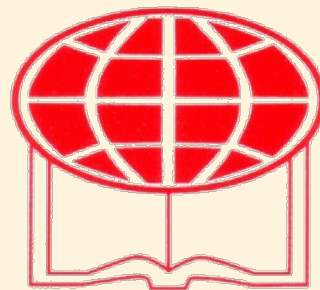


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Editorial

This is the second issue of the peer-reviewed *International Journal of Comparative Education and Development (IJCED)*, the official biannual journal of the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong (CESHK). As an institutional initiative in 2013, the new journal has been upgraded from the *Comparative Education Bulletin (CEB)* and has been well received by the community. This substantive issue is another great achievement of the CESHK in recent years, in addition to a doubling of registered members from the Asia-Pacific Region and the rest of the world.

The thirteen articles published in this new issue cover a broad range of topics in the field of comparative and international education, empirically and theoretically. The first three articles are contributed by the three keynote speakers for the CESHK annual conferences, Atsushi Makino from the University of Tokyo, Nicholas S. K. Pang from the Chinese University of Hong Kong and Shoko Yamada from Nagoya University, respectively focusing on lifelong learning and societal re-development in Japan, teachers' practice of Confucian ethics and values in Shanghai and Hong Kong, and the latest scholarship in the field of comparative education in Japan. These articles are followed by more diverse topics, such as global citizenship education from a Deficit-Theorised Eastern perspective, university linkages and international development assistance drawing from the Canada-China experience, family background, school resources and students' achievements from PISA Shanghai (2009), the "Retitling Phenomenon" of Chinese higher education, education for international understanding (EIU) in Mainland China, civility in secondary schools in Hong Kong, and preschool education programs to empower adult learners in the Philippines. Moreover, this issue also includes a new section of book reviews, with the second edition of Professor Andy Green's *Education and State Formation: Europe, East Asia and the USA* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2013) being reviewed. These latest studies address urgent issues in the field of education and development in radically changing contexts, and greatly broaden and deepen our understanding of educational realities from complementary, and sometimes contrasting, perspectives.

The *IJCED* Editorial Board has been working very hard to edit and publish a journal of higher quality through a peer-reviewed, open-access system. We have been very much encouraged by our authors, reviewers, as well as CESHK's previous presidents and senior scholars in the community. It is their keen and indefatigable support that makes this issue especially valuable. I must thank very much Jae Park, Tracy Lau and Roger Chao Jr. for their substantial help. Special thanks also go to Emily Mang who continuously supported the *IJCED* over the years.

Jun Li

Editor-in-Chief

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“KIDZUNA” – Re-building Society through Lifelong Learning: The Changing Character of Learning and Society in Japan

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Abstract

Japanese society is facing three big structural transformations. Besides changes in age structure due to demographic aging, the other changes are employment insecurity and the change in local government structure from the centralized administrative system to decentralized independent system. These structural changes have resulted in the severing of “solidarity” among the people and isolation with the breakdown of social bonds.

Under such social transformations, a lifelong learning policy has become an important strategic tool for the government to mobilize the people and regain social integration. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, lifelong learning becomes an activity where people engage not merely as citizens, but more as residents and activists in their community.

One feature of lifelong learning practices at the community level emphasizes grassroots residential exchanges as the catalysts for the re-building of a new community. This paper will provide a few examples of such re-building projects of communities. In this process, we can see that people become a communal existence that they generate in their relationship with others, and build the community-networks, where “learning” becomes the very existence of individuals and “weak” people are connected to create a “strong” community through the making of new “KIDZUNA” (Solidarity).

Keywords: Lifelong learning, Structural change of society, “Learning” as essence of individuals and societies, Dynamic system of communities, “Kidzuna” (Solidarity or Social bond)

Preface

Japanese *society* is falling apart. This means we are facing two crises – the crisis of people’s social existence and the crisis of social integrity. This is caused by the combination of two problems: On the one hand, people are feeling their existence to be less and less stable and their reality as a social existence to be shaken. On the other hand, the sense of values in the society is becoming more and more diversified and fluid, with the result that social ties are breaking down and social integrity is being lost.

In this paper, I will show you the situation of structural change of Japanese society and examine its influence on lifelong learning policy and practices. The keywords to understand the change of Japanese society are diversification, downsizing of society, base-layer residents’ autonomy and construction of a new community. Now in Japan, “learning” has become the key to create a new society based on the base-layer residents’ communities and their network. It has also become the key for understanding the existence of individuals as a communal existence of “we”.

What I mentioned above means that Japan is no longer a country which is a homogeneous and monotonous nation-state, and now is a country which is a very diversified and individualized

and is also a multi-valued society. The challenge that we are facing now is the difficulty in creating a diversified-unified society and creating the individualistic-communal “we”. We are faced with the need to create a new word which consists of two opposite meanings.

“KIDZUNA” is a Japanese word that means solidarity, social ties, bonds, human networks, mutual reliance, social capital and so on. Now in Japan, the society has almost lost “KIDZUNA” as its old meaning, with the social bonds having been cut down and people having become isolated, but we are now trying to rebuild a new “KIDZUNA” and to re-unify the society.

The Structural Transformation in Japanese Society

We can say that Japanese society has been facing a structural transformation for over 20 years. There are three factors that lie in the background of this. The first factor is the rapid decline in birthrate accompanied by demographic aging. The second factor is the conversion of the industrial structure and a change in the employment structure according to the social change from the so-called industrial society to a consumer society. It is especially noted as the spread of job insecurity. The third factor is the rapid reduction of tax revenue and a change in the structure of local governments. The old national-initiative type of administration is no longer called for, and governments at the local residents’ level are pressed to become independent.

First, I will talk about the rapid decline in birthrate accompanied by demographic aging. Now, the elderly ratio in Japan over the whole country is around 24%. The elderly ratio exceeded 7% in 1970, and the whole country became an aging society; it exceeded 14% in 1994, and the whole country entered into the aged society. Following this, the elderly ratio exceeded 21% in 2005 and the country became the super-aged society. If such a change continues at the same pace, it is predicted that the elderly ratio will become 40% in around the year 2040.

This rapid aging in Japanese society is due to the fact that it is accompanied by a high-speed decline in birthrate. It is predicted that this will cause a rapid decrease in total population. According to the prediction, the total population of Japan, which is 127 million people now and had already begun decreasing in the year 2006, will decrease to 100 million, or even 80 million people according a more severe prediction, in around 2050. After that, if it continues decreasing at the same pace, it will be 60 million or even 40 million people in around 2100. It has also been said that if human beings still survive, the Japanese population will decrease to 1 person in the year 3500. I will show you the structural change in the population pyramid in Japan from 1930 to 2050 (see Fig. 1).

Therefore, Japanese society is already a society whose scale has been reducing. This is also a big challenge for industry, especially for the development of GDP. Japan is no longer a society of mass production and mass consumption, in which goods are produced in large numbers and consumed in large quantities, and since wages are becoming higher and higher, more and more manufacturing industries will cease domestic production and move overseas.

Japan’s economic development reached its peak as an industrial society around 1985, and the market of the manufacturing industry was saturated. Then, individualization and diversification progressed in the sphere of economy and the society began to convert from the so-called industrial society to a consumption society. Also, from the end of the 1980s to the beginning of the 1990s, the bubble economy met its peak and Japanese society turned into a consumer and monetary economy society.

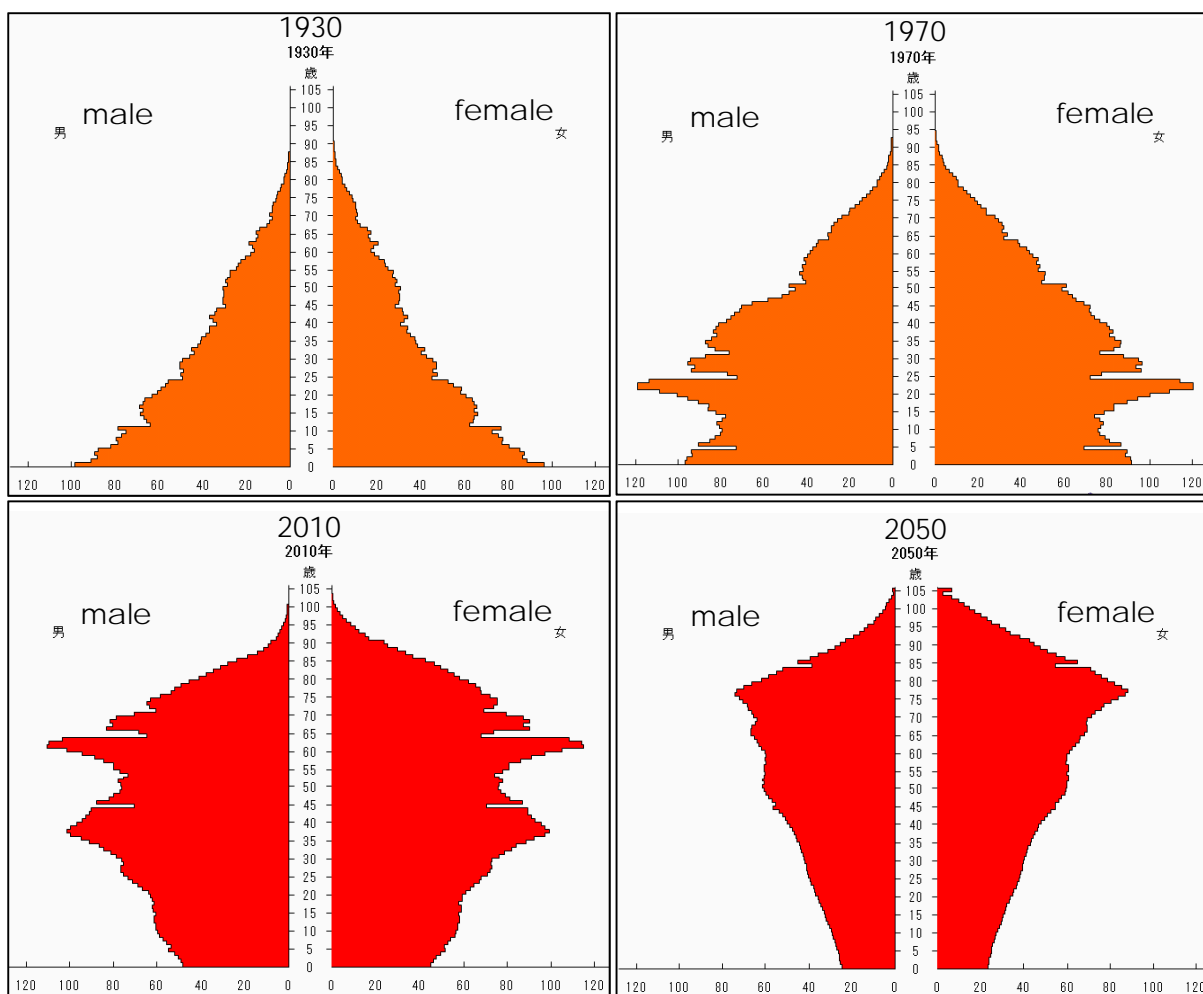


Fig. 1 Population Pyramids in Japan from 1930 to 2050 (Unit: Ten thousand)
 Note. Data from the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research [JPSS] website).

The bubble economy dissolved in 1991 and the whole of Japanese society fell into the long-term depression which has continued up to now. While the manufacturing industry moved abroad, domestic employment decreased and the number of non-regular employees increased rapidly in this process. At the same time, the unemployment rate also increased.

The number of non-regular employees exceeds 2/5 of all employees and the unemployment rate today is over 5%. Japanese society which once enjoyed full employment has turned into a society in which people have difficulty finding a regular employment job. The big change in such a social structure like this also brought shortfalls in the national tax revenue of the country. As a result, the political structure where the central government takes the lead and supports local governments has begun to collapse, and local governments have been pressed for independence with the tendency of decentralization. The great merger of local governments which took place from 1999 to 2010 is the political reality.

As a final result of this great merger, the administration system of a stable state has begun to collapse, and each local government has been pressed for independence, and the social burden has been passed to the autonomous organization of local residents who are the very base of autonomy of local government. We can say that society has already begun to collapse at the

bottom of the local administrative system (see Fig. 2).

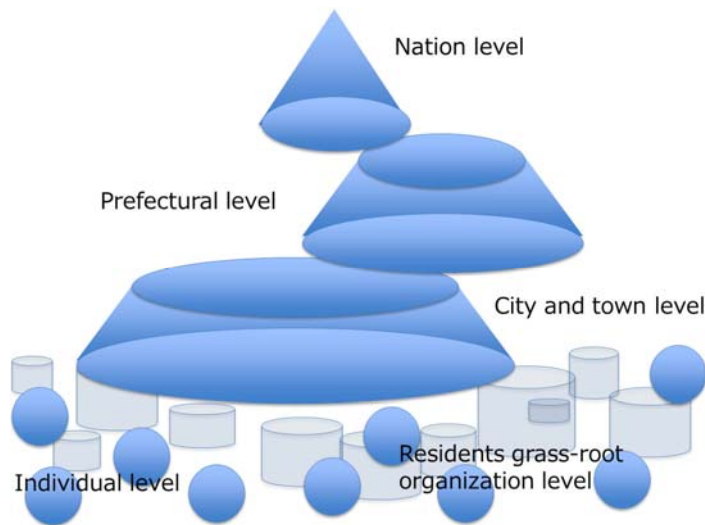


Fig. 2 Decentralization of Japanese Administrative System

What these structural changes have brought to the people is the cutting of “solidarity” among the people. Over the past 20 years in Japan, people have been isolated and the social “bonds” also have been breaking down (Makino, 2004).

The Trend and Present Condition of the Lifelong Learning Policy

In such a condition, lifelong learning is politically thought of as being important in Japan. The government has been trying to mobilize the people and regain social integration through lifelong learning policy and practice.

In the early 1970s, the concept and thought of lifelong education and lifelong learning were introduced from UNESCO and OECD into Japan. In the 1980s, the concept of lifelong learning spread throughout the society, and this has continued up to the present day. However, the thought, practice and policy of social education had already spread throughout Japanese society in the 19th century. In those days, it was called popular education (Matsuda, 2004).

After World War II, Japanese society restarted social education as a measure for realizing the peoples’ better life and spreading democracy and peace. The Social Education Law was launched in 1949, and social education was promoted all over the country. The main institution was the *Kominkan* (Community Learning Center, CLC). Today, there are 16,000 *Kominkans* which cover the country as the basic residents’ learning facilities. There are 233 million people participating in lifelong learning activities in *Kominkan* each year.

