that people should 'liberate their mind' and 'seek truth from the fact'. In October 1977, Deng Xiaoping resumed the National College Entrance Examination system (*Gāokǎo* 高考) dismantled by Mao, and brought back an administrative order and fair competition to schools across the country. This move instantly encouraged over ten million young students to take the examination in 1977 and 1978[1]. Furthermore, Deng implemented the reform and opening-up policy in 1978 and put the construction of economy to the center of the Party's task. China's education development was back on the track of globalization.

While being unparalleled in its scope and complexity, the third and ongoing attempt of education reform is abundant with both challenges and opportunities within the framework of a state ideology tagged by Deng and his successors as 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' (Evans, 1995). With such a large illiterate population, Mao's idea of promoting simplified Chinese characters to improve literacy was deemed beneficial. But it was made feasible only after the Cultural Revolution when the Chinese government gradually built up the nine-year compulsory education. By 2013, compulsory-free education was available to over 99% of the population; 91.2% students were able to continue their studies in senior high schools (Ministry of Education, 2013).

In regards to endemic education problems such as overall low literacy rates of citizens, the opening-up policy and economic reforms also provided various solutions. First, an improved economy injected financial resources into the development of education at different levels. Thus, not only is the Chinese government able to offer a comparatively larger bulk of their budget to education, but also the booming private capital is allowed to come to its assistance. Second, globalization has diversified the formats of education. For instance, the introduction of foreign enterprises has not only created new jobs, but also trained millions of people with a scanty education background into skilled workers and even heads of huge domestic companies. Furthermore, since the Internet was introduced in China in 1994, technologies have been creating unexpected effects on accelerating China's education development. In this sense, it seems to be more efficient for the Chinese education system to be involved in the globalization process than to build school and university infrastructures. Besides, partaking in the transnational interdependency provides China with more opportunities to compare herself

[1] 5.7 million in 1977 and 6.1 million in 1978, *People's Daily*, 3rd May 2013

with other countries and exchange experiences, which, in the meantime, has improved China's domestic conditions in many aspects.

Despite such achievement figures, an unequal distribution of education resources continues to pose a serious challenge to the goal of universal basic education. In more developed urban districts, basic education has very high standards and quality. For instance, in 2009 and 2012, middle school students from Shanghai were ranked top in every category in the assessment done by the Programme for International Student Assessment (OECD, 2012). While an 'urban China' tests the water of global measurement-centered education competition, in many poor rural areas, especially in the western China, both teachers and basic teaching equipment in primary and middle schools are yet to be fully supplied. Despite the restoration of the National College Entrance Examination, this inequality of college enrollment has always been criticized by the public. In 2009, about 66.8 out of 10,000 students in Beijing got enrolled by Peking University according to its enrollment plan. The ratio in Tianjin was 10.2 for every ten thousand and in Shanghai, the number decreased to 4.8. However, more surprisingly than the national average 2.2, in Guangdong and Anhui Province the number was 0.68 and 0.66 respectively (Zhang & Qu, 2011). Year by year, similar situations are still shared by top Chinese universities, most of which are located in major cities – especially Beijing and Shanghai. In addition, even within those education centers, the traditional household registration system called the Hùkǒu (戶口) makes the situation of migrant children's education only more difficult (Wu, Tsang, & Ming, 2012; 2014).

As for higher education, which had been nearly paralyzed for over ten years, many troubles still retard its development. During the Cultural Revolution, basic agricultural and handcraft skills were deemed fundamental for the curriculum, while higher education – which contains much 'useless' knowledge hardly accessible to proletariats – was despised by the revolutionists. In fact, Red Guards formed by students would severely punish anyone who showed even the slightest bit of sympathy to scholars who had 'anti-revolution' thoughts. Therefore, thousands of years of reverence and honor for scholars and knowledge in traditional Chinese civilization was cruelly suppressed and inhibited. This may partly explain the charges against contemporary Chinese academia on the ground of spuriousness, corruption, and deception, let alone 'mercenary academics' acting as a mouthpiece of the establishment (Yang R., 2002; 2011).

Limited autonomy is another pending problem of China's higher education. All top universities are de facto controlled by the corresponding ministry of the establishment, which grants university presidents a departmental or vice-minister level office rank and treatment. In addition, every school or university has a branch committee of the establishment that is responsible for the organization and management, which includes the inculcation of political ideologies and a selection of future political leaders. For example, the incumbent Premier Li Keqiang was one of the millions of examinees taking the National College Entrance Examination in 1977, and was selected to work in the branch Party committee when he excelled in the Law School at Peking University. As a consequence, the administrative atmosphere in schools and universities usually make their managers more aware of working for the government rather than for students. The decision-making rights as well as academic freedom of students and teaching staff are significantly lessened (Yang D., 2009), which constitute a fertile ground for mismanagement and 'academic corruption' (Yang R., 2002; 2011).

Stability under government administrative control has usually been beneficial and desirable for China, yet their inherent excesses in education have collaterally limited freedom and autonomy. Having gone through the Cultural Revolution, China with a population of 1.4 billion today is fully aware of the horrors of the mobs instigated by dangerous and irresponsible political statements. Chinese people, who had been accustomed to imperial and feudal autocracy for about two millennia, when dominated by the mass of proletariats were understandably susceptible to dogmatism and could not often make rational decisions with critical analysis (Li, 1992). Such costly lessons should be taken into account not only by the government and educational policy makers, but also by scholars studying the education reform after the Cultural Revolution. Therefore, political institutions should be designed to make sure that crucial reform decisions be made intelligently and with caution (Li, 2005). In 1977, the 11th central committee of the Communist Party of China started a discussion and introspection of the problems that had occurred since the founding of the PRC. A few years later, the term-limits, supervision systems, and the 'democratic centralization', combined with the traditional meritocracy system, were created to guarantee the maturity and sophistication of the decision-making bodies of the Chinese government (Xinhua News, 2002).

Educational reform and policies are not isolated from the decisions made in other areas. For instance, a recent report by Vice Minister of Education indicates that in the decade of 2000-2010, the number of primary schools fell from 550,000 to 260,000, and junior high schools, from 64,000 to 55,000 (Liu, 2012). These figures are not but a result of the birth control policy and the school merging program due to rapid rural-urban migration in China.

While many world democracies have recently been facing their political crisis and economic slowdown, the controversial Chinese political model, summarized as 'selection plus election' (Zhang, 2014), triggered much debate on the credibility and functionality of the western democratic system, which has been peddled around the world and now seems to have gone wrong (Economists, 2014). However, the crackdown of a long list of government officials during the ongoing anti-corruption campaign initiated in 2012 under the administration of the Chinese President Xi actually proves that the contemporary model of China is still imperfect. Although this anti-corruption campaign has now been extended to Chinese campuses, which are, after all, populated by politically appointed and backed academics and administrative staff, perhaps fundamental improvement of education could be far more sustainable than policing and punishing a few from such a large number of Chinese bureaucrats.

In the year 2014, the Chinese government experimentally decided to separate government intervention with academic management in nine top universities of China and allowed them to issue their own constitutions that emphasize the management by professors and students in detail (Jinhua Times, 2014). It is yet to be seen how effectively this policy will be implemented, albeit it is the hope of everybody that these renewed efforts of education reform can help to cultivate high quality universities the country has been longing for since the 19th century.

However, there is a simultaneous reverberation of ideological conservatism in education. The Communist Party journal *Qiushi* reported the Education Minister Yuan Guiren saying that universities are regarded as the 'front line of ideology' where young academics and students would be targets of ideological infiltration (Zhuang, 2015):
classroom guidelines would be drafted to put 'Marxism at the forefront' and textbooks that spread incorrect Western viewpoints would be steadily barred from campus. Controls over philosophy and social science forums would be stepped up to stop 'wrong talk'. The article

comes hard on the heels of Yuan's meeting with university chiefs last week, where he urged the institutions to exert tighter control over the use of imported textbooks 'that spread Western values' and keep classrooms clear of remarks that 'defame the rule of the party, smear socialism or violate the constitution and laws'

Yuan also made some other major points in his speech, including enhancing the sense of responsibility and mission of universities, and emphasis on patriotism and socialist values of students under the new circumstances (Yuan, 2015).

It is rather evident that the third attempt of education reform in China is an unfinished affair – as is her modernization. Nevertheless, there are unprecedented circumstances defined by some China scholars as the "quasi developed countries" in the Eastern China (Zhang, 2012) that outnumber the population of the United States, and enjoy overall living standards comparable to the developed world. On the one hand, such a large population with decent education could be advantageous for social development, because it represents a large pool of intellectuals in fair competition and mutual supervision in various fields. On the other hand, the same condition makes it increasingly difficult for the Communist Party of China to maintain the sole representative and the same leading status as is elucidated in former Chinese President Jiang Zemin's Three Represents theory (三個代表) (Jiang, 2012). Therefore, in a globalizing world driven by innovation and communication, further opening-up in education reforms might be an imperative and long-term policy for the gigantic Chinese education system.

Conclusion

China's education reforms in the context of her engagement with the colonial and postcolonial globalization have been tortuous. They were marred with deeply rooted social and political problems. By taking up a historiographical approach to the three stages of education reform in China, this paper looked into the complexities of the third attempt of Chinese education reform, comparing it with the prior two failures.

The already decadent Qing Dynasty was the first to attempt a large scale education reform to align China with modernity and globalization. Some colonial institutions and systems such as Christian missionaries and the Boxer Indemnity were only marginally useful for the Qing Court to bring western technologies, science, and knowledge to the populace. Such staggering efforts were continued by the new republic but it encountered unsurmountable geopolitical and social problems that ended in a civil war.

The second attempt of education reform between 1949 and 1977 was characterized by its ideological drive. A glaring lack of social cohesion and overabundance of power struggle within meant a huge blow against a century old need for sustainable education, both elementary and higher education. Meanwhile, the once glorious Kuomintang retreated to Taiwan and was able to establish world-class universities within a short period.

Deng Xiaoping's 1978 economic reform led China to fully embrace globalization with industrialization. Deng's realpolitik brought about modernization to the education system paved with opportunities as well as well risks and uncertainties. Fortunately, we see that organizations like the Harvard-Yenching Institute, founded in 1928, still plays an important role of cultural exchange, and the 100,000 Strong Foundation has helped thousands of students from China and the United States to acquire more knowledge and understanding of both countries. We see even more cooperation and exchange programs, in every kind of

schools and universities such as the fast expanding Putonghua teaching cultural centers, Confucius Institutes, and international training programs (Park, 2013; King, 2015).

Immersed in an unstoppable neoliberal globalization, the most daunting challenge for Chinese education reform is perhaps sustaining efforts for economic development and internal stability, while gradually constructing a more open society. After nearly three decades of a galloping economy, the Chinese government has just started assigning priority to the quality of social development – even at the expense of lowering its Gross Domestic Product growth rate (China Daily, 2015). However, we have argued, any reform will be neither feasible nor sustainable if not supported with corresponding advancement in education. It is, thus, high time for China and her people to also turn the gaze to the past attempts of education reform.

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Psychometric Analysis of Hortwitz's (1987) Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory with Chinese Mainland Sample –Applying the Rasch Model

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Abstract
This study aimed at reviewing, within the Rasch framework, the psychometric properties of the Chinese version of Horwitz's (1987) beliefs about language learning inventory (BALLI) used with Chinese mainland English as Second Language (ESL) college students. The inventory was subject to back translation, reviewed, and revised where necessary. Based on a convenience sample of 192 students, the exploratory study put item and model fit, category functioning of the items, and dimensionality of the inventory under close scrutiny. After the removal of 14 items with poor item fit or disordered categories, the study ended up with a refined inventory, though of which no absolute evidence of unidimensionality had been captured. Despite that the remaining items were more likely to measure a single underlying construct, the less satisfactory model fit might be a concern. It is hoped that, based on the "four building blocks approach" (Wilson, 2005), Rasch analysis on the instrument would provide some insights about the construct validity of the inventory considering the legitimacy for it to be used with the targeted population.

Keywords: Psychometric properties, Chinese mainland college students, unidimensionality, model fit

Introduction
Horwitz's well-known (1987) inventory, the ESL BALLI, marks the beginning of systematic research on learners' beliefs about and attitudes towards second language learning, and has been extensively used in the past few decades (Huang & Tsai, 2003; Kuntz, 1996; Mori, 1999; Park, 1997; Wu, 2008; Yang, 1999). Learners' beliefs differ across different cultural and situational settings. There is little evidence that results of a study undertaken in one context can be generalized across different cultural groups (Littlewood, 2001). However, the fact is that most studies to date have not taken into account empirically the construct validity of the inventory before having it administered. When it comes to studies examining Chinese ESL learners' beliefs, this is particularly true (Huang & Tsai, 2003). Relative to researches that have employed traditional factor analysis techniques. A search of the literature found that that most BALLI validation studies end up with different numbers of dimensions/factors or different items under each dimension/factor (see for example Atlan, 1996; Kern, 1995; Kuntz, 1996; Nikitina & Furuoka, 2006; Sakui & Gaies, 1999). When it comes to investigations conducted in the Greater China Area, Yang in her (1999) study has identified a four-factor solution, each factor including items from other factors as proposed by Horwitz (1987). This is also the case with Wu's (2001) study with Hong Kong college students undertaking vocational education. This may be attributed to the complexity of belief structure about

language learning (Mori, 1999). In this sense, the current study, with a Chinese mainland sample, was innovative by nature.

Instrument validation is a primary concern for quantitative studies that employ forced-choice items (Sakui & Gaies, 1999; Horwitz, 1999). In the classical testing theory (CTT) factor analysis, ordinal raw scores obtained from rating scales are treated as interval data; as such the relationships between them and factor scores are mistakenly regarded as linear (Bond & Fox, 2001). In contrast to this, the Rasch measurement model (Rasch, 1960) starts from interval measures that have been converted from raw ordinal data, and has the desirable scaling properties of linear and interval measurement (Bond, 2003; Embretson & Reise, 2000; Wang 2010). Additionally, Rasch scaling method item difficulties and person ability or trait measures are estimated on the same linear scaling continuum, thus having the same unit of measurement (Bond, 2003; Embretson & Reise, 2000). In the Rasch framework, psychometrical properties, as indicators of construct validity, provide less ambiguous statistical information. Moreover, Rasch analysis, unlike CTT-based factor analysis, produces sample-free item locations and scale-free person measures (Wang, 2010; Wright & Master, 2002). Above all, Rasch modeling is "less sensitive to markedly-skewed distributions of the item ratings", which in CTT is considered as "serious violation of the normality assumption with factor analytic procedures, and, thus, to inaccurate factor solutions" (Welch, Hall, & Walkey, 1990, as cited in Wu & Chang, 2009, p. 14). In brief, Rasch modeling is superior to the CTT approach on account of validation of latent trait measures. Considering the empirical investigations on the BALLI by using the Rasch modeling method, it is still a virgin land to explore.

The Rasch modeling assumes that, "the difference between item difficulty and person ability should govern the probability of any person being successful on any particular item" (Kyriakides, Kaloyirou, & Lindsay, 2006, p. 787). The basic model is a dichotomous model which predicts the conditional probability of a binary outcome on the basis of the person's ability and item's difficulty (2006). The dichotomous scoring model can be generalized to polytomous models, the rating scale model (RSM) being one in which items have more than two response categories and the distances between each two adjacent categories are assumed consistent across all items. In a rating scale model, "the probability of person *n* with ability β_n to choose category x of item *I*" is as below:

$$p(X_{ni} = x) = \frac{\exp\left[-\sum_{k=1}^{x}\tau_k + x(\beta_n - \delta_i)\right]}{\sum_{x=0}^{m}\exp\left[-\sum_{k=1}^{x}\tau_k + x(\beta_n - \delta_i)\right]},$$

where δ_i is the difficulty of answering item *i* correctly, and $p(x_{ni} = x)$ is the probability to endorse Category *x*, a correct response to an item (Wu & Chang, 2009, p. 15). Derived of the dichotomous scoring model, another type of polytomous scoring model is the partial credit model, of which the rating scale model is a restricted form.

To ensure the fit of the Rasch model to the data, the preassumed conditions have to be met. First the thresholds, i.e. "the estimates at which a person has a 50% chance of choosing one category over another", have to be the same for all the items, provided that all the items are ordered (Andersen, 1977; Kyriakides et al., 2006, p. 787). That is to say, disordered items, which are to be identified and demolished, do not function properly in a Rasch model. The Rasch analysis produces information on category functioning, which enhances the measurement accuracy (Linacre, 2002). If the thresholds or step calibrations advance monotonically across all items, the scale categories are ordered and operate effectively.

However, the distances between the adjacent categories should be neither too close nor too far apart on the measurement scales (Bond & Fox, 2001). In addition, to indicate whether the thresholds are disordered, structural calibrations of categories of an item suggest whether one category should collapse downward to another category if the two categories are too close to each other.

The model and item fit statistics also provide fundamental information. The person reliability and item reliability, as well as person and item separation indices, are key indicators of model fit. With regards to item fit, the frequently applied statistics are infit and outfit MNSQ and the corresponding ZSTD values. The infit MNSQ is unweighted and is sensitive to "on-target observations", while the fit MNSQ, an information-weighted fit statistic, is more sensitive to "unexpected outliers" (Linacre, 2009, p. 222).

Despite that threshold estimates are consistent and advance monotonically across all items, and both model and item fit statistics are within acceptance ranges, it's still inadequate to say that the scale measures a single construct. Given the assumption that the data are explained by a single latent variable in a Rasch model (Chou & Wang, 2010), the residuals should not count for only too large an amount of variation after the Rasch dimension is removed (Smith, 2002). Otherwise the assumption on unidimensionality will be violated. Smith and Miao (1994) claim that, under the unidimension assumption the eigenvalues for residual components should be smaller than 1.40, whereas Raiche (2005) asserts that eigenvalues as large as 2 may occur considering characteristics of the data. The Principal Component Analysis (PCA) of standardized residuals demonstrates the partitioning of variances between person and item estimates, and also indicates the proportions other unexplained variances or dimensions assume. To confirm unitidimensionality of the inventory, testing of person invariance properties across all subscales can be conducted. This will be an alternative approach to deny unidimensionality of the scale, should there be person variances between and among the subscales (Smith, 2002). If multidimensionality does hold, biased items can be found out through differential item functioning (DIF) assessment, and eliminated accordingly.

To validate rating scales within the Rasch framework, fundamental psychometric properties, such as item and model fit, category functioning of the items, and dimensionality of the scale should be examined closely. Against all these findings, actions can be taken for betterment of the scale so as to achieve higher construct validity, hence, accuracy of the measurement.

Notorious for its "lack of statistical backing as to the significance of selected variables", the BALLI has also been undermined substantively, not to mention its conceptualization originally derived from trainee teachers other than language learners (Hortwitz, 1999; Mori, 1999, p. 381). Recent research conducted in Asian contexts may provide some implications for the current study (see for example, Nikitina & Furuoka, 2006; Sakui & Gaies, 1999; Wu, 2008; Yang, 1999). Nevertheless, the targeted group of Chinese mainland college students distinguishes itself from its counterparts in the Greater China Area, and it still remains a barren terrain for research powered by Rasch modeling method.

Research objectives

This study, in a long run, will attempt to investigate Chinese mainland college students' beliefs about learning English as a second language. At the preliminary stage, the primary concern is to refine and validate, in terms of psychological properties such as item and model fit, category functioning and dimensionality, the BALLI, for the use with Chinese mainland ESL students.

Methods

Sample

The sample was composed of 192 tertiary-level college students receiving law education in Guangzhou, China. Among them, over 80% were girls, and less than 20%, boys. They had learned English for no less than 6 years before entering college. By the time of sampling, they were first-year or second-year college students, having English classes regularly. None of them had lived or studied overseas.

Instrument

The instrument was Horwitz's (1987) BALLI surveying ESL learners' beliefs about language learning. The inventory consists of 34 items, which were subject to back translation and culturally adapted. Apart from 32 five-point Likert-type items with responses ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", two of the items are multiple-choice questions with five options. As forced-choice self-report items, they were coded in the same way. The few negatively-phrased items were reverse-coded.

Analysis

Application of the "Four Building Blocks Approach"

When put into the Rasch construct modeling in the "four blocks approach" (Wilson, 2005), the establishment of measurement procedures began with illustration of a construct map. In the current study, it's regarded that the inventory comprised one construct, that is, Chinese college students' beliefs about learning English as a second language in general. The inventory easily finds the ground it is based on from the preexisting large body of literature, particularly previous empirical explorations. A construct map presenting the item levels of these college ESL learners' belief structure is illustrated below in Figure 1.

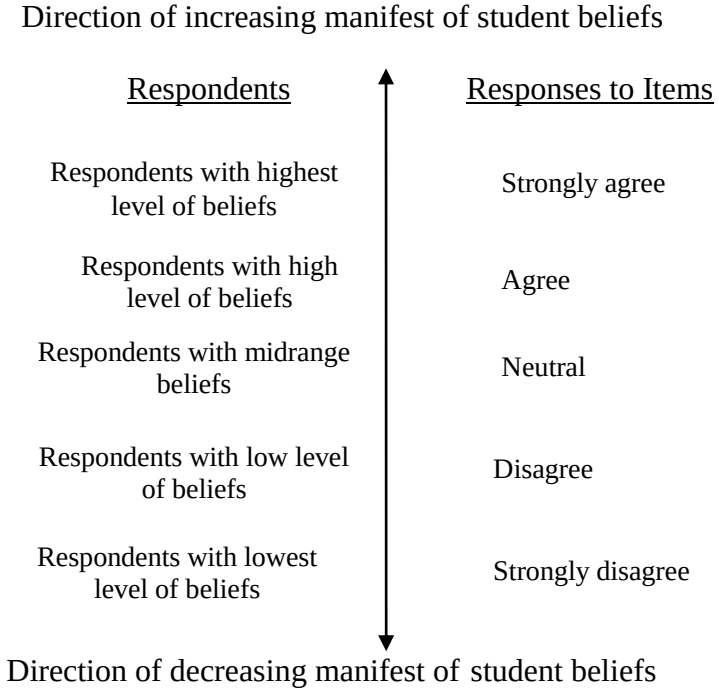

Figure 1. A Sketch of the Construct Map for Chinese College Students' Beliefs about Learning English as a Foreign Language

The item design, or format of items, determines what the outcome space is like and the later categorizing and scoring protocols (Wilson, 2005). Fortunately, for these forced-choice items, be it multiple-choice questions or Likert-type items, categorization of the responses have been predefined. For each automatically ordered category, there has been a fixed score ranging from 1 to 5 (2005). In this case items scored on average between 1 and 2, exhibiting very low discriminating power. Items with disordered categories are eligible for removal and this will not damage the content validity of the inventory (Cavanagh & Romanoski, 2006). When function of a category is not observed, it either remains or is eliminated in the response structure, thereby, suggesting collapse of one category downward to the adjacent category (Linacre, 2009).

The next step is to relate the scores from the responses to the established construct through a measurement model, not necessarily a statistical model. This is not a one-off adventure. In fact the item scores and the underlying constructs are subject to constant check until the results are "consistent with predetermined intentions" (Wilson, 2005, p. 10). In terms of this long-, if not well-, established and extensively used inventory, the check of item scores and the underlying constructs were repeated. It started from an initial review of item fit and model fit statistics. After that, items with disordered categories were identified and dropped from the item pool, so were items showing poor fit (Wang, 2010). Finally, PCA of standardized residual was conducted to capture evidence of unidimensionality from the remaining items.

As claimed by Wright and Linacre (1994), item fit values ranging from 0.6 to 1.4 are reasonably acceptable for most tests. Adam and Khoo (1996) maintain the 0.77 to 1.30 range; while some other researchers recommend a more restricted range of 0.83 to 1.20 (Keeves & Alagumalai, 1999). This study followed the 0.6 to 1.4 range. For the corresponding ZSTD values, the reasonable range is between -2 and +2. Any values greater than +2 suggest misfit of the items; values smaller than -2 indicate overfit of the items.

Linacre (2002) proposes the following guidelines for improving rating scale category effectiveness: normal distribution of the observations, with no less than 10 observations for each category; average measures and step calibrations advance monotonically; step difficulties advance by at least 1.4 logits, but less than 5 logits, etc.

Regarding dimensionality of a scale, if the eigenvalue of the first residual factor is greater than 2.0 or the residual factor counts for more than 10% of the total variance, the unidimensionality assumption of the Rasch model may be under suspicion (Raiche, 2005). The attempt next can be differential item functioning (DIF) analysis across subgroups of the respondents and invariance tests on person measures across subscales of the inventory. There will not be DIF values on item measures or variances on person measures, if the inventory is unidimensional, thus measuring a single latent trait.

In brief, the present study adopted a reductionist strategy for refinement and validation of the inventory. To be exact, items that did not conform to the statistical criterion were to be discarded given that "the retained data would be sufficient for measurement of the construct under investigation" (Cavanagh & Romanoski, 2006, p. 287). When multiple items are used to measure a single construct, removal of redundant items that do not fit the model is not likely to damage the content validity of an instrument (Cavanagh & Romanoski, 2006). The software package WINSTEPS 3.70.0.2 was utilized for computation (Linacre, 2009).

Results

Item fit

Exhibited in Figure 1 are person traits and item difficulties calibrated on the same measurement scale. Towards the top end are items that are harder to be endorsed and persons with higher traits; the opposite is true towards the lower end. Person measures on the left hand side range from -2.27 to 0.39, as reported in Table 1, with a large majority located between -1.30 and 0.27 logit (mean =-.55, SD=.25). On the right hand side item measures are located between -1.22 and 1.09, some items being redundant. Therefore, most respondents found Item 11 ("People who are good at mathematics or science are not good at learning a foreign language") easiest to endorse. This was not true with Item 18 ("It is important to repeat and practice a lot"), which, together with Items 1, 2, 7, and 31, hardly told the respondents apart, thus, resulting in a floor effect to a lesser extent. By and large, an overwhelming number of person measures were well aligned with the item difficulty measures. In other words, most of the items exhibited discriminating power to a certain degree.

The translated inventory produced a person reliability of 0.65 and item reliability of 0.96. The former is a "Rasch analogue" to the conventional index of internal consistence, Cronbach's alpha (Lombaerts, Backer, Engels, Braak, & Athanasou, 2009). Although not "sitting on the same bench" with CTT, the person reliability of Rasch modeling is claimed to be slightly underestimated, as against Cronbach's alpha (Cavanagh & Romanoski, 2006, p. 285). Reported together were also a person separation of 1.36, and an item separation of 4.81. The separation indices were transformed into person and item strata indices, to indicate the degree to which locations of students (person ability logits) or item difficulty logits were spread across a continuum (Wu & Chang, 2009). The person and item strata indices in this study were 2.15 and 6.77 respectively, suggesting that the inventory with all the 34 items split the persons into nearly 3 groups; and all the 192 respondents separated the items into 7 levels. As claimed by Wright and Masters (2002), to reflect real differences the person/item strata indices should be greater than 3. As a result, the sampled respondents separated the items well, if the items did not separate the respondents that well.