On such a foundation of social education, the concept of lifelong learning was introduced into Japanese society in the 1970s. It was strongly influenced by the lifelong learning concept of UNESCO and the learning society theory of OECD. Through the 1970s, in Japan, due to rapid economic development and technology innovation, people have felt the pressure to continue learning even after graduating from school. They feel the need to renew their knowledge and skills. And due to automation and mechanization of factories, how to use the resultant leisure time also became an issue for workers and other people. In such a situation, the idea that continuing learning is the way to become a “complete person” was spread throughout society. In this sense, lifelong learning in Japan has a very Japanese character which tends to be

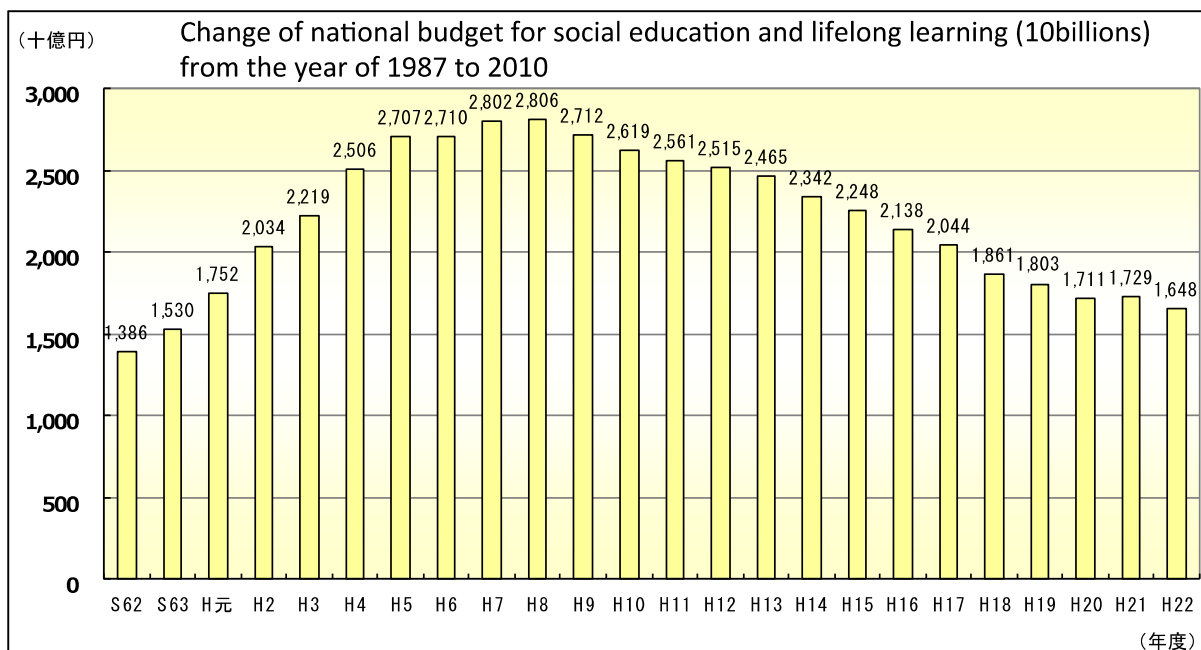
general education or liberal arts education, unlike the character of work skills education or individual's key-competency development in the concept of lifelong learning in Western countries. Work force development and the individual's key competency development were carried in so-called in-service training in companies. This character of Japan's lifelong learning can be said to have been reflecting the character of historical social education. We can say that although Japan in the early 1970s imported the concept and thought of lifelong learning from OECD and UNESCO, lifelong learning had a very Japanese style which was characterized by the tradition of social education.

After that, in the 1980s, lifelong learning, on the one hand, became a thought and basic idea of the school system reform, and on the other hand, it was thought of as the policy and practice of marketizing the learning and providing the learning opportunity to people through the market. In 1990, the Lifelong Learning Promotion Law was launched. The key concepts of this law are: (1) marketizing lifelong learning, (2) sending the learning opportunities as product to every citizen widely throughout the market, and (3) rearranging the whole society to a learning society (Makino, 1992). Soon after the law was launched, the bubble economy collapsed, and Japanese society fell into a serious and long-term recession. In addition, the rapid decline in birthrate, the high-speed aging and the decrease in population became inevitable. Also, individualization and diversification of society has become no longer avoidable.

Under this social situation, the necessity of re-unifying the society is called for. On the one hand, in order to ease the burden of the national government, the decentralization of the local government has become more and more needed, and on the other hand, to propel the social re-integration, it has become more and more necessary that local residents participate in the local governments' administration and bear the burden of the local government. Here, a new role for lifelong learning has come up. Learning has also been expected to play the role of promoting the mobilization of residents so that they can bear the social burden to re-unify the society.

From the beginning of the 2000s, the direction of lifelong learning policy has begun to change. The direction started to move from "community building for lifelong learning" to "community building through lifelong learning." Under the condition of decentralization, lifelong learning has been enhanced as a measure to mobilize residents and to absorb the burden of the local government (Chuo Kyoiku Shingikai, 2004. Omomo and Seto, 2010). The pressure of individualization and merchandising of society is still very intense, and Japanese society is still continuing the change in the direction of individualization and diversification. In such a condition, the central government has given up the state level policy of lifelong learning, and it is now urging each local government to launch the lifelong learning policy individually (Makino, 2012a).

As the central government gave up the unified policy, the national budget of social education and lifelong learning began to be reduced. For example, the national budget for social education and lifelong learning that had 28,020 billion Japanese Yen in 1996 was reduced to 16,480 billion Japanese Yen in 2010 (see Fig. 3). It is almost 10% of the total education expenditure of the national budget. In this situation, the main actor of lifelong learning policy and administration has changed from the national government to each local government, especially the base-layer municipality where the local residents run their everyday life. It also can be said that the burden to promote lifelong learning has become forces to bear for each local government from the national government.



Japanese society has been pressed to promote lifelong learning and spread it throughout the whole country to re-unify society on the basis of residential grass-root autonomy organizations. Here, the activity of lifelong learning has become one in which people not as citizens but as residents have become the main activators and play their new role to gain social unification. The situation of learning population in present Japan is as follows:

- The total population is 127 million, the elderly ratio is 25%, and persons aged 75 and over account for 11% of the overall population.
- There are about 16,000 *Kominkans*, and about 450,000 study classes are established every year, with 233 million people to participating in them.
- The library system has about 3,200 libraries and 170 million users. The loaning out of books amounts to 632 million volumes each year.
- There are 1,300 art museums and 4,500 similar institutions, and 266 million people using these facilities per year. Also gymnastic institution users number 153 million people. If seen only from the number of users, the scale of lifelong learning in Japan is already about 6.5 times that of the total population (MEXT, 2010).

Activities of the Residents as the Main Actors

The grassroots resident community has already become the key to resolve the problems caused by the structural change of society and to re-unify the people and make the society stable. The aged society like that of Japan is a society whose aged ratio is very high, but one in which not only elderly people but also young people and children live together. Therefore, lifelong learning activities at the community level, while targeting elderly people, have to connect them to various generations for their exchange activities to re-create the new community. This is the great feature of lifelong learning practices in Japan. Hereinafter, I will introduce three examples of lifelong learning practices in which the community residents play the role as the main actors.

The first example of this is the construction of a multi-generation exchange type community¹ corresponding to the aged society. The second example is the activation project for depopulated areas. And the third example is a trial of the so-called MONO-LAB-JAPAN project. This is a trial in which elder people hand the pleasure of craftsmanship down to the young people and children. The first project consists of two main types of activities. The first type of activity is one in which universities and enterprise corporations undertake holding elderly-people-oriented seminars and offer opportunities for the elderly people, especially for the retired company employees, to participate in, and support them to make new friends and build new human networks, as well as urge them to lead a second life (see Fig. 4).



Fig. 4 Activity 1: Elderly-people-oriented Seminars

The second type of activity is organizing such elderly people and building an activity base, like a community café, where the community residents of various generations visit, talk and exchange ideas, and build mutual relationships in which they watch over one another. Its aims are that the elderly people will become the treasure of the community, such that even if someone has become bedridden, children will come to visit and talk with that person (see Fig. 5).

The second project is the activation project of depopulated areas². Now there is the phrase

¹ This is based on the writer's research project to build the multi-generation exchange type community performed in the City of Kashiwa, Chiba Prefecture.

² This is also based on the writer's research project to activate the 'marginal village' performed in the City of Toyota, Aichi Prefecture.

“marginal village” in Japanese society. It means an aged and depopulated village facing the danger of ceasing to exist. This project is one in which young people move from the city to depopulated areas of farming and mountain villages and begin a new “agriculture-oriented life,” and renew the culture of that area and activate the village.

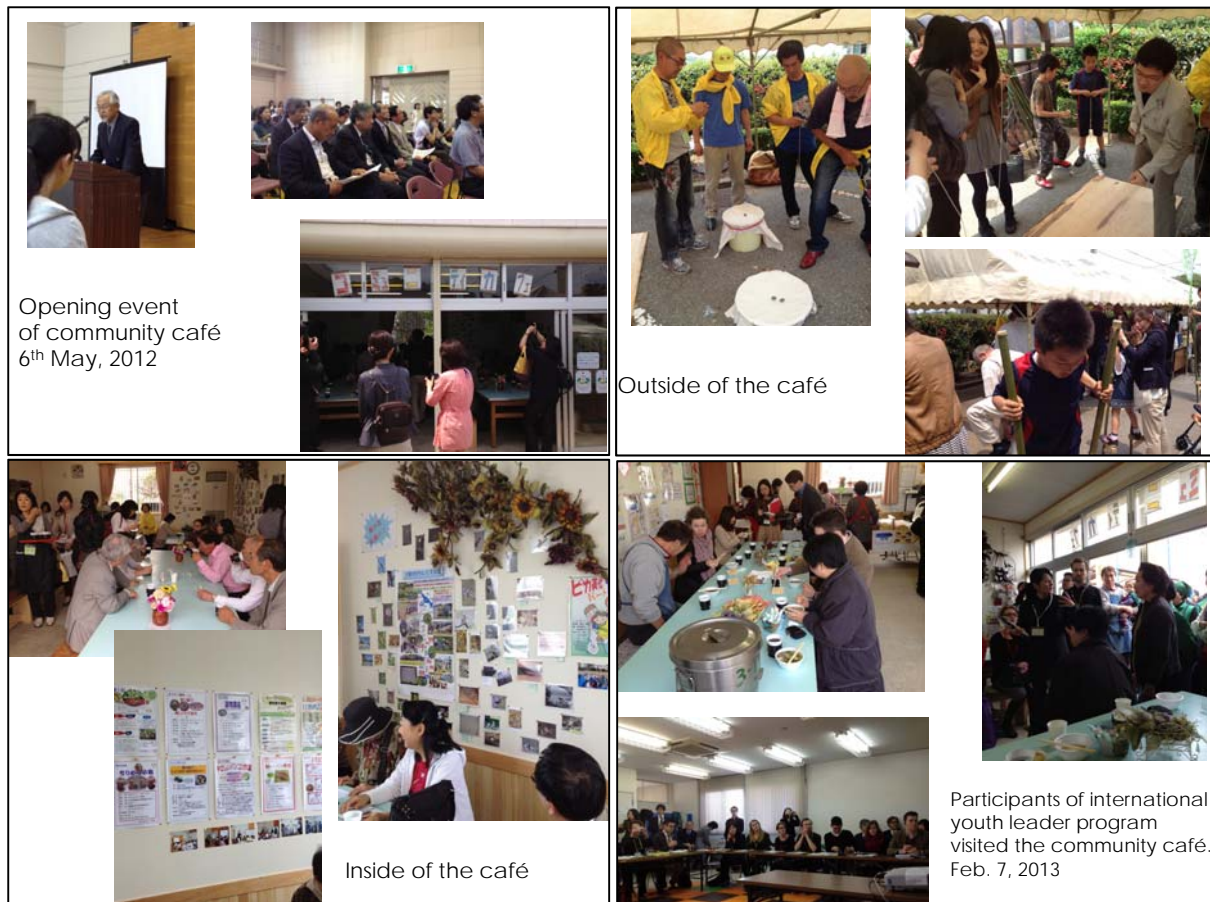


Fig. 5 Activity 2: Community Café

The basic idea of this project is: (1) Young people move to the village and engage in interchange with the elderly people of the depopulated area. (2) Young people absorb the agricultural technologies and skills, and traditional handicrafts which the elderly people have. (3) Then, young people try to unite the tradition with the new thinking of urban young people, and renew the traditional culture. (4) They try to begin and promote the exchange between the city and that area by using this new culture, and create a new “agriculture-oriented culture” and revitalize the village (see Fig. 6).

The third project is a trial project³ in which elderly people who have various kinds of technologies and skills share their ideas and images mutually and freely with children, and try to create new things and show the children the pleasures of craftsmanship. The place of this trial is called MONO-LAB. MONO means materials or things in Japanese, in addition to the meaning of only one in English. The MONO-LAB is centered in a small studio at the street corner rather than in a big factory (see Fig. 7).

³ This is based on the writer’s trial project named MONO-LAB-JAPAN Project performed in Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo.



Fig. 6 Activation Project of “Marginal Village”

Now in Japan, the network in which these three projects have combined mutually is already underway. Various activities at the level of peoples’ daily life cooperate mutually and cover Japanese society. Japanese society is already one in which various people exist, exchange and help each other mutually. It is also a society which produces the new value, and in order to create this new value, the society needs a mutual relationship among the residents (Makino, op. cit., 2012a).



Fig. 7 MONO-LAB-JAPAN Project in Action

Quiet Dynamism of Local Communities and *Kominkan*

We are challenged to create new communities that ensure people’s lives and guarantee their survival. The three examples that I mentioned above have a strong relationship with the dynamism of local communities. What is at issue here is the possibility of building local communities as a process that keeps producing new values based on the residents’ mutual relationship with others, where residents fully assume their roles in the community.

Such a re-creation of local communities will build new markets based on mutual trust and credit among residents. Multi-layered and closely woven human networks of mutual concern and attention, and the sense of trust and security will transform local communities into a more dynamic, more productive economic process.

This means that local communities themselves are transmuted into dynamic, ever-changing networks of people. That is a mechanism that keeps its equilibrium as a dynamic process. There, we find an image of a new society. *Kominkan* is the key to reconstruct a new community like this.⁴

Due to the changes in social and economic structures, the fatigue and dissolution of resident autonomous organizations are in progress. To address this problem, residents are trying to find a new form of autonomy. They think that the social education or lifelong learning by *Kominkan* would play the key role in developing new actors that will ensure future autonomy. *Kominkan* is known as Community Learning Center (CLC), and it is a facility for residents to commit local municipality level learning activities. However, it is something more than just a learning facility for the residents. It is there that residents hold regular meetings to discuss the base-layer communities' issues, train children for performances of the lion dance for the shrine's festival, organize a traditional puppet show preservation group, entertain the elderly, develop specialties using local produce, hold meetings of firefighting teams or men's groups, and elect leaders of self-government organizations, etc.

For residents, *Kominkan* is the center of their daily lives, the hub of exchanges among residents, the community's projects themselves, and the residents' exchanges themselves. When residents talk of *Kominkan*, it is with such projects and activities in mind. For the residents of the base-layer community, the *Kominkan* is something quite dynamic. The *Kominkan* is a place of residents' self-government activities, but at the same time it is the very process of such activities.

The activities of the *Kominkan* have a built-in system to develop and recruit actors at the base-layer community level. This means that the *Kominkan* is inextricably linked with the management of the community. Successfully handling the *Kominkan* directly leads to managing the community autonomously, and to helping residents lead stable lifestyles in their mutual relationships. It represents a dynamic nexus of residents' interactions. The phrase "doing *Kominkan*" often heard from residents represents what *Kominkan* means for the residents.

At a glance, local communities may look monotonous, conservative, and basically intent on sticking to tradition, but actually, they have this built-in mechanism running that develops the relationship of mutual recognition among residents at a physical level, stimulates people to move around dynamically, and keeps their quiet daily lives running in mutual assistance. *Kominkan* is the key for such residents' autonomy of the base-layer community (Makino, op. cit., 2012a).

From a Static System to a Dynamic System

The challenge facing lifelong learning in Japan is how we can link learning activities, which are developing as residents' autonomy in the bottommost living sphere of society, to the formation of a new community. The challenge is not how to reconstruct the static government system based on the distribution of knowledge, technology, and money. The challenge is how to build a system for managing people to a dynamic community where people fully play their roles, mutually recognize their existence in their relationships with others, fully live their lives, and, by all of the above, keep the community in constant change, as a process of continuous

⁴ The following description is mainly based on the writer's survey on the policy and practice of *Kominkan* in the City of Iida, Nagano Prefecture.

relationship-building. It is also a challenge to construct a community that creates a constant equilibrium by being dynamic, ensures the lifestyle of community residents by changing itself, recognizes their human dignity, and keeps recognizing their existence, including the look and feel of the community.

This community is not the unstable market society where free and lone individuals, freed from the convention of the old-type community, repeat production and consumption in faceless markets. In the new community, people feel that they are fully positioned in the community, freely and fully live in their relationships with others, and pursue their activities for a better life, and it is all of these activities that are called production and consumption. There grows a cycle that links economy, welfare, and culture together and supports people's lives in their existence. This community also creates a dynamism that keeps helping residents to improve their lives and makes this dynamism its own asset. To seek and create such a community, it is essential for us to explore the role of lifelong learning, ensuring learning to residents and developing an infrastructure for this learning. What local communities are now being challenged with is how to help residents become the existence that is "learning."

"Learning" has become for the government a critical task of transforming the traditional static social structure based on distribution of knowledge into a dynamic structure based on regeneration and cycling of knowledge (Makino, 2012b).

"Learning" as the Very Essence of Individual's Existence and Society

Here, "learning" is the key to constitute a new community. "Learning" has already become not only an activity to distribute knowledge and to propel the development of each person, but also a process to generate and circulate knowledge among the relationships of people as grassroots community residents, and furthermore, a process constituting the individual's existence and the new society such as the one I mentioned above.

The concept of such a society has a strong relationship with *Chonakai*, a grassroots residential autonomy organization and base-layer municipality. And this concept of society also means a new market in which the people's network consists of the expression of "love" through people's "desires" (Negri-Hardt, 2003). This new market is a market of a value-generating process that exists in parallel with existing markets, and the key of this new market is "learning" of the individualistic "I" as the collective "we" (Makino, 2012b).

In this situation, the individual person has become one with the collective residents through "learning" as a process of knowledge generating and circulating among the residents and as a process of community-building at the residential level. This community is also one such new market. Here, the individual people's existence and grassroots residential autonomy organization and base-layer municipality have been linked through "learning" and comprise the new markets. When these markets, based on communities and always mutually mediating each other, spontaneously transform themselves, what emerges in our perspective is another cluster of markets. They are small markets, on the base-layer community level, constituted universally. They do not presuppose normative power, but acknowledge the freedom to mutually approve the perpetual creation of values, thereby allowing for the continuous generation of new values. The existing power has been suspended in mid-air and denied of its universality. Knowledge is no longer something distributed by power. It changes its nature to constituting a thing which is created and communally generated by the residents and which keeps changing to what follows. It is always something that is expressed as excessiveness against existing normative powers.

It is also expressed as excessiveness of verbalization. When an individualistic existence opens its imagination to others through “love,” and thereby mutually and communally coexists with other existences, the power of language that mediates the individuals is put into motion. Thus, through language, people become aware of their own “love” as a constitutive relationship, that is to say, by verbalizing their desires, they come to recognize themselves as rational existence (Negri-Hardt, op. cit., 2003). People become a communal existence that they generate in their relationships with others, and also become an existence of which they become aware and which is expressed excessively by language. Knowledge is constantly generated as an excessive, perpetually recombined constitution of mutual recognition among the residents. Here, we can say that knowledge is generated and guaranteed by those people who are communal existences.

This market can be said to be the place where knowledge is generated as an excessive constitution in which people, mediated by imagination, communally create things and watch over each other. This market is linked to the new form of market economy that the consumers constitute and excessively deploy by involving themselves in the production process and substantiating their own values. There, each person freely and excessively creates values, and this drives a communal creation of values towards the formation of new markets. Here, a producer and a consumer have been combined with each other and reborn as a so-called “prosumer” (Toffler, 1980. Garshenfeld, 2000, 2006). The grassroots base-layer municipality transforms itself: It is no longer a “bio-power” or a government controlling and protecting the people, but changes to a circulating and constitutive power that is at the needs of the network of communities and is perpetually recombined by residents. And thus it becomes the networks of communities, and these also constitute new markets (see Fig. 8).

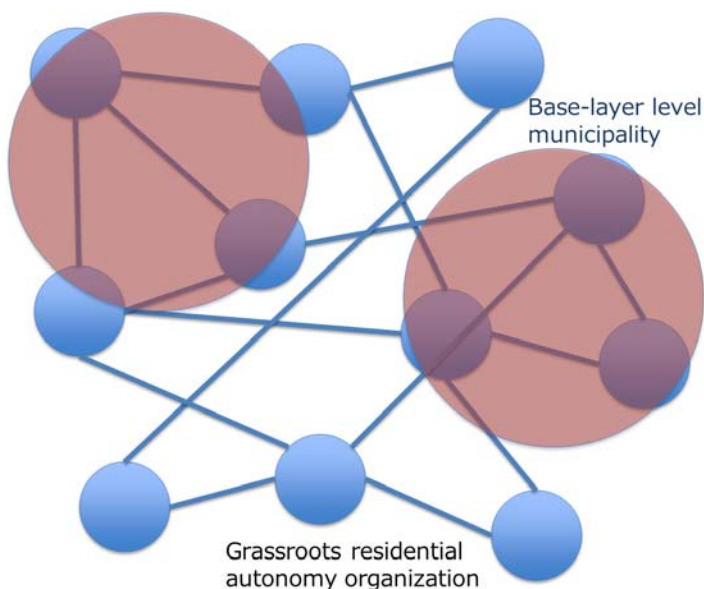


Fig. 8 Basic Image of the Power Based on Grassroots Base-layer Municipality

These markets are specific to their respective communities, and by forming networks with one another, they give birth to a diverse and rich local economy and create employment in that economy (see Fig. 9). What is more, while forming networks, these new markets keep recombining themselves and keep expressing their selves as a rational existence of excessiveness, and this is what will be re-defined as the state. Now as we are facing the

challenge that existing markets are globalizing beyond state borders, we may see new markets or society constitute the state as a dynamic network of communities. What serves as the basis of such a perspective is “learning,” or an individual and relational existence as a process of constitution mediated by the excessiveness of language, that is to say, social existence. “Learning” becomes the very existence of an individual and the very basis of the community and the state. Now in Japan, the social transformation like this is in progress.

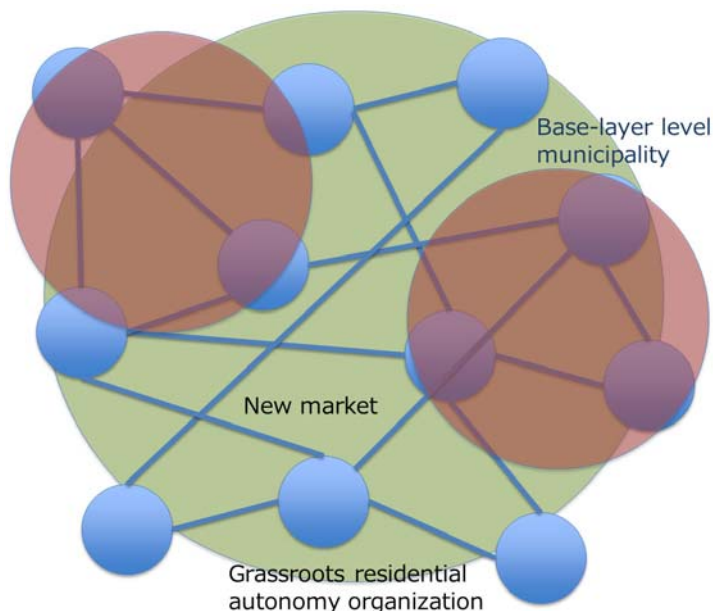


Fig. 9 Basic Image of New Market

Conclusion

Japanese society is already no longer one in which there is a uniform value like that based on the former manufacturing industry, nor is it one that covers only the advantages for those who are young and powerful. It is a society where various people differing in age and sex can exist and help each other mutually, through meetings, thus developing a new society that will produce new values.

In this society, independence is already a synonym for mutual reliance instead of isolation. This is the society which consists of “weak” people who are connected to each other and can create a “strong” community. In such a situation, the society is reborn because people have just created a new “solidarity.” Such activities are now advancing on the very base of Japanese society. In this society, values will make new values, always being born again. For that purpose, people-exchange is required.

The value of the kind of development that is aimed in only one direction is already losing its meaning. It is diversification, pluralization, and maturity that this society is aiming at, as well as people who bear mutual respect and are connected to each other. It is one consisting of “weak” people who are now connected to create a “strong” community. Their society is reborn because such people need only to make a new “KIDZUNA” (solidarity). Now, such activities are advancing at the base of Japanese society.

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A Comparison of the Practice of Confucian Ethics and Values in Educational Administration and Management between Shanghai and Hong Kong

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Abstract

Globalization has brought a paradigm shift in educational administration, management and leadership in many countries. In Chinese societies, under the impacts of globalization, people are always confronted with the choice of traditional Confucian ethics and values of hierarchical relationship, collectivism, humanism, and self-cultivation in educational administration or the so-called new values of competitive relationship, market, choice, efficiency, flexibility, and accountability. With China's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, the confrontation of the two ideologies is becoming more prominent and severe. An empirical comparative research into the practice of Confucian ethics and values in Shanghai and Hong Kong schools was carried out. Findings show that a stronger orientation to Confucianism was found in Shanghai school organizations than in Hong Kong school organizations. However, under the impacts of globalization, school leaders are now probing more into the instrumental values of market, choice, competition, efficiency, flexibility and accountability rather than the traditional Confucian ethics and values in recent educational reforms. There are questions of whether Confucianism has a good or bad influence on educational administration, management and leadership and whether globalization will lead to development or division in education. Further research will be needed in order to answer these controversial issues.

Keywords: Confucianism, Globalization, Educational administration, School management

Introduction

Globalization is a product of the emergence of a global economy. The process of globalization is seen as blurring national boundaries, shifting solidarities within and between nation-states, and deeply affecting the constitution of national and other interest group identities (Morrow & Torres, 2000). The term "globalization" is generally used to refer to a complicated set of economic, political, and cultural factors. As a result of expanding world trade, nations and individuals experience greater economic and political interdependence (Wells et al., 1998). New communication technologies that facilitate expanded world trade as well as cultural interaction are considered the determinants that lead to the emergence of globalization. It is widely believed that globalization is transforming the political, economic and cultural lives of people all around the world, whether in the developed countries or developing ones, and that globalization is driving a revolution in the organization of work, the production of goods and services, relations among nations, and even local cultures (Guttek, 2009).

The Impact of Globalization on Education

The potential effects of globalization on education are many and far-reaching, due to education's scale and nature (Suárez-Orozco, 2007). Because the main bases of globalization are knowledge intensive information and innovation, globalization has a profound impact on education (Carnoy, 2002). Almost everywhere in the world, educational systems are now

under pressure to produce individuals prepared for global competition and individuals who can themselves compete for their own positions in the global context (Daun, 2002; Daun & Strömqvist, 2011).

Globalization has brought a paradigm shift in educational management, administration and governance in many countries (AACSB 2011). Under the impact of globalization, Mulford (2002) observes that the old-fashioned values of wisdom, trust, empathy, compassion, grace, and honesty in managing education have changed into those so-called values of contracts, markets, choice, and competition in educational administration. At present, school administrators are probing more into the instrumental skills of efficiency, accountability and planning than the skills of collaboration and reciprocity.

In the competitive global economy and environment, states have no choice but to adjust themselves in order to be more efficient, productive, and flexible. To enhance a nation's productivity and competitiveness in the global situation, decentralization and the creation of a "market" in education have been the two major strategies employed to restructure education (Lingard, 2000; Mok & Welch, 2003). Decentralization and corporate managerialism have been used by most governments to increase labour flexibility and create more autonomous educational institutions while catering for the demand for more choice and diversity in education (Blackmore, 2000; Novelli & Ferus-Comelo, 2010). The emergence of education markets has also been central to education reform for globalization in many states. Carnoy (2002) argues that if education is restructured on market principles and based upon competitive market relations where individual choice is facilitated, education will become more efficient.

Globalization and School Educational Reforms

While higher education systems worldwide have been undergoing restructuring in their governance as a response to the challenges posed by globalization, it is inevitable that school education systems also have to reform. Though different states may have varying perceptions of globalization and adopt different strategies in school educational reforms, strategies similar to those apparent in restructuring higher education, namely decentralization, marketization and choice are the major approaches seen.

The main argument for decentralization stems from the presumption that increased flexibility and control allow for a better fit between educational methods and the students being served, as well as greater accountability through measuring educational results. Decentralization is cast in the role of a reform that increases productivity in education and thus contributes significantly to improving the quality of a nation's human resources. Many methods have been tried to achieve decentralization of school education, such as zero-based budgeting, school consultative committees and school-based management (Brown, 1990).

Marketization in education systems is typically the legacy of the New Right's neoliberal ideology of school reform in Western countries in the early 1980s (Cooper, 1988). Both Ronald Reagan of the United States and Margaret Thatcher of Great Britain were committed to breaking the state control of schools and the introduction of more choice, competition and measurable results. They both believed that strong state control of schools rendered them ineffective, inefficient and not responsive enough to rapid global societal changes. Their basic beliefs were that the market is the most efficient instrument to allocate resources, that competition will motivate people to raise their standards of performance and that school

improvement will not occur if they are not held accountable and given the necessary resources to do their job.

These two Governments came into office on a platform of motivating schools' internal initiatives and reducing the governments' roles in and control over education by creating competitive markets in the school system and devolving authority to schools. The New Right's language articulated in school reform is, "choice," "competition," "market mechanism" and such like. In order to promote a market mechanism in the school system and to allow schools to compete with each other, state (government) schools should be devolved, deregulated and even "privatized," be given the chance of self-management (Caldwell and Spinks 1988) and be accountable for their own performance. "Market" and "decentralization" are the two prime ideological foci of the New Right's school reforms.