In terms of item fit, the infit and outfit MNSQ values of all the 34 items were well within the acceptable ranges, most of which being closely around 0. Apart from Item 15, the corresponding ZSTD values also fell into a reasonable range. Integrated with the information from the item-person map and item and person measures, the items were largely of appropriate difficulties.

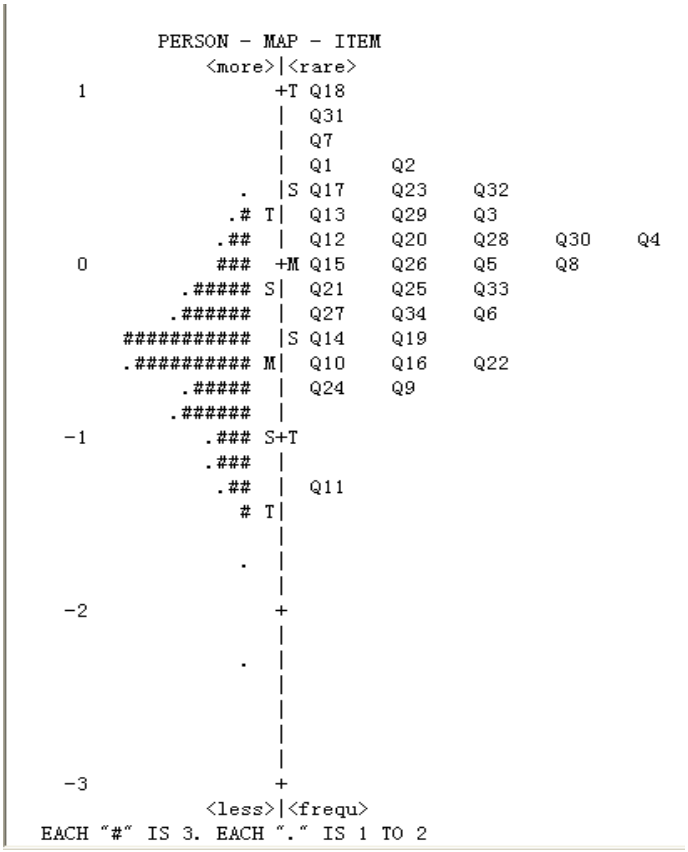

Figure 2. Item -person Map for the Chinese Version of Hortwitz's (1987) BALLI Surveying Chinese College Students' Beliefs about Learning English as a Second Language

Table 1 *Item and Model Fit Statistics and Threshold Values*

ITEM	MEASURE	ERROR	INFIT		OUTFIT		PT-MEASURE		RASCH-ANDRICH THRESHOLD MEASURE				
			MNSQ	ZSTD	MNSQ	ZSTD	COR	EXP.	1	2	3	4	5
Q1	0.54	0.1	1	0.08	1.06	0.46	0.29	0.27	0	-1.37	0.9	1.18	-0.71
Q2	0.51	0.1	1.07	0.62	1.11	0.98	0.18	0.28	0	-2.11	0.07	0.97	1.07
Q3	0.26	0.1	1.07	0.66	1.07	0.71	0.18	0.28	0	-2.47	-0.62	1.3	1.79
Q4	0.21	0.1	1.11	1.04	1.12	1.08	0.14	0.3	0	-2	-1.52	1.18	2.34
Q5	0.05	0.1	1.04	0.42	1.05	0.46	0.21	0.28	0	-2.39	-0.62	2.06	0.95
Q6	-0.28	0.12	1.01	0.13	1	0.07	0.23	0.24	0	-2.97	-1.7	1.71	2.96
Q7	0.66	0.1	0.88	-1.24	0.88	-1.28	0.46	0.28	0	-1.27	0.02	1.25	
Q8	0.04	0.1	1	0.05	1.03	0.29	0.28	0.28	0	-1.66	0.46	1.2	
Q9	-0.72	0.08	1.11	1.17	1.1	1.05	0.26	0.38	0	-1.16	-0.4	-0.28	1.84
Q10	-0.63	0.11	0.96	-0.31	0.96	-0.31	0.34	0.27	0	-2.61	-1.22	1.58	2.24
Q11	-1.22	0.09	1.16	1.51	1.14	1.3	0.09	0.32	0	-1.72	-0.96	0.41	2.26
Q12	0.14	0.08	0.89	-1.13	0.9	-1	0.48	0.35	0	-1.35	-0.43	0.78	1
Q13	0.27	0.09	0.98	-0.19	0.98	-0.17	0.34	0.31	0	-2.18	-0.96	0.74	2.4
Q14	-0.47	0.11	0.97	-0.21	0.99	-0.05	0.32	0.28	0	-1.95	0.52	1.42	
Q15	0.01	0.07	1.26	2.02	1.77	4.73	0.07	0.37	0	-0.64	0.45	1.37	-1.19
Q16	-0.59	0.1	1.06	0.55	1.06	0.54	0.2	0.29	0	-1.55	-1.88	0.83	2.6
Q17	0.42	0.11	0.9	-0.81	0.88	-0.98	0.42	0.25	0	-1.78	0.94	0.84	
Q18	1.05	0.13	0.92	-0.75	0.91	-0.84	0.4	0.23	0	-1.84	1.21	0.63	
Q19	-0.42	0.09	1.07	0.67	1.07	0.69	0.23	0.33	0	-1.76	-0.92	1.09	1.59
Q20	0.21	0.09	0.88	-1.01	0.9	-0.85	0.47	0.3	0	-2.2	0.01	1.02	1.17
Q21	-0.15	0.09	1.03	0.33	1.05	0.46	0.28	0.32	0	-2.4	0.14	0.62	1.63
Q22	-0.62	0.08	1.07	0.82	1.07	0.78	0.29	0.37	0	-1.41	-0.51	-0.03	1.95
Q23	0.44	0.09	0.91	-0.86	0.91	-0.85	0.43	0.3	0	-2.19	-0.17	0.63	1.73
Q24	-0.77	0.09	0.93	-0.81	0.93	-0.74	0.42	0.31	0	-1.68	0.47	1.21	
Q25	-0.11	0.1	1.07	0.65	1.07	0.65	0.2	0.3	0	-2.31	-0.52	1.47	1.37
Q26	0.02	0.11	1.01	0.15	1	0.06	0.24	0.26	0	-2.25	0.38	1.87	
Q27	-0.3	0.1	1.02	0.21	1.02	0.26	0.26	0.28	0	-1.86	-0.23	2.09	
Q28	0.09	0.09	1.01	0.17	1.02	0.22	0.29	0.31	0	-2.63	-0.91	0.55	2.99

Q29	0.33	0.1	0.9	-0.88	0.91	-0.84	0.44	0.27	0	-1.43	0.76	0.67	
Q30	0.18	0.09	0.92	-0.77	0.92	-0.76	0.43	0.32	0	-1.8	-0.91	1.36	1.35
Q31	0.79	0.11	0.89	-1.11	0.89	-1.15	0.43	0.27	0	-1.5	0.14	1.36	
Q32	0.42	0.09	0.91	-0.76	0.93	-0.59	0.42	0.3	0	-1.58	0.08	1.02	0.48
Q33	-0.09	0.09	0.96	-0.3	0.97	-0.28	0.38	0.33	0	-1.51	-0.89	1.62	0.78
Q34	-0.28	0.09	1.03	0.32	1.08	0.71	0.29	0.33	0	-2	-0.26	1.42	0.83

Notes.

1. Source of inventory items were from Horwitz (1987, p. 187).
2. Item reliability = 0.96; person reliability = 0.65; item separation = 4.81; person separation = 1.36.
3. person strata index = 2.15; item strata index = 6.77.
4. PT MEASURE CORR. Stands for point-biserial correlation.

Category functioning

In this five-point Likert type inventory, supposedly each item had 4 steps or thresholds, one between every two adjacent categories. As expected the level of student beliefs about language learning would increase with the threshold monotonically. In other words, it would require increasingly more belief about language learning to move from "strongly disagree" to "disagree", then to "neutral", "agree" and all the way to "strongly agree" (Wu & Chang, 2009). The thresholds should be ordered in accordance with beliefs from negative to positive and from low to high (2009). However, in the present study, not all the items produced the thresholds or category calibrations in an ordered manner. A good example was Item 1 (see Figure 3), of which category calibrations did not advance: the first threshold value between Category 1 and 2 read -1.37, while the fourth threshold estimates between Category 4 and 5 apparently jumped over other thresholds to immediately follow Category 1. Items revealing disordered categories multiplied in this inventory. Demonstrated in Table 1 are Rasch-Andrich threshold measures for all the items. Indentified with disordered categories were Items 2, 3, 5, 6, 15 16 17, 25, 29, 32,30, 33, and 34, all of which were subject to removal.

There were also items with one category collapsing into the category below it, e.g., Items 7, 8, 14, 17, 18, 29, and 31. Take Item 7 as an example, threshold estimates were -1.27, .02 and 1.25 logits, respectively. This happened because Category 5 was either structurally not observed or statistically not observed. Meanwhile Category 4 received 3 observations, assuming merely 2% of the total observations, consequently produced a skewed distribution. Take Item 12 as another example, the measurement difference between Threshold 3 and Threshold 4 was 0.22 logit, far smaller than the lower bound cutoff score, 1.4 (Linacre, 1999). This was due to the small number of observations Category 4 and 5 had received. This was the case with quite a few items in the inventory of which distribution of observations was highly screwed.

As against criteria set by Linacre (2002), if observations for each category are fewer than 10, the discrimination power of the items will be under suspicion; if step difficulties do not advance by 1.4 to 5 logits, there will either be no distinction between categories or there will be large gaps in the variable. However, there were still some well categorised items, such as Item 6, as presented by Figure 5, in which each and every category had its own modal peak, and the observed average measures and step calibrations advanced monotonically.

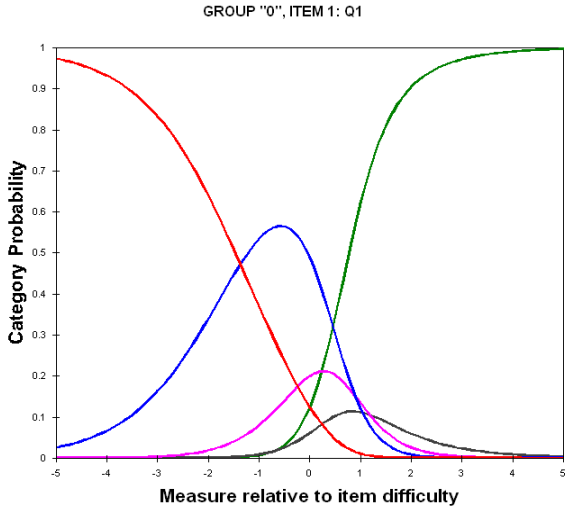

Figure 3 Category Map for Item 1

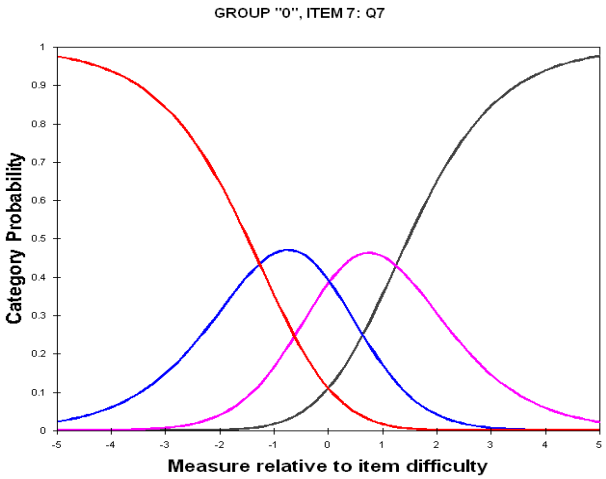

Figure 4 Category Map for Item 7

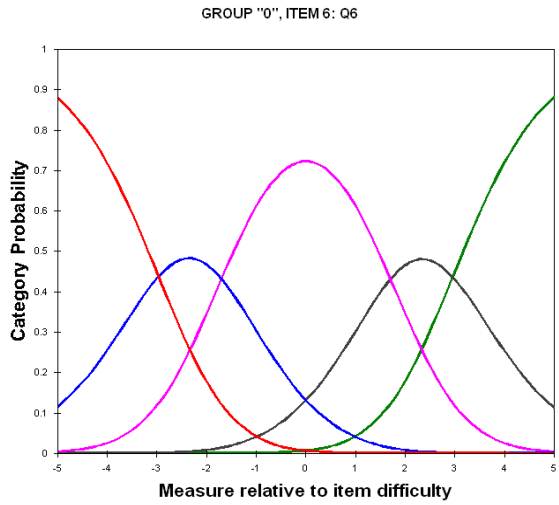

Figure 5 Category Map for Item 6

Dimensionality

Although the item fit statistics revealed that all but one item were well within acceptable ranges for the measurement of a single underlying construct, "fit statistics alone are inadequate for detecting unidimesionality" of the inventory (Wu & Chang, 2009, p. 28). Moreover items with disordered or non/infrequently observed categories might endanger the measurement accuracy. While the discriminating power was in question, the dimensionality of the inventory was also in question. The PCA of the residuals provides an alternative to assess unidimensionality, where the residual component was detected after removing the Rasch dimension (Wu & Chang, 2009). Before removal of items with poor fit or disordered categories, the raw explained variance counted for 27.7% of the total variance empirically, 4.2% by measures, and 23.5% by items. The proportion of the raw explained variance to raw unexplained variance was around 28% to 72%, indicating that there was "more noise than variance expected from the Rasch model" (Wang, 2010; Wu & Chang, 2009, p. 20). The eigenvalues of unexplained residual factor were reported as 3.6, 2.6, and 2.0 respectively, greater than 2.0, the cutoff score of residual eigenvalues. Although each of them took up less than 10% of the residual variances, and was far smaller than the variance explained by items, the principle component analysis of standardized residuals suggested "possible data departure from unidimensionality" (Wu & Chang, 2009, p. 20).

After the removal of the item with poor fit and items with disordered categories, the 20-item inventory witnessed a 2% increase of raw variance explained by measures, moving closer to the borderline indicator of a moderate measurement dimension, 30%. The eigenvalues of the raw unexpected variance shrinked. Only that of the first component reached 2.8, assuming 9.4% of the empirical residual variances. It was also "substantially larger than" the eigenvalue of the second residue component, 1.7, thereby, signifying that the unidimensionality assumption might hold (Chou & Wang, 2010, p. 718). However, it could not be concluded that, the inventory with the 20 remaining items was unidimensional. To further collect evidence of unidimensionality for the refined inventory, DIF assessment could have been conducted to find out biased items that meant differently to subgroups, should the demographic information be more heterogeneous and evenly-distributed. For example, there might be variations on gender, year level, or student major and disciplines, etc, should the sample be not homogeneous as such.

It's worth pointing out that the person reliabilities decreased to .58 when 14 items with disordered categories were dropped. Although removal of these items did not damage the content validity of the inventory, the low person reliability might be a concern.

Discussion and conclusion

This report outlined the application of Wilson's (2005) "four building blocks approach" for the validation of Hortwitz's (1987) beliefs about language learning inventory to be administered to Chinese mainland college ESL students. The scale derivation and refinement rigorously complied with this principle of constructing measures in the item response modeling approach, namely, going through the circle of "construct", "item response", "outcome space" and "measurement model" and then back again if necessary (Wilson, 2005). When the rating scale model was fitted to the data, the fundamental psychometric properties of the Chinese version inventory revealed that, all but one item had good fit, and the model fit was marginally acceptable. The PCA signified multidimensionality of the 34-item inventory, as it was originally supposed to be. With respect to category functioning, there was the need to have categories of some items collapsed and items with disordered categories removed from the item pool. When the removal of items was conducted, the person reliability of the model decreased dramatically. Nevertheless, the unidimensional expectation looked more promising in spite of the controversies over the cut points of the key indicators.

The distinctive findings of the present study may be attributed to the characteristics of the sampled learners. Nevertheless, it's beyond the scope of this study to look into the uniqueness of the set of beliefs they held. It's worthwhile to note that, although the psychometric analysis did not provide absolute evidence showing that the inventory was unidimesional, the evidence were fundamental in the process of the validation exercise. It's also worth pointing out that, the small convenience sample at the preliminary stage is "limited in nature to allow generalizations" (Littlewood, 2001, p. 9). The suggestion is a large and heterogeneous sample be collected in future study, so that different item functioning can be identified through DIF analysis in terms of student gender, year level, etc.

The recommendation is that exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis under the CTT conception be taken for reference in the validation exercise. Although CTT and the Rasch modeling differ conceptually they do not contradict. It's only based on a valid and psychometrically rigorous inventory, a large-scale investigation to explore Chinese mainland college students' belief patterns about learning English as a second language will make sense**.** The findings may also provide additional information to language instruction, curriculum development, programme planning, and so forth (Wu, 2008).

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Education and Mobility of Korean Diaspora in Sakhalin

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Abstract
Koreans in the Russian Sakhalin Island are mostly South Koreans who were conscripted to work in the resource-rich island during the Japanese colonial rule. After the surrender of Japan in 1945, Sakhalin Koreans were unable to return home due to Soviet economic interests to keep them as workers. They underwent various types of acculturation, namely separation, marginalization, assimilation, and, currently, integration. Formal schooling and public education were the main tools of the assimilation policy under the veneer of Soviet citizens' rights stipulated in the Constitutions of 1936 and 1977. This review article examines history and education of Sakhalin Koreans, and discusses the conditions of interaction between Koreans and the host society as well as with 'mainland' Russian Koreans. Key stages of education for Sakhalin Koreans are identified, which were under the education policies set by the central Soviet, Federal, and regional governments aimed at integrating Koreans into the mainstream society. Attention is also paid to language education.

Keywords: Ethnic minority education; Diaspora; Russian Koreans; Sakhalin

Introduction
Russia has two ethnic Korean communities with significant differences in history, culture, and assimilation/integration processes that set them apart, and make it difficult to talk about a single, homogeneous Russian Korean community. Today, about 90 % of Russian Koreans live in the former Soviet Republics of Central Asia, primarily in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. They are descendants of some 170,000 Koreans of the Primore region (Primorskii krai) who moved from the northern provinces of the Korean Peninsula, the Hamgyong Province in particular, to Primore in the late 19th and early 20th century (Gelb, 1995), and were deported by Stalin to Central Asia in 1937. The other 10% of Russian Koreans currently reside in the Sakhalin Island of the Russian Federation.

As an early collaborative case study research project, this review article draws on the literature, statistical information, and archival documents on the Korean diaspora in Sakhalin and their education. 'Times' or historical perspective is chosen as the unit of analysis of comparative education (Bray, Adamson, & Mason, 2014). Among the prevailing forms of histories of education expounded by Anthony Sweeting, this paper uses the 'Social Histories,' which is perhaps one of the most beneficial perspectives for comparative education researchers and can 'illuminate cultural and other contextual matters and especially in the planning and processing of their research' (Sweeting, 2014, 174-175).

As a methodology of comparative education, a historiography like the present one is a synthetic review as distinct from the prevailing analytical approach with hypothetico-deductive methods and positivistic outlooks. Historiography is a methodology of its own standing. Furthermore, not only the field history of education overlaps with comparative education but all historiographical works such as interpretation and re-interpretation of events and contexts are essentially comparative (Sweeting, 2014).

It should be noted that a historiography needs to deal with sociological or political concepts that are contingent in time yet determine the notional categories with which researchers look at the reality, such as the concepts of class and identity. In fact, their reinterpretation is an essential task for researchers. For example, the term 'nationality' used throughout this article means ethnic minority in the political and academic lexicon in the Soviet and even post-Soviet era. Nationality assigns to minority people static socio-historical traits. The term Korean nationality, for example, implies that Russian Koreans are peninsular Koreans at the core, and this fact cannot be changed or overridden in spite of many generations of birth and residence in Russian territories. Stalin's definition of nationality articulates what has been known since the late imperial Russia: 'historically constituted, stable community of people formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture' (Stalin, 2003[1935], 9-10).

Thus, since the imposition of the internal passport system in the 1930s until the fall of the Soviet Union, an individual inherited his or her parents' nationality as specified in the birth certificate. A person's ethnic affiliation was recorded in the passport and noted in all identifying documents and was taken into consideration when applying to a university, for employment, for promotion, or for emigration (Khazanov, 1995, 16). Since only this 'primordial' identity was socially and economically recognized within the Russian society, it was taken into consideration when making friends, finding spouses, applying for employment, and so on.

In the literature of social science and history, with geopolitics as the dominant focus, the ethnic Koreans in Central Asia have been more extensively reported than those in the Sakhalin Island. Ad hoc research on education in either community has seldom been done separately if at all. This article is an attempt to fill up that gap by reviewing how the Koreans have regarded education along with their own Confucian heritage cultural identity and practices (Park, 2011) as a means to belong to the mainstream society, obtain job-related skills, and pursue social mobility.

Paradox of Nationality without Citizenship

Russian Koreans on the Sakhalin Isle could rightly be called Sakhalin Koreans. According to the 2010 Census, they constitute the largest ethnic minority in Sakhalin, and represent about 9 % of the total population in the capital city of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk (Gradoteka, 2015).

Having won the Russian-Japanese War, the Japan came into possession of the southern half of the Sakhalin in 1905. Initially, Korean immigration was voluntary but something similar to the Indentured Labor of the 19th century (Park, 2013), that is, attracted by better wages. In the 1930s, Sakhalin Island witnessed the arrival of bigger number of Koreans: "The island had large coal deposits and abundant fisheries as well as large forests, so it was of considerable value to the resource-poor Japanese empire. Developmental projects, however, needed cheap labor—labor that was found in Korea, then a colony of Japan" (Lankov, 2010, 8). Then, due to the Japanese Pacific War efforts in the early 1940s, Korean laborers were conscripted to

work in the Island under duress, as a part of the forced labor mobilization. According to Yulia Din's archival research in the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (Sotsialno-politicheskoy Istorii Rossiyskiy Gosudarstvennyy Arkhiv, RGASPI), by 1945, there were some 23,000 Koreans on the island representing about 5-6 % of the total population of Southern Sakhalin, then the 'Japanese Sakhalin' of Karafuto (Din, 2015).

Japanese colonial rule brought deprivation of culture and language to the Koreans in colonial territories. Any public usage Korean language was prohibited, and a harsh policy of assimilation was imposed. The colonial education was not only devoid of the use of the Korean language but it was also utilized to enforce colonial policies: "The [Japanese] Government-General enacted laws legalizing racial discrimination against the Koreans, making them second-class citizens. Education served as a means of justifying such racism" (Kim, 2012, 323). Koreans in the southern Sakhalin (Karafuto) were also subjected to deprivation of their native language to the extent of being forced to change their names into Japanese and the work supervisors discriminating among the miners according to their fluency in the Japanese language (Yi, 2004).

When Sakhalin became a Russian territory in 1945, the Sakhalin Koreans found themselves locked up on the Island. Political circumstances prevented them from returning to their homeland, now divided into North and South Korea. Initially, the Soviet Government planned to repatriate Koreans back to their native land (Din, 2014, 2015), but the plan was repeatedly postponed because of the potential manpower shortage. In all local industries such as coal mining, fishing, and logging, a large part of skilled and semi-skilled labor was provided by the Koreans who adapted relatively well to the local climate and conditions (Lankov, 2010). They were seen as the ideal labor. Andrei Lankov further says that Sakhalin Koreans were explicitly forbidden to leave the island by the Soviet establishment (2012). It is possible to argue that Sakhalin Koreans' adaptability-skill was both a blessing and a curse.

After the return of Sakhalin to Russia in August 1945, and with no more nominal Japanese imperial subjectivity (Kim, 2012), the Sakhalin Koreans found themselves caught between the Soviet concept of nationalities and a lack of official citizenship on papers. In addition, the Korean Peninsula they had left was now divided by the Parallel 38 line into the North and South, and on the brink of a civil war. On the other hand, there was no political will of the Soviet Government to repatriate the readily available blue-collar manpower. While this situation was dragging on for years, "Russia refused to grant them citizenship because Russia had no diplomatic relationship with South Korea. These denationalized people experienced discrimination in residence, education, and jobs and wanted to return to South Korea" (Yoon, 2000, 43).

It is important to point out that most of the Sakhalin Koreans were originally from Southern part of the peninsular Korea, that is, geographically and not as an independent South Korean state. The rationale for no repatriation was that the change in the global political situation made it untenable: "With the onset of the Cold War, it became politically impossible for the Soviet Union to allow a large scale relocation of Koreans back to South Korea" (Lankov, 2012). Indeed, repatriation of Sakhalin Koreans to South Korea occurred only after 1986 when the Soviet Union was preoccupied with the inner reformation, namely Glasnost and Perestroika.

The lack of citizenship must have been a great source of hardship and identity crisis. Sakhalin Koreans were officially considered foreigners and, ironically, without a citizenship. A case in

point would be Sakhalin Koreans' marriages with the Soviet citizens. It was explicitly forbidden by the 1947 decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council, 'On the prohibition of marriages between Soviet citizens and foreigners,' which was in force until 1969.

Assimilation versus Repatriation

The first generation Sakhalin Koreans were poorly educated and had no command over the Russian language. In addition, they were deprived of opportunities to learn or socially interact with locals. Without citizenship, they were denied jobs with prestige or any white-collar public posts such as becoming civil servants and teachers. In the 1950s, most Koreans were unskilled workers who made a living at fisheries and mining fields; they didn't or couldn't aspire to upward social mobility, and seldom left their villages. These sustained adversities and uncertainties kept them dreaming of repatriation to their native country (Din, 2015).

Soon after the handover from Japan to the Soviet authorities, the latter felt insecure about the presence of numerous Koreans. To manage and control the Koreans, Soviet authorities needed intermediaries, interpreters, and educators, for example, Russian managers needed bilingual translators, educators, and journalists to communicate with Korean workers. Qualified Russian Koreans were far away in Central Asia where the Korean population was much more Russified culturally and even politically (Chang & Park, 2013; Fuchs, 2004). Hence, the Government selected some 2,000 politically reliable Koreans in Central Asia and sent them to work in Sakhalin as teachers, journalists, translators, and clerks (Lankov, 2009). The Central Asian Soviet Koreans became interpreters and translators between Russian-speaking managers and Sakhalin Korean workers. Some of them became school principals and teachers. Sakhalin Koreans regarded them as 'privileged continental Koreans' or 'agents of authority'. Relations between these two groups remained tense.