When the concept of a market is applied to the school system, the notion of choice is crucial. Choice may be bidirectional in the sense that schools compete for students and students also compete for schools. The two-way competition is the driving force for both schools and students to improve and to raise their standards of performance. In the face of competition, students will strive for excellence in order to get into a "good" school, and schools will ensure they provided quality education in order to compete for the best students. When market forces are introduced into the school system and competition is created, the quality of education will be assured effectively, efficiently and automatically.

When there is a market mechanism in the education system, schools are responsive and accountable. The right choice is to devolve the system to schools (Chapman & Boyd, 1986). School-based management (site-based management, self-budgeting and self-management are other terms coined) is the most popular form of school management reform to revitalize schools in terms of responsiveness, flexibility, accountability and productivity. When the functions of market and school-based management in schools are at full strength, the quality of education will be assured.

Traditional Confucian Ethics and Values in Chinese societies

Confucianism, developed more than 2500 years ago in Ancient China, has been a vast, interconnected system of philosophies, rituals, habits and practices that still informs the lives of millions of people today in Chinese societies. It is a philosophical system of ethics, values and moral precepts to provide the foundation for a stable and orderly society and the guidance for ways of life for most Chinese people (Li, 2009). Confucianism has profound influences on all aspects of human life in art, education, morality, religion, family life, science, philosophy, government, management and the economy. Confucianism contributed to the establishment of social and political principles for the privileged class through the formal academic institutes (Bell, 2008). In Chinese history, there has been a long tradition of using Confucianism as the principle of governmental and educational systems to justify the sovereign's power and to keep their political and economic privileges.

Confucianism as a philosophy and ideology is predominantly humanist, collectivist and hierarchical in nature. This is conspicuously reflected in its profound interest in human affairs and relations. These moral and political value systems are essential philosophical factors of self-cultivation, family-regulation, social harmony, and political doctrine (Fingaratte, 1972). Confucius in his whole life aimed to teach about the wisdom of the former sages with the goal of reforming society with a humanistic ideology. Confucius's moral principles are largely in two directions: (1) building the ideal life of individuals, and (2) achieving the ideal social

orders (Lee, 1997, p.141). In order to achieve these principles, Confucius conceived benevolence or humanity (in Chinese, *ren*) as the major paradigm of goodness, with sub-paradigms like righteousness (in Chinese, *yi*), rites (*li*), wisdom (*ji*), loyalty (*chung*), filial piety (*hsiao*), trust (*shin*), and so forth (Yao, 2000).

In terms of educational governance, management and administration, that is, in prescribing human relations, the virtues of *ren-yi-li* stand out. The enterprise of Confucian ethics has been built on the *ren-yi-li* normative values. This represents the overarching moral framework which defines and sustains morally and socially acceptable behaviors and attitudes. *Ren* refers to humaneness or a capacity to act with utmost benevolence and love. The practice of *ren* helps to constitute a web of desirable and acceptable norms for personal and social behavior (Ip, 1996; Li, 2008). The concept of *yi* means moral rightness and appropriateness and is prescribed as a moral norm for conduct and decisions. With regard to *li*, this represents the etiquettes, norms and mores and protocols in both daily and institutional life (Ip, 1996, p.43). Widely accepted in the Chinese culture, the *ren-yi-li* normative structure has provided an elaborative set of norms and moral directives governing and dictating conducts and attitudes in different aspects of individual's personal life and interpersonal relationships.

Confucius also aimed to reform society with an advocacy of collectivism. Confucius' collectivism is vividly displayed in its emphasis on collective values and interests rather than individual values and interests. The family as the archetype of the collectivity occupies the core position within Confucian ethics and values. With two thousand years of evolution, the emphases of collectivism in the Chinese culture are far beyond the familial collectivism and have been extended to institutional and national relationships (Ip, 1996).

In addition to humanism and collectivism, Confucianism also provokes a fundamental core belief in the hierarchical ordering of personal relationships (Erdener, 1997). On a broader scale, there were the five basic human relationships as conceived by Confucianism—the mutual relationship of the Five Codes of Ethics or Five Relationships. The five relationships: emperor-officials; father-son; brother-brother; husband-wife and between friends, with the exception of the last one, all exhibited a strong superordinate-subordinate relationship (The Analects of Confucius, translated by James Legge, 1893). This acceptance of unequal relationships in society reflects the underlying model of relationships found in the traditional Chinese family between father and son, in business enterprise between employer and employee and in the government between senior and junior officials. All these underscore the fundamental importance of personal relationships in Confucian cultures and societies.

In order to build the ideal life of the individual and achieve the ideal social order, Confucius asserts that education is to make it possible for individual to live the good life in the community and state. Accordingly, moral cultivation is a core educational goal. What follows is presumably the basic teaching of how man should relate himself to the social groupings and society that surround him. Within the Confucian moral edifice, the closest text from which one can obtain a notion of civility of the person presumably is *the Great Learning* (The Great Learning, translated by Charles Muller, 2013). In Confucius' words, those who wished to bring order to their states would first regulate their families; those who wished to regulate their families would first cultivate their personal lives; those who wished to cultivate their personal lives would first rectify their minds; those who wished to rectify their minds would first make their wills sincere. That is, achieving the goal of self-moral cultivation is the single most fundamental human endeavour of a person's life and only by achieving this goal will the person be able to regulate the family, govern the state, and rule the world.

A Comparative Study into Hong Kong and Shanghai schools

Hong Kong was a British colony from 1842 and was returned to China in 1997, becoming a Special Administrative Region (SAR). Hong Kong has been adopting the British education system for very long time and there is a mixture of Eastern and Western cultures. In 1984, after two years of negotiations, the British and Chinese governments agreed that from 1997 Hong Kong would cease to be a British Colony. It would become a special administrative region under the sovereignty of China (the Sino-British Joint Declaration 1984). Today Hong Kong, as the Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) of China, has its own government and laws. It is ruled under the historically unprecedented policy of "One Country, Two Systems." Institutions of the HKSAR have been guaranteed autonomy for 50 years following the 1997 handover. Hong Kong's educational experiences under this new system are of special interest to the Governments and policy makers in both Hong Kong and mainland China. With reference to education, the Basic Law (Hong Kong, 1990, 47, article 136-137) states that:

On the basis of the previous educational system, the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall, on its own, formulate policies on the development and improvement of education, including policies regarding the education system and its administration, the language of instruction, the allocation of funds, the examination system, the academic awards and the recognition of educational qualifications... Educational institutions of all kinds may retain their autonomy and enjoy academic freedom.

In mainland China in May 1985, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held a national education conference and a policy decision was made to reform the educational structure of the country. Hong Kong has implemented educational reforms since the Visiting Panel's report of February 1982 and the HKSAR has also considered various issues mentioned in the Education Commission Reports (ECR Nos. 1-7). Experiences based on the implementation of these reforms are of interest to educators in both the mainland China and HKSAR, since the approach of the socialist and capitalist systems to education is diametrically opposed. To contemplate merging the systems would be difficult, with many conflicting philosophies on both sides already appearing as contacts between the two systems increase (Chan, 2003; Shen, 2003). However, because of increasing contacts between the two systems in various areas, it is inevitable that each system will exert an influence on the other and that subsequent mutations of the educational systems will emerge from this closer contact.

An attempt was made to conduct a comparative research in the light of increased relations between mainland China and the HKSAR, as a result of the recent quest for quality school education in both areas (Mak & Lo, 1996; Xiao & Lo, 2003). In the study, schools in Shanghai and Hong Kong were the subjects because both Shanghai and Hong Kong are open cities and their school education systems have inevitably been under the impact of globalization. The education systems of Shanghai in mainland China and the HKSAR have many similar features, including experience in the provision of nine-year universal education, in the provision of technical and vocational education, in the provision of professional teacher training, in educational costs and financing, and in educational administration and management to mention a few.

There is no large-scale empirical research that has investigated the impact of Confucian ethics and values on educational administration and management in the two political regimes within the same country at the microscopic level. The present research will explore, examine and

compare school organizational values and cultures between the two education systems within a country, under the impact of their different ideologies, as well as their influences on managerial practices and school life. The objectives of this research are to examine the practice of the traditional Confucian ethics and values in educational administration and school management. In brief, the study aims to examine whether Confucianism is still prevailing in educational administration and management in the schools of Shanghai and Hong Kong in the era of globalization and whether traditional ethics and values of hierarchical relationship, collectivism, humanism, and self-cultivation are still insisted in the organizational values and cultures of schools in Shanghai and Hong Kong.

Searching for Confucian Ethics and Values in Educational Administration

When values are at the heart of educational management and leadership, they are the central element of organizational culture. In this study, organizational culture is defined as the "something shared in common" by organizations (Schein, 2004). When shared values are the forces that bind an organization together, they appear to be a measurable, testable and verifiable construct of organizational culture. In this study, taking into account all of these ideas, school culture was defined as "the pattern in the sharing of organizational values between teachers and administrators in daily practices in schools" (Pang, 2003). Thus, the major aim of the empirical study is to investigate the organizational values and cultures of schools in Shanghai and Hong Kong in terms of different patterns in the sharing of organizational values between administrators and teachers. The measures provide the means to understand the managerial practices in the schools, that is, whether Confucian ethics and values of hierarchical relationship, collectivism, humanism, and self-cultivation are still emphasized in the organizational values and cultures of schools in Shanghai and Hong Kong (Pang & Wang, 2012).

A standardized instrument, the *School Values Inventory* (SVI) was developed to assess organizational values and managerial practices of schools in Hong Kong and Shanghai (Pang, 2010). The development of the original measures was made following an extensive literature review and with a particular concern for organizational values within schools. Eight subscales of organizational values were hypothesized as indicators of four major scales of Confucian ethics and values of hierarchical relationship, collectivism, humanism, and self-cultivation (Pang & Wang, 2012). The practice of formality and bureaucratic control are indicators of Confucian ethics and values of hierarchical relationship among people within school organizations. Participation, collaboration and collegiality were indicators of Confucian ethics and values of collectivism. Goals orientation, communication and consensus were indicators of Confucian ethics and values of humanism. Professional orientation and teacher autonomy were indicators of Confucian ethics and values of self-cultivation. Data for analyses were obtained from a sample of 2047 teachers working in 60 schools (30 elementary schools and 30 high schools) in Shanghai and 2735 teachers working in 73 schools (30 primary schools and 30 secondary schools) in Hong Kong.

Principal component analysis (PCA) was used to select the items in data reduction and to establish the validity of the subscales, and Cronbach's Alpha was used to test the reliability of the derived subscales. The final version of the SVI was a 48-item instrument measuring eight different aspects of the managerial practices of elementary and secondary schools in Shanghai and Hong Kong. The eight developed subscales of organizational values were formality, bureaucratic control, participation and collaboration, collegiality, goal orientation, communication and consensus, professional orientation and teacher autonomy.

A sample of the value statements of the SVI is given in Table 1 for reference. The teachers were asked to rate the value statements on a 6-point Likert scale from 1 "Very Dissimilar" to 6 "Very Similar." The SVI was designed to assess the organizational and managerial values that are espoused by the teachers and the schools, and the degree to which the two groups share these values. The values in this study are simply defined as "taken-for-granted beliefs about the proper functioning of a school." They may mean "the ways we do things here," "what ought to be," and "the ways by which a school should be operated."

It is argued that "shared values" is a measurable, testable and verifiable construct of organizational culture. Teachers were asked to rate the value statements twice, first on the similarity between their own values and the value statements and then on the similarity between the schools' espoused values in daily managerial practices and the value statements. Rating the value statements on the similarity between their own values and the value statements, gave rise to the dimension of teachers' personal values (TPVs). Rating the value statements on the similarity between the institutions' espoused values in daily managerial practices and the value statements showed the dimension of schools' espoused values (SEVs). The differences between the TPVs and SEVs would then be a measure of the divergence in value between participants and the institutions in terms of the eight subscales of institutional values and orientations.

The Practice of Confucian Ethics and Values in Shanghai and Hong Kong Schools

Principal component analyses with oblique rotations were the methods used to select the appropriate value statements in forming coherent scales. The final version of the SVI consisted of 48 value statements concerning how a school should be operated in eight confirmed first-order scales: Formality (0.69), Bureaucratic Control (0.74), Participation and Collaboration (0.89), Collegiality (0.85), Goal Orientation (0.85), Communication and Consensus (0.91), Professional Orientation (0.83) and Teacher Autonomy (0.86), with the scale reliability coefficients (Alphas) enclosed within brackets.

Managerial practices in schools can be evaluated using the eight observed variables of organizational values. In the questionnaire, teachers were asked to rate the value statements twice: first to indicate their own values and then to suggest the values espoused by schools. Two profiles, Teachers' Personal Values (TPVs) and Schools' Espoused Values (SEVs), regarding administration and management in schools were provided for investigation. Each school can have its own profile, indicating the extent to which organizational values are emphasized and which values are shared between teachers and administrators within the school. The SVI provides eight performance indicators for use in assessing schools organizational values and also a device to indicate how school leaders have been emphasizing these values in daily managerial processes.

The overall result of principal component analysis of the value statements confirmed the numbers and structures of the primary factors of the SVI. Since the eight primary factors of the SVI were closely and mutually correlated, higher-order factor analyses were warranted (Cattell, 1978). Based on the hierarchical structure of the SVI hypothesized, a further attempt was made to extract the second-order factors of the subscales. Four higher-order factor analyses, each requesting a single second-order factor, were done to confirm the existence of the hypothesized scales of the SVI. Principal axis factoring was the method used to extract these second-order factors, since Gorsuch (1974) suggested that the common factor model, rather than the component model, would be more appropriate in higher-order factor analysis.

Table 1 *Subscales and Sample Items of the School Values Inventory*

Formality (5)*

1. Teachers are subordinate to the administrative system in the school.
2. Teachers must always get their orders from higher up.

Bureaucratic Control (5)

1. Quality education is a management problem that can be solved by tight control.
2. Regular checks on teachers for rule violations can prevent wrong-doing.

Participation and Collaboration (7)

1. Teachers should participate in decision-making.
2. Both teachers and principal are partners, rather than super-ordinates and subordinates, who work together.

Collegiality (5)

1. Teachers and administrators should regularly provide constructive feedback to each other.
2. Teachers should meet together to share their knowledge and experiences.

Goal Orientation (7)

1. At the beginning of the school year, the school's general goals should be explained to new teachers.
2. A mission that gives an overview of the school's goals should be written down.

Communication and Consensus (8)

1. Teachers should be kept well informed on matters of importance to them.
2. The principal should always clearly explain why a decision has been made.

Professional Orientation (5)

1. Teachers are a very highly trained and dedicated group of professionals.
2. Administrators should encourage teachers to set goals for their own growth.

Teacher Autonomy (6)

1. The organizational structure should give considerable autonomy to the departments within schools.
 2. Teachers should have the freedom to engage in a variety of practices that they consider important.
-

Note. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of items in the subscales.

Based on a proposed framework for Confucian ethics and values in educational management as described in previous sections and the School Values Inventory (SVI), attempts were made to determine if the four Confucian ethics and values, that is, hierarchical relationship, collectivism, humanism and self-cultivation existed. In the second-order factor analysis, an indicator (subscales of the SVI) with greater factor loading would contribute to a composite more than an indicator with smaller factor loading. The overall structures of the second-order factors shows that the contents of the primary factors contributed and subsumed respectively to the overall meanings of the composites that they loaded onto. The meanings of the Confucian ethics and values in the context of Shanghai and Hong Kong schools are delineated as below.

- Hierarchical relationship refers to the hierarchical and organizational structures built to facilitate and enhance the achievement of school goals. The school was perceived to have a well-established system of superordinate-subordinate relationships. The school emphasized the disciplined compliance to directives from superiors that was necessary for implementing the various tasks and functions of

the school. The indicators for hierarchical relationship in a school are formality and bureaucratic control.

- Collectivism refers to the strategies for managing a school that facilitate the development of a collective culture. The indicators for collectivism are participation, collaboration, and collegiality. They are the crucial strategies for creating strong collective cultures in schools. The school that had strong collectivism was perceived to have a high spirit of cooperation among teachers, administrators, and principals. The sharing of leadership and decision-making was emphasized.
- Humanism refers to the ways in which school administrators have been adopting strategies to build a reciprocal understanding among people and to enhance respect for teachers. Through these means, school administrators intend to bind teachers to the goals, visions and philosophy of the school. A second-order factor indicates that goal orientation, communication, and consensus were the important ways to drive teachers to the school's core values and to create coherence of efforts by a humanistic approach.
- Self-cultivation refers to the value system that leads to the development of individuals' full potentials and their ethical spirits and moral standards. A second-order factor indicates that teacher autonomy and professionalism are the basic principles of cultural norms that allow people to rectify their minds, make their wills sincere, and cultivate their personal lives in the workplace. These are also the effective strategies for those who aim to achieve the goal of self-moral cultivation.

The major aim of the study was to explore and compare the organizational values of schools in Shanghai and Hong Kong and to examine whether Confucian ethics and values of hierarchical relationship, collectivism, humanism and self-cultivation are still emphasized in educational administration and management. The four major scales of Confucian ethics and values were assessed in terms of eight subscales of organizational values that were espoused by the schools in daily managerial practices (schools' espoused values, SEVs) and that were held and stressed by teachers themselves in their personal beliefs and values (teachers' personal values, TPVs). Schools from Shanghai (SH) and Hong Kong (HK) were assessed in terms of the eight subscales of organizational values generated from the School Values Inventory. The results of the assessments gave two profiles for all the participating schools from each of the two cities, the SEV profile and the TPV profile. The overall results of the quantitative assessments are shown in Figure 1 with four different profiles, that is, "TPV_SH", "TPV_HK", "SEV_SH", and "SEV_HK". The four profiles indicate the extent to which the schools and their teachers in both Shanghai and Hong Kong had been emphasizing these organizational values in daily management and operations.

Figure 1 indicates that the TPV profiles for both Shanghai and Hong Kong schools lie well above the SEV profiles except for Formality and Bureaucratic Control. It is evident that teachers in both cities had greater preferences for Participation and Collaboration, Collegiality, Goal Orientation, Communication and Consensus, Professional Orientation and Teacher Autonomy than the schools, but lower preferences for Formality and Bureaucratic Control in school management. It seems that teachers in both cities individually wish to downplay Confucian values of hierarchical relationship in schools. The findings also show that for other Confucian ethics and values, that is, collectivism, humanism, and self-cultivation, teachers were more demanding in these respects than schools are regarding the ways a school should be operated.

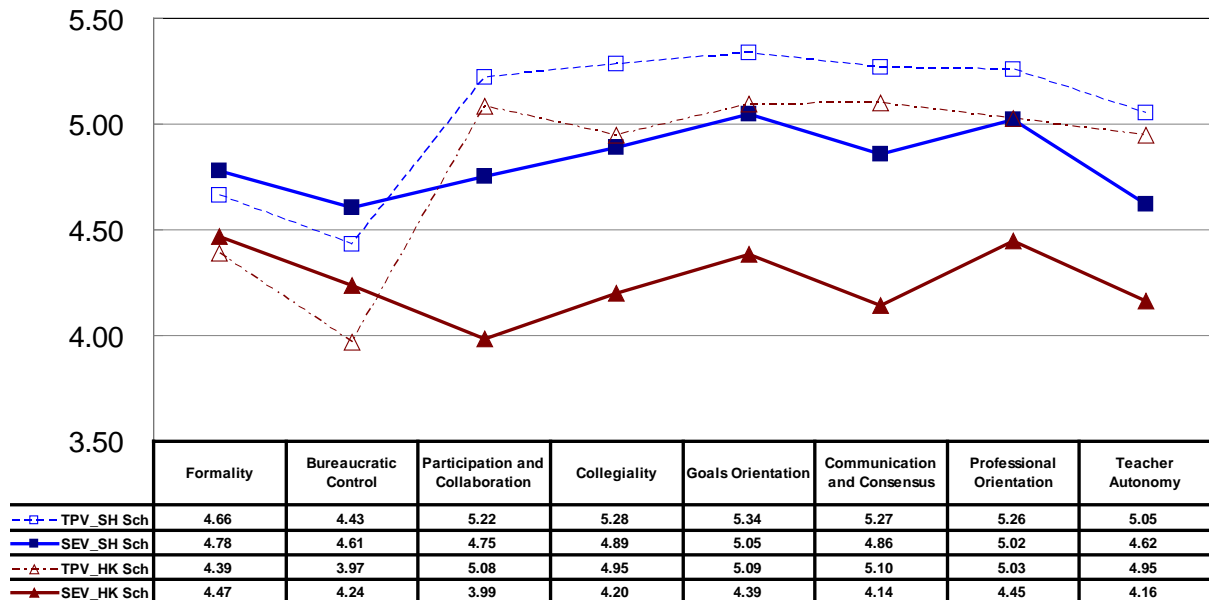


Figure 1 Organizational Values of Schools in Shanghai and Hong Kong

When comparing the organizational values of Shanghai and Hong Kong schools, the findings show that both the SEV and TPV profiles of Shanghai schools were consistently higher than those of Hong Kong schools. It is evident that Shanghai schools emphasized the eight subscales of organizational values (Formality, Bureaucratic Control, Participation and Collaboration, Collegiality, Goal Orientation, Communication and Consensus, Professional Orientation and Teacher Autonomy) more than Hong Kong schools. In Shanghai schools, the Confucian ethics and values of hierarchical relationship, collectivism, humanism and self-cultivation were highly emphasized in daily management and operations. As to teachers' personal values, Shanghai teachers espoused the Confucian ethics and values of hierarchical relationship, collectivism, humanism and self-cultivation more than did Hong Kong teachers. The evidence is conclusive that Shanghai schools had a stronger Confucian culture in educational management and leadership than Hong Kong schools (Lee & Pang, 2011). The emphasis on Confucianism in educational administration and management was more explicit in Shanghai. Confucian ethics and values were less commonly stressed in Hong Kong schools than in Shanghai schools. This may be due to the fact that Hong Kong had been a British colony for more than 150 years and Hong Kong has been imbued and socialized with Western values and cultures for a longer period of time.

In Figure 1, there is a clear indication of the value divergences between teachers and schools in both Shanghai and Hong Kong. It is these gaps that school administrators in both Shanghai and Hong Kong should particularly manage. The bigger the gaps, the greater are the divergences in these values. The smaller the gaps, the greater were the extent to which these values were shared between teachers and the schools. The value divergences in the eight subscales in Hong Kong schools are greater in extent than those of Shanghai schools. It is evident that Shanghai schools had a stronger Confucian culture than did Hong Kong schools. Shanghai teachers were more satisfied with their schools' emphases on these Confucian ethics and values than Hong Kong teachers. Hong Kong teachers, conversely, would like their schools to emphasize Confucian ethics and values of collectivism, humanism and self-cultivation more, since the values divergence in the last six subscales, that is, Participation and Collaboration, Collegiality, Goal Orientation, Communication and

Consensus, Professional Orientation and Teacher Autonomy are larger, more prominent and highly significant.

The above discussion illustrates only some of the potential implications of the instrument *SVI* and the quantitative assessments. Profiles of values could be applied not only to compare schools between Shanghai and Hong Kong, but also to analyze the organizational values within schools. Each school might have its own profiles indicating the extent to which organizational values were emphasized and which values were shared between teachers and administrators within the school. The *SVI* provides eight performance indicators for use in school self-evaluation and also a device for assessing schools' emphases on Confucian ethics and values of hierarchical relationship, collectivism, humanism, and self-cultivation.

A cautionary note should be made with respect to the interpretation of the profiles in Figure 1. Since the statistical data collected were a "snap-shot" and cross-sectional in nature and the subjects were asked to rate their perceptions of administrators' behavior in daily school lives, there was no way that the data could suggest the actual practices as implied in the above findings. The analysis of the data was designed to shed light on the question of whether or not the perceived differences were consistent with the data. If the profiles were inconsistent with the data, doubt would be cast on the hypotheses that had generated them. Consistency of the profiles with the data, however, would not necessarily constitute a proof of the profiles, but at least it would lend support to it. To further confirm the diversity in the practices of Confucian ethics and values, qualitative research methods with field work, observation, and interviews of people concerned should be adopted in future.

Discussion

Globalization has brought a paradigm shift in educational, administration and leadership in many countries. Under the impact of globalization, people are confronted with sets of conflicting values and dilemmas in the choice between tradition values and modern values brought about by globalization (Reid et al., 2010). People are facing the challenges of choosing the proper values and ethics in determining their thinking and actions in the highly competitive world. People in various Chinese and/or Sinic societies are no exceptions to this. People in the Sinic societies are challenged with this impact when they are open to globalization and when their traditional cultures and values meet with new ideologies brought on with globalization. The traditional, Confucian ethics and values of hierarchical relationship, collectivism, humanism, and self-cultivation, trust, empathy, compassion, grace, and honesty in educational administration and management have changed into those so-called new values of contract, market, choice, competition, efficiency, flexibility, productivity and accountability.

Confucianism, developed by Confucius (551-479 B.C.) 2500 years ago, has been permeating all levels of Chinese life until today. Even the classes that do not have access to formal Confucian education are extensively under the influence of his proposed ideologies, ethics and values. Confucian moral and political value systems are essential philosophical factors of self-cultivation, family-regulation, social harmony, and political leadership (Lee, 1997; Bell, 2008). Confucianism has been a traditional core of organizational structure, culture, and leadership in terms of governance, management, administration and leadership.

China's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 has accelerated its integration into the global community. Hong Kong has a long history of being an open city and was a British colony for more than 150 years, but, it is speculated that international

competition and pressure on both mainland China and the Hong Kong Special Administration Region (HKSAR), along with their further opening of the market and education sector, will be intensified and that a confrontation between Confucianism and new ideologies, ethics and values brought by globalization will be more prominent and severe.

The findings of an empirical research have been reported in this paper. The study aimed to search for Confucian ethics and values in educational administration and management in Shanghai and Hong Kong in the era of globalization and to examine whether traditional Confucian ethics and values are still emphasized in school organizations. Two groups of teachers, one from Shanghai schools and another from Hong Kong schools, were invited to respond to the School Values Inventory (SVI), soliciting their personal values and the schools' espoused values in the areas of school management and leadership. The results, shown as positive scores in the assessments reveal that both Shanghai and Hong Kong schools still emphasize the traditional, Confucian ethics and values of hierarchical relationship, collectivism, humanism and self-cultivation in educational administration and management and that most Shanghai schools and teachers emphasized these ethics and values more than did most Hong Kong schools and teachers. In sum, a stronger orientation to Confucianism was found in Shanghai schools than in Hong Kong schools (Pang, 2011).

However, under the impact of globalization, school administrators are probing more into the instrumental skills of markets, choice, efficiency, productivity, flexibility and competition than the skills of collectivism, humanism, self-cultivation, collaboration and reciprocity. School education nowadays puts more stress on short term planning, symbolic and rhetoric management, as well as standardization and expediency for results than those of the past, which focused on long term planning, the real and substantive goals and objectives, as well as discretion and reserving judgment, and character (Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004).

Conclusion

China has been the fastest growing economy in the world for many years. In the transition from central economic planning to a market economy since the economic reforms of 1978, economic growth in China has been remarkable. With the successful transformation of the economy along with its access to WTO, changes in the orientation of cultural values in mainland China will accelerate. Hong Kong is facing a similar situation after its return to mainland China in 1997. Some shifts in values are no doubt needed to align both cultures with the advent of globalization. A process of cultural change in educational governance and management in both Shanghai and Hong Kong has emerged. The Governments of both Shanghai and Hong Kong have introduced a series of managerial strategies and market mechanisms to reform school administration. In particular, they have attempted to change the focuses of educational administration and management from detailed control and supervision to school-based management and building a market force with choice and competition in the education system in the quest for quality school education (Pang, 2007; Pang & Tian, 2008). The education authorities in both cities have begun to devolve some powers to schools, empower parents and teachers in school administration, and use external school review to force schools to improve their quality of management, teaching, and learning (Law, 2007). As a result, schools in Shanghai and Hong Kong are caught in tensions among different values of quality, accountability, hierarchical relationship, collectivism, humanism, self-cultivation, markets, choice, competition, efficiency, and flexibility in educational administration, management and leadership (Lee & Pang, 2011).

Confucianism has endured as a coherent culture in China from the Shang Dynasty to a modern, reforming, industrial, and commercial society of today. Its success is due to the genius of the tradition (Berthrong & Berthrong, 2000). Is it always good? No. Is it always evil? Rarely. In the search for traditional, Confucian ethics and values in educational administration and management in Shanghai and Hong Kong schools, one may raise the question “Are Confucian influences on educational administration and management a good thing?” Similarly, this question cannot be answered with a simple yes or no and it is a matter of making value judgments. Most Confucians think it is good; but sometimes the most critical Confucians harbor some doubts. While there are many different aspects of and variations to Confucianism today, some Confucian reformers argue that at least there is a core of the tradition that is worth saving in the contemporary world.

There is also a question of whether globalization is a “good thing.” Is globalization beneficial to education, educational administration, management and leadership, as well as children’s growth, or is it harmful? Has globalization led to development or division in education, and to what extent? (Welch & Mok, 2003; Zajda, 2010) The question whether globalization in its various manifestations, is bad or good for education, remains largely unanswered.

Further research into these controversial issues as mentioned above, concerning Confucianism and globalization, should be carried out, as long as globalization continues to affect education (Roth & Gur-Ze’ev, 2007; Popkewitz & Rizvi, 2009) and to confront with Confucianism. The challenge ahead for research on the relationship between Confucianism and globalization is not only whether progress is being made, but whether it is being made quickly enough.