Din (2015) offers archival proofs to argue that the manpower shortage was the first and foremost reason for postponements of repatriation in 1947, 1948, and 1950. The repatriation of the Sakhalin Koreans suffered further delays due to the Korean Civil War (1950-1953) and in its aftermath—the politics of the Cold War. In 1953, the Soviet authorities finally announced that Sakhalin Koreans were allowed to adopt Soviet citizenship if they freely wished to do so. However, few Sakhalin Koreans accepted the offer, arguably because of the emotional value of the motherland. The fact is that there were about 30,000 Koreans on the island in 1956, and, of them, 21,251 were without any citizenship (Lankov, 2009).

From the 1960s onwards, the signs of assimilation were more visible in the island community. From the mid-1960s, the Korean community changed significantly when they started to leave Korean enclaves in rural areas to acquire education and jobs in the cities. It is in this sense that urbanization and assimilation are two sides of the same coin (Khazanov, 1995, 38).

In the interpretation of the Soviet National Census of 1970 by George and Herta Ginsburgs, the Koreans of Sakhalinskaya oblast (Sakhalin region) are regarded as the pièce de résistance compared with other Russian Korean communities (1977). According to this Census, there were 35,396 Sakhalin Koreans, representing 54% of the Korean population in the Russian Far East and 35% of the all Koreans living in the Soviet Union. Koreans represented 5.7% of the enitire population in the Sakhalinskaya oblast, and 84% of them were urban dwellers.

During this period, the Koreans were assimilated in the matters of language, lifestyle, and economic activities of the host society such as Russian-style naming and the use of the Russian language at schools. Gradually, the Koreans became hardly distinguishable from the

local Russians in language use, lifestyle, social relation, and residential choice, but they still maintained strong ethnic preferences in marriage, diet, and rituals.

Arguably, the 'Korean-ness' qua perceived Korean self-identity is relatively weaker among Sakhalin Koreans in objective and behavioral aspects, such as interpersonal relations, than more fiercely defended emotional and psychological aspects, such as native language and ethnic heritage culture. Sakhalin Koreans usually live in extended families where traditions are transmitted from generation to generation, and follow cultural practices such as removing shoes, bowing to elders, being reserved around elders, and dining etiquette (Yoon, 2000). Preserving the ethnic language and culture has become less important than gaining access to resources available in the mainstream society and advancing one's socioeconomic status. These findings echo research on the Korean minorities in Mainland China (Gao & Park, 2012; Gao, Park, Ki, & Tsung, 2011).

The collapse of the Soviet Union was accompanied by further development in the Sakhalin Koreans' cultural and political assimilation. As the post-Soviet social transformation made the old restrictions void, it generated among the Sakhalin Koreans a renewed desire to reunite with lost family members, learn the native language, and boost the sense of belonging to an ethnic culture. Not without paradox, an even larger number of Sakhalin Koreans opted for Russian citizenship, which increased migration to the Russian mainland facilitated by the loosening of internal migration controls as well as increased diversification in the roles of Sakhalin Koreans in the local economy. Korean cultural associations, language lessons, national dance clubs, and other analogous organizations began to flourish in this new environ.

For the Korean community, the Soviet political reforms of the 1980s signaled the opening of the path to South Korea. However, the real and mass repatriation became possible only after a diplomatic breakthrough of a tripartite agreement over reunification of divided families between Russian Federation, South Korea, and Japan in 1992 (Din, 2015, 186). Since then, Sakhalin Koreans have managed to integrate into South Korean society with opportunities to reside and work there. In the late 1990s, persistent effort of the Korean activists and their friends, Japan, South Korea, and other countries jointly funded the construction of a special apartment complex near Incheon. This apartment complex is for elder Koreans who wish to come back to Korea; there are about 2,300 elderly Sakhalin Koreans.

By then Sakhalin Koreans were seen as postal employees, bureaucrats, and even customs and immigration officers. Not only did they hold positions in the civil administration, but they became successful in business and in the attainment of higher education. Thus, some returnees to South Korea came back to Sakhalin because, by that time, the Korean population was rather prosperous and well integrated.

The post-Soviet period for the Sakhalin Korean community indicates a score of complex changes and developments in the nature of Sakhalin Koreans' engagement with their Korean identity and diaspora. After the period of Perestroika, the Russian Government increased communication with South Korea, and began to allow the Sakhalin Koreans greater freedom in terms of cultural expressions, occupation, and residency. Since 1989, there has been a remarkable upheaval of interest and pride in issues related to ethnic identity across all nationalities of the former USSR.

The rapid development of economic and cultural relations between Russia and the Republic of Korea, and the related assistance programs organized by the the Russian Government

changed the attitude of the Sakhalin Koreans towards their own unique identity. The latter was no longer absolutely dependent on the ancestral race or geographical location because Sakhalin Island had become an inextricable part of their unique tradition and narrative.

Rise and Fall of Korean Schools

In articulating Japanese colonial realpolitik of categorizing colonial subjects pinning down the similarities and differences with fully-Japanese subjects, Morris-Suzuki argued that Japanese colonial subjects of Korea were regarded as Japanese citizens only nominally and on the international stage. Koreans were listed in the 'external family registers' (gaichi kaseki), and they generally educated separately from the Japanese settlers of Karafuto. It was 'generally' because at a later stage, Korean children will be sent to Japanese schools where they will be taught to speak Japanese with Japanese as the medium of instruction in 'immersion' style. In other words, there was a move from the politics of separation to active assimilation. Tessa Morris-Suzuki is right in cautioning against 'defining colonial policy simply as 'assimilationist' or simply as 'discriminatory' (1998, 159), and she does so not because such strategies were not used but, rather, they were among other strategies.

The education system in Sakhalin during the Japanese occupation had different forms. First, there was a segregated education system for the Ainu aboriginal children until early 1930s, which lasted, at least, until 1932 when the colonial government granted full Japanese citizenship to only Ainu people (Morris-Suzuki, 1998). Second, there was an official education policy for the entire colony, which emphasized the fostering of [Japanese imperial] patriotism, productive skills, cooperation, and diligence. Learning consisted of speaking the Japanese language (writing was often discouraged), moral education, arithmetic, art, and large periods devoted to practical handicrafts (Morris-Suzuki, 1998). Lesson stories from Shinto mythology and the heroic deeds of Japanese military, in short, the post-Meiji nationalism were taught across curriculum (See interesting discussion on the Shinto mythology's role in Japanese nationalist movements in the cited work of Morris-Suzuki).

The Japanese authorities imposed on the Korean population a forced assimilation policy in and through education. There were no Koreans among teachers because they were none in the teachers' College following the Governor's order (Din, 2014, 177). In essence, there was no further education for Koreans.

In the post-war period, when southern Sakhalin became a Russian territory, a new political and state system started dictating the conditions of life. One of the most important tasks for the Soviet authorities was to give to the Japanese and Korean populations the basics of Soviet education and to educate them in ideology and politics. Up until 1945, many Koreans were illiterate. In 1958, it was revealed that there were 6,106 illiterates on the island – a majority of them Korean. 70% of these were women. Teachers and party activists were recruited to teach adults, and a special tutorial in the Korean language had been prepared for this purpose (Din, 2014).

The first action countering this problem was opening Korean schools on the belief that, perhaps, Korean schools would educate Koreans as Soviet citizens and inculcate in them Soviet ideas and values. Therefore, the teachers were required to have special political training. It was expected that Korean schools would support the ethnic culture of the Korean people. The actual transition from the Japanese to the Soviet education system began in January 1947 upon the completion of the repatriation of Japanese population. Japanese schools were abolished and Korean schools were established instead. The number of Korean

schools reached its peak in 1950. According to the Regional Committee of the Communist Party documents kept in the State Historical Archive of Sakhalin Region, there were 87 schools in 1950 (50 primary schools and 37 seven-year junior high schools; the number of students was 7,000) (Din, 2014, 180). A second source from the work of Kostanov and Podlubnaya (1994) marks it at 72 (Table 1).

The problem of the teaching staff remained serious throughout this process. At first the graduates of the Japanese schools had taught in Korean schools for many years, but they were not familiar with the Soviet system of education and they did not have recognized qualifications. To replace a large part of these teachers together with the expanding network of Korean schools, the Regional Party Committee invited Soviet Koreans of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan (Kostanov & Podlubnaya, 1994). Thus a Korean Department in the Teachers College of Poronaisk in 1952 was established to prepare teachers for the Korean schools (Lim, 2012, 189).

Table 1 Korean schools in the Sakhalin Region 1945 – 1963

	1945	1946	1947	1949	1950	1955	1958	1963
primary schools	27	28	28	55	57	32	17	10
junior high schools	-	8	11	13	15	22	13	11
high schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	11
total number of schools	27	36	39	68	72	54	41	32
total number of students	2300	3000	3137	4692	5308	5950	7214	7239

Adapted from Din (2014) ; Kostanov and Podlubnaya (1994).

The Korean language as a medium of instruction could have had an overall positive effect, at least psychologically if not pedagogically. The local Soviet authorities were seen making significant efforts to provide the Korean schools with textbooks and teaching materials in the Korean language, which had to be either translated from Russian or written from scratch. From 1946-1948, a number of textbooks, for example, Arithmetic (grade 4 and 5), Botany (grade 5 and 6), Native Language (grades1 and 2), Geography (grade 4) were translated into Korean (Kostanov & Podlubnaya, 1994; Lim, 2012, 189).

However, the referred post-war euphoria of instruction in Korean was doomed. By 1962-1963, many of them had been outdated and did not meet the program requirements. Hence, students from 4th grade and older mainly used Russian textbooks. Textbooks for high school students were not translated into Korean (Kostanov & Podlubnaya, 1994). From the outset, this apparently localized 'liberal language policy' in Sakhalin was at odds with Stalin's national language policy reversing Linin's. Drawing on the case of the Kazakhstan, Yoon argued (2000, 44):

> *Following the Decree of March 1938, Russian was made a compulsory subject in all non-Russian schools and Lenin's idea of equality of all languages was officially dropped…all Korean schools were closed. In December of 1939, the Soviet government also ratified the acts 'Concerning Korean Literature' and 'Concerning the Removal of Literature in the Korean Language from Book Stores and Libraries.' As a result, the State Committee for the Preservation of Secrets in Print confiscated and destroyed thousands of Korean books, including those Koreans had brought with them. According to available statistics, 120,000 textbooks were destroyed, including 17,000 textbooks for the study of Korean language. After World War II, Russian language was openly proclaimed as 'the language of high culture' and 'treasure source for other languages' as well as 'the language of socialism'.*

It comes to no surprise, therefore, that the Russian language was taught to the students in the Korean schools of Sakhalin for 12 hours every week in grades 1-3, and 2 to 3 hours a day to grades 7-8. Even leisure and extracurricular activities such as school theater plays were loaded with ideological content in the repertoire (Kostanov & Podlubnaya, 1994).

It should be noted that Stalin's language policy as well as the policy of assimilation in general were implemented through schooling and public education, and continued even after his death in 1953. 'From Khrushchev to Brezhnev and to Andropov, the Soviet Government continued to make efforts to achieve the goal of the Russification of nationality groups. Brezhnev, for example, campaigned for the fusion of all peoples into a single unit (Soviet People, Sovetskii narod in Russian), and was determined to speed up the process of linguistic assimilation' (Yoon, 2000, 44).

The fast assimilation of the Sakhalin Koreans in the 1960s and 1970s discussed earlier in this paper has a strong correlation with the Soviet Union-wide educational system and policy on nationalities. It could be argued that a substantive part of assimilation and even perhaps Russification occurred quietly in the very Sakhalin Korean classrooms. It also must be said that Stalin's realpolitik regarding the issues being discussed here completely dismissed the Constitution. For example, the 1933 Soviet Constitution guaranteed the right to education ahead of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and also stipulated that 'instruction in schools being conducted in the native language' (Supreme Soviet of the USSR, 1936, Article 121).

Although the Korean schools were fully supported by the government, they still experienced problems of placement in the dilapidated infrastructure of old Japanese schools. In 1958, the Soviet Ministry of Education conducted an inspection of the Korean schools. Many problems were identified, such as lack of proper curricula, textbooks, and other teaching aids and facilities. The academic performance of students was 80% on average, and it was reported that every six students, one dropped out of school (Kuzin, 2011, 253).

Regardless of the possible causes, one of the most serious problems for Sakhalin Koreans' social mobility was poor knowledge of the Russian language and the subsequent failure of the Korean youth to obtain professional education and a career. Korean middle school graduates had problems with advanced education, which called for further Russian-language learning to increase chances to access Russian-speaking environments. Until 1956, it was impossible for the Sakhalin Koreans to get into higher education institutions because they were 'stateless'. From 1956 onwards, they were allowed to enter a local pedagogical college but could take no managerial level jobs.

By the end of the 1950s and early 1960s the situation began to change. Korean children constantly interacted with Russians and quickly mastered the Russian language. Many of them transferred to Russian schools and the number of Korean children in Russian schools increased steadily. In most cases, the parents themselves preferred to transfer their children to Russian schools. In the academic school year of 1962/3, 75% of the Korean students with Soviet citizenship studied in Russian schools (Lim, 2012, 189).

In the early 1960s, the Regional Communist Party Committee and education authorities were scrutinizing the situation of the Korean schools in Sakhalin. The following predicaments were found (Kostanov & Podlubnaya, 1994):

1) Insufficient number of textbooks and teaching aids and inadequate school facilities;

2) A lower level of knowledge among Korean schools students, especially in the Russian language and literature, not allowing them to pass the entrance exams successfully and continue their education in colleges and universities; and
3) Higher motivation of Koreans parents to educate their children in Russian schools as Russian-language education was necessary to increase chances to succeed in a Russian-speaking environment.

Based on the foregoing, the Regional Board of Education consulted the Ministry of Education of the Soviet Union in 1962. The Ministry recommended to resolve this problem locally. As a result of the decision taken by the Sakhalin Region Executive Committee on 13 May 1963, a major change took place. The language of instruction was changed into Russian, and the Korean language was not taught anymore as a subject. Two Korean schools for working adults (Schools for Working Youth – shkola rabochei molodyozhi) were annexed to Russian schools (Din, 2014) (Table 1 shows the number of schools in the year of the closure of all Korean schools). In some cases, the process was gradual; some Korean schools continued to operate after 1963 to cater for the children of North Korean families who studied there until they returned to their homeland.[1]

This step has often been described as an attempt of forced Russification as the Sakhalin Koreans were deprived of the opportunity of studying the Korean language for a long time. But witnesses insist that the driving force behind the switch to the Russian-language education were the Koreans themselves. In our view, such an opinion deserves at least some credit because the number of Korean schools has been declining since the early 1950s (Table 1). It is likely that the Korean parents chose for their children a realistic schooling path leading to them becoming engineers, doctors, and professors. In addition, the absence of the diplomatic relations between the USSR and the Republic of Korea probably made them feel that returning to their homeland is rather unlikely any time soon. We assume that perhaps rational and pragmatic decisions prevailed over the emotional motives for education in the native language. It was no lesser a process of assimilation.

Language and Media

From 1963 to the 1970s, there was no Korean school but rather a mixed medium of instruction system. In the cities, the Korean language was not taught because there was not enough demand for it. Because of its importance in Russian and Soviet society, Korean parents sent their children to study in schools with Russian as the medium of instruction (Lee, 2011, 54). As argued ealier, this was a period of assimilation into the Soviet community and culture; the younger generations were increasingly at ease with the Russian culture and did not care much about being proficient in the Korean language.

Language is generally regarded as the most significant symbol of ethnicity and, consequently, linguistic assimilation is considered to be a reliable indicator of ethnic assimilation (Holmes, 2008). Since cultural values and identity are transmitted from generation to generation, the degree to which younger generations can speak their mother tongue is an indicator of the likelihood of the inter-generational continuity of ethnic culture and identity (Yoon, 2000). By 1990, some two-thirds of Sakhalin Koreans had limited or no knowledge of their ancestors' language, but somehow the Korean cultural heritage survived in the island.

Having realized the challenging task to educate the Korean population, the Soviet authorities made significant progress. The opening of Korean schools for people of all ages has led to the elimination of illiteracy. The national policy of the USSR stemmed from the fact that the

Korean people learned their native language. As a result, in 1959, 93.8% of all Koreans called Korean their mother tongue, and Russian, 6%. In the same breath, 59.4% of the Korean population mentioned Russian as a second language. However, by the time of Perestroika, 63.2% of the Koreans named Russian as their native language, but according to the 2002 Census, Russian was considered a native language by 99.3% Koreans, and merely 0.7% regarded Korean as their native language (Din, 2014, 195).

Therefore, during the period of Perestroika in the 1980s, both the Russians and Koreans saw with uneasiness the decline in Korean Language proficiency. The process of restoring Korean schools in Sakhalin began with the resumption of teaching in the Korean language. This became possible only after 1985, as a result of radical socio-economic and political reforms in Russia outlining changes within and without the sphere of international relations. State policy towards ethnic groups changed and became, in a way, more democratic.

In 1987, the Korean language newspaper 'The Leninist Path' began to receive letters from young Sakhalin Koreans who asked to open schools, start courses, and introduce other forms of learning the Korean language. In March 1988, a special group was organized to produce Korean textbooks. This group involved people who knew Korean and could still speak the language: Sin Dyun Mo (the editor of local Korean newspaper), Kim Hwa Soon (a director of Korean broadcasting department), Pak Dyan Ne (a journalist), Kim Soo Man (Korean Broadcasting journalist), amongst others (Pak, 2007).

In 1988, an elective course of the Korean language was introduced in the Secondary School No. 9 with the support of Korean public activists. Similar elective courses were introduced in secondary schools of other Sakhalin towns and villages. Later, a training course – 'The Korean Language' – was implemented in the secondary school curricula, and aroused great interest among the Korean population. In 1989, the first NGO 'Society of separated families of Sakhalin region' was registered. Meanwhile and throughout the USSR, Russian Koreans' access to higher education was above Russian average (Table 2).

Table 2 *Level of Education by nationalities in the USSR*

Nationality	Total Number with Higher Education
Jewish*	561
Korean**	249
Georgian	195
Armenian	163
Kalmyk*	145
Yakut*	144
Russian	138
Kazakh	119
Azerbaijanian	116
Ukrainian	108
Belarusian	107
Uzbek	90
Tatar*	92
Tadjik	79
Chuvash*	74

Census of 1989 (per 1000) Adapted from Viktor Krieger (2006, 260).
* Data extrapolated to the particular nationality's population throughout the entire USSR.
** Data from Kazakhstan and extrapolated to entire Korean population in the USSR. The Korean population of Kazakhstan was 103,100 in 1989.

The Association of Sakhalin Koreans was established in a conference organized by Korean diaspora representatives in 1990. In the following year, the Federal Government accepted the plan of stabilization and development of the education system, which created additional conditions to study native languages, including Korean. Many young Koreans began to study their ancestors' language as several schools started teaching Korean as a second language. The Korean language was introduced in the curricula of 12 schools in the Sakhalin region in 1991. A year later, a secondary school offering intensive Asian language studies and cultural studies in the capital Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk received the once abandoned status of 'Korean School.' In this school, the Korean language is obligatory from Year 2.

Today, the Korean language is taught in nine secondary schools in different modalities such as a compulsory second foreign language course and an elective course. The total number of students studying Korean is about 1,000 and increasing every year (Lim, 2012, 191). However, the process of teaching the Korean language experienced a number of difficulties. There were very little professional educators with appropriate philological education among Korean language teachers. In order to tackle this problem, the Teachers Training Institute of Sakhalin organized special courses with instructors invited from North Korea as mentors in 1988.

The Korean language and other related subjects began to be taught in higher education institutions of the Sakhalin region. In 1988, the Faculty of History of the Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk State Pedagogical Institute (now the Sakhalin State University) began training students majoring in History and Korean Language (Bok, 1993). The History Department of the same university was transformed into an independent Department of Asian Languages which was headed by Professor Bok Zi Kou. Later in December 1991, the Institute of Economics and Asian Studies was founded where teachers of the Korean language and experts in the field of literature and the Korean economy are trained. Currently, the Sakhalin State University offers bachelor degrees in the following fields: Korean Language Teacher, Korean Language and Literature, and Korean Economy.

South Korean exchange students constitute the largest international student population at the Sakhalin State University, interacting with Sakhalin Korean communities and facilitating cultural and economic exchange. Local students' interest in mastering the Korean language has increased tremendously and, conversely, some Sakhalin Korean students also study at South Korean universities.

At the initiative of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea, together with regional and City Board of Education of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, the Center for Education of the Republic of Korea was established in December 1993. The main objectives of its activities are (Lim, 2012, 192):

- the organization of an educational institution of general education on the basis of the educational programs of the Republic of Korea;
- training and retraining of teachers of the Korean language;
- acquaintance of Sakhalin population with history and culture of the Republic of Korea;
- holding permanent training seminars for Korean speakers;
- maintaining the connection between schools with Korean language classes and educational institutions of the Republic of Korea; and
- organizing training courses for the students of pedagogical college and pedagogical institute.

The Korean Cultural Center (Koreisky kulturnyi Tsentr) was opened in 2006 and it organizes classes of Korean national music, dances, sport, and games. The Center supports studies of the Korean language, culture, and history, catering to students who are planning to continue their education in South Korea. Both the Center for Education and the Korean Cultural Center have become an important bridge between Sakhalin Koreans and their historical homeland, their ethnic culture, language, and history.

More public organizations and NGOs for Sakhalin Koreans were organized in and around 2010. They play a significant role in the revival of the native language and culture. The current third generation of Sakhalin Koreans congregate somewhere near the Korean Cultural Center in smaller groups, often formed by membership and affiliation to organizations such as a church. South Korean Christian missionaries built about 10 protestant churches in the southern Sakhalin creating a space for the third generation Sakhalin Koreans. About 20-25 % of them attend these churches. In 1993, a private religious institution Sam Yuk was founded with the support of South Korean pastors. The institute trains local interpreters to assist South Korean pastors.

Regarding the media and communication, the Sakhalin Korean community owns a newspaper. The 'New Korean newspaper' (Se Koryo Sinmun) in the Korean language has been in circulation for more than 60 years. Its name was 'Korean Worker' between 1949 and 1961, and the 'The Leninist Path' between 1961 and 1991. The newspaper's circulation currently stands at 1,500. The number of readers has been dwindling due to the attrition and/or outflow of the older generation of Koreans on the repatriation program to South Korea.

In 2004, the state T.V. and radio channel established a broadcasting group to conduct programs in the Korean language. The Korean language broadcasts had existed in Sakhalin since 1956, but it had been created to promote the Communist ideology. From Perestroika onwards, the main focus of the Korean radio has changed to the problems of Sakhalin Koreans, such as the restoration of spiritual and cultural ties with their historic homeland, reunion of separated families, and the revival of language and traditions. However, due to financial difficulties, television broadcasting in the Korean language was suspended only to resume on August 15, 2004. The Korean channel broadcasts, in both Russian and Korean, news, talk shows, and documentaries about the history and culture of Korea.

Thus, the existing formal and informal education influence the ethnic and cultural revival of the young Sakhalin Koreans despite the fact that many have already lost their native language and cultural traditions.

Discussion

Unlike the Soviet Korean rice farmers in Central Asia who were mass-deported from the Primore region of the Russian Far East by Stalin in 1937, the Sakhalin Koreans in the southern Korean peninsula arrived on the island as colonial subjects of Japan, which was in dire need of manpower to exploit the natural resources of Karafuto or the southern Sakhalin island. This paper made a critical review of the history, social context, education, and language of the Sakhalin Koreans.

Our findings indicate that Sakhalin Koreans underwent different types and periods of acculturation (Berry, 2003). Under the Japanese colonial rule, Sakhalin Koreans were first marginalized, separated, and then assimilated via Japanese post-Meiji colonial education.

After the handover to the Soviet Union in 1945, Sakhalin Koreans were denied of repatriation (while Japanese subjects were) and retained sine die on the island as labor force, 'not as humans but working limbs', to borrow from critical Latin-Americanist Jose Carlos Mariátegui (2008 [1928]). Sakhalin Koreans were neither Japanese colonial subjects nor Russians, and they were in a limbo between the Cold War politics and integration/assimilation to the local society.

Education received by the Sakhalin Korean children was merely at the service of Soviet efforts of indigenization or 'enrooting' (Koretnizatziia), which was arguably a politically correct and distilled form of assimilation called 'Russification' that can be traced back to Imperial Russia. Russification was overt in the Tsarist education system. The 1936 Constitution of the USSR, under which the language education policy in Sakhalin was implemented, also guaranteed racial equality and education in the native language (Supreme Soviet of the USSR, 1936, Art. 121). However, rather tragically, such rights were largely denied to the Soviet Korean students. When Sakhalin Korean children were allowed to use their native language, they were segregated; when asked to use the Russian language in formal schooling, they were being quietly assimilated.

The 1977 Constitution of the USSR also guaranteed racial equality and education in the native language. Nigel Grant pointed out that, in practice, the intermediate to small size ethnic minorities did not enjoy these rights (1979, 18-19). Therefore, it could be argued that under the veneer of the constitutional rights (both in 1936 and 1977), the Soviet 'liberal language policy' in Sakhalin was mostly a lip service. From 1938 to 1982, that is, from Stalin to Brezhnev, a policy of assimilation was imposed on them and quite effectively so.

The situation of the third generation Sakhalin Koreans has changed and is changing. They show a growing interest in knowing more about their roots. Were they to encounter their cultural, linguistic, and educational past and future, they would with a mix of light and darkness.

Notes

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Faculty Involvement in Research Activities at Cambodian Public Higher Education Institutions: Trends, Patterns and Key Characteristics

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Abstract

The conceptual foundation underpinning this present study lies in the conclusions of previous empirical works that define research activities in higher education sector of developing countries to be of small quantity, of low quality, lacking of needed supports and infrastructure, and lacking of research-capable human resources. Through the lenses of this conceptual supposition, this article aims to describe research settings at Cambodian universities in an explicit and comprehensive account. The study has two-fold specific objectives: to examine the current trends and key characteristics of research undertakings at Cambodian universities and to observe the pattern differences on the level of involvement in research activities with respect to certain faculty's background variables. Descriptive statistics and some non-parametric statistical tests were employed to analyze survey data from 299 faculty members of five reportedly research-engaged public universities in Cambodia. Findings revealed a very inactive tendency of Cambodian faculty to involve in all observed research activities, especially (and worryingly) in the sphere of research production. Also, it was detected that the level of involvement in research activities was significantly lower among faculty working at province-based universities, part-time faculty and those with low research preference. These findings point to some practical consideration for the future sustainable development of academic research atmosphere of Cambodian higher education.