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Constructs of a Space of Comparative Education Findings from a Survey of Members of Japan Comparative Education Society and Their Publications¹

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Abstract

Comparative education is an academic field whose intellectual identity and methodological and theoretical core have been constantly discussed by the researchers involved. This very fact indicates that the boundary of this academic field is rather ambiguous and fluid and has been drawn and redrawn according to the different perspectives of the people who discuss it. In this paper, the author discusses changing perceptions about the location of the academic field of comparative education, based on her questionnaire survey with the members of the Japan Comparative Education Society (JCES) and the classification of JCES journal articles. The author has identified some patterns of combination among research themes, methodologies, unit of analysis, and theoretical bases. These different research orientations are examined in relation to the researchers' backgrounds and the socio-political context that has surrounded researchers in this field since the 1990s. The extent to which epistemological debates have affected the research practices of Japanese comparative educationists is also considered. Based on these analyses, the author discusses the elements that create unique features of Japanese comparative education, which is similar to but different from comparative education outside of Japan.

Keywords: Japan, Epistemology, Research trends, Questionnaire

Introduction

This paper aims to understand how comparative education has been perceived and practiced as an academic field in Japan. In past volumes of the Japanese journal Comparative Education (CE-J) there have been various special issues and invited articles that overview, outlook, rethink, and look back on what comparative education is like since the first issue was published in 1975. We can say it is a kind of uniqueness for the field of comparative education to continuously search for the field's academic identity. Regardless, after the first issue of CE-J, apparent efforts to discuss epistemology and academic identity were limited until the 1990s.² In English literature also, there was less discussion of epistemology, methodology, and theories of comparative education in the 1970s and 1980s compared to earlier and later periods. In this sense, trends in Japan were similar to those outside. In Japan, one of the reasons for the growing interest in epistemology after the 1990s was increased

¹ This paper is based on Yamada (2011), published in Japanese.

² Titles of the special issues and topical research collections that focus on epistemology are as follows: "Review and Prospect of Comparative Education Research" in Number 17 (1991), "Teaching Comparative Education" in Number 19 (1993), "30 Years of Research in Comparative Education Research—Its Research Trends and Future Prospects" in Number 20 (1994), "Women, Development, and Education—Consideration on the Issues for Comparative Education" in Number 22 (1996), "New Development of Comparative Education: Its Possibilities and Prospects" in Number 25 (1999), "Examining the Location of International Educational Cooperation Within Comparative Educational Research" in Number 26 (2000), and "Frontiers of Education Research as Area Studies" in Number 27 (2001).

Japan Comparative Education Society (JCES) membership,³ which brought new types of researchers and research topics. Ishizuki (1993) stated, “In the case of comparative education, we do not necessarily have a shared boundary as an academic field. It means, although comparative education is recognized as an academic field, it does not have clear boundaries and academic cores” (p. 157). At the same time, one can clearly see some trends and accumulated tradition based on which form of Japanese comparative education has been practiced. This tradition reflects Western epistemology to a certain extent, but it shows trends unique to Japan. In the special issues and topical research collections of CE-J, since the 1990s, researchers have repeatedly discussed the necessity of responding to the needs of incorporating newly emerging issues, such as gender, development, and globalization, into research and innovating methodologies. On the other hand, as we turn to the practices of research that are observed in the reviewed articles in CE-J, we find that there was no big difference in the trends before and after the 1990s. This fact suggests a separation of dynamics between epistemological concerns and research practices.

To understand the relationship among members’ perceptions of epistemology, demography, and research practices, this paper discusses JCES’s research trends in relation to the members’ attributes such as the year of membership acquisition and gender, based on the questionnaire survey for the members conducted in November 2009. The questionnaire was distributed to 699 members who were admitted by 2007 and agreed to disclose personal information. We got 264 responses (response rate: 38%). Although we distributed the questionnaire regardless of age, 73.8% of the respondents were admitted after 1991, and 80.7% were in their 20s to 40s. In this sense, the results of this survey reflect the trends of relatively younger members. The questionnaire was designed to see members’ self-recognitions of their research and how they locate themselves on the theoretical and epistemological map in the field of comparative education. In addition, it is necessary to analyze research outcomes to see how these members’ self-recognitions are reflected in their research practices. For this sake, the latter half of this paper discusses the results from a classification of articles in CE-J compared with those in other journals regarding their geographic focus and perspectives of analysis.⁴

Demographic Characteristics of JCES Members

As stated earlier, the results of our questionnaire survey reflect differences and similarities among members admitted after the 1990s because many of the respondents were younger and midcareer researchers. Of the respondents, 92.4% were Japanese citizens, and the rest were either foreign researchers whose research focuses on Japan, international students studying in Japan, or Japanese citizens residing overseas. Changes in demographic attributes based on admission year reveal an increase in the percentages of female and non-Japanese members among newly admitted members. Non-Japanese members constituted 19% of members admitted in 2006–2009, whereas they constituted only 6.2% in 1991–1995. Although they constitute a minority of the membership, an increasing trend is visible. More than half of the members admitted after 2001 were female. Including members admitted before the 1990s, the share of male members was still more than half (58.9%), but the proportion has changed

³ As of June 2010, Japan Comparative Education Society had 1,153 members, and 54% were those admitted after 1991 (data provided by the society secretariat).

⁴ This research is part of a larger research project, “Reconstructing Educational Research on/in Developing Countries: A Fusion Between Area Studies and Development Studies,” which was enabled by a grant-in-aid from the Japan Society for Promotion of Science provided between academic year 2009 and 2012. There were frequent discussions among the members of the research group in developing the questionnaire and categories for the review. The executive committee and the headquarters of Japan Comparative Education Society helped us administer the survey. Full responsibility for the analysis presented in this paper belongs to the author.

rapidly. This fact indicates that the demographic structure of the comparative education field has been changing from a traditional Japanese male–dominant one to a more diverse one.

The questionnaire also asked about the locations of the educational institutions from which the respondents' final degrees were awarded. There was an assumption that perceived changes in the nature of comparative education research are partly brought by the new members of JCES, who got their final degrees from foreign education institutions. Questions about the location of educational institution and field of major at each level of education after college were included to test this hypothesis. It turned out that more than 80% of the respondents got their final degrees from Japanese institutions, although they may have gotten some kinds of training from foreign institutions as non-degree-bound students or affiliates. Of the respondents, 15% got their final degrees from institutions in English-speaking countries, such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. Although before the 1990s several members got their degrees from European institutions (including non-English-speaking countries), those members were more likely to have been there because the countries were their research sites rather than for the sake of the degree itself. It has been a trend since the 1990s to get degrees from English-speaking countries regardless of geographic focus of research. Other than those who got their degrees in English-speaking countries, 4% of the respondents got their degrees from institutions in nearby countries such as China, Hong Kong, and Korea, and one respondent got his or her final degree from an institution in Germany.

Members' undergraduate majors have also changed over time (from majoring in education before narrowing the focus to comparative education). Most of the members admitted from the 1960s until the 1980s are from colleges of education (or from education departments in humanities colleges); however, the percentage of members who got their bachelor's degrees in education has been gradually decreasing year by year: 86.7% in 1986–1990, 66.7% in 1991–1995, 51.4% in 1996–2000, 31.9% in 2001–2005, and 29.5% in 2006–2009. Overall, about 50% of the respondents took their bachelor's degrees in majors other than education. These facts reveal that since the 1990s, JCES has received an increasing number of people coming from outside of education. It is noteworthy that many people with bachelor's degrees in the category we named "other"—who did not major in traditional disciplines such as education, the humanities, law, and economics—are incoming.⁵ More than 30% of the members who were admitted after 2001 have "other" bachelor's degrees. Aggregating all the entrants after 2000, the number of respondents with "other" bachelor's slightly exceeds the number of those with education bachelor's. In the questionnaire, we requested that respondents explain in writing if they chose "other"; respondents specified policy studies, global studies, and international relations majors. These are relatively new majors that deal with international themes or foreign languages and are often interdisciplinary. In general, one can say that a large proportion of the recent members have chosen comparative education based on their interests in international relations or global issues. At the same time, it is becoming less common that young people start with a broader field of education and narrow their focus to comparative education as they proceed to graduate school.

Demographic characteristics indicate that although the majority of the respondents are male researchers who studied education at Japanese universities, the demographic structure is changing rapidly. JCES gets more and more female and international members and members who received their final degrees from foreign institutions or in nontraditional disciplines. An increasing number of members are not full-time university-based researchers but

⁵ The options provided for the undergraduate major include education, humanities, law, economics, political science, engineering, science, and "other."

administrators and practitioners from universities, the government, official development agencies, and private consultant firms and educators affiliated with institutions other than universities. This contrasts with the period before the 1990s, when almost all the members were professional researchers based in universities and research institutes.⁶

Based on the demographic characteristics of JCES members disclosed in this section, in the following section, I discuss how such demographic diversity relates to research orientations and practices.

Epistemic Perceptions and Research Orientations of Comparative Educationists in Japan

Traditionally Japanese comparative education research tends to focus on Western countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, and France, and there has also been a collection of research about education in east Asia. According to Ichikawa (1990), in earlier times, as there were only a few countries where researchers could obtain detailed information and reliable statistical data, researchers could compare data on developed countries whose data were accumulated by international organizations such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and in nearby countries in Asia and the Pacific. This indicates that Japanese comparative education started as a means to learn from developed education systems and practices in Western countries and to introduce information about education in neighbouring countries that had close relationships with Japan. This tradition is still in effect, as more than half (52%) of the JCES members who responded to the questionnaire chose western Europe, east Asia, or North America as their research sites. When I compare the geographic distribution of research sites based on the admitted year, those who research east Asia have constituted about 20% continuously, whereas the percentage of those who research North America and western Europe has gradually decreased. North America constituted the research focus of about 25% to 30% from the 1960s to the 1980s, which was as high as east Asia and western Europe, but it decreased to 16% (as low as southeast Asia) among the members admitted in 2006–2009. Among the regions that gained shares in the total number of researchers, Southeast Asia has shown a constant increasing trend since the 1970s. In contrast, Sub-Saharan Africa and south Asia have demonstrated steeper increases especially among new members admitted after the 1990s and have become more popular research sites, although they are still minor in the total number of the researchers. Other regions, such as central Asia and Caucasus, Middle East and north Africa, north Europe, Oceania, and Central and South America, have not seen much change in proportion throughout the years, with limited but consistent numbers of scholars in the respective regions. The increase in researchers of Southeast Asia in the 1980s and Sub-Saharan Africa and south Asia in the 1990s implies the geographic diversification of research interests. It also hints at the possibility that those who focus on regions that Japanese comparative educationists traditionally haven't looked at are also different in their approaches to the research.

Based on this assumption, to closely examine the nature of diversification in research orientations, I present an analysis of the following six aspects of the questionnaire survey: (a) research theme, (b) data collection methods, (c) level of education to focus on, (d) unit of analysis, (e) attitude toward social influence of the study, and (f) theories to which to refer. In the questionnaire, we provided multiple items that the respondents rated with five-point

⁶ Of the respondents, 67.8% were professional researchers affiliated with public or private universities and research institutions. This figure may not fully capture the cases of elder respondents who have retired or changed their jobs from professional researchers, which might have inflated the response in the category of "other" job. Of the respondents, 11.6% were students.

Likert-type scales (5 = use frequently to 1 = never or 5 = strongly agree to 1 = strongly disagree). The leftmost columns of Tables 1.1 through 1.6 are the items raised in the questionnaire. Considering that respondents apply multiple methods and theories to their research, options are developed to see the patterns of combination of methods and analytical approaches and to reveal the patterns of research orientations. Tables 1.1 through 1.6 are the result of the factor analysis, which was conducted to understand the common traits among the researchers who choose similar combinations of methods and analytical approaches. The figures presented in Tables 1.1 through 1.6 represent factor scores, which mean how much each item influences the potential commonality (factors). These scores vary between –1 and 1, from negative to positive influence. The shaded figures in the tables indicate those with high factor scores that characterize the nature of each identified group.

Table 1.1 *Results of Principal Factor Analysis on Research Orientations: Group by Research Themes*

Research Theme	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV	Factor V	Commonality After Factor Extraction
	Policy and System	Education and Society	Teacher and Pedagogy	Global Agenda	Epistemology and Methodology	
Politics	.86	.14	.07	-.08	-.01	.72
Policy	.81	.30	-.07	-.07	.08	.84
Social change	.81	-.08	.05	.27	.04	.77
Educational administration (national level)	.80	-.10	.05	.31	.09	.78
Labor market	.57	.55	-.01	-.05	.25	.73
Educational finance (national and local)	.48	.21	-.05	.36	.24	.75
Local educational administration	-.06	.82	.00	-.07	.17	.76
Ethnicities	.04	.76	.24	.07	-.12	.69
Education and religions	.20	.75	.00	-.02	.21	.46
Languages and education	.03	.67	.01	.33	.06	.66
Culture and education	.19	.57	-.07	.31	.02	.64
Pedagogy	-.12	.04	.90	.04	.12	.72
Teaching-learning processes	-.09	.05	.85	.13	.13	.56
Curriculum	.07	.23	.77	-.25	.03	.75
Teacher education	.21	-.03	.66	.13	-.05	.50
Trends of international aid	.05	.40	-.03	.76	.00	.47
Gender	.21	-.01	.16	.73	.20	.75
Trends of research in comparative education	.00	.08	.11	.28	.82	.65
Research methodologies	.25	.18	.09	-.04	.81	.76
Squared loading	18.42	17.43	14.25	9.67	8.53	

Note. Rotation method is varimax. Highlighted areas indicate items which show high factor scores.

Table 1.2 *Results of Principal Factor Analysis on Research Orientations: Group by Data Collection Methods*

Data Collection Method	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Commonality After Factor Extraction
	Empirical	Observation	Secondary Source	
Experiment	.82	-.02	-.13	.77
Focus group discussion	.73	.31	.00	.62
Questionnaire	.67	.30	.18	.72
Interview	.08	.86	.16	.69
Observation	.25	.81	-.07	.58
Secondary (documents)	-.30	.17	.77	.74
Secondary (statistical)	.44	-.09	.73	.71
Squared loading	28.69	23.06	17.12	

Note. Rotation method is varimax. Highlighted areas indicate items which show high factor scores.

Table 1.3 *Results of Principal Factor Analysis on Research Orientations: Group by the Level of Education Focused On*

Level of Education to Focus On	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Commonality After Factor Extraction
	Basic Education	Non-formal/ Informal Education	Secondary/Higher Education	
Basic education (primary plus lower secondary)	.90	.08	-.20	.33
Primary education	.87	.11	-.21	.86
Lower secondary education	.86	-.01	.23	.82
Nonformal, social education	.02	.86	.01	.79
Informal, home education	.12	.83	-.01	.76
Lifelong learning	-.12	.75	.24	.70
Apprenticeship, out-of-system education	.01	.65	.52	.67
Preprimary education	.34	.44	.15	.69
Higher education (university, polytechnic, etc.)	-.19	.00	.81	.74
TVET (within the education system)	-.03	.36	.74	.64
Upper secondary education	.61	-.05	.61	.34
Education system as a whole	.22	.36	.40	.70
Squared loading	24.32	23.95	18.60	

Note. Rotation method is varimax. Highlighted areas indicate items which show high factor scores.

Table 1.4 Results of Principal Factor Analysis on Research Orientations: Group by Unit of Analysis Used in the Research

Unit of Analysis	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Commonality After Factor Extraction
	Microscopic	Macro-comparative	Intermediary-National	
Individual (teacher)	.88	.12	.10	.75
Individual (child)	.86	.06	.07	.71
Individual (family, parents)	.83	.10	.14	.80
Classroom	.75	.03	.14	.58
Global/regional comparative	.07	.88	.14	.58
Multicountry comparative	.05	.84	.15	.61
World	.12	.78	.05	.72
Region in a country	.11	.08	.84	.53
Local society	.33	.09	.70	.73
Single country	-.15	.23	.68	.80
School/educational institution	.41	.01	.64	.63

Squared loading 28.18 19.95 19.68

Note. Rotation method is varimax. Highlighted areas indicate items which show high factor scores.

Table 1.5 Results of Principal Factor Analysis on Research Orientations: Group by the Attitude toward Social Influence of Research

Perception of the Social Impact of Research	Factor I	Factor II	Commonality After Factor Extraction
	Proactive to the Country Studied	Domestic or Passive	
I want to influence (or think I actually influence) the education policy of the country in which I conduct research	.86	-.05	.74
I want to influence (or think I actually influence) the diplomatic/aid policies of the Japanese government toward the country in which I conduct research	.83	-.06	.69
I include suggestions to the nonnational people interested in the country I study (e.g., aid organizations) in my papers	.68	.22	.54
I write about the implications of the study to the education policy and practices of the country in which I conduct research	.62	.44	.58
I would like my research outcomes to be applied to the practices	.57	.46	.66
I write about implications to Japanese educational policies and practices in my conclusion	.05	.81	.51
I write about the academic contribution of my study in the conclusion	.04	.57	.32

Squared loading 37.25 20.63

Note. Rotation method is varimax. Highlighted areas indicate items which show high factor scores.

Table 1.6 *Results of Principal Factor Analysis on Research Orientations: Group by Theories to Which the Respondent Often Refers*

Theories to Which to Refer	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Commonality After Factor Extraction
	Social Theories	Statistical	Descriptive (No Reference to Theories)	
Dependency theory	.82	.02	-.15	.80
World system theory	.78	-.05	-.29	.79
Postcolonialism	.76	-.31	.08	.59
Endogenous development theory	.73	.16	.28	.69
Postmodernism	.71	-.38	-.08	.70
Modernization theory	.66	.00	-.39	.66
Statistical hypothesis testing	.22	.86	-.01	.68
Factor analysis	.26	.85	-.06	.84
Gender	.64	-.01	.66	.63
Squared loading	31.92	20.01	18.91	

Note. Rotation method is varimax. Highlighted areas indicate items which show high factor scores.

The factor analysis revealed five thematic groups in patterns of choice of research themes (see Table 1.1). These are the policy and system group that deals with meta-level trends of national policies, politics, governance, and labor market; the education and society group that focuses on social aspects of education such as minority, religion, language, and culture; the teacher and pedagogy group, which is about the content and process of education including teachers, pedagogies, and curriculum; the global agenda group that deals with themes such as gender and global trends in aid; and the epistemology and methodology group that is about research trends and methods in comparative education and other academic fields. Regarding data collection methods, three patterns were revealed (see Table 1.2): the empirical group tends to conduct positivistic research with structured, focused group discussion and questionnaire surveys, the observation group draws conclusions inductively through observation and dialogue such as unstructured interviews and participant observation, and the secondary source group conducts research based on secondary data sources. Similar analysis identifies basic education, non-formal/informal education, and secondary and higher education as the three clusters for the level of education (see Table 1.3). The unit of analysis was divided into the following three clusters: microscopic, in which researchers focus on individuals and classrooms; macro-comparative, that is, comparing two or more countries or over-viewing global trends; and intermediary-national, that is, covering the school level (but not getting into classrooms) in a whole single country (see Table 1.4). Furthermore, the questionnaire asked respondents whether they want to influence the policy-making or educational practices of the country or region they study. This question was asked to see how the researchers' desire for social impact and intended audience of the research would affect their choice of research themes and approaches. Regarding this aspect of perception (see Table 1.5), I identified two groups: one group is named "proactive to the country studied," and it aims to make an impact on the country's policies or on the Japanese diplomatic strategies and Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) policies toward that country; another is named the "domestic or passive" group and is more concerned about extracting lessons and implication for Japanese domestic education policies and practices but does not have the intention to influence the countries and regions where the research was conducted. The last aspect of the factor analysis is about the theories researchers refer to in designing their

research projects and presenting the outcomes (see Table 1.6). There is a group identified with social theories such as dependency theory, world system theory, and post-colonialism. Another group is statistically oriented and demonstrates strong allegiance to theories such as hypothesis testing and factor analysis. Aside from these two major groups, one should not neglect one factor group that consistently shows an indecisive attitude (neither strongly positive nor strongly negative) to all theories. This non-theoretical or descriptive group demonstrates, as I will examine later, one characteristic of the Japanese practice of comparative education.

The results of the factor analysis presented above (see Tables 1.1 through 1.6) reveal that in each aspect of their research orientation, researchers can be grouped according to their preferences. Although this information about aspects of research orientations is useful, knowing how the researchers' attitudes in one dimension are related to those in other dimensions would be more useful. Therefore, building on the analysis above, I conducted further analysis about how factors correlate with each other across categories (see Table 2.1). Highlighted figures are those whose correlations are significant. Regarding research theme, researchers whose research is about policies and systems (policy and system group) are most likely to use secondary data sources as their method of data collection, and they rarely employ empirical methods such as experiments and surveys. As they analyze systems based on the secondary data sources, rather than doing fieldwork in schools, their unit of analysis is usually intermediary level, and the most popular educational levels for their studies are secondary and higher education levels, followed by primary education. Such policy and system types of researchers show a negative stance on influencing either the country they study or Japanese diplomatic strategies and aid policies toward it. Rather they show keen interest in providing implications for Japanese domestic education policies and practices. Within the policy and system group, about a quarter (24%) of researchers chose Western Europe as the most frequent destination of their research trips (see Table 3.1).⁷ Such a high level of concentration on Western Europe could be seen only among policy and system and epistemology and methodology types of researchers. East Asia is also a popular research site for policy and system researchers. This suggests that the policy and system group and to a lesser extent the epistemology and methodology group reflect a research tradition that, as Ichikawa (1990) pointed out, borrows educational ideas from advanced countries in Europe and collects information about nearby east Asian countries so as to provide implications to Japanese education.

⁷ For cross-tabulation between research themes and research sites in Table 3.1, the samples with the factor scores 25% from the highest were selected from each factor (I–V) in Table 1.1. Figure 1.1 is also based on the cross-tabulation between factors presented in Table 1.6 and research sites, which followed the same procedure as Table 3.1.

Table 2.1 *Correlation between Factors*

		Data Collection Method			Level of Education			Unit of Analysis			Social Influence	
		Empirical	Observation	Secondary Source	Basic Education	Non-formal, Informal	Secondary, Higher Education	Microscopic	Macro-Comparative	Intermediary-National	Proactive to the Country Studied	Domestic or Passive
Research Theme	Policy and system	-.032	.124	.437**	.186**	.146*	.366**	-.061	.196**	.511**	-.026	.219**
	Education and society	-.132*	.183**	.118	.104	.321**	.122	.036	.112	.374**	-.022	-.026
	Teacher and pedagogy	.289**	.253**	-.092	.259**	.121	.081	.403**	.014	.071	.211**	.338**
	Global agenda	.400**	.087	.054	-.020	.374**	.026	.360**	.198**	-.012	.459**	-.077
	Epistemology and methodology	.080	-.056	.057	-.038	.178**	.119	.177**	.326**	.017	-.058	.159*

Note. Highlighted figures are those whose correlations are significant.

*5% level significance (both sides); **1% level significance (both sides).

Table 3.1 *Relationship between Research Themes and Regions Often Visited (in percentages)*

	Middle East/North Africa	Middle East/Europe	Northern Europe	Western Europe	South Asia	Central Asia/Caucasia	East Asia	Southeast Asia	Oceania	North America	Latin America	Sub-Saharan Africa	
Policy and system	4.0	2.0	2.0	24.0	0.0	0.0	22.0	14.0	8.0	16.0	4.0	4.0	100.0
Education and society	5.2	1.7	5.2	12.1	3.4	3.4	22.4	17.2	5.2	13.8	6.9	3.4	100.0
Teacher and pedagogy	0.0	1.9	5.8	13.5	3.8	0.0	13.5	23.1	5.8	17.3	3.8	11.5	100.0
Global agenda	3.8	1.9	1.9	3.8	11.5	5.8	15.4	21.2	1.9	11.5	5.8	15.4	100.0
Epistemology and methodology	0.0	2.1	6.3	22.9	2.1	0.0	16.7	16.7	4.2	16.7	2.1	10.4	100.0

Note. Chi-square independence test $p = .000$.

In contrast, education and society types of researchers, whose research themes are religion, language, ethnicity, and so forth, are interested in various educational settings including home education, non-formal education, and non-school-based training such as apprenticeship in addition to formal education systems. This group of scholars does not seek to influence policies and practices in Japan or in the countries they study (see Table 2.1). In addition, although not presented in Table 2.1, the education and society type demonstrates a high correlation ($r = .24$) with the descriptive group, which lacks reference to any theories (see Table 1.6), either social theories such as dependency theory and modernization theory or positivist theories including factor analysis and hypothesis testing. Several invited articles in CE-J point out that Japanese comparative education research has too much inclination toward foreign education studies, which describe education in foreign countries in detail without comparative perspective (Ichikawa, 1990; Ishizuki 1996; Shibuya, 2001; Takekuma, 2001). These claims suggest, at the same time, that education and society researchers show a strong presence in Japan; they try to deepen the close understanding of education embedded in a foreign society as a whole, regardless of whether there are any direct implications to Japanese education or to reforms of the education system in the studied society. Umakoshi (2007) promotes research from which one would generate hypotheses, in contrast to research that would test hypotheses. He argues for the importance of not bringing in preconceptions but making a sincere effort to understand the society as it is, based on which the hypothesis will emerge of itself and will eventually lead to theories. Such an attitude is also reflected in the selection of data collection methods, as education and society types of researchers tend to employ observation methods such as interviews and participant observation rather than positivistic methods such as experiments. Otsuka (2005) further claimed that it is important to accumulate original data based on fieldwork from which the researchers themselves learn rather than analyzing existing data. According to him, the “absolute trust and reliance on the Western research outcomes” and the attitude of learning from Western advanced examples are signs of Japanese researchers’ subordinate mindset, which gives up on the effort of considering in one’s own terms the observed societies (see also Nishino, 2001). One can safely state that there are many researchers whose research themes fall into the education and

society group because the sums of squared loadings⁸ for the education and society factor is the second largest (17.43), following the policy and system factor (18.42). In terms of the regional focus of the scholars in the education and society group, in contrast to the policy and system group, East Asia takes up the biggest share (22.4%), followed by Southeast Asia (17.2%) (see Table 3.1). This information suggests clearly different characteristics of the education and society group compared to the traditional educational-borrowing type of research.

The third group in the research theme is teacher and pedagogy. An important characteristic of this group is its major attention to things taught in the formal education system and how teachers teach, instead of policies and systems or the relationship between education and society. As this type focuses on classrooms, researchers tend to take the microscopic unit for analysis and are more interested in primary and lower secondary education. The group rarely uses secondary sources but employs multiple methods including observation and experiments to understand the circumstances of teaching and learning. Research sites vary in this category, from Southeast Asia, to North America, to western Europe, to east Asia, to Sub-Saharan Africa. In response to the question about one's attitude toward the social influence of one's research (see Table 1.5), researchers in the teacher and pedagogy group are proactive in general about making an impact on the policies and practices in both the country studied and Japan. This contrasts with policy and system researchers who try to influence Japanese policies rather than those in the country studied or education and society researchers who do not have any intention of making changes to the societies. Teacher and pedagogy researchers are probably the experts in subject areas or curriculum who have extended their research interests to overseas sites. This group includes scholars who conduct research in regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa that have not been picked up much by comparative educationists in Japan until recently. One of the reasons for that is that there are a lot of Japanese ODA projects on teaching and teacher education in this region. With expertise and specialized interest in subject teaching, they take a slightly different approach to studying about education in other societies, compared to education and society researchers, who try to get a comprehensive understanding about education in a certain society, or policy and system researchers, who try to capture the characteristics of policies and systems based on secondary data.

The fourth category of research themes is global agenda, a group whose interests are highly concentrated on the trends of international aid and gender. This is still a small group, as the squared loading is not so big (9.67%; see Table 1.1). Still, one can say that the researchers in this group have very similar research orientations because of the strong convergence of the patterns of correlations between factors, as Table 2.1 demonstrates. Researchers in this category are most likely to use structured methods, such as experiments, focus group discussions, and questionnaire surveys. They clearly have intentions to make an impact on the country studied and Japanese diplomatic and aid policies toward that country, but they are not so intentional in influencing Japanese domestic education policies and practices. Geographically, the most popular regions they visit are east Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa (15.4%, respectively, see Table 3.1), followed by south Asia and North America (11.5% respectively). The high level of interest in regions like Sub-Saharan Africa and south Asia suggests the newly emerging nature of this group.

⁸ The squared loading indicates the degree to which each factor (extracted from the factor analysis) is likely to explain the overall trends in the data. For example, Policy and System in Table 1.1 explains 18.42% of the trends of respondents' research themes.

International organizations including the World Bank; United Nations Children's Fund; United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization; and United Nations Development Programme as well as 155 nations and 150 organizations agreed on common goals for education in developing countries at the World Conference on Education for All (EFA), held in 1990 at Jomtien, Thailand. Since this conference, Western comparative education research has been greatly affected by the international agenda of development and the issue of priority in EFA. Similarly, in Japan since the 1990s, development has been recognized as one of the new issues, together with issues such as globalization and gender.⁹ As Japanese ODA started as compensation for the damage done to Asian countries during World War II, the Japanese government had long been hesitant to touch on issues that would mean intervening in the areas of national dignity and values. Because of this consideration, except for infrastructure building or technical education, assistance for education, especially for curriculum and teacher education, has been evaded for a long time (Saito, 2008). However, Japan became the largest aid provider in the world and came to recognize its leading role in a diplomatic arena in 1989, which was almost simultaneous with the changes in global trends in educational assistance toward EFA. As a result, Japan has shifted its aid policies to more proactive ones and started to support education policies and curriculum development mainly at the primary education level, which deals with the content of education more directly. This shift has required human resources and related research to provide such assistance.