Keywords: Cambodian higher education, research capacity, research culture, academic profession

Research Background

Many economically and socially positive significances generated by scientific and academic research have become apparent in our knowledge-based society. High values have thus been given to capacity to produce, diffuse and exploit new, cutting-edge knowledge through research and development (e.g. Sanyal & Varghese, 2006). When it comes to research and development capacity, Sanyal and Varghese and other previous researchers raised a very critical issue, arguing that the knowledge divide between developed and developing nations is huge and 'heavily tilted' in favor of the developed ones.

In the last few decades, however, the landscape has changed to a certain degree. Attempts to build research capacity and culture at higher education level has gained momentum in developing and emerging economies (Hazelkorn, 2008; Mok, 2015). Suarez and Lacanilao (2010) and Vinluan (2012) maintained that scientific research productivity has improved gradually in some Asian countries, such as Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Joint research collaborations among countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and initiatives to create – say, ASEAN Citation Index (see Chang et al., 2009; Sombatsompop et al., 2012) at the regional level – are well exemplary cases that

reflect the incremental research endeavors in developing nations. A statement from Vessuri and Teichler in their 2008-published edited work (on the back cover) may well and succinctly summarize the current values and trends of academic research at higher education level:

> *Today, unprecedented emphasis is being placed on research as key motor for advancing the knowledge society and its offspring, the knowledge economy. Consequently, "research on the state of research" has moved high on the priority agendas for governments, for their specialized agencies and bodies devoted to this area, and for higher education institutions.*

Perhaps it has been those earlier-mentioned global and regional trends that ignite the academic research interest of Cambodian higher education institutions (HEIs). Currently, research implementation and endeavors to promote research culture have been increasingly active. The Cambodian Royal Government, in particular, has initiated the integration of research stream (via its first higher education research policy) into Cambodian higher education sector since July 2010; shortly after that, the so-called 'Master Plan for Research Development in the Education Sector' of Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS) was developed and approved in 2011. The implementation of this Master Plan has been supported financially and technically by the World Bank and MoEYS for a period of five years (2011–2015), both working collaboratively with other relevant stakeholders to achieve seven strategic activities: (1) provision of research capacity training, (2) provision of research quality training, (3) cooperative research, (4) research reports, (5) research ethics, (6) international cooperation, and (7) marketing research and development (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport [MoEYS], 2011). According to Un and Sok (2014), an amount of more than 5 million US dollars was devoted to promoting research capacity at Cambodian HEIs through the four-component, 23-million-dollar Higher Education Quality and Capacity Improvement Project (HEQCIP). This partial budget was used as block grants to fund a number of submitted research proposals from certain HEIs, to provide research training to higher education academics, and to dispatch relevant academics and staff to continue their graduate and post-graduate education in Australia.

Along the line, universities have also responded by trying to adjust their institutional research missions and strategies. Royal University of Phnom Penh (RUPP), for example, has been intentionally transformed to become a flag-ship university, with academic research given more priority and supports (see RUPP's Strategic Plan, 2014). More research projects as a result of international donors' funding, collaboration with nongovernmental organizations, and/or privately-commissioned projects have attracted a number of Cambodian faculty members to step into the world of research at their institutions. Likewise, the increase in number of graduates completing their post-graduate education from overseas perhaps contributes in some ways to extending academic research awareness among local faculty and strengthening research culture in this fragile higher education system.

For Cambodia, however, the level of research activities and publication has not been at par even with developing countries in the region – reportedly only 36 articles published in the Thai Citation Index (TCI) from 2002 to 2011, compared to 717 articles from Malaysia, 103 from Vietnam and 94 from Indonesia (Sombatsompop et al., 2011). It is definitely not seamless to judge research activities of Cambodian academics by relying solely on the TCI, yet the statistics does reveal some reality, possibly the commonsense that scholarly research activities have not been a culture of practice for Cambodian academics thus far.

Purposes of the Present Study

In fact, still little is known about Cambodian research conditions at higher education level. Previous studies have yet to depict a detailed picture of characteristics and patterns of research activities being implemented at its HEIs. Hence, this present study, taking the case of research implementation at five Cambodian public universities, aims to answer three research questions:

1. What are the current trends of involvement in research activities of Cambodian faculty?

2. Are there any pattern differences on the level of involvement in research activities with respect to disciplines, university locations, employment types, institutional types, number of working places and research preference?

3. What are the generic key characteristics of research works (e.g. focused research areas, type of research) being implemented at Cambodian HEIs?

Unlike most of the few studies in the past that used data from the policy level, this present study drew on data from the institutional level, that is, directly from faculty members. It is the hope of the author that this present study will shed more light on the small scope of literature on research culture and capacity of Cambodian HEIs. Likewise, the study should contribute in some ways to informing further research studies in this area as well as informing policies of the Cambodian MoEYS in its recent efforts to boost research engagement and build research culture in the country.

Conceptual Background of the Present Study

The Conceptual Image of Research Characteristics in Developing Countries

A number of past studies attempted to investigate and conceptualize research characteristics and academic capabilities of faculty in developing countries (e.g. Liefner & Schiller, 2007; Sanyal & Varghese, 2006). They offered some frameworks for consideration to policy makers and practitioners at HEIs.

Sanyal and Varghese (2006) established that research activities of developing countries – as they pointed to the case of Africa – tend to be driven by funding from multi-lateral or bilateral donors. This situation is true in many developing countries due to the lack of necessary supports from their respective government and local stakeholders. While the foreign donors' supports might be a working approach to enhance local research capacity, such assistance may not be sustainable in the long run. The authors added that the future research growth therefore hinges on four factors: financial supports, research capacities of academic staff, institutional capacity to involve capable people in research activities, and an enlarged scope of higher education.

When it comes to academic capabilities of ASEAN countries, Savage (2011) offered similar critical thoughts on three main gaps: the low ability of academics to communicate in English language academically, the teaching-oriented university system, and the poorly-supported academic salaries and infrastructure. Of course, the contribution from universities in developing countries is merely education (Liefner & Schiller, 2007). These aspects seem to function as an overarching conclusion to describe research characteristics of developing countries' HEIs.

A study by Sombatsampong and his co-researchers (2011) characterized the causes of low quality of ASEAN academic research production into four categories: lack of global reach due to research publication in local language, limited information and communication technology knowledge to circulate research outputs, the situation of underfunding leading to poor quality editorials and distribution mechanism, and narrow-focus research in niche research areas. Like previous studies, these findings draw attentions on the low quantity and quality of research and the ability to make research outputs visible to the international audience.

In short, for developing countries, low quantity of research activities (in niche research areas); low or unstandardized quality of research outputs; inadequate financial and technical supports from key stakeholders; insufficient research-capable faculty; too much dependency on external donor funding, and teaching-oriented academic function are the key barriers hampering any attempts to foster involvement in and production of academic research. Unless these aspects are properly addressed, research capacity and culture will not function well in developing countries' HEIs. And to bridge these gaps, it is critical that relevant stakeholders understand thoroughly the detailed features of these problems in their respective context.

Previous Studies on Measuring Involvement in Research Activities

While a slew of theoretical and empirical studies have put focuses on measuring research productivity or research performance, fewer research studies have been conducted to conceptualize research involvement or engagement. According to Wylie-Rosett et al. (1990) (as cited in Howard et al., 2013), involvement in research activities is measured through four stages, from critically analyzing literature and applying to practice (level one) to leading or supervising large research projects (level four). Smith et al. (2002) developed an instrument, called 'Research Spider', to assess research experience. 'Research Spider' contains ten items – applying for research funding, writing a research protocol, using qualitative research methods, publishing research, writing and presenting a research report, analyzing and interpreting results, using qualitative research methods, critically reviewing the literature, finding relevant literature, and generating research ideas. These items are measured on a 1-5 Likert scale (with 1 = no experience to 5 = very experienced). Similar to Smith et al. (2002), Howard et al. (2013) looked at eleven research activities: (1) writing a research protocol, (2) submitting an ethics application, (3) collecting data, (4) analyzing qualitative research data, (5) analyzing quantitative research data, (6) writing a literature review, (7) assisted in applying for research funding, (8) secured research funding, (9) co-authored a paper for publication, (10) presented research findings at a conference, and (11) Other. In a large, multi-national research project on the Changing Academic Profession, involvement in research covers nine activities: (1) preparing experiments, inquiries, etc., (2) conducting experiments, inquiries, etc., (3) supervising a research team or graduate research assistants, (4) writing academic papers that contain research results or findings, (5) involving in the process of technology transfer, (6) answering calls for proposals or writing research grants, (7) managing research contracts and budgets, and (8) purchasing or selecting equipment and research supplies (see The Changing Academic Profession survey, in Teichler, Arimoto, & Cummings (Eds.), 2013).

The literature shows a similar set of elements in all tools examining involvement in research activities, yet these items still vary to some degree according to the context of the study and the focused discipline.

Synthesis of the literature

The lack of conjectural and practical understanding on research activities and characteristics has remained a concern for developing nations' higher education. Previous studies conclusively maintain that the situation of research practice at HEIs in developing countries or underdeveloped countries bears totally distinctive characteristics from developed higher education contexts – namely, the former is characterized by small research quantity, low-quality research, low supports and infrastructure, and teaching orientation, etc. The contextual differences certainly call for more serious attention to unambiguously comprehend research activities at higher education level in the developing context. In the like manner, neglecting the issues of research activities and characteristics of faculty members at HEIs in the first place can be a risky ignorance, considering any further attempts to develop research systems and culture in those countries. The literature also implies that involvement in research activities and characteristics should be carefully defined and measured such that the tool validly reflects the real situation of research activities in the studied context.

Research Methods

This study was a part of a larger study on research engagement of Cambodian university lecturers (with a total of 465 participants from 10 Cambodian universities), but this particular article analyzed only the data from 5 public universities, reason being that the five were reported to be research-active public universities in Cambodia (Kwok et al., 2010). The other universities with little (or virtually zero) research engagement were not pertinently appropriate for the focus of this particular study. The studied participants constituted mainly the teaching faculty of Cambodian HEIs, referred to commonly as 'lecturer'. The total number of samples finally used in the analysis declined to only 299 lecturers, after excluding the questionnaire sets which were totally irrelevant or susceptible to unreliable answers and flaws of various kinds. The researcher used a self-reported, survey questionnaire (with adapted scales from the literature), examined by senior and local researchers and supervisors and pilot-tested prior to the actual data collection.

Variables and measures

For the sake of simplicity, variables in this study were divided into three sets:

- **Personal and professional variables** comprising seven variables: sex, age, disciplines, terminal degree, employment types, research preferences, and number of working places;

- **Research characteristics variables** comprising ten variables: (1) focused research field, (2) duration of research projects, (3) types of research, (4) research approaches, (5) number of engaged research studies, (6) treatment of research results, (7) languages used in research, (8) research collaboration, (9) research collaborators, and (10) funding sources;

- **Involvement in research activities** comprising nine items (adapted from 'Research Spider' by Smith et al., 2002): (1) engaging in applying for research grants; (2) engaging in managing actual research works (e.g. collecting data and field works); (3) engaging in designing research frameworks, methods and procedures; (4) engaging in critically reading and reviewing the literature; (5) engaging in writing academic papers for publication; (6) engaging in presenting research results at academic conferences; (7) engaging in analyzing, writing and presenting research reports for donors or stakeholders; (8) engaging in disseminating knowledge to the public; and (9) engaging in using research results and knowledge to teach in classroom.

Demographic background of respondents

It is noteworthy to depict some quick demographic background information of the respondents. Male lecturers shared a bigger percentage (78.9%), compared to their female counterparts (21.1%). Overall, selected university lecturers were in their mid-thirties ($\bar{x} = 34.82$, SD = 8.44). Participants with Master's degree dominated the selected sample with the highest percentage (78.6%). Only about 9 % were Ph.D holders. Participants, from different disciplines of specialization, were classified into two different major fields: 1) social science and related fields (52.8%) and 2) science and related fields (47.2%). The study encompassed both full-time lecturers (80.9%) as well as part-timers (19.1%). Surprisingly, 34.1% of the respondents worked in more than one institution.

Table 1 *Demographic background of respondents*

Variables	Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Sex	1 = Male	236	78.9%
	2 = Female	63	21.1
Terminal degree	1 = Ph.D	27	9
	2 = Master's	235	78.6
	3 = Bachelor or others lower than Master's	37	12.3
Terminal degree country	1 = Graduate in Cambodia	143	48
	2 = Graduate from a foreign country	155	52
Research preferences	0 = Prefer teaching	137	45.8
	1 = Prefer research	129	46.5
Disciplines	1 = Social science and related fields	158	52.8
	2 = Science and related fields	141	47.2
Number of working places	1 = Only one	197	65.9
	2 = Two or more	102	34.1
Employment types	1 = Full-time	242	80.9
	2 = Part-time	57	19.1
Institutional locations	1 = Capital city	256	85.6
	2 = Province	43	14.4
Institutional types	1 = Comprehensive	146	48.8
	2 = Specialized	153	51.2

Data Analysis

Research question one aims to study the trends of involvement in research activities at Cambodian universities (using the 9-item scale of involvement in research activities). Descriptive statistics (i.e. frequency, percentage, mean and standard deviation) was used to show the level of research activities involved by the respondents. The nine items were then classified into three groups according to the adapted conceptual levels of involvement in research activities – that is, involvement in actual research conducts, involvement in scholarship activities, and involvement in research production. The internal consistency statistic (Cronbach's Alpha) was used to measure how items in each group were internally related to each of the respective construct. Classifying the nine items into the three groups of construct aims to identify the trendy research activities that Cambodian academics were less or more involved in their current working environment. These three constructs of involvement in research activities were then tested using the non-parametric Friedman test to detect statistical significant difference: in other words, which of the three constructs Cambodian faculty were more actively involved.

Research question two aims to test the pattern of differences on the level of involvement in research activities with regards to six background variables. Because of the non-normality of the level of involvement in research activities as the majority of respondents were research-unengaged faculty, it required that the intended analysis employ the 'non-parametric test'. Specifically, the Mann-Whitney U test was used to analyze the patterns of association between the dependent variable and the six independent variables (disciplines, research preferences, number of working places, employment types, locations, and institutional types). The Mann-Whitney U test is comparable to the t-test, except that it is used for non-parametric data. The principle underlying the test is that it compares the mean rank of the two groups after ranking each case from the lowest to the highest and sum up the total number of cases of each rank (Field, 2009). The six variables were selected based contextually on their possible relationship with research involvement as identified in previous studies.

To present the detailed main characteristics of research works and research projects being implemented at Cambodian higher education settings, ten different themes were illustrated with percentage and charts (to answer the last question). Please refer to the Variables and Measures section for details of the ten themes. These variables synthesized the general and particular aspects of research projects being implemented at the selected Cambodian public universities. The researcher offered further detailed explanation additional to the statistics of each focused theme and presented the data in graphical displays (through bar chart, to be more explicit) to ease the understanding on the research characteristics in Cambodian higher education sector.

Major Findings

Finding 1: The extent and trends of involvement in research activities

As explained in the methods section, nine items were utilized to measure the level and trends of research activities in which Cambodian academics involved. Table 2 below showed the statistics of all items ordered from the most involved research activity to the least. The central tendency statistics of all the items (as measured by the 1-5 Likert scale) was a mean score of 1.99 and a standard deviation of 1.29, suggesting that the level of involvement in all key research activities remained very low or that Cambodian academics scarcely engaged in any research activities in overall. For all of the nine items in Table 2, percentage of responses for option 1, 'Not engaged at all', was much higher than that of other options. In particular, in terms of applying for research grants, 61.2 percent of respondents claimed to have never engaged at all whereas only 7.4 percent of them used to experience the activity very actively.

Table 2 *Level of involvement in research activities of faculty at the selected Cambodian universities*

Research activities	1 = Not engaged at all		2 = Scarcely engaged		3 = Fairly engaged		4 = Engaged actively		5 = Engaged very actively		**Mean**	**SD**
	f	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%		
Reviewing literature *(n = 297)*	171	57.2	12	4	34	11.4	52	17.5	28	9.4	2.17	1.49
Sharing knowledge in classroom	176	59.3	12	4	35	11.8	44	14.8	30	10.1	2.12	1.49

(n = 297)												
Designing research *(n = 298)*	175	58.7	24	8	38	12.8	33	11.1	28	9.4	2.04	1.42
Applying for research grants *(n = 299)*	183	61.2	21	7	35	11.7	38	12.7	22	7.4	1.98	1.38
Sharing knowledge to the public *(n = 297)*	186	62.6	20	6.7	39	13.1	32	10.8	20	6.7	1.92	1.34
Managing actual research works *(n=298)*	188	63.1	24	8.1	33	11.1	28	9.4	25	8.4	1.92	1.37
Publishing research articles *(n = 297)*	190	64	19	6.4	38	12.8	27	9.1	23	7.7	1.90	1.35
Presenting research at conference *(n = 298)*	196	65.8	16	5.4	33	11.1	27	9.1	26	8.7	1.90	1.38
Analyzing and writing research reports *(n=299)*	194	64.9	23	7.7	34	11.4	27	9	21	7	1.86	1.40

Note: *f = Frequency; SD = Standard Deviation; Please see the detailed description of each item in the Method section's Variables and Measures.*

While the overall level of research activities ranked very low, the trends of involvement in the nine research activities seemed to vary to some extent, as apparently suggested by the mean score values – for example, reviewing the literature ($\bar{x} = 2.17; SD = 1.49$) was a more engaged activity than writing academic paper for publication ($\bar{x} = 1.90; SD = 1.35$).

To understand the trends more deeply, a further analysis was therefore conducted by classifying the nine items into three different constructs: (1) involvement in actual research conducts, (2) involvement in scholarship activities and (3) involvement in research production. Construct one contained three items: applying for research grants, designing research frameworks, methods and procedure, and managing actual research conducts (e.g. collecting data and field works); Cronbach's Alpha value for this construct was .959 and a mean score of 1.986 and an SD of 1.337. Construct two had three items: critically reading and reviewing literature, sharing research results and knowledge in the classroom, and disseminating knowledge to the public. Cronbach's Alpha value for this construct was .955 and a mean score of 2.086 and an SD of 1.384. The final construct comprised three items as

well: analyzing data and writing research reports, writing academic paper for publication, and presenting research results at academic conference, having Cronbach's Alpha value of .951 and a mean score of 1.891 and an SD of 1.296.

Because the distribution of the three constructs was highly skewed to the right, the non-parametric test, called Friedman test, was used to study if there were significant differences among the three constructs among the studied respondents. The Friedman test is designed to test statistical difference of non-parametric data, using mean rank as the parameter of analysis, and is robust to non-normal distribution. The mean rank of the three constructs was: 2.02 for construct one, 2.11 for construct two and 1.88 for construct three. The results revealed that the three groups were statistically significantly different (χ^2= 24.995, degree of freedom = 2, p-value <.001). When it comes to research involvement, this result suggested that Cambodian faculty were most extremely inactive in research production activities.

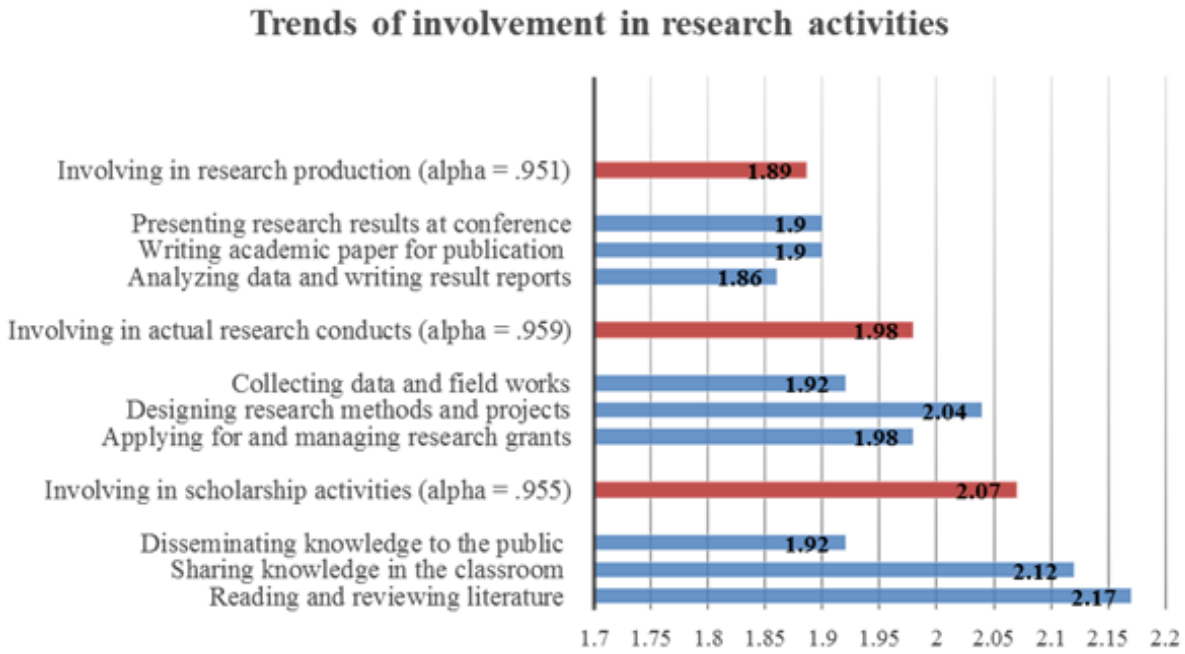

Figure 1 Trends of involvement in research activities at the five Cambodian public universities

Finding 2: Pattern of differences on involvement in research activities

To delve more deeply into understanding the pattern of involvement in research activities, the study observed if there are statistically significant differences on the ordinal-scale involvement in research activities in terms of six background variables (disciplines, locations of the university, types of employment, institutional types, number of working places, and research preferences).

Because of the non-normality of the variable 'involvement in research activities' ($\bar{x} = 1.99, SD = 1.29, Skewness = .87$) – as verified by the test of normality (Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistic = .35, degree of freedom = 299, and p < .001) – the statistical test used to observe the differences between groups of independent variables with regards to

the level of the dependent variable was the non-parametric test, called the Mann-Whitney U test.

First, the pattern of relationship between the level of research activities and the location of the observed institutions was tested. The results from Table 3 below showed a statistically significant difference between the universities located in the capital city (n = 256, Mean Rank = 155.43) and those located in provinces (n = 43, Mean Rank = 117.65). Whether a faculty was a full-time or part-time employee was also investigated in relation to the level of research activities, and the finding suggested that the full-timers were more research engaged than the part-timers. The statistical difference (between Mean Rank = 157.79 of the full-time lecturers and Mean Rank = 116.92 of the part-time lecturers) confirmed a large gap between the two groups at p-value less than .001. Research preference – that is, whether the respondents prefer more to teach or to do research – did also determine the level of engaged research activities. The level of research activities of faculty members oriented towards teaching (n = 137; Mean Rank = 122.3) was found much lower than those oriented towards research (n = 139; Mean Rank = 154.46). The difference was significant statistically at p-value lower than .001.

As for insignificant findings, Table 3 depicted that there was no statistically significant difference in the level of research activities between respondents from social science and related fields and those from science and related fields, with the former (n = 158, Mean Rank = 145.6) and the latter (n = 141, Mean Rank = 154.93). There was also no statistically significant difference in the level of research activities between those working in only one institution and those working in two or more than two institutions (p-value = .671). Whether an institution was a comprehensive or a specialized institution also did not explain the level of involvement in research activities of their faculty, despite the slight difference in magnitude shown in their level of research activities, as revealed in Table 3 below (p-value = .409).

Table 3 *Results of the Mann-Whitney U Test*

Variables	**Groups**	**Mean Rank**	**n**	**Mann-Whitney U test statistic**	**P-value**
Disciplines	*Social science*	145.6	158	10444	.302
	Science	154.93	141		
University locations	*Capital city*	155.43	256	4113	.003**
	Province	117.65	43		
Employment types	*Full time*	157.79	242	5011.5	.000***
	Part time	116.92	57		
Institutional types	*Comprehensive*	146.19	146	10612.5	.409
	Specialized	153.64	153		
Number of working places	*Only one*	151.38	197	9775.5	.671
	≥ two	147.34	102		
Research preferences	*Teaching oriented*	122.3	137	7302.5	.000***
	Research oriented	154.46	139		

Note: *'n' is the number of samples; * when p < .05; ** when p < .01; *** when p <. 001*

Finding 3: Main characteristics of research being carried out at selected Cambodian HEIs

Following is a detailed description that summarized the 10 key specific characteristics of research works engaged by Cambodian faculty. Please observe the bar charts to visualize more overtly each characteristic of the involved research projects. It should be noted that only respondents who engaged in research projects were included in this analysis.

First, the trendy research field, according to Figure 2, was the social science field (covering 43 % of research projects engaged by the selected Cambodian faculty from the five universities). Agriculture-focused research projects comprised 15 % and, similarly, science-field research projects constituted just about 13 %. Information technology and engineering comprised approximately 9 % and 7 % of the reported research works respectively. Clearly, the results indicated that research projects at Cambodian HEIs tended to focus more on social science and related fields, compared to the areas of science, engineering and technology.

Second, the duration of research projects seemed to be short-term. Most research projects lasted only from 1 to 2 years (60.4%) and 16.2 per-cent of the research projects lasted less than a year time period. Some research projects were funded for a longer period of three years or so (23.4%). This partly reflected the characteristics of small-scale, donor-driven research projects in many developing countries.

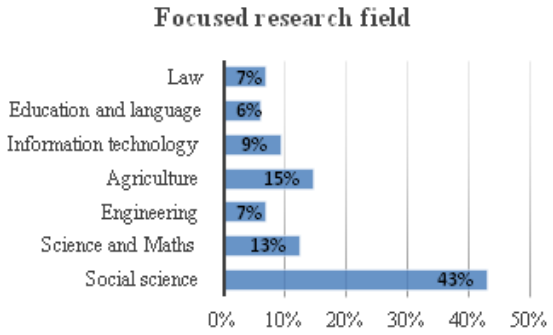

Figure 2 Focused research field (n = 128)

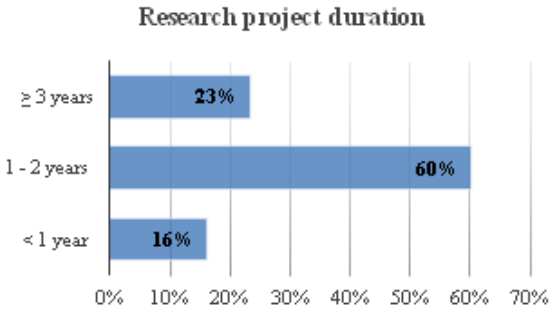

Figure 3 Research project duration (n = 111)

Third, the majority of the respondents' answers revealed that research methods used tended to be not particularly trending towards either qualitative or quantitative methods. Those respondents who practiced both methods were 52.9%, those who used only quantitative methods were 14.9%, and those who engaged more in qualitative analysis were 19.8%. Another 13% of respondents claimed that they engaged in other sorts for research approach.

Fourth, in terms of the type of research based on research purposes, most respondents (44.4 %) believed that they experienced both basic and applied types of research. It is critical to note that further investigations need to figure out what sorts of basic research are conducted and what the actual research process looks like.

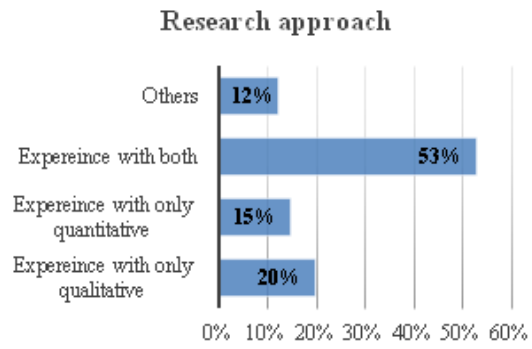

Figure 4 Research approach used (n = 121)

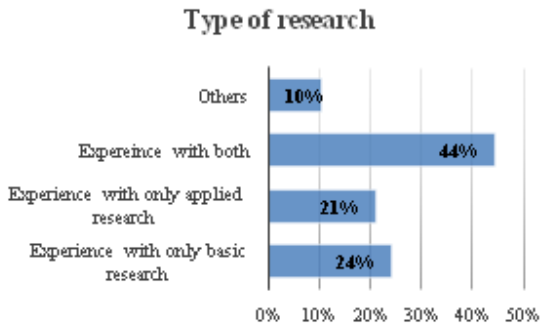

Figure 5 Type of research (n = 124)

Fifth, with regards to the number of engaged research studies, 63.9 % of the respondents tended to engage only in 1 to 2 research projects within the past five years, meaning they did not spend lots of working time on research activities. Only 21.3 percent claimed that they engaged in at least 3 research projects, while the remaining 14.8 percent engaged in five or more research projects. This finding tended to indicate low quantity of available research projects and activities.

The sixth important characteristics observed in this study was the treatment of research results, and the finding indicated that the majority of the Cambodian HEIs-based research results were shared with stakeholders or funders in the forms of research reports and/or presentation (48.4%) and only 6.3% were published in academic journals. A small percentage (3.9 %) of the research projects produced results that were not used by any means. Besides, 40 % of the respondents claimed that their results were both shared with the relevant stakeholders as well as published in journal outlets.

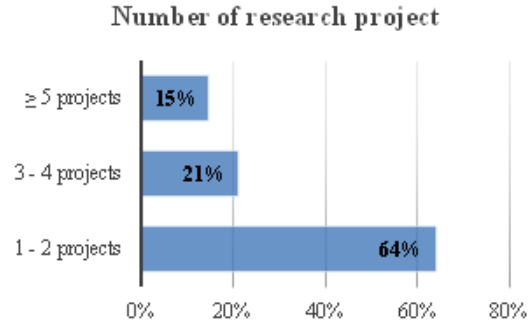

Figure 6 Number of research projects (n = 108)

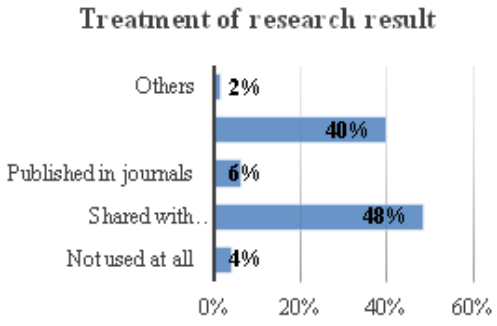

Figure 7 Treatment of research results (n = 128)

The language used in research was basically foreign language, specifically English, (44.5 %). And a similar percentage of respondents (41.4 %) claimed that they used both a foreign language (either English or French) and the native language together to write (and communicate during) their research works. This result may illustrate another characteristics of donor-driven, project-based research works.

Another observed characteristics focused on research collaboration status; the finding showed that 86.1 percent of the respondents collaborated with others in their research works and the rest worked individually. The research collaborators they worked with (as shown in Figure 10) were explicitly their colleagues (37.6%) and the donors or experts (27.1%). This finding

reflected that researchers need technical supports from others to operate their research projects.

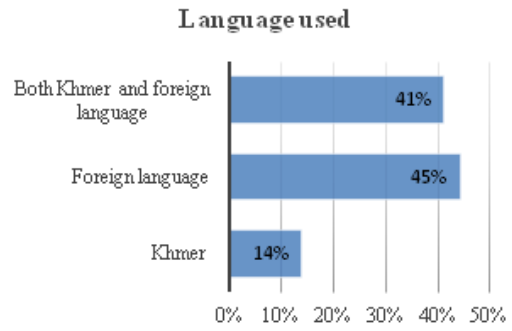

Figure 8 Language used (n = 128)

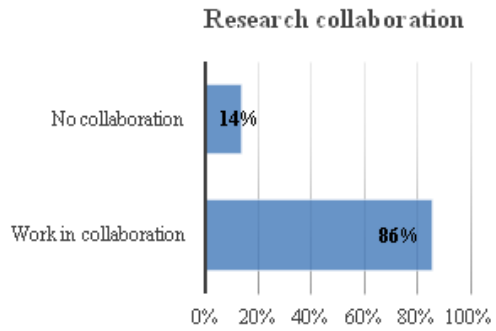

Figure 9 Research collaboration (n = 122)

Finally and most importantly, the respondents revealed that the majority of their funding came from international donors (29.9 %), and only 3.9 % came from the Cambodian government, while 4.7 % came from local institutions such as nongovernmental organizations or private institutions. About 39.4 percent of the respondents asserted that their financial supports were generated from at least two or more than two sources together. Further confirming questions revealed that these two or more sources always involved funding from bilateral (e.g. France, Japan) or multilateral donors (e.g. World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF) and some non-governmental organizations operating in Cambodia. Interestingly, about 10.2 percent of the respondent claimed that they obtained funding from their own faculty or department, and 11.8 percent stated that they funded their own research works. These last two categories merit further investigation. Overall, this result obviously showed the very low supports from the government and local institutions and, no doubt, the absence of contribution from industry sector.

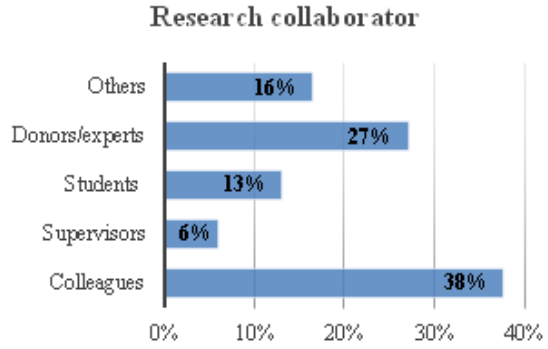

Figure 10 Research collaborators (n = 85)

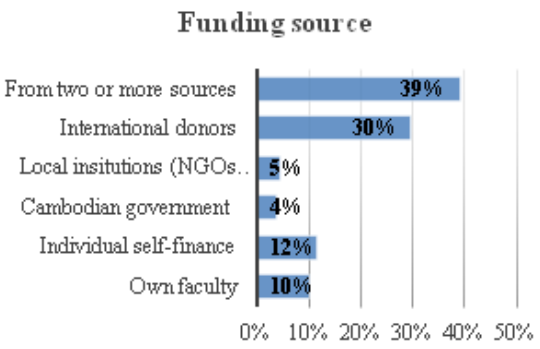

Figure 11 Research funding source (n = 127)

Presumably, all these statistical values revealed and further explained some obvious characteristics of research involvement at Cambodian public HEIs: (1) that the quantity and quality of research activities remain very low, (2) that the nature of research is less scientific and academic but more project-based and donors-driven, and (3) that there is a total lacking of supports and research-friendly environment.

Discussion and Implications

This study worked to illustrate descriptively the generic trends of research activities of Cambodian university lecturers, the pattern of differences on the level of involvement in

research activities, and the ten key themes of research characteristics. It truly offered some supporting evidence to reflect the characteristics of research in developing countries.

Low quality and quantity of research activities and research production

First off, it is the identified low level of research activities among academics that should be taken into consideration – the result that is probably not surprising to the local academics. The finding reveals that the majority of Cambodian academics (from universities that the literature reported as research-active) do not actually involve much in research activities – namely, for each of the 9 activities, at least 57.2 % of respondents choose option 1 'Not engaged at all'. The most actively-engaged research activity is sharing research results and knowledge in the classroom they teach, which comprises 10.1 % of all respondents claiming to have experienced it actively. Other activities consist of as little as 6.7 % of respondents choosing option 5: 'Engaged actively'.

The low percentage of engagement in research activities at their institutions can be exponentially confirmed by two further findings from this study. For one thing, the low number of reported engaged research projects (from only 1 to 2 research projects within the past five years) suggests that research has not been the main focus of the academics in their professional life, which is perhaps a common practice among higher education workers in this country. Second and similar to the first, most respondents report the short-term duration of each engaged research project which generally lasts from 1 to 2 years or less. In fact, the small numbers of short-term research projects are an obvious pattern of donor-driven types of research projects implemented in the developing context of HEIs (Sanyal & Varghese, 2006).

The results lend a plausible confirmation to previous studies conducted by scholars studying research capabilities of ASEAN countries which report low research engagement and productivities of less developed countries in the region such as Cambodia, Lao and Myanmar (see Kwok et al., 2010; Savage, 2011; Sombatsompop et al., 2011; Sombatsompop at el., 2012). It should be recalled from some of those studies that most Cambodian universities, though having set research as a priority agenda in their missions, do not practically obtain strong strategic action plans or well-built research infrastructure to boost up research activities at their institutions. For Cambodia, most of the university professors are inclined to view research as students' research and, even worse, they have limited knowledge and experiences with academic research activities (Kwok et al., 2010).

Lack of research supports and infrastructure

Research funding is a big question for Cambodian universities. The statistics in this present study shows (on a relative basis with other funding sources) that only about as little as 3.9% of the research funding is granted by the government side. Though the data is derived from only five Cambodian public universities, it can be a revealing message to mirror the very conditions of higher education funding in Cambodia, given that other universities besides the five are mostly private and less-enrolled public universities. Previous studies assert in the same manner that very low research funding (or even non-existent in some public HEIs) is the main underlying factor causing poor research culture in this country (Kwok et al., 2010). Un and Sok (2015) reported that the government budget for higher education in Cambodia accounted for only 0.1 % of the GDP or 4.1 % of the total MoEYS budget, not to mention the percentage devoted to research and development. Just to make things worse, university-industry linkage to enlarge research funding scale seems to be virtually nil.

It is worthwhile to look at the funding situation of other countries in the region. Universities in Thailand, though also considered to be not yet highly developed in research activities, started to build its first research institute since 1970s with a budget package of 100 million USD for research projects at universities in 2003 from public agencies alone, the amount that covers only 20% of the total Research and Development expenditure of the country (Liefner & Schiller, 2007). Likewise, the distribution of research funding of Cambodian HEIs is totally lower than that of the Malaysian case where 42.85% of funding is supported by HEIs themselves and 60.03 % are from national government or organizations, while only 1.42 % is granted by foreign government or international organizations (Yunus & Pang, 2013). Actually, research funding in Cambodia is based more on the commissioned type of research projects (Kwok et al., 2010) or commercially-oriented research, which are probably conducted not in response to the needs of the HEIs themselves but more to the needs of the donor institutions.

Less scientific and academic; more project-based and donor-driven research

The trends of research activities at Cambodian HEIs are very much oriented towards activities pertaining to scholarship than activities of pure academic research. In the real world of academic research, the tendency of research involvement should orient towards the desire to increase published outputs or the increment in other forms of scholarly activities and knowledge creation because these outputs can shed more light into the existing empirical or theoretical knowledge and/or contribute to social and economic development of the country. Engagement with research (the term used by Borg, 2010) simply referring to just reading or using the existing knowledge or know-hows or involving with scholarship activities, rather than creating new knowledge, is obviously not the ideal of academic researchers. To put it another way, this scenario is likely to reflect the orientation towards applying knowledge than towards creating knowledge. This trend can be partly explained by the nature of donor-driven or commercially oriented projects, which, according to Sanyal and Varghese (2006), may attract researchers in low-salary contexts to involve in research but does not contribute much to actually improving institutional research capacity.

The investigated characteristics of research projects indicate as well that the rate of research engagement in the field of science, engineering, and technology is very limited, compared to research in social science. This detected research trend is quite opposite to the conventional research endeavors in other countries where increasing attention is being given to science and technology research. In Thailand, for instance, Liefner and Schiller (2007), reporting findings from Thai Commission of Higher Education from 1998 to 2003, claimed that more than 56% of research budget was used in science and technology fields and only 28% in social science and humanities.

Variations in the pattern of involvement in research activities

Worth discussing as well is the pattern of differences on the level of involvement in research activities with respect to the background variables. The study detected that there are statistically significant differences on the level of involvement in research activities in terms of locations of the university, employment types and research preferences. First, like many other developing contexts, higher education in Cambodia is more developed in the capital city than in other parts of the country. This fact infers that research-capable academics are likely to choose to work in HEIs located in the capital city rather than moving to provinces where social infrastructure and other development mechanisms are generally worse. Regarding the employment type, the higher level of research activities of full-time professors (compared to the part-time ones) can be due to their existing research networks among their full-time

faculty members and the more available free time out of teaching. Part-time people tend to spend more time working or teaching in various places and so have little time to conduct research. Finally, those faculty who prefer research to teaching are likely more research-motivated, and their understanding of academic research and their values given to research are possibly higher than those who love teaching and see it [teaching] as a better means to earn more income. These relationships associating with involvement in research activities of Cambodian faculty merit further investigation, after all.

Implications

Low involvement in research activities entails various contextual meanings. One issue it reflects can be the low experience and capacity to perform research tasks of the local academics. This issue really needs to be addressed. Some possible ways can be through institutional research training program or research-focused professional development policy. Likewise, highly research-curious and research capable faculty members should be encouraged to advance their research skills by becoming active researchers at certain universities. These people should make efficient and effective research mentors for other faculty as well as graduate students, which in the long run will create more human resources to grow research culture in the country.

A part from this, research policy does require a bunch of more clearly-established and achievable missions and vision at the institutional level. The study indicating that the lack of clear guidance and vision and the lack of supports necessary to push institutional engagement only makes Cambodian research situation indifferent from other contexts of developing countries – say in Africa – where most of the engaged research are project-based, funded by multilateral or bilateral donors and deviate from the actual pure (or applied) academic research expected by the nation. While the responsible government body needs to take care of this policy problem, the institutions cannot just wait for actions or supports from the government but have to take their own initiatives to develop research culture at their institutions while using the guidance from the government as the overarching framework. To do so, a number of key consideration needs to be discussed: What kind of research should be conducted at their institutions – applied or basic research? What percentage of their faculty should be transformed to be research faculty? What fields of focus should be researched? How can they generate potential research funding? Who will manage research administration and units? No doubt, before any specific actions seriously taken, these big questions related to research characteristics of Cambodian HEIs need to be clearly comprehended by HEI practitioners and relevant stakeholders.

Another key implication should pertain to funding. Again, these should be the roles of both the government level and the HEIs: how the government can reform their funding policy and how the HEIs can expand their funding sources and allocate the obtained funding effectively are the key. All these poor research development situations, for many, are caused by the lack of financial supports – the low funding condition that is of course detected in this study. To avoid any further excuses for not doing research thanks to financial deficiency, increased funding is a must, and its mechanism should ensure that a specific number of key universities are adequately research-funded and therefore designated with clearly defined research roles and appropriately equipped with other basic research supports, turning them into flagship research universities for the nation. They should be selected or funded based on academic excellence and reliable competition mechanism. Though low funding is not the only root of poor research performance in this nation, remedying this problem can possibly help a lot.

Limitation

Two main limitations of this study should be pointed out. For one thing, characteristics studied in this present study provided just a quick snapshot of the general picture of what has been going on about research works already implemented (and being implemented) at five Cambodian public HEIs. The generalization of this finding is limited to only these five universities, if without any more rigorous further studies as an extension of this current work. For another, this study did not delve into the depth of explanation of the key findings with further qualitative investigation, which makes the discussion of this study grounded only on the descriptive statistics and previous literature. Further studies should interview the research-experienced university lecturers to obtain more detailed accounts of authentic research implementation at Cambodian HEIs.

Conclusion

Despite the appreciable fact that a small number of Cambodian academics could manage to get the research ball rolling at their institutions with very low supports, it is undeniable that academic research for these HEIs is still at an extremely infant stage of implementation and development. 'Inactive research involvement' is clearly reflected by this generic trends of research works whereby university lecturers were more involved in less-scientific scholarship activities but less experienced in implementing real scientific or academic research and, especially, in the increasingly important activities of research production. While exploiting supports from the foreign donors is now necessary to build research capacity of this nation, local supports, from the government, HEIs, and key stakeholders, have to be made possible to sustainably develop research environment in the future. Given the ASEAN economy integration policy from 2015 and other global races, no more illusion should be allowed to obscure the research development practice in this country, and the academics should be encouraged or (strictly speaking) pressured to engage actively in national and international scholarly research atmosphere.

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Institutional, Legal and Policy Issues of Private Higher Education in Vietnam and the United States

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Abstract

Private higher education (PHE) in Vietnam is facing institutional issues in which this paper has referred to as internal and external governance of private universities. A qualitative research method is used with semi-structured interviews and document analysis to explore each issue and trace the fundamental causes - legislation and government policy. The internal governance tension emerges from conflicting viewpoints among members of the board of directors and between the board and President about whether to run their institutions as not-for-profit or for-profit. Misleading legislation has resulted in this tension and confusion in the conceptions of the two categories in practice. The external governance tension is the relationship between the government and individual institutions. There have been many complaints about impractical, irrational, inconsistent, and fluctuating legislation governing private institutions. Educational policy is also problematic with its limited resources and inequitable treatment toward PHE. In order to address those issues, this article also seeks insights from private higher education in the United States (U.S.) for meaningful implications.

Keywords: private higher education, institutional issue, internal governance, external governance, educational policy

Introduction

Recent decades have seen dramatic growth in PHE around the world. On average, its enrolment globally accounts for 31% of all enrolment in higher education (Levy, 2011). Compared to other regions, PHE in Asia has a larger proportion (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2010). PHE in Vietnam, in spite of a young history of just over two decades, has also had an impressive rapid expansion in the number of institutions from only one (Thang Long People-Founded University) in 1988 to 22 in the academic year of 1999-2000; 77 in 2009-2010 and to 83 in 2012-2013[1] . The most striking increase was seen in the period of 2005 and 2009 with over 50% growth rate. The expansion was a response to the economic development requiring a more highly educated workforce. Currently, the number of private institutions accounts for 20% of higher education institutions and their enrolment is between 14% and 15%[2]. Accordingly, their role is getting bigger in sharing with the public sector the provision of higher education to the young population of the country; thus decreasing the state budget for higher education and more importantly, providing society with a workforce that meets professional demands of the workforce (Goujon & Samir, 2006; Huong & Trang, 2013; Le, 2006).

[1] General Statistics on Education. (2013). *MOET Portal*. Ha Noi, Vietnam. Retrieved May 7, 2014, from http://www.moet.gov.vn/?page=11.11&view=5251

[2] General Statistics on Education 2013. MOET Portal. Ha Noi, Vietnam. Retrieved May 7, 2014, from http://www.moet.gov.vn/?page=11.11&view=5251

Private higher education institutions (PHEIs) in Vietnam, however, are still inferior to their public counterparts in campus size, student and faculty bodies and quality (Goyette, 2012; Hayden & Dao, 2010; Pham & Fry, 2002). They are challenged by various social and institutional problems. At present, their institutional issues seem more pressing, putting most of them on the edge of existence.

This study, thus, concentrates on institutional, legal and policy issues. It does not intend to go deeply into social and quality matters challenging PHE such as inequity for students of different regions, family incomes, family classes, ethnic groups' access to PHE; imbalance in offering academic programs; and quality compared to public higher education. Current literature has already addressed these issues.

The focus of this study comes from the following theoretical perspectives.

First, according to Manning's argument (2013), PHEIs in Vietnam are considered as "complex enterprise[s] open to a wide range of understandings and interpretations" (p. 1). In comparison to PHEIs in the U.S, they are in their early development with no more than three decades of history[3]. Emerging issues are likely to occur when institutions are in their infancy. Manning points out that historical and current tensions in higher education can be classified by seven aspects. These are: curriculum, faculty relations, student life, academic freedom, organizational form, public financing of higher education, and administrative practice. This paper chooses to focus on governance of and public policy toward PHE as these are most closely related to the last three aspects mentioned by Manning (2013).
Second, while analyzing government policy, this study makes full use of the "three criteria" proposed by Breneman and Fin (1978, p. 392). Their criteria include "Independence, Financial Impact and Justice".

"Independence" in Breneman and Fin's (1978) perspective means "the freedom to reach its own judgments about what to teach, how to teach, to whom, and by whom" (p. 392).
They insist that in order to provide students with high quality education, all institutions need money. Government policy is expected, therefore, to regulate institutions financially and have more or less impact on PHE operation.

"Justice" means "equal or just treatment" (ibid, p. 393). Once a policy is applied, both the PHEIs and their outsiders often question whether the government is fair to both private and public institutions, and for all students.

After understanding institutional issues of PHE in Vietnam and how public policy has influenced them, the second part of this paper focuses on studying governance of PHEIs and government policy in the U.S. to get the most practical and empirical implications from American experience. The basis for choosing American private higher education and government policy to this study is from Zumeta (2011). He points out:

> *The U.S. higher education is large and diverse, with some 4,500 degree-granting institutions. Over three fifths of these are private….Whereas private higher education is surging in enrolments and ''market share'' in much of the world, in the United States its share has been nearly stable for several decades, after a rapid post-war decline from a*

[3] Manning (2013) cites Baden-Fuller and Stopford (1994); Beatty and Ulrich (1991); Doeringer (1987); and Kimberly (1980): "Organizational theorists postulate that organizations progress through a life circle: birth and early development, institutionalization, and maturity" (p. 1).

> *round 50 per cent as the public sector grew dramatically. The best-known part of the U.S. private sector, its non- profit subsector (which includes many world renowned elite universities and colleges), is growing in absolute terms (p. 426).*

He also implies that American government policy toward higher education is unique and worth learning because of its competitive and market-like mechanisms that do not discriminate between public and private institutions, even offering financial-aid to students based on need, not what types of institutions they attend.

Research Methods

Among the epistemological perspectives pointed out by Marriam (2009), the interpretative/constructive perspective and qualitative research are chosen to fully describe and then fully understand the realities of PHE in Vietnam and the U.S. with a focus on governance, legislation and government policy.

The qualitative research chosen in this study uses non-probability sampling, thus, it is non-random, purposive and small. The researcher spent much time in a natural setting to have intense contact with participants (Marriam, 2009) to discover, understand, and gain insight (Chein, 1981; Patton, 2002).

Among 16 different strategies for purposeful sampling noted by Patton (2002), a combination of typical and stratified ones is taken to ensure and capture relevant variation of Vietnamese and American experiences in governing PHE. Rich information and profound knowledge about the fields of PHE governance and policy are the most important criteria in sampling.
In Vietnam, seven interviewees (two in Southern Vietnam, one in the Central region and three in the North of the country) were selected from six private universities coded as Uni A, Uni B, Uni C, Uni D, Uni E, and Uni F. All of them have long connections with their universities in top positions as a Founder, Presidents, a Vice President, Deans and a Director at various levels.

In the U.S., one scholar and one administrator from each of the two private universities coded as Uni G and Uni H were selected from among the 30 best and oldest private institutions in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. These states are among the eight states housing most private universities and colleges, making up 50% of higher education institutions across each state, according to Breneman and Finn (1978) and Almanac 2013-2014, the Chronical of Higher Education (August 22, 2015).

For the data collection, semi-structured interviews were employed to explore all aspects of institutional issues at the top layer of the university administration and perspectives of the respondents on them. Document analysis was conducted to examine institutional issues facing Vietnamese PHEIs and how the external governance of public policy impacts them. It was also useful to learn about governance and government policy in American private higher education in order to get ideas about potentially practical and effective ways to address institutional issues in Vietnam.

All the interviews (seven in Vietnam and four in the U.S.) were recorded, and then verbatim transcribed. The software of Transana 2.42 version was used to transcribe the recorded interviews. Notes were taken to facilitate the synthesis and analysis of the qualitative data collected. Respondents were informed of the recording and their agreement obtained beforehand.

The document data were retrieved from primary and secondary sources. The primary sources included publications in hard copies such as books, articles published in journals and soft copies obtained from the databases of the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) in Vietnam, Temple University Library in the U.S, Google Scholar, and JSTOR. Secondary resources were from high-profiled media in Vietnam such as Tiasang, Vietnamnet, VNExpress, TuoiTre, ThanhNien, and in the U.S. such as the Chronicle of Higher Education. Information related to the focus of the study was highlighted and noted down carefully in order to integrate it with findings from the interviews. The document data collection were conducted in close reference to the research questions and assessment of "authenticity and accuracy" of documents as termed by Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 178). The "emerging findings" and "educated hunches" as Marriam (2009, p. 150) suggested, were also noted critically. The search for most relevant documents was systematically performed, but the "accidental uncovering of value data" (ibid, p. 150) also allowed.

The data analysis process of this study started from the construction of categories to sorting and naming them. The overall constructed categories were "governance", "legislation" and "educational policy". The sub-categories were "internal governance", "external governance", "central/federal government policy", "local/state policy", and conceptions of "not-for-profit" and "for profit". The last stage of the data analysis was to integrate collected information into relevant categories.

Data analysis both in Vietnam and the U.S. were conducted simultaneously with the data collection. After each interview, the transcript and field notes were read and written analytically to reach answers to the research questions. What was found in the first interview was used to suggest which questions or aspects in the interview protocol needed to be further explored and which need to be narrowed down or skipped.
The document analysis was also conducted in parallel with interview data analysis in order to illuminate the findings from the interviews.

Findings in Vietnam

Internal governance tension

Uni A and Uni B in Vietnam are regarded as the most representative private universities among selected institutions recently facing internal governance tensions. In the legal documents, members on the board of directors are called investors and considered as the owners of the universities[4]. The President functions as the top administrator of the university[5]. Individual members of the Board and the President currently find it hard to have a common voice in leading the schools. Some of them prefer the universities to be driven by profit to attract more investment into the schools and increase their investment returns, while the others advocate the public good or not-for-profit purposes of higher learning institutions.

[4] Item 1 of Article 10 of Decision No.61/2009/QD-TTg dated April 17, 2009 by the Prime Minister on promulgating Regulation on organization and operation of private universities states: "The Board of Directors, as a managing entity and also the only entity representing ownership of a private university; is responsible for executing Resolutions of Shareholder Meetings and have authorities to decide organization, human resources, finance, assets, plans for investing and developing the university in compliance with the current legal regulations".

[5] Item 3 of Article 10 of Decision No.61/2009/QD-TTg dated April 17, 2009 the Prime Minister on promulgating Regulation on organization and operation of private universities states "The President as a representative of the university implementing authorized assignments, gets responsibilities to run the university and to be accountable for his/her decisions regarding the university activities to the Board of Directors, MOET and the laws".

Such a tension arose from the early phase of the university history as the Founder of Uni A disclosed that once the school was granted 40-ha-land for building its campus and once the school achieved a certain reputation, the investors started to think of how to market the school's value to attract more money by selling more shares to outsiders. This increased the school's value up to 38 billion Vietnamese Dong from the initial investment of 5-6 billion Vietnamese Dong. The more shares that were sold, the more influence outsiders who were not knowledgeable about higher education administration had on the school affairs. The situation was so bad that the investors tried to drive the president and some administrators, who did not agree with the way they ran the school as a business, out of the board of directors.

There were similar tensions at Uni B in Vietnam. This university differs from Uni A in that it emerged that when the university had been widely known by its high quality (e.g., the tuition is ranked as the highest in the country, but the enrolment has continuously increased over the time and stabilized recently), and ever-increasing revenue and income (jumping from 11.8 billion Vietnamese Dong in 2007 to 65.4 billion in revenue and 12% in 2012 to 22% in 2013 in dividends for the shareholders) (Vu, 2014). At this university, since 2006, 51% of the shares have been held by the board members, administrators, and faculty who are considered as former investors of the university, headed by the board chairman and the president; and the other 49% by key investors who obtained shares, becoming board members, and considered as latter investors (Tran & Dam, 2014). A conflict started when the former investors launched a new policy to use the value of undivided assets to buy all shares of the latter investors, who thought that they were forced to withdraw their shares from the university. The purpose of this policy, as advocated by the former investors, is to ensure the not-for-profit purposes of the university while the latter argue they do have legal rights to keep their shares and, thus, their authority over the university. The arguments between the two sides are on-going.

The analyses of interview data and documents revealed that the Vietnamese government regulations on organization and the operation of private universities[6] have resulted in misunderstandings and confusion among those who have professionally and financially contributed to the schools. Most of the professional contributors - intellectuals - continue to think that universities should be for public service or not-for-profit purposes, while most of the financial contributors or investors assumed that universities should be operated as businesses for economic efficiency, i.e., for profit. Actually, looking closely at the current regulations, one can easily see that they favour the latter and *they do turn all private universities uniformly into for-profit institutions*. By law, the financial contributors legally become shareholders and capture the ownership of the institutions, exactly as they do in business. They, therefore, have the authority to run their institution as for-profit. Item No. 2, Article No. 10 of Decision No. 61 states: "Members of the Board of Directors in private universities shall be representatives of entities or individuals who possess as many shares as the institution's regulation stipulates" (p. 5) and Item No. 6, Article No. 29 of this Decision also specifies: "Assets of private universities which are from financial contributions of shareholders belong to private ownership of entities, individuals relevant to number of shares they hold..." (p. 17). Then another decision[7] after Decision No. 61 once again confirms the ownership and authorities of financial contributors or investors:

[6] Item 1&6 of Article 3; Item 1 & 2 of Article 10 of Decision No.61/2009/QD-TTg dated April 17, 2009 the Prime Minister on promulgating Regulation on organization and operation of private universities.

[7] Decision No. 63/2011/QĐ-TTg dated November 10, 2011 by the Prime Minister on amending the Regulation on organization and operation of private universities promulgated by Decision No. 61/2009/QD-TTg dated April 17, 2009.

> *"A shareholder" is a person who owns at least one share. The shareholder can be an entity or an individual; all shareholders have rights to vote and the number of votes is relevant to number of shares they hold" (Item 2. c, Article 1, p. 2)*

These regulations result in the fact that intellectuals without money to invest into the schools are driven out of the Founding Committee and Board of Directors. The decision making authorities of the Board Members have increasing had the amount of money that they invested into the schools, as with the cases of Uni A, Uni B, and Uni C in Vietnam.

Moreover, the interviewed administrator of Uni C disclosed that the investor as a businessman of a corporation, functions as a key board member. He has top authority over the university from financial management and human resources management to school development strategy and academic program development. The faculty are required to teach well in order to achieve good evaluations from students, parents, and employers if they want to maintain their teaching position at the university.

The internal governance tensions emerging recently have urged Uni A and Uni B to work actively with other private universities facing the same problem, as well as the Vietnamese Association of Non-Public Universities and Colleges. They submitted a request to the central government and MOET to change the current regulations. Ultimately, a new regulation of Decision No. 70/2014 was issued on December 10, 2014 on promulgating the Regulation on Universities to replace Decision No. 58/2010 on the Regulation on Universities, Decision No. 61/2009 and No. 63/2011, as mentioned earlier. It is expected to be a key to tackling existing conflicts in internal governance in PHEIs because it clarifies the distinctions between not-for-profit and for profit private universities in terms of organizational structure and income use. Nevertheless, there are still many issues that need to be carefully considered for further modifications and changes, particularly the following aspects:

The Article 32 of the Decision No. 70 continues to stipulate that the financial contributors are given financial benefit like shareholders' dividends in corporations although it caps the rate of the current government bond rates.

Prestigious intellectuals continue to be driven out of the founding committee and the board of directors if they do not have money for the school, as the stipulation of Item No. 4, Article No. 2 affirms:

> *Members of the founding committee of a university are individuals who directly proposes, prepares founding paper works; formulates and finalizes the first version of the university regulation on organization and operation; and also has as much financial contribution as stipulated by the universities (p. 11 of Decision No. 70/2014)*

The analysis of this new regulation of the government implies that internal governance tensions might prolong because the conceptions of not-for-profit and for profit model of schools have not been fully clarified. The confusion is still apparent.

External governance tension

Incidents reported by the respondents and issues that were complained about by the university founders and administrators in Vietnam show how tense the relationship is between the government and individual universities.

The first tension is easily seen in the founding of Uni A. Administratively, it took almost three years to complete the paperwork for its official establishment. Moreover, the existing regulations[8] apply unaffordable and impractical requirements for land, chartered capital and facilities for the first ten years of school operation if individuals or entities want to establish universities. The Dean at Uni D commented:

> *I think MOET regulations should be changed to allow universities to be smaller in the beginning and then bigger responding to their own capacities. In reality, if a university tries to buy a piece of land to satisfy the legal requirement [not less than 5 hectares], then it does not usually have much money left for building infrastructure of the school campus(es). Otherwise, in case it is successful in fund-raising for land and infrastructure, it will be financially challenged by equipping facilities. So the MOET should allow it [a university] to rent buildings for school operation in the beginning in order that it can save the money for its facilities and initial operation. Then once it has obtained certain reputations and had some more financial accumulation, it naturally thinks of investing in construction of its own campus(es). The MOET should be aware that if a school faces financial constraints, it is hard for it to offer quality programs. So MOET should not be rigid in policy making. It should study carefully from the reality. It should know the cost for 5 hectare site clearance is not a small sum of money! (Transcript of the interview with the Dean at Uni D)*

The second tension was revealed through the operation of the universities. The story that the founder of Uni A mentioned implies an external tension. Uni A proposed that MOET permit it to organize its own entrance exam. After 15 days of submitting the proposal, however, there was no reply or comment from MOET, and it was assumed that their proposal was not rejected, therefore, Uni A proceeded with their entrance exam. Unfortunately, they were then reprimanded by MOET and as a consequence of this, enrolment was suspended for one year.

At Uni B most recently, the local government wrote an official letter to the board to reprimand them for illegally organizing their University Conference[9] while it had not yet been recognized as a not-for-profit institution (Le, 2015a). The board then counter-argued with the local government on the bases of the university foundation, history and effective timing of the legislation (Le, 2015b).

Another external tension was found in Uni C's case in 2011 when its enrolment was suspended by MOET because it did not have its own land to build campuses, and the number of its full-time faculty did not meet MOET's requirement (Hoang, 2011). Irrationally, the university's official establishment in 1997 until 2012, it did offer academic programs every year with the annual approval of the MOET.

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[8] Decision No. 07/2009/QD-TTg dated January 15, 2009 and Decision No. 64/2013 dated November 11, 2013 by the Prime Minister on conditions, paper works for founding, suspending, emerging, dividing and dissolving universities:

- Item 5, Article 2 of Decision No. 07/2009 and Item 3, Article 3 of Decision No.64/2013: not less than 5 ha, ensuring 25 sq. m per student
- Item 5, Article 2 of Decision No. 07/2009: at least VND 50 billion excluding land value, and then Item 3, Article 3 of Decision No. 64/2013: at least VND 250 billion excluding land value

[9] According to Article No. 33 of Decision No. 70 of 2014 issued by the Prime Minister on promulgating the Regulations on universities, a "university conference" is an annual general meeting organized by a not-for-profit private university, attended by investors, the board members, and representatives of the administrators and faculty to discuss and finalize big issues of the university related to key human resources and development strategies and policies. (Its function is generally similar to the Shareholders' Conference of a for profit private university).

Those tensions show that the external governance toward institutions has fluctuated considerably – sometimes loosely and sometimes strictly – and are inconsistently within the same and different levels (local and central) of the government. The loose or rigid external governance also depends much on political terms, as the president of Uni B disclosed that her university was much more supported by the local government at the early time of its history than at present. In her opinion, the ways that the local and central governments have interfered with her institution in the past were both rational and irrational.

> *As an action person, I assume that public policy [or government regulations] in Vietnam be considered as a source of reference….For me, it could be compared to the rainy and sunny weather. It can rain and be sunny as it wants and I will do in my way [to make my university] survive in such a changing weather… Generally speaking, I seldom believe in government governance, very rarely!, but I continuously strived to make an impact on it to be changed to be better so that I am less suffering from it. (<2439093>, <3210093>, transcript of the interview with the President of Uni B)*

Moreover, all the selected interviewees in Vietnam complained that the government has applied many regulations on academics which are arbitrary and obstruct their university development. They limit the autonomy and academic freedom that the universities and faculty should have as natural values built into higher education institutions, according to international practice. Some examples are the "floor marks"[10] for student enrolment; submissions of planned programs, planned number of student enrolment for the MOET approval before every academic year; and national curriculum frameworks with one sixth of the total number of credits[11]relating to communist politics and national defence education. The Vice President of Uni D tells the story of how his school had to struggle with MOET regarding the enrolment "floor marks":

> *[Several years ago], MOET decided to fine our school some of 60 million Vietnamese dongs for having sent students to foreign universities for their further study without basing on the "floor marks". It took us four months to persuade MOET to withdraw their punishment decision..In our view, the most important determinants of the school quality are how the school has educated the students; and how and what they have learnt [not the "floor marks] (<2417422>, <2430112>; the transcript of the interview with the Vice President of Uni D)*

To sum up, PHEIs in Vietnam are required to satisfy overwhelming requirements for accountability, but they are not given autonomy in deciding on their own organizational structure and academics.

Limited and inequitable educational policy

As the Education Law of 2005, the Law on Higher Education of 2012[12]and sub-law documents verify, it is automatically understood that PHEIs in Vietnam are not supported by any financial grants or programs from the government. Loan and tax incentives for securing

[10] "Floor mark" is the minimum points which a student is required to obtain at the national university entrance exam in order to be admitted to a university

[11] Collected and calculated from the national curriculum frameworks posted on the official website of MOET. Retrieved May 5, 2015, from http://www.moet.edu.vn/?page=6.13&type=documents

[12] Item 2a, Article 7 of Decree No. 69/2008/NDCP dated May 30, 2008: "PHEIs belonging to ownership of social entities, social – professional entities, private economic entities or individuals are invested in building infrastructure and facilities by these owners mentioned earlier".

land, building initial facilities in their campuses and revenue are not provided at the time of their foundation (before 2008). In 2008, however, the government implemented a policy[13]to encourage socialization (i.e., social participation) into education, vocational training, healthcare, culture, sport and environment. Following this policy, site clearance, land use rights for long-term or incentivized long term rent, an incentive tax rate levied on revenue and some preferential loans have been requested. In reality, these privileges are not available for all PHEIs because they depend much on the commitment and capacities of local governments:

> *…[in Vietnam, in most cases, the universities have to do with the local government for site clearance] and they have to struggle for land compensation [for the site clearance]. Doing anything related to local government is really a hard job! (<1525965>, <1547521>; the transcript of the interview with the Dean of Uni D)*

Another example is that while Uni A in the central part of Vietnam and Uni D, Uni E and Uni F in the north were given big pieces of land ranging from 1.4 hectares to 13 hectares; Uni B and Uni C are inferior to their counterparts. The latter had to manage all by themselves, although the local governments administratively supported them. As the interviewees disclosed, both former and current policies did not facilitate much financial help for their universities. In fact, the policy is more like a slogan to appeal for support and contribution to private universities instead of being enforced effectively. It is political rather than economical. The limited and inequitable treatment of the government toward PHE is also found when there is no government policy such as grants for academic activities and research is provided to private institutions, while public institutions are provided with a lot of resources from annual appreciation, research grants, and scholarships for faculty to develop in their profession. All of the interviewees insisted that their institutions have not had any chance to obtain government funds for research and professional development. The chance for their faculty to develop their profession by attending graduate programs nationally and internationally is also limited, although the Programs 322[14] and 911[15] overseen by MOET are available to faculty no matter what public or private institutions they are from.

Regarding support for student access and achievement, only one preferential loan program is provided by the government through the system of public social policy banks. The loan sum, however, is not much help for students because of its modest amount per student and because the loans are "scattered" and "misused" (<3126084>, <3150710>, transcript of the interview with the President of Uni B).

The Dean at Uni C also reflected that the support inequality of the government for private institutions:

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[13] Decree No. 69/2008/NDCP dated May 30, 2008 on policy encouraging socialization for education, vocational training, healthcare, culture, sport and environment by Vietnamese government.

[14] Program 322 is financial support of the government for studying at all levels in foreign countries of faculty currently teaching or working for colleges, universities and state agencies in Vietnam. It was implemented from 2000-2014), spending the annual state budget of VND 228.5 billion and sent totally 5,667 applicants to study in foreign institutions.(Retrieved from http://tuoitre.vn/tin/giao-duc/20120519/doan-ket-buon-cua-de-an-322/492506.html & http://tiasang.com.vn/Default.aspx?tabid=113&News=4590&CategoryID=6 on May 4, 2015. [in Vietnamese]).

[15] Program 911 is also called Program of 20,000 doctoral degree holders, particularly for faculty of Vietnamese colleges and universities to attend doctoral programs of which some of 10,000 study in foreign countries.

Public institutions are given a lot of incentives from the state budget and funded in many activities while private ones have to manage all by themselves….It is even worse than that, the government is also inequitable in the way they decided to inspect institutions. There are many bad things happening at public schools but they did not touch them at all. The government just focus on inspecting strictly private and people-founded schools (<2732100>, 2772265>, transcript of the interview with the Dean of Uni C)

Discussion and implications from experience of the United States

For internal governance tension

In order to solve the on-going conflict in internal governance of PHEIs and confusion in the concepts of not-for-profit and for-profit models of institutions, the Vietnamese government should consider promulgation of legal document(s) to clarify or at least make modifications and adjustments to the current legislation. The most important is that not-for-profit and for-profit private institutions should be identified not only by their organizational structure and use of income as current stipulations point out, but also by the basic criteria of institutional motives, management, financial management, and faculty governance. Moreover, the external governance over and public policy concerning them should be classified clearly to prevent this wide-spread confusion.

In order to elaborate the recommendations mentioned above, the following is an outline (Table 1) mapped out from American tradition and practice described in the interviews and document analysis conducted in the U.S.

Table 1 *Summary of criteria/features of not-for-profit and for-profit private institutions*

Criteria/features	Not-for-profit private institutions	For-profit private institutions
Institutional motives	Public service	Private service
Internal governance		
Organizational structure	Board of trustees, presidents assisted by provost/chancellor and vice presidents in-charge of different sectors of the university. Under them, there are administrative and academic structures	Board of Directors, General Manager (president) assisted by some managers/vice managers and administrative structure
Management mechanism	As social organization	As corporate
Management type	Decentralized	Centralized
Strategy and decision making process	Independent	Dependent
Financial mechanisms	Socially and academically driven	Profit-driven
- Main sources of revenue	Tuition and fees, financial aid, research grants, endowment income, annually raised funds and auxiliary services	Tuition and fee, services
- Endowment	Yes	No
- Use of income	Rolling back to institutions for scholarships, financial aid to students and research grants for faculty	Divided to shareholders and reinvestment.
- Benefits of institutional owners (trustees in not-for-profit; directors in for-profit)	- No for financial benefits - Yes for honour	Yes as shareholders with dividends responsive to their investment
Faculty		
- Autonomy	Academic freedom	Limited
- Accountability	Provost and dean	General Manager and Manager/Vice Manager in

		charge of programs offered
- Employment criteria	Academic excellence denoted by scholarship of instruction and research	Profession and career experience
- Job focus	Teaching and research	Teaching
- Tenure track	Yes and majority full time	No and majority part-time
- Performance assessment	Instruction and research quality	Instruction quality and satisfaction of customers (students)
External Governance	Regulated by legislation relating to education and quality accreditation	Regulated by legislation relating to corporate and quality accreditation
Public policy of federal and state government		
For students	Financial aid and scholarships	Financial aid for students attending the institutions meeting the quality accreditation requirements
For faculty (research grant)	Yes	No
For institution (appropriation)	Yes but depending on the priority and funding capacity of state/local government	No
Income tax incentives (exemption and reduction) for donors	Yes	No because philanthropists rarely donate to this type of institution

Once legislation specifies a clear-cut distinction between not-for-profit and for-profit, a newly-established institution will find it easier to set up their organization and practices. For established institutions, conflicting sides should look closely at what they are doing and then categorize which status their institution belongs to. To be concrete, if an institution is categorized as not-for-profit, the investors should voluntarily abandon their direct influence on academic affairs and trust the leadership of the President and his/her administrative and academic structures. In addition, they should not expect direct financial benefits from their institution and instead, volunteer to provide funding, their expertise, and prestige to the school for which they are seated on the board as scholars and administrators of Uni G and Uni H in the U.S., as discussed in the interviews. On the contrary, if the institution is identified as for-profit, the administrators and faculty members of the university should accept that their institution is profit-driven, such that the academics are influenced by the board, and human resources and financial management are similar to a corporate business.

It is not necessary to force schools to transform into not-for-profit or for-profit. To do so is not an easy job because of established traditions, values, ownership status and operational mechanisms. It should be noted that during the data collection, no cases of transformation between the two categories were found in the history of American private higher education institutions except for the trend of privatization of public institutions.

For external governance tension

In order to relieve the tension in relationship between government and PHEIs, it may be beneficial to point out overall characteristics of a successful experience in external governance bringing about prominent private higher education in the U.S. Its governance of higher education in general and private higher education in particular "has been especially characterized by the absence of centralized control by the national government – essential authority has rested with state governments and with boards of trustees…[and] concurrent

existence of strong public and private segments" **(**The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973, p. 5). The interviews with higher education scholars also showed that the government trusts that private institutions can manage themselves well. It also respects the decisions of the board of trustees of institutions even in the case of university closure. Any unsolved conflicts within the board of trustees are subject to legal procedures, not to the ministry of education or governmental bodies. In principle, the federal and state governments do not influence private institutions with regard to academics and internal governance. It is true across the US that once an institution is "licensed" to be officially established, it is automatically protected from government interference as the scholar of Uni G insisted.

According to the scholars and administrators in the interviews at Uni G and Uni H, however, the government of the U.S. plays a key role in guaranteeing rights and benefits for students and faculty through regulations protecting them from gender and racial discrimination, sexual abuse/harassment, and so on. It also requires institutions to meet quality accreditation to receive some appropriations and asks faculty to prove their competitive research performance if they want to receive grants for their research.

It should be emphasized that the change of external governance over PHE in Vietnam must start from the central political system and commitment. With regard to the educational centralization in Vietnam, it is unlikely to initiate this change if the political system and commitment are unchanged.

For government policy issues

It is recommended that for the short and the long terms, the Vietnam's government policy should aim to facilitate the survival of PHEIs first and then their development.

As a developing country, the government budget of which is highly constrained, especially in the present economic downturn, the government is expected spend money more strategically to bridge the public and private gaps in terms of tuition, quality, and opportunities for development. What happened in the 1970s and now in the U.S. may imply some ideas for Vietnam to develop better policy for PHEIs and, thus, for students and faculty, without costing the government more money. The Education Amendments of 1972 in the U.S. specifies that direct federal institutional aid must be allocated by a formula and tied to enrolments. The Education Amendments of 1976 further provides financial aids for private colleges and their students. The subsidies are subtracted from appropriations that have been spent on the public sector. Thanks to this policy, the government can "make the public sector more like private" and "making the private sector more like the public" in terms of tuition (Brenman & Finn, 1978, pp. 14-15). Currently, in some states, private institutions are provided appropriations if they offer academic programs and do research on fields of study falling in the priority of the local government and if they satisfy the requirements of quality accreditation. Moreover, research grants should be given equally to faculty no matter whether they are in private or public institutions.

In addition, Vietnam should have a policy of tax reduction and exemption for donors/sponsors and philanthropists who have contributed financially to PHEIs. This policy has been applied in the U.S. for many decades and it has proven to be an effective stimulus for individuals to give money to private institutions without expecting any direct benefits from those universities. This is also a favourable condition for supporting the sustainability of the not-for-profit tradition in PHEIs over time. Although with such policy, the government may have less tax revenue, the survival and development of the private sector in higher education

will bring long-term advantages to society and individual students by providing human resources and diversifying academic choices.

Conclusion and recommendation for further study

The tremendous expansion and emerging issues of PHE in Vietnam have been much discussed and argued among intellectuals, businesspersons and the public at large. Governance and government policy are main institutional issues challenging the survival and development of PHEIs. They should be urgently addressed fundamentally by legislation and policy reform. The model of American governance, legislation and government policy can have practical and significant implications for Vietnam in tackling those issues.

To combat the tensions in internal governance, the conception and criteria of not-for-profit and pro-profit institutions should be clarified in terms of organizational structure, human resources, and financial management, as well as in public policy for each model.

To ease tension from external governance, the government should be less dominant, but facilitate more the establishment, operation, and development of PHEIs with more autonomy. For public policy, fair competition should be considered in providing loans, student scholarships, research grants, and appropriations on a merit and need bases. Income exemption and reduction in tax codes should also be applied to stimulate more financial contributions to not-for-profit institutions.

In policy making, independence of private institutions, equality in treating the public and private sector, and financial funding of public programs should be prudently considered.

Regarding the internal governance of private higher education in Vietnam, this study focuses on the relationships among the top layers of the institutions - among members of the board of directors and between the board and the president. Further research should be conducted concentrating on the relationships among top administrators – president, vice presidents - and between top administrators and faculty. Moreover, in the context of the influential presence of the Communist Party in higher education in general and private higher education in particular, external governance should be studied further. Forthcoming studies may need to examine how the Communist Party and its agencies influences the administration of institutions and the relationship between them and the board and the president. In terms of government policy, who or which bodies and which elements have actually shaped policy should be examined in order to fully understand the inequality and restraints as this study finds.

The research in the U.S. should be expanded to smaller and lower-profiled private institutions and also include private for-profit ones so that governance and public policy can be more holistically illustrated; hence the implications for solutions for Vietnam could be more valid and transferable.

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Bilingual Education in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China: A Policy Web Perspective

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Abstract

This paper examines bilingual education policy in Xinjiang, a Chinese minority region, through the lens of policy web theory. Power, voice, and the interaction of policies at different levels are scrutinized though document analysis. The paper concludes that: 1) Bilingual education in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region has been influenced by different policies at multiple levels of a bureaucratic system; 2) The relationship among these policies is dynamic as they change over time with the macro-national context; 3) The basis of the bilingual education policy web in this region has changed along with the historical stages of modern Chinese history; 4) The China's central government t has played a significant role in the formation of and changes in bilingual education policy under its centralized political system; 5) The voices of the populace, especially those of minorities, have not played a significant role in the policy process, which in part explains why bilingual education policy has not been as influential as expected. Future research may benefit from using discourse analysis as another avenue to explore these phenomena in depth.

Introduction

Bilingual education has existed in China for many centuries. Currently bilingual education, along with all other basic education, is the responsibility of provincial governments; nonetheless, the central government has significant influence over bilingual education through various national-level policies concerning education, minorities, national security, and other relevant areas. The development of bilingual education over the years in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region shows the significant influence of these national policies.

Based on Zhou(2000)'s differentiation, which is based on the periods of modern Chinese history, bilingual education in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region can be differentiated into three main developmental stages:1949-1957, the transition period; 1958-1976, the rapid integration period; and 1977-present, the building of the market economy system.

Bilingual education in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region follows an instructional model in which a minority language and Mandarin are both employed as the instructional languages in minority schools. The particular bilingual education models used in the region can vary, and are determined by economic factors, specific educational contexts, and differences in the local language environmental. For the most part, bilingual education in the region follows one of three models: 1) instruction delivery mainly in the mother ethnic language combined with some Mandarin teaching; instruction delivery mainly in Mandarin combined with some mother language instruction; or the extensive use of both languages in the instructional program, for example, teaching mathematics, physics, and chemistry in Mandarin but teaching other courses in the mother language (Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region News, 2007). As Zhu (2004) has pointed out, in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region many ethnic minority children attend public schools where the medium of instruction is the local language such as Uyghur or Tibetan. Therefore, only a small percentage of these ethnic

minorities have a good command of Mandarin. This makes bilingual education urgent for the central government.

In this paper, the author will describe the policy webs pertaining to bilingual education in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, examine their development by using contextualized examples from the region, and consider the value of using a web approach to understanding the policy process.

The Principles of Policy Webs

There are various models that have been used in policy studies, including the cost-benefit model, policy archeology, and the policy as circle model. Although linear models, such as the cost-benefit model, have made unique contributions to the field, we know that it is hard to use such models to explain complicated policy phenomena because the policy process is full of contradictions in practice.

Since at least the time of Geong Simmel (1955), sociologists have used the notion of webs as a way of talking about the interrelated nature of the individual elements of society. Simmel used the web as a method of exploring the social relationships between people. Joshee (2005) argued that policies are also both discreet and interrelated. This argument goes beyond the linear perspective on policy studies used by models such as cost-benefit and reflects the reality of policy phenomena. To understand the relationships between policies in this study, I adopted the lens of Joshee and Johnson's (2005) policy web.

In the Joshee and Johnson's (2005) policy web theory, the ring of policy represents policy made at different levels. The threads stand for the interconnections between different levels. The point at which thread and ring join is the policy text. This suggests that it is possible to share focus among different levels, rather than regarding the levels simply as complementary. Besides imagining the joint point of thread and ring as the policy text, I treat that joint point as a micro-policy web that represents a single policy. Micro-policy webs constitute giant policy webs that extend stereoscopically in any direction with a strong power influence. The policy text at the joint point of thread and ring is an artifact of historical struggle (Joshee and Joshon, 2005). The open spaces between rings and threads are the places where people involved in the policy-making process to negotiate, resist, and reinterpret the policy text. The effect of national policies on bilingual education in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region will be described and discussed in this paper using this lens.

Bilingual Education for Equality as the Basis of the Policy Web in the 1949-1957 Transition Period

In the early days of the new China, two types of policies relating to language existed side by side. On the one hand, Article 53 of the transitional Common Program (1949) stated that national minorities had the freedom to develop their dialects and languages, and the State Council (1951) and the National People's Congress (1952) reiterated that same policy goal. The Chinese Constitution (1954) further stated that all ethnic minorities had the right to use their own language. On the other hand, both the Common Program and Constitution stated that Mandarin was the country's sole national language (Li, 2005). In this context in the first eight years of the new China, Uygur remained the main instructional language in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (Wang & Meng, 2006; Zhou, 2000). The policy of bilingual education existed only on paper during this time. A contradiction existed between the primacy of Mandarin as promulgated in national policy and the practical implementation of instructional language at the local level.

The reason for China's accommodation of the use of minority languages in instruction was rooted in the poor relationship between the Han people and other minorities under the governance of the Kuomin party before liberation (Wang & Meng, 2006). Before the foundation of the People's Republic of China, conflicts between different ethnics groups were a problem for the government. Therefore, maintaining harmonious relationships between ethnic groups and pursuing equality and ethnic unity were urgent tasks for the Chinese Communist Party in this period, despite the fact that Mandarin was installed as the sole official language in the temporary constitution. This shows how the implementation of bilingual education (or lack thereof) was determined by both the national and local political situations even though it was required of the government in constitution and law. In addition, party policy had a significant influence on other national policies, including the bilingual education policy. It can be concluded that maintaining harmonious relationships between ethnic groups was of primary importance to the Communist Party during this period; it therefore adopted a political strategy of leaving sufficient space for minority instructional languages.

In 1949, a series of new policies and laws not only confirmed the significant role of ethnic languages but extended their usage as well. The ethnic languages at this time were not only a daily communication tool but also became important means for political, economic, and cultural development in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (Wang & Meng, 2006). In the education reform promulgated by the Xinjiang government in 1950, both Uygur and Mandarin learning were encouraged for ethnical minority and Han students. At the same time, in response to the requirements of the national government, the second Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region education conference in 1956 required that secondary school students should have 4-6 hours of Mandarin education a week; high school students should learn 2000 words of Mandarin and ultimately be able to have conversations and follow instruction in Mandarin in their higher education. Despite these policies that encouraged the use of both minority languages and Mandarin, bilingual education was still at an unscientific stage. Initiating bilingual education programs was not in the consciousness of most educators and policy makers (Wang & Meng, 2006). This is another reason that explains why minority languages were still the main instructional languages in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and bilingual education was not fully implemented.

Another example of the fierce conflicts that existed between national and local policies, and the compromises the Chinese Communist Party made in order to maintain harmonious relationships with ethnic minorities, can be seen in the treatment of religious education at this time. Although not directly relevant to bilingual education, this case shows how local voices influenced another policy-making process during this period. In March of 1950, the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region provincial government issued a document entitled "The Current Education Reform in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region" with the aim to set up a new educational system that included bilingual education. Many members of minority groups, especially clergy, were against this decree because attending religious schools was an important aspect of their culture and most of the scripts used in these schools were written in the Uygur language. The decree proscribed religious education in the following ways: religious subjects were prohibited from the compulsory curriculum; religious propaganda could not be promulgated in class; and student could not be forced to proclaim religious beliefs or attend religious rituals (Ni, 2008). This decree was initially canceled because of social pressure from minority peoples. This reprieve lasted until 1957 when religious schools were completely canceled and closed.

During this period, the main focus of national policy was on respecting the rights of minority cultures; the intention of integration was not evident. Although in language and education policies Mandarin was the sole official language, the Chinese Communist Party tolerated the use of minority languages as instructional languages due to concerns about ethnic unity and a lack of support from local people. The important conclusion is that Chinese Communist Party ideology had a significant influence on ethnic policy, ethnic educational policy, and language policy at the national level, and, in turn, these policies affected the implementation of bilingual education at the provincial level. This situation was determined by the hierarchical and centralized political system in China. Although Reva (1995) has stated that the joint point of the thread and ring of the policy web embodies conflicting policies at from different levels, in this case, the joint point is filled with both conflict and local obedience because in a centralized political system it is hard for provinces to challenge the central administration.

Rapid Assimilation as the Basis of the Policy Web from 1958-1976

In the first eight years of the People's Republic of China, minority language education prospered and bilingual education made relatively little progress. Beginning in 1957, under the influence of the Chinese Communist Party's aggressive left-wing ideology, many schools cancelled their minority language instruction and adopted Mandarin instruction instead, even though minority language rights continued to be protected by Chinese law. The Ministry of Education (1960) issued a notice about improving the Chinese language education in ethnic minority secondary schools, which is an indicator that promoting Chinese language education had become an urgent and important task for local government.

The Chinese Communist Party's policies during this time showed their impatience with China's progress, which ultimately resulted in the Great Leap Forward (Dreyer,1977). As discussed in the previous section of this paper, during the early years of Chinese Communist Party rule over minority areas, the party had to work out a number of compromises with the traditional upper strata of the minority peoples, respect their "special characteristics," and encourage local languages (Dreyer, 1977). In the Great Leap Forward movement, with diversity being the antithesis of unity, ethnic minorities came to be regarded as a hindrance to the achievement of the Great Leap's goals (Dreyer, 1977). Therefore, promoting Mandarin education forcefully and rapidly became the goal of the Chinese Communist Party in that historical stage.

The attack on linguistic barriers to unity was accompanied by increasingly bitter attacks on ethnic minorities' special characteristics. The drive to attain a unity of purpose through the unity of external characteristics had been undertaken in the name of increasing production, and it was inevitably in the economic sphere that the main impact of the Great Leap was felt (Dreyer, 1977). Ironically, the great effort to erase differences among cultures resulted in the heightening of ethnic minority members' awareness of these differences and seemed to induce in them a persistent desire to retain them. In this sense, the Great Leap slowed down the process of integration (Dreyer, 1977). However, the effect of the Great Leap on integration was not wholly negative. Some of the more distinctive minority customs were effectively destroyed and never resuscitated (Dreyer, 1977). Unwilling though some minorities may have been to study Chinese, the result was that this facilitated communication between them and the vast majority of their countrymen (Dreyer, 1977). In the following Cultural Revolution period, rapid integration remained a significant characteristic of education in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region; the minority languages were obviously subordinated to Mandarin.

As discussed above, rapid integration ran against the ideological principle that minority languages should be protected. The fluctuation in party policy caused changes in the implementation of education policy to the extent that it ran completely against the basic constitutional principle of the protection of minority culture and language. This indicates how Chinese Communist Party ideology significantly affected bilingual education in minority areas and caused much loss for ethnic minorities. It is hard to hear the voice of the public at this time in the available historical material due to the centralized political system in China. The influence of the provincial governance was weak compared with that of national party policy. In this period, the center of the bilingual education policy web was the Great Leap Forward policy and the rapid integration ideology of the Chinese Communist Party, which greatly influenced and dominated local policy.

Economic Development and National Security as the Basis of the Policy Web from 1977-Present

After the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese Communist Party tried to reconcile with ethnic minorities and mend relationships using different policies. In the early 1980s, in contrast to the previous era, the differences between ethnic groups were emphasized in Communist Party policy under the leadership of party head Hu Yaobang, the main supporter of liberalization and autonomy in the ethnic regions (Zhu et al., 2004). The intention of the Chinese Communist Party and Hu Yaobang was to fix the aggressive leftist policies that had been implemented during the Cultural Revolution. They aimed to pacify dissatisfied minority people. The measures of Hu Yaobang led to the marginalization of Mandarin education in mainstream education in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

Beginning in 1977, the Chinese Communist Party started to rebuild the economy and implemented an open door policy, which significantly influenced Chinese societal development and the bilingual education of minority people. The extreme-left language education policies of the previous era were terminated because they had devastated the minority educational system of China, resulting in minority education that lagged behind the rest of the country's for years. Prior to 1977, almost all minority schools had been closed; all minority students had had to attend Han schools under the ideology that ethnic differences should be erased in short order. Both in terms of culture and economy, minority regions were behind the average development of other parts of China. This contributed to instability in these regions. For this reason, the Chinese Communist Party started to rebuild bilingual education with the aim of promoting economic and societal development in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in parallel with a national economic and societal development plan (Tang, 2009).

In 1984, the Regional National Autonomy Law of the People's Republic of China clearly stated that bilingual education must be fully implemented. A series of government documents was issued in the 1980s and 1990s in order to facilitate bilingual education in Xinjiang. In 1985, the Xinjiang Ministry of Education (1985) updated the guidelines for bilingual education based on three documents issued by the Communist Party's Xinjiang committee in 1984. These documents suggested that effective bilingual education in Xinjiang should include Chinese language courses from grade 3 to the end of upper secondary school. In addition to these local governmental policies, in order to facilitate bilingual education and promote economic development, the Xinjiang government proposed in 1987 the goal that all ethnic upper secondary school students should meet bilingual proficiency before graduation. In addition to these policies, the Communist Party's Xinjiang committee and the autonomous region also promulgated another in 1999 stressing the urgency and importance of

strengthening bilingual education, particularly Chinese education. In 2002, the fifth national ethnical education conference highlighted the importance of learning the Chinese language and also further set the direction for future minority education development. In 2003, the Xinjiang government set up goals for bilingual education and the enhancement of the Chinese language standards of all ethnical minority teachers, as well as a corresponding system to ensure the accomplishment of these goals.

For centuries, the stability of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region has been a focus of China's central government because of Xianjiang's unique geographic position in China. The stability of this region affects the national security of China. Against this background, promoting bilingual education has been treated as a way to maintain frontier stability. At the National Security conference on May 22, 1979, the national ethnic affairs committee's final report stressed the importance of integrating minority language with other important aspects of minority affairs and national issues, including national security. From this report, it can be inferred that rebuilding bilingual education is not only an educational issue but also a national security issue in the Chinese context (National Security Conference, 1979). In the ideology of the Communist Party, bilingual education is an important tool for integrating ethnic minorities into the rest of Chinese society while keeping their unique cultural identity (Zhu, 2006). This idea has been repeatedly reiterated by party leaders.

Xinjiang has been a region of unrest in China (Becquelin, 2000). Since 1990, East Turkistan planned and organized a series of violent incidents in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (Clarke, 2003, 2008) which have brought to the forefront the urgency of intensifying the implementation of bilingual education with the aim of keeping stability in the region.Although this is not clearly discussed in the literature, bilingual education has been strongly promoted by the Chinese Communist Party in response to separatist activities that were revived in there during the 1990s.;

There are a number of reasons for China's central government to strengthen bilingual education with the aim of promoting ethnic integration. Apart from the fact that bilingual education is significant to national security, promoting bilingual education is also an important way to build up the minorities' economy. At the 1992 national ethnic conference, Jian Zhemin (Yang, 2007) pointed out the necessity of promoting bilingual education and Mandarin fluency in ethnic language areas. Mr. Jiang argued further that Mandarin as the major language had a responsibility to serve as an effective means of communication between different ethnic groups. However, both Han and minority peoples should learn from each other. Especially against the background of Western development, sharing a common language is one precondition to local economic development. The party secretary of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Wang Lequan, also stressed that learning Mandarin was crucial for further development.

As seen above, the combination of national security policy and economic policy have provided the impetus for promoting bilingual education at the national level in the current era

The Implementation of Bilingual Education in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region

From 1978-1980, minority education policy and its implementation was primarily the job of the Communist Party and the Autonomous Region government (Chen & Yang, 2005). The Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Communist Party Committee issued a series of policies and notices regarding the expansion of minority education which strove to set minority education policy onto the right track.

One important aspect of such policy at that time was respect for the traditions, culture and special characteristics of minorities (Chen & Yang, 2005). It was compulsory for all governmental publications to be bilingual. In addition, improving the living standards of minorities and developing the economy in the ethnic regions were essential tasks for the Autonomous Region Government (Li & Huang, 2007).

Under the influence of the central government policies, beginning in the 1990s, bilingual education incrementally became the focus of local government (Wang, 2003). In 1997, the education department of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region formulated the draft, "Mandarin Learning of Minority Students in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Uygur Autonomous Region". In 2002, the state council issued a decree about the acceleration of minority education. The Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Regulations provide that every citizen shall have the right to learn and use the national common language. In 1987, the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government adopted the goal that all high school graduates should be bilingual in both urban and rural areas, in the document "About Several Issues in Current Educational Work". In 1999, the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government further pointed out that strengthening Mandarin education was important for improving the quality of minority education; this has been an important guideline for bilingual education development so far.

In 1992, the crucial role that bilingual education plays in improving ethnic culture was raised at the second Ethnic Language and Character Education conference in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. In 1993, regulations on language and character education in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region were promulgated with the aim of consolidating bilingual education law. In 2003, the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Government carried out a state council decree regarding expanding reforms to accelerate the development of bilingual education (Tang, 2008).

Economic reform and the open door policy provide the background to understanding bilingual education in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Autonomous Region (Lin & Song, 2004) since economic development has become an important dynamic influencing the learning of the Chinese language (Ding, 2004; Song, 2006; Su, 2004; Wang, 2003a; Yang, 2004). The local minorities have had to make an effort to learn Mandarin in order to become part of their larger society (Zhu, 2006). The influence of economic reforms has significantly affected bilingual education in the northern part of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, but in the southern part, minority people were still reluctant to learn Mandarin.

In this period, the redirection of the extreme-left bilingual policy and the later promotion of the national economy have been the main tasks of the Chinese Communist Party (Zhu, 2006) in relation to language education. As well, the national government has been concerned with national security and frontier stability, since language policy is a tool for national consolidation and permeates the whole society (Dwyer, 2005). Under the authoritarian system, provincial governments have actively promoted bilingual education. Although evidence shows that more and more ethnic minority members have become motivated to learn Mandarin due to employment opportunities, in the southern part of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region only 11 percent of people can use Mandarin.

Conclusion

The past 50 years of minority language education policy in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region have highlighted two opposing tendencies to be avoided one is the neglect of the

special characteristics of different cultures in China; the other is the overemphasis of these differences so as to artificially build up the communicative hindrances between ethnic groups. An emphasis on truly bilingual education is a strategy for the Chinese to unite their country. As well, the promotion of the Mandarin language has been treated as one means to unite different ethnic groups on common ground.

The policy-making process related to minority language education in China shows that several national policies which have ultimately affected bilingual education in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Autonomous Region are interconnected, although their objectives have not always been complementary and, in some cases, have been opposed. In particular, Communist Party policy has had significant influence on bilingual education. At the practical level, problems with the implementation of bilingual education have often been caused by policy differences, for example, a lack of coordination between different policies at the local level. At the same time, there have been non-policy-related factors that have also affected the implementation of bilingual education, for example, a lack of teaching staff and other resources in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, where minorities still have a low standard of living. These practical considerations are rooted in the local context; in the Chinese literature, it is often difficult to see the voice of the people. Giving more autonomy to the local level would be another way to implement bilingual education effectively (Schluessel, 2007) because of anxiety among minority students. This argument is contradictory to the official Chinese report on the satisfaction of local students.

In sum, it is not difficult to discern that party policy has played a significant role in the development of bilingual education on the basis of the historical evidence from the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, and other historical episodes. The contradiction between the principle of protecting minority languages and the Chinese Communist Party's integration strategy has existed in all the historical stages examined in this paper. The national security policy has influenced bilingual education through both educational policy and language policy at different levels. Additionally, tension between the implementation of bilingual education and the wishes of local minority peoples has always been an issue, although it may seem that the relationship between national and local governments is harmonious under an authoritarian system.

In this paper, the policy web has been shown to be an effective lens for understanding policy on bilingual education in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. In China, the main impetus for changes in the policy web always comes from the central government, which illustrates the significant influence of the central government under its centralized political system. Even so, activities at the local level create a micro-policy web. For example, bilingual education, as the center of a policy web, is affected by the local economy and unique ethnic characteristics. The interactions between national policies and the local situation have created different focuses for policy webs over the historical periods examined in this paper. In the first period (1949-1957), bilingual education was promoted in accordance with the Chinese Common Program, but in practice these policies were hard to implement due to a lack of knowledge on the part of local people and educators and the significant role of Uygur language-based religious education in the Uygur people’s lives. In the second period (1958-1976), the rapid integration of minorities into mainstream Chinese society became the dominative ideology, which negatively affected the usage of minority language. This extreme-left ideology impeded the development of bilingual education in Xinjiang. In the third period (1977-present), economic development, national security, and ethnic cultural protection have become major concerns for the central government and the Chinese

Communist party; these have been reflected in relevant policies promoting both Mandarin and Uygur language learning. However, a lack of sufficient policy support and motivation from local people has reduced the effectiveness of these language policies.

This paper shows how, over the course of the history of the People's Republic of China, national policies have affected the progress and direction of bilingual education in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. The focus of national policy in different historical stages has served as the foundation of policy webs, which have greatly influenced bilingual education at different levels. In addition, due to the highly centralized political system in China, it is hard to identify the voice of local people in language policy making. This also affects our understanding of these language policies.

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Problem Solving Learning in School life: A Case Study in New Basic Education Project at Huai'an

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Abstract
The issue of learning science has become more and more important in China and abroad. Considering the role of the banzhuren, which is a unique and particular role of certain teachers in schools in China, and student groups and organizations at class and school level, research on student problem solving learning in their school life may contribute to the development of learning science and school reform. This paper explains the meaning of problem solving learning in the context of Chinese school life, which is different from subject based learning, and aims at making students experience the whole process of solving an authentic problem. The paper illustrates how problem solving learning is realized through a case study in a New Basic Education Program (NBEP) in the city of Huai'an by presenting the process of problem confirmation, problem analysis, solution planning, solution execution and solution evaluation. In conclusion, the paper discusses the contributions of this type of learning to student development and school reform.

Keywords: problem solving learning, banzhuren, school life, student development, school reform, New Basic Education Program

Introduction
With the development of learning science, many research achievements have been enhanced on student learning (Donovan & Bransford, 2005; Sawyer, 2006, 2014). Some researchers have discussed the particularity and mechanism of student learning, including the learning in school life context (Bransford, Brown, & Cocking, 2000; Li & Chen, 2013b). Some research has been devoted to the development of curriculum models, teaching theory and practice based on student learning (Arends & Kilcher, 2010; Darling-Hammond, 2008; Donovan & Bransford, 2005; Fogarty, 2001; Lambros, 2002; Spector, Lockee, Smaldino, & Herring, 2013). However, most of the research achievements about student learning, especially those from countries other than China, mainly focus on Western understanding of schooling, and Western school organization and student school life.

Everyday school life in China and that in Western countries differ greatly. From the perspective of the corresponding author and the last author, the locker is the center of American students' everyday school life, whereas the classroom is the center for Chinese

students, meaning their everyday school life has different structure of space, time and organization (Li, 2014). Chinese schooling is greatly different from Western schooling, and as is true with the understandings of education, the roles of teachers and principals, and the methods of teaching and learning. Western educators are more interested in understanding and learning from Chinese educators in the areas of instruction and leadership (Brasher, 2013; GOV.UK, 2014). The situation is the same in the areas of class and school life, which are different aspects from instruction.

Chinese banzhuren plays a peculiar and important role in Chinese students' everyday life, which is very different from any Western roles, such as the homeroom teacher, advisor or counselor (Li, 2015a). He/she loops with the same group of forty to sixty students, for several years, thus learning about each student and helping the whole group wherever and whenever they need, both at the school as well as outside life. He/she is the leader of all the subject teachers, and is the key person to develop a student community in the classroom (Li & Chen, 2013a). In addition, plenty class activities in class and school-wide are organized and led by the banzhuren.

Classroom and school life are very important to student learning and development (Jackson, 1990; Li & Chen, 2013b), and they can also provide a platform to conduct research about international or comparative contributions to the development of learning science and school reform (Lu, Bridges, & Hmelo-Silver, 2014).

In this research, the authors put forward these research questions:
1. How does problem solving learning in the school life occur and operate?
2. What is the value of problem solving learning to banzhuren and also to student development?

To answer these questions, this paper will first discuss the meaning of problem solving learning in the context of Chinese school life, followed by illustrations of how problem solving learning is realized through a case study in New Basic Education Program (NBEP) in Huai'an through detailed analysis of the process. At the end, the paper discusses the value of this type of learning, with the vision of realizing the comprehensive development of students.

Literature Review

The concept of problem solving has various interpretations. Mayer (1990) defines problem solving as cognitive processing directed at transforming a given situation into a goal situation when no obvious method of solution is available. Fogarty (2001, p.2) regards it as "a curriculum model designed around real-life problems that are ill-structured, open-ended, or ambiguous". Kim and Hannafin (2011, p.405) define problem solving in more detail, as they note that it is "situated, deliberate, learner-directed, activity-oriented efforts to seek divergent solutions to authentic problems through multiple interactions amongst problem solver, tools, and other resources." Despite the variations in definition, some consensuses have been reached, such as (1) the solution is not given and needs to be sought; (2) problem solving is procedural and collaborative; and (3) the role of student and teacher is changed. These characteristics are also suitable for problem solving learning.

Problem solving learning always "seek realistic solutions to real-world and authentic problems" (Arends & Kilcher, 2010, p.326). It is meaningful to situate learning in real and complex world, which will not only help students solve the problems, but also help them apply the skills into their future life. In problem solving, one has to reflect on the situation in

order to identify the proper arrangement of decisions and actions that may lead to a solution (PIAAC Expert Group in Problem Solving in Technology-Rich Environments, 2009). The process of seeking solutions is winding, complex, and with evaluations and improvements. When a successful solution is finally established, students also learn to evaluate the solution and identify the reason and methods that contribute to its success (Yu, Fan, & Lin, 2014).

Problem solving learning is a process. Many researchers put forward the main phases of problem solving (Dewey, 1910; Mayer, 1985; OECD, 2013; Sternberg, 2009; Syafii & Yasin, 2013). For example, Dewey (1910) highlights five steps on how a problem is solved: assess the level of problem difficulty, locate and define the problem, suggest possible solutions, develop a suggested solution, and accept or reject the suggested solution based on observations and experimental test results. Mayer's (1985) model of the problem-solving process identifies four sequential phases: problem translation, problem integration, solution planning, and solution execution. Sternberg (2009) describes seven steps of the problem-solving cycle, which includes problem identification, problem definition, strategy formulation, organization of information, allocation of resources, monitoring, and evaluation.

Different authors conceive of the cognitive processes involved in solving a problem in different ways, but there is a great deal of commonality in their views (OECD, 2013). According to these commonalities, the authors of this study summarize five key steps of problem solving learning: problem confirmation, problem analysis, solution planning, solution execution, and solution evaluation.

Some scholars argue that the goals of problem-based learning include helping students develop (a) flexible knowledge, (b) effective problem-solving skills, (c) self-directed learning skills, and (d) effective collaboration skills (Hmelo-Silver & DeSimone, 2013).

In problem solving learning, students generally work in small collaborative groups and learn what they need to know in order to solve a problem (Hmelo-Silver, 2004). Collaborative problem solving is a critical and necessary skill across educational settings and in the workforce. One of several important goals of problem solving learning is to help students become effective collaborators (Barrows & Kelson, 1995).

Students are active learners, who are responsible for their own learning and do not depend too much on their teachers. Teachers act more like a tutor or facilitator, guiding students through the whole learning process (Hmelo-Silver, 2004; Syafii & Yasin, 2013). Students are requested to construct an extensive and flexible knowledge base, develop effective problem-solving skills, cultivate self-directed, lifelong learning skills and become intrinsically motivated to learn (Barrows & Kelson, 1995). However, teachers need to help students learn the basic knowledge and skills needed for the problem solving. They are responsible to monitor the process, especially ensuring that all students are engaged in the process and guiding students to collaborate well. And more importantly, they need to encourage students to do self-reflection at the end.

All these findings derived from Western contexts have enlightened the authors, including the phases and characteristics of problem solving learning. The authors find it important to note that Western researchers make full use of quantitative research to get evidence of the effects of problem solving learning in different subjects and combined with various learning environments.

Problem Solving Learning Research in China

In China, the research on problem solving learning did not begin as soon as it did in the West. In the 1990s in China, researchers began to pay attention to student learning by problem solving. Theoretical exploration and introductory research emerged. The research includes the construction of the basic theory of problem solving learning, discussions about the models and strategies, design, development, application and evaluation of the curricula.

Although the present research lacks of comprehensiveness and a systematic methods, Chinese educators and researchers have realized the meaning and values of problem solving learning. By its definition, researchers regard the learning method as problem-driven with the aim of cultivating the learners' question awareness, critical thinking skills and problem solving ability (Yang, 2010; Zhang & Bi, 2004).

In the area of schooling, more teachers have started to use problem-based teaching and have come to realize the importance of problem-solving abilities. Problem-based teaching begins to challenge traditional teaching models in China (Chen, 2013). However, theories of teaching design seldom refer to teaching models for problem solving learning (Jonassen, 1997). There has been much research on teaching design (Cai, 2011; Liang, 2000; Yang, 2010; Yin, Zhang, & Li, 2001), teaching strategies (Zhang & Bi, 2004), technology support (Jin, 2009) and teacher training (Jia & Ni, 2012). Accordingly, Chinese educators have adequate experience of problem-based teaching methods.

As an important part of learning science research, problem solving learning also attracts many researchers' attention. On one hand, the research on problem solving learning mainly focus on subject learning, such as Chinese (Liu, 2003), Math (Qin, 2005), Chemistry (Wang, Zhou, & Liu, 2006), and Geography (Yin, Zhang, & Li, 2001). On the other hand, the research emphasizes more on the role of subject teachers in realizing students' problem solving learning. However, very little research has been concerned about the tacit and unique learning resources in everyday Chinese school life, especially in various kinds of classroom activities, as well as the role of banzhuren and the value to student development.

Uniqueness of Chinese School Life

The role of Chinese banzhuren and the use of classroom space are two important contributors that make Chinese school life unique.

The banzhuren accompanies the same class of students for several years, providing care, love, and guidance (Li, 2006; Noddings, 2005). Therefore, he/she has the responsibility for the all-around development of students. Whether an individual student or a group, the banzhuren is obligated to pay attention to the everyday classroom life, adapt students' everyday life to educational moments, and educate the students by *classrooming* (Li & Chen, 2013a).

The banzhuren also works as a subject teacher and as the leader of all the other subject teachers. There is a group of teachers serving the same class, and the banzhuren is responsible to organize them in order to conduct research on the students, to share the responsibilities of the classroom community, to learn from each other, and to teach and help the students. A banzhuren leads the organization of the teachers, and is also the center of students in his/her classroom (Li, 2010, 2012b).

In addition, the banzhuren is responsible for contacting the parents or other social agents. The leadership and management of a school and the public relationship between a school and the society mostly depend on the banzhurens. That is why that Chinese banzhuren is the focus of this paper.

The banzhuren and students in the same class are together most of the day. In Chinese school system, class is an embryonic school. As Dewey has pointed out that the school "gets a chance to be a miniature community, and embryonic society" (Dewey, 1959, p. 18). It is also a social, individualized and development space, where students and the banzhuren have close communication and collaboration. Students can interact with and learn from the groups, and have opportunities to participate in the rich activities in the classroom (Li, 2012a).

The structure of everyday life in the Chinese classroom is quite complex (Li & Chen, 2013a). The first thing the students do in the morning is assemble in the classroom, which serves as a base for students to be distributed to other classrooms and to return for more activities. All the classroom decorations, management and class culture are conducted by students themselves. Students stay with the same group of peers for three to six years, through all the grades of elementary school, middle school, or high school. A classroom meeting is held every week and a ten-minute meeting or thirty-five-minute self-driven time is held every school day at noon. These meetings are planned, organized and assessed by students and the banzhuren. The student council or student government not only works at the school level but also in every classroom. Some classrooms even have their own clubs (Li, 2014, 2015b; Li & Chen, 2013a). For Chinese students, besides their family home, the classroom is the most important space they spend time in. Chinese classroom, where students live at the present and prepare for the future, provides a real world for them before they enter into society (Li & Chen, 2013a).

The existence of Chinese banzhuren and the uniqueness of the Chinese classroom make learning in everyday school life more meaningful and important to student development. The idea is also reflected by Philip Jackson and other researchers (Jackson, 1990, 1992; Jackson, Boostrom, & Hansen, 1993). Everyday school life contains rich educational resources for student development (Li, 2012a), from self-development to interaction with others, as well as from how to do things to how to be a human-being.

Methodology

This paper focuses on the problem solving learning in the context of Chinese school life, so philosophical thinking is needed to explain the meaning of problem solving learning, as mentioned in the previous introduction and literature review sections.

The core question of this study is how does problem solving learning happen, and here an actual case study is presented to describe the process. The case study occurred in 2013, and the students were given the question, "What can we do to solve the traffic jam in front of the school?". The main participants were the banzhuren and the forty-five students in the class of grade six.

The traffic jam at the school gate aroused the interest of the class monitor. So at one morning meeting the girl put forward her idea and encouraged her classmates to solve the problem together. The banzhuren appreciated it very much and got herself involved into the project from the beginning to the end. It took more than a month for the banzhuren and all the students to experience the whole process to solve the problem.

The whole process of this activity can be divided into five stages, that is, problem confirmation, problem analysis, solution planning, solution execution, and solution evaluation. Different jobs in each stage are as follows.

Table 1. *The process of the problem solving*

Stage	Jobs
Problem Confirmation (Nov. 8th –Nov. 15th)	1. Concern and confirm the problem 2. Analyze the problem and exchange observations 3. Assign the tasks to Team A, B, C and D
Problem Analysis (Nov. 18th –Nov. 25th)	1. Plan by different teams 2. Design the questionnaire 3. Conduct the investigation 4. Tease the reasons of traffic jam: students and parents, school and the community
Solution Planning (Nov. 26th –Dec. 2nd)	1. Formulate the action plan 2. Exchange and improve the plan
Solution Execution (Dec. 3rd –Dec. 9th)	1. Team A and B solve the problems caused by students and parents 2. Team C solve the problems caused by school 3. Team D solve the problems caused by the community
Solution Evaluation (Dec. 9th –Dec. 12th)	1. Summarize by teams 2. Wrap up and evaluate each team at classroom meeting 2. Team A and B present the reasons of students and parents in melodrama

In the process of case study, by learning from Dr. Philip Jackson ((Jackson, 1990, 1992; Jackson, Boostrom, & Hansen, 1993), the second author, as the banzhuren, and the third author, as a research partner, conducted on-site observations from the beginning to end, and recorded the classroom meetings on video. So the authors have very good understanding and authentic experience of the students' engagement and development.

In order to answer the question of the value of problem solving learning to student development, the authors designed open-ended questionnaires to get feedback from students on their opinions about self-development and their partners' development. The questions include "Which of your abilities has been developed through this activity?", "Who or what influenced you the most in the process?", and "Who made the greatest progress?". The second author distributed questionnaires to forty-five students on December 13, 2013, and all were collected in the next morning by the second author (see Figure 1).

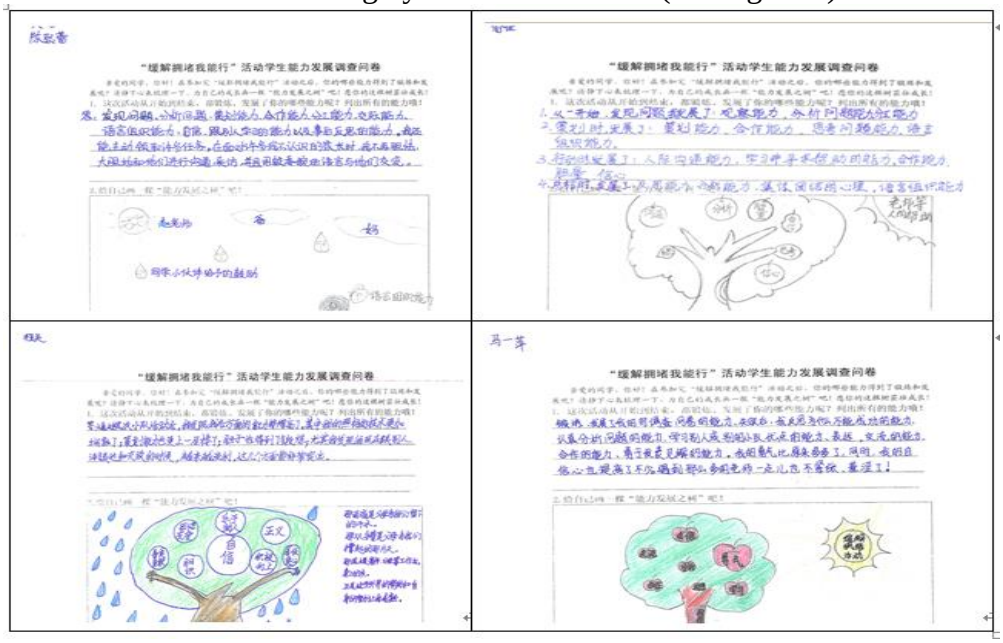

Figure 1. Students' response to the questionnaires

Case Analysis

Based on the above analysis and practice, the paper regards problem solving learning as a type of learning models, conducted by students themselves and guided by teachers. The problem is the key or core, and it is observed by students or emerged from their real life experiences. In the learning process, students should adopt various methods comprehensively to solve the problem. At the end, not only is the problem solved, but also student development is achieved in many aspects, such as academic, social and emotional development. When this kind of learning occurs in school life, especially in the classroom, many pedagogical moments and activities may happen, which will be presented in the following analysis of the whole process of the case.

Problem Confirmation

With more and more parents taking their children to school via various transportation methods, the traffic in front of the school used to be problematic and became worse during winter. On November 7, 2013, the class monitor and several students noticed the traffic pictures on the public real-time billboard. On the next day, at the weekly classroom meeting hosted by the banzhuren and students, the monitor suggested to her classmates that they could work to solve the problem together. With the suggestion of the banzhuren, the students decided to observe the traffic for one week before taking actions.

One week later, the whole class analyzed the problem together and exchanged their observations at the classroom meeting. They found that the problem was authentic and complicated, as it involved students, parents, school management and the community. Therefore, based on individual choice, the students organized themselves into four teams (we call them Team A, Team B, Team C, Team D for convenience) in order to lower the complication and difficulty of the problem. Team A was responsible for the students, Team B was responsible for the parents, Team C was responsible for the school management, and Team D was responsible for the community.

Problem Analysis

The analysis of the problems at the beginning stage was simple and superficial. Therefore, students started to explore more deeper-level reasons at this stage with the guidance of the banzhuren. Of note, there were several key points to student development.

The first one was to select students to facilitate the plan. The banzhuren discussed with the four team leaders and the rest of the students selected students responsible for the draft plan. Three vice team leaders and another volunteer were elected for this task.

The second was to design the questionnaire and conduct the investigation. Team A and B were assigned to talk to students and parents to do the investigation. However, when Team B conducted the investigation, they found that parents were barely willing to respond. Besides, some of the team members were too shy or intimated to communicate with the parents. Therefore, they decided to switch to printed questionnaires to finish the task in the limited period of time. They asked the banzhuren to assist them with the questionnaire design, and then discussed with each other about the questions to include on the questionnaire, which was modified by the banzhuren in the process. Meanwhile, Team C tried to apply statistics to the real life situation in order to calculate the number of vehicles on-site during rush hours.

The third was to analyze the investigation results. When students started to do so, they initially found it hard to collaborate with each other, and the girl leader of Team A even

teared up the paper due to the chaos. After the girl talked to the banzhuren about the situation and got comfort and advice, the girl leader realized that she did have the problem of criticizing her team members too much when they did not finish the tasks on time, instead of encouraging them. Therefore, she decided to praise them more on their achievements to encourage the team members. During the discussion about the results, Team A and B discovered that causes by students and parents were closely related and they decided to collaborate with each other.

After the investigation, the four teams jointly drew a conclusion on the reasons of the traffic jam which are listed as follows (see Table 2).

Table 2. *Reasons of the traffic jam*

Students & Parents (Team A & B)	• Parents bring children to the school gate directly in the morning to save time or to guarantee their safety. • Parents tend to gather at the school gate to pick up their children as soon as the school is dismissed. • Parents do not park their vehicles properly.
School Management (Team C)	• Students have to cross the road when they are dismissed from school. • Sometimes teachers do not dismiss class on time and parents are eager to pick up their children. • The east school gate is not open all year round, and the north school gate is the only exit. • The design of the waiting area for parents has flaws.
Community (Team D)	• The road is narrow and the influx of vehicles may cause traffic. • Few traffic polices are on duty during rush hours. • The vehicles driving to the nearby university cause blockages, too.

Solution Planning

Based on the analysis of the second stage, the four teams exchanged and discussed their plans with each other. The main task at this stage was to introduce their own plan to other teams, listen to their advice, and analyze the feasibility of their plans, so as to modify the plans to be put into action.

Team A and B decided to persuade parents not to crowd at the school gate. However, the banzhuren and other teams reminded them that with only forty-five team members, they would be outnumbered by parents of the other school children at the gate. Besides, lower graders came to school later and were dismissed earlier. Finally, they decided to call for a school-wide student-parent collaboration to solve the problem.

Team B planned to assist traffic polices to supervise parents' parking arrangements. But the other teams said that since they were students, they had very limited power and time. Under their suggestions, Team B decided to contact the local traffic police department to have more support.

Team C suggested students to turn left or right directly after school, without crossing the road at the gate area. However, if students try to cross the road at a far point from the gate without the protection of the traffic police, it could be very dangerous. So after thorough discussion, Team C abandoned the idea.

Team D decided to call the mayor hotline or go to the city hall to discuss the problem and possible solutions with the mayor, for example, to widen the road. But the mayor was busy and making phone calls to the mayor's office would not be effective in the short time they

were assigned. Therefore, Team D started to search for related departments in charge of the problem.

Solution Execution

After the detailed analysis of the problems and modification of their plans, the four teams began to take actions to solve the problems at this stage (see Table 3).

Table 3. *The actions of the students*

Students & Parents (Team A & B)	• Request to use the school-wide radio and speak to students • Create a banner to motivate students to participate in their plans • Create a "A Proposal to Parents" to be delivered to other classes • Follow-up on the effect of the actions through observations and interviews • Dissuade parents who still pick-up their children at the school gate • Make reminder stickers vehicles that violate parking regulations
School Management (Team C)	• Divide the waiting area for parents • Interview the principal and ask her to suggest at the teacher meeting that all teachers finish class on time
Community (Team D)	• Add one more police to direct the traffic at the west school gate • Broadcast the news of the construction of a new street in front of the school

Obviously, even if the action plans were discussed and modified several times, there were still unexpected obstacles in the real context. For example, for the sake of safety, the suggestion of opening the east school gate by Team C was denied. Team C also advised different grades had different morning class schedules, but the principal did not completely adopt it, because it is a regulation to start class at 8am for all students. Team D, in charge of the problems of the community, was also faced with a lot of complicated difficulties. It was worth mentioning that when the students' ideas were rejected, they did not immediately give up. They chose to communicate with the school leaders, observe and investigate by themselves, and then make final decisions.

Solution Evaluation

Students are required to summarize and evaluate at this stage. Every team did group discussion and then each team member wrote an individual summary. Team leaders put their own team summaries together to create a team report and presented it to the whole class.

To be more creative and impressive, Team A and B decided to act out their presentations through drama. During preparation and rehearsal, the two team leaders encouraged the team members who tended to be introverted and lack confidence by constantly praising their performance. Therefore, when they finally made their debut before the class, they found themselves more confident and brave than they normally were.

Discussion

Transformation of the Banzhuren's Role

The banzhuren works as the guide, and in the whole process, the banzhuren was actively involved. The banzhuren should clarify students' ideas first, followed by discussing with students. The case showed that the banzhuren enlightened the students from the beginning to the end. At the beginning, when students decided to immediately take actions, the banzhuren

suggested they should observe for one week to confirm the problem. While analyzing the problems, the banzhuren guided the teams to explore more deeper-level reasons by further investigation, and helped them design and modify the questionnaire. The banzhuren also helped them adjust planning, revise the proposal to parents, coordinate with school faculty, and deal with contradictions between students.

While being asked who influenced you the most, four students mentioned the banzhuren (see Figure 2). Some students' comments are quoted as follows:

- The banzhuren enlightened us a lot when we knew nothing at all.
- When I was in trouble, the banzhuren helped me a lot. While communicating with my parents, the banzhuren told me to be polite and respectful, and then bring up my ideas with positive topics. Finally, I succeeded in persuading many parents.

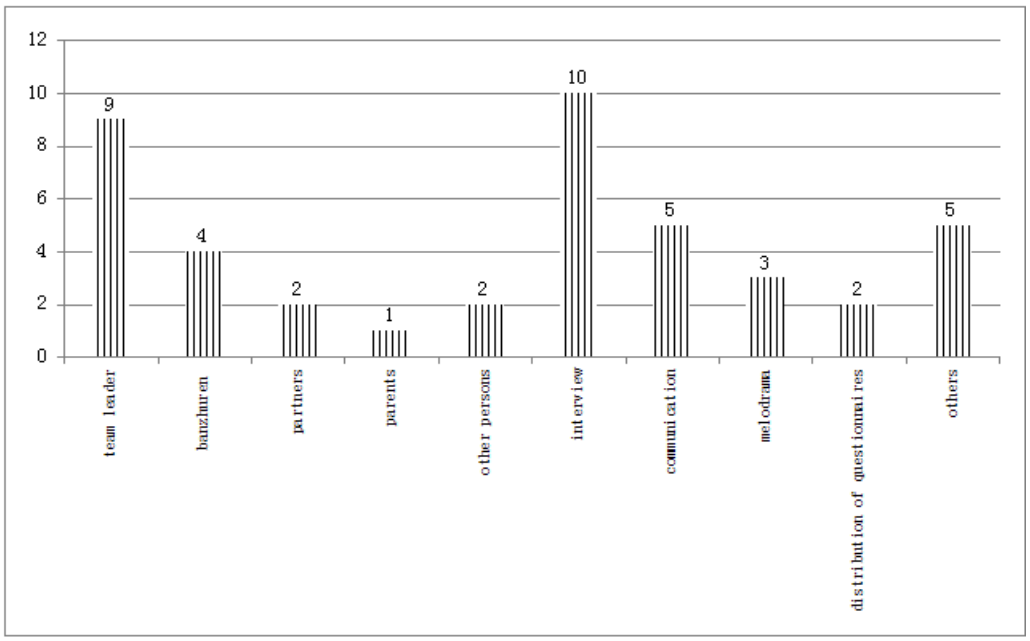

Figure 2. Who or what influences you the most in the process? (N=41)
Note: Four students did not give response, and two of the forty-one students gave two answers respectively.

The banzhuren works as a listener, as listening is important to the relationship between the banzhuren and students. For example, during the process, there were many times that students failed to collaborate well with each other. At the stage of problem analysis, the leader of team A failed to organize the team members together to analyze the investigation results. And at the stage of solution execution, the members of team D were unable to finish their tasks on time, which made the team leader angry and anxious. At that time, the banzhuren listened to the leaders' explanations patiently, discussed with them about the reasons, and helped them to solve the problem. As a result, students were willing to take advice from the banzhuren and warm up to her, and at the same time go along well with classmates too.

The banzhuren also works as a learner. To get guidance and help from the banzhuren is important for students' problem solving experience, which is also beneficial for the banzhuren development. If the banzhuren wants to provide professional advice for students, he/she should have relevant capacities first.

Development of Students

In this case study, many students had their very first opportunity to solve such a complex problem, and to experience the process of drafting the plan, designing the questionnaire, communicating with many parents and teachers, and performing the melodrama in front of the class. In addition, all of students were willing to challenge themselves. For example, twenty-seven of forty-five students participated the survey (see Figure 3) thought they became more courageous and twenty-one students thought they became more confident while facing other adults or performing before the class. Sixteen students mentioned that they learned how to draft a plan without much experience.

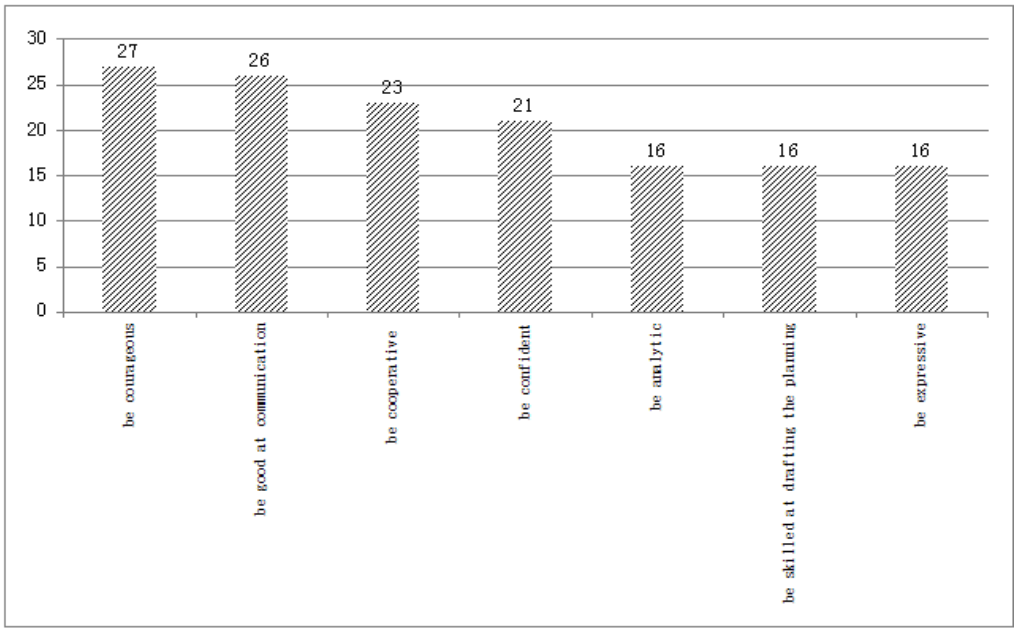

Figure 3. What kind of abilities have been developed through this activity? (N=45)

Problem solving in real situation helps students conduct meaningful and purposeful activities as "experts" and apply school-learned knowledge and experience to real life (Cai, 2011). With the real-life experience, students acquired abilities useful for their future development. For example (see Figure 3), they became skillful to communicate with adults (twenty-six students thought they were better at communication), go along well with peers (twenty-three students thought they realized the importance of unity and cooperation), improved at analysis and expression (sixteen students respectively admitted they had improved their abilities in both aspects), and adjusted themselves immediately while facing difficulties.

Student leadership can be motivated and cultivated in the process of problem solving. In our investigation, nine students acknowledged that the team leaders influenced them the most (see Figure 2), and twenty students thought that the team leaders had made the greatest progress (see Figure 4). Undoubtedly, the four leaders gained a lot during the whole process, such as how to encourage and praise the team members and how to handle conflicts among students. One team leader also wrote that:

- I now understand how to be a team leader. At the beginning, I assigned tasks to every team member reasonably. I discussed with my partners while facing difficulties, and listened to their opinions when we had disagreements. I also realized the importance of encouraging my partners and arousing their enthusiasm to enhance the cohesiveness of our team.

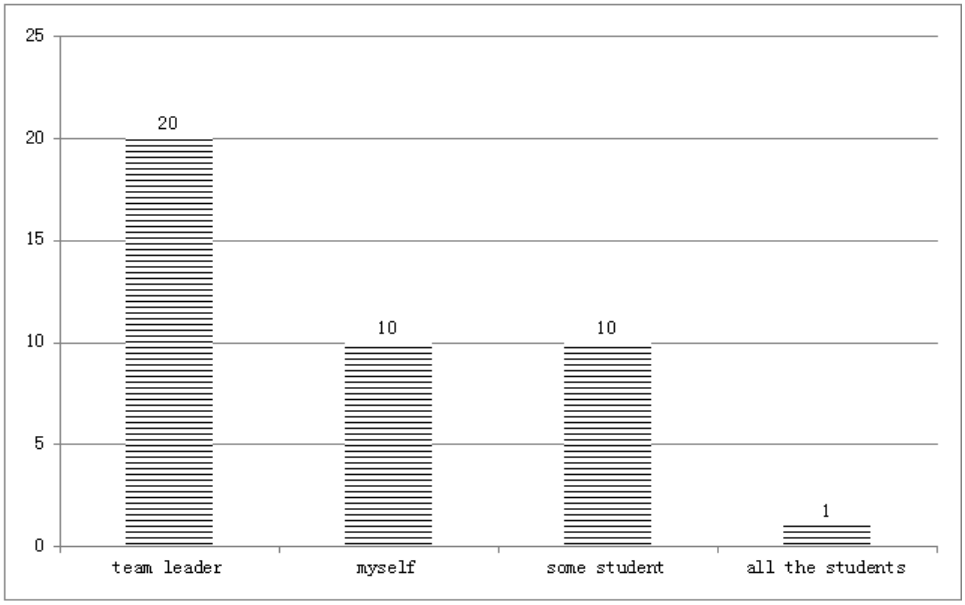

Figure 4. Who has made the greatest progress? (N=41)
Note. Four students did not give response.

Learning to collaborate and communicate with other students is helpful to solve the problem. Only if you are open to others' advice can you have the opportunity to learn from others and develop yourself better. At the stage of solution planning, each team had the opportunity to adjust their plans due to the open discussion between each other. After listening to advice and suggestions from others, they modified the plans in order to achieve better results. According to our investigation, five students agreed that good communication benefited them a lot (see Figure 1).

Conclusion

Learning happens in everyday life. It should be viewed as life-long and in everyday life (International Commission on the Development of Education, 1972; Li, 2015c). It works not only as a subsidiary learning method, but can also be transferred into as a formal learning method. This will lead to Eastern education, especially the Confucian education tradition.
There is a huge amount of resources in students' everyday school life. It means that learning can happen everywhere and at any time. This understanding will directly lead to school reform. What's more, the classroom environment, clubs, ceremonies, student organizations, and other communication have educational meanings too, and instruction is only one part of schooling.

The role of the Chinese banzhuren can be an important facilitator for student development by adopting problem solving learning into his/her professional work. His/her professional development is important for student development. A professional banzhuren possesses more comprehensive capacities, which enables him/her to carry out research on students, to organize or create educative materials and contexts, and to perform an educative role in everyday life. Moreover, as a teacher who is responsible for the classroom life, the banzhuren can be a model for other teachers in the professional development and life sphere (Li, 2010; Li, Wang, & Li, 2009). Thus he/she influences students just as parents do, and realizes the development of the whole community of students by collaborating well with other teachers.

Chinese educational policy should better support the banzhuren and students' everyday life. A national standard referred to the classrooming, including its nature, its objects and contents,

its process, and its assessment framework, should be designed as soon as possible. School leadership should be reformed as well, with special attention to updating the role of principals. A principal must be a learner, to learn from the banzhurens, teachers, and students; and a principal must be a communicator, to create and develop the learning and development community for the banzhurens, teachers and students (Boyer, 1995; Owen, 2007). Students' development should be the center of education reform and development.

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