During the 1990s, therefore, new types of research emerged that tried to identify the impediments to achieving the global agenda like development and to accumulate research which would support programs implemented along the line of agendas (Kuroda, 2005). As pointed out earlier, the number of JCES members started to increase dramatically around this time. Global agenda researchers are not a large group, but they are distinct in nature from traditional comparative education researchers. They tend to be perceived as development researchers because of the vocal presence of a development-oriented segment of this group. However, it should be pointed out that gender is also a strong factor of this group, as are development and aid. As stated earlier, the percentage of female newly admitted members has been increasing steadily, and the results of the factor analysis show that even descriptive researchers who rarely use particular theories have strong interests in gender theories. Therefore, it is understandable that gender works as a strong element in the global agenda factor group. We should be careful not to ignore the diversity inherent among issue-oriented global agenda-type researchers by simply categorizing them as development researchers regardless of their palpable presence.

Last, epistemology and methodology-type research analyzes the nature of comparative education as an academic field and its methodologies. Factor analysis does not exclude the possibility that one researcher could conduct multiple different types of research simultaneously, as it assigns the respondents (samples) into multiple categories. For example, in writing this paper, I myself am interested in the epistemology of comparative education. But this is to clarify my identity as a researcher, and I do have other expertise that is my major field of academic work. Therefore, one can assume that epistemology and methodology is a category that involves many scholars who engage in this type of research in addition to their major research themes. Also, as this type of research discusses abstract concepts and global academic trends, its unit of analysis tends to be more macroscopic. The major destinations of research trips are western Europe, North America, east Asia, and southeast Asia. The diversity of regional focuses also suggests that this category overarches scholars who are

⁹ *Comparative Education* has published two special issues on development and international cooperation since the 1990s (issues 22 and 27, in 1996 and 2000, respectively).

classified in groups with different research orientations. At the same time, the strong presence of the scholars who focus on Western Europe and North America would indicate that epistemology and methodology has been a research theme that has traditionally existed in Japanese comparative education, whereas scholars who focus on relatively new areas are also interested in epistemology and methodology.

The above discussion makes it clear that a researcher's attitude toward his or her research is largely related to the purpose for which he or she conducts research and the ways he or she represents the research outcomes. Generally speaking, researchers write papers primarily to be valued by fellow researchers. In addition to that, researchers often try to make some impact on the real world outside of academic circles. Comparative education researchers are divided on this point. As shown in Table 1.5, researchers who are classified as proactive to the country studied wish to make an impact on policies and/or practices in the country studied and/or Japanese diplomacy and aid policies toward this country. On the other hand, those classified as domestic or passive are not proactive in influencing the countries studied but consider more the impacts of their research on Japan.

The number of proactive to the country studied-type of researchers dramatically increased in the 1990s. Figure 1.1 shows the relationship between the respondents' stance toward the social impact and the most frequent destinations of their research trips. It indicates that the destinations of researchers who are passive about influencing the country studied concentrate on three regions, namely, North America, Western Europe, and east Asia. This is a clear contrast to the trends among researchers who are proactive about making an impact on the country studied because they rarely go to Western Europe but go to regions such as east Asia, southeast Asia, south Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa. As I stated earlier, Japanese comparative education started as education borrowing, which was to introduce education policies and practices in western Europe and nearby countries and to draw implications for Japanese education. Such education borrowing-type researchers valued having their research about foreign education used domestically and did not consider making changes in the country studied. Researchers whose research themes are in the global agenda group are most likely to take a proactive stance to make an impact on the country studied and on Japan's diplomatic and aid policies to that country. They try to provide implications for achieving the global agenda through their research. Characteristically, there are a lot of proactive to the country studied researchers among those whose research sites are non-Western countries. It is also found that the proactive to the country studied group increases as the economic level of the country studied decreases, which means that people who do research in developing countries tend to want to influence the policies of the studied countries. Kitamura (2005) highlighted the importance of development studies in comparative education and suggested the "commitment approach," with which researchers take actions to improve the educational conditions in the country studied. Such an attitude is well appreciated among scholars of the global agenda type. Education and society researchers are still distinct from two types who attempt to influence either Japan or the studied countries. They do not have clear intentions about or try not to influence both the country studied and Japan.

Characteristics of Research Practices Observed in the Published Articles

It has been revealed that there are several patterns in JCES members according to their years of admission, geographic focus, methods of data collection, and attitudes toward the social influence of their research. But there is one question that is not answered yet: How are their perceptions about their research reflected in their research practices? To answer this question, I will now turn to the papers published by Japanese comparative educationists. Even though

CE-J has been published twice a year since 2006, the number of papers that can be published in this particular journal is, of course, much smaller than the number of JCES members. Naturally, the journal selects the articles that fit its publication guidelines. Therefore, the analysis of articles published in CE-J would demonstrate some tendency in terms of research themes, analytical perspectives, and methodologies, which characterize the nature of the mainstream research in Japanese comparative education. To what extent do the journal articles represent the growing number of members and their diverse research orientations?

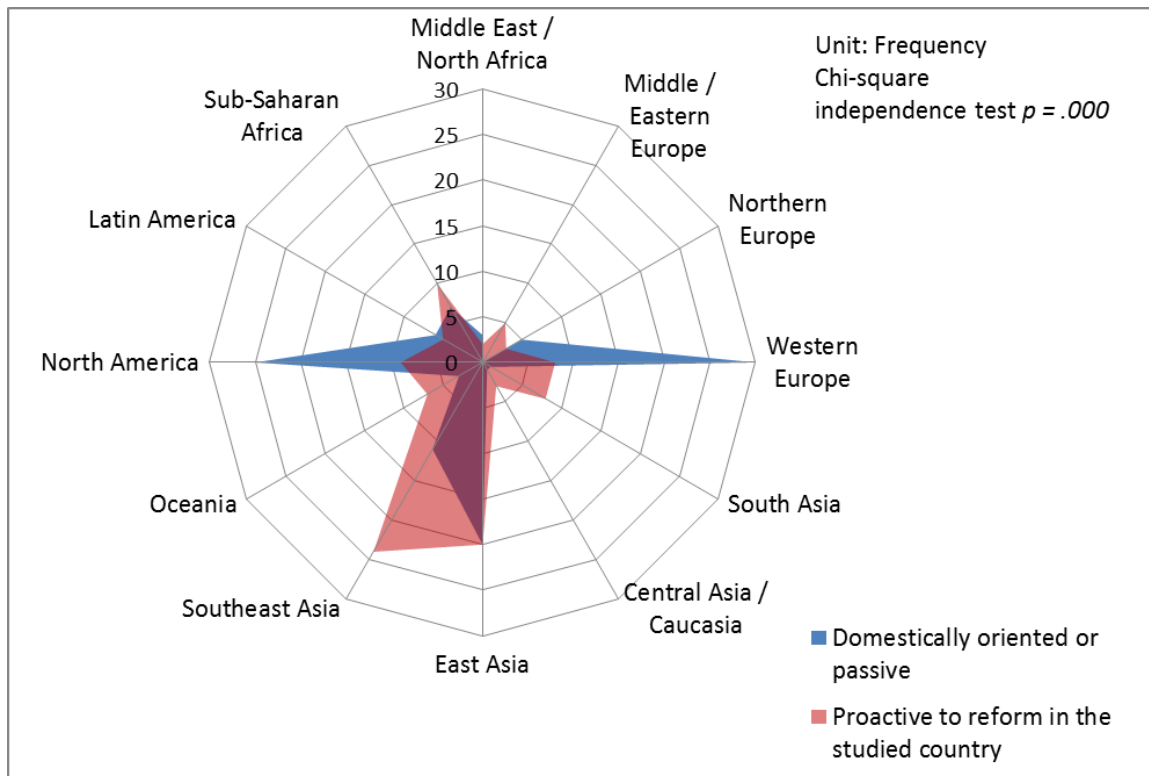


Figure 1.1 Relationship between Attitude toward Social Influence and Region often Visited

I reviewed 261 peer-reviewed articles published in CE-J (edited by JCES, 23 issues total) from 1990 until 2008 and categorized them based on the location of the country studied and its economic level. As a result, papers on east Asia and the Pacific, North America, and Western Europe counted almost 90.0%, 47.4%, and 40.3%, respectively, but less than 5% of papers are written about other areas.^{10,11} Regarding economic levels of the countries studied, only 58 papers (22.2%) are about developing countries. According to the World Bank's categories (low income, lower-middle income, and upper-middle income), more than half of these papers on developing countries are about lower-middle-income countries (33 papers), whereas there were 13 papers on low-income countries, which is only 4.9% of the total. Moreover, many of the papers on lower-middle-income countries are about east Asia, which indicates that the tradition of comparative education research—of introducing educational systems and policies of nearby countries—has a strong influence on the selection of CE-J articles. In this case, authors are likely to have chosen their research sites because of their

¹⁰ The numbers of reviewed articles other than those on east Asia and the Pacific, North America, and western Europe are as follows: Arab states (3 articles, 1.0%), Sub-Saharan Africa (7 articles, 2.3%), Latin America and the Caribbean (9 articles, 2.9%), central Asia (4 articles, 1.3%), and south and west Asia (11 articles, 3.5%).

¹¹ The details of this article analysis are available in Yamada and Liu (2011).

historical, cultural, and social linkage with Japan, not because of their level of economic development.

This review made it clear that papers on policy and system or education and society and about Western Europe, North America, and east Asia, among others, have appeared frequently in CE-J, but various other types of research have not been fully represented. It is quite natural that JCES members' attitudes and themes evolve as time goes by, and JCES has successfully been inclusive to different types of researchers. However, there is some time lag between the change of members' demography and patterns of publication in the journal. In the meantime, as I have discussed elsewhere, scholars with different research orientations find other places to publish their work. Also, the publication patterns of CE-J have been changing rapidly during the past few years. Therefore, the analysis, which includes the most recent issues of the journal, provides us with a very different picture, with a more diverse array of article types.

Conclusion

In this paper, I hypothesize that there are more researchers whose research themes and approaches are different from those of traditional Japanese comparative education, especially among newly admitted members after the 1990s. I present the results of the questionnaire survey to the JCES members and the review of the journal articles. It is a good thing for us to have more members in JCES, as it implies growth and energy in our field. However, as I stated in the Introduction, comparative education does not have a clear boundary based on shared methodologies or theories, and there is also no clear consensus about how to teach university-level classes on comparative education. It is not easy to maintain such a flexible but vague academic field. An academic field is required to have researchers who have expertise in it and university-level programs to train younger researchers according to the traditions of that field so that it takes shape and reproduces members to maintain the field. At the same time, the environment that surrounds comparative education research has dramatically changed. In an era of globalization, where multiple changes happen, we should reconsider the meaning of comparison, the fundamental element of comparative studies, and the audience and objectives of our research about foreign education. We should be particularly sensitive to the roles of education in a society and changes in political, economic, cultural, and social changes that affect education. I do not think new directions in the field of comparative education come about from excluding new things or from criticizing the tradition as remaining unchanged. Therefore, in this paper, I try not to lean on a certain research orientation and present the current status as objectively as possible. Because of this fundamental attitude, this paper does not aim to reach a conclusion on the future direction of Japanese comparative education but rather to provide a basis for further discussion by clarifying the categories of research perspectives beyond mere guessing and stereotyping. Also, although indirectly, this study tries to contribute to the global discussion about the epistemology of comparative education. Because of its interdisciplinary and flexible nature, comparative education research tends to be shaped in relation to the political, social, and cultural contexts of the places where researchers belong. In this sense, comparative education practiced and published in Japan would not be the same as that in other parts of the world. Still, as long as we belong to this academic field, the discussion about the academic core and the tradition will persist. I hope this paper will provide a hint to those who try to investigate the identities of comparative education practiced in different settings and contribute to the global discourse on the epistemology of this field.

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Global Citizenship Education from a Deficit-Theorised Eastern Perspective: Shifting Worldview from the Western Cartesian Self to Buddhist No-Self

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Abstract

The paper contrasts the perception of self in an apparent East-West dialogue by shifting the paradigm from a self (自我) to a no-self (無我), with the latter being a theme more prevalent in many Eastern cultures. The paper draws attention to how modernity and its many discourses may be driven by a dominant Western Cartesian self (Steinvorth, 2009; Giddens, 1991) as one who seeks extraordinariness in one's life pursuits as an end. In contrast, Buddhist no-self decentralise self as a prevailing mindset, and together with its deeply rooted themes of 'change' and 'interdependence' that tie in with current climate of globalisation, offers an alternative perspective for consideration. With education as a means for social change, a better understanding of the interplay between self and no-self can be essential to develop a global citizenship education that advocates for a shared humanity and to fulfill the commitment to being 'global' by considering alternatives. The engagement of Buddhist no-self is imperative not only because of its extensive influence and legacy in many Eastern cultures, but the dualism of self/no-self finds parallel in science as we move from a Newtonian to a quantum understanding of reality.

Keywords: Global citizenship education, Buddhist no-self, Cartesian self, Humanity, East-West dialogue

Introduction

In the field of education, most governments have chosen to pursue a neoliberal discourse in response to globalisation, where neoliberalism is characterised by state regulations that promote private property rights, free markets and free trade, seeing the advancement of human well-being as market driven (Harvey, 2005). Together with the growing prominence of international organisations like UNESCO, OECD and World Bank, the shift from government to governance subjects education to national and international scrutiny, and international assessment such as PISA becomes a measure of the quality of one's education system against others' (Rizvi & Lingard, 2009, pp.116-139). With human capital theory being central to the neoliberal discourse, this comparison is spurred by a meta-narrative that a country's progression is necessitated through the acquisition of more knowledge, emphasising the creation of a knowledge society (Gilbert, 2007). The race to the top is particularly intense among Higher Education institutions, which are the traditional birthplaces for innovation. Wildavsky (2010) traces this phenomenon across the globe to highlight the immense interest governments in various parts of the world have on higher education as a commodity to generate human capital, and how it has been capitalised and sold. Using New Zealand as a reference, Roberts (2004) argues that in the prevailing neoliberal climate, market knowledge now dominates over narrative and even scientific knowledge, the once-revered product of educational institutions. Citing the restructuring of socio-economic life in accordance with the neoliberal discourse in the country, he quotes from Peters and Marshall (1996) that these reforms were made 'with a view of human beings as self-interested, self-serving, self-

contained, rational, competitive individuals' (Roberts, 2004, p.360), which is an apt description of the Cartesian self. However, in emphasising the negative effects of the neoliberal discourse in the many spheres of our lives, including education, Roberts may have diverted our attention from the core issue which is the dominance of a Cartesian self. The quote from Peter and Marshall is a reminder of how we may have been universalised as a Cartesian self, and to consider the governmentality of national reforms that can perpetuate such a concept through social conditioning. In contrast to the Cartesian self as one who is individualistic, all-powerful and judging, Buddhist no-self may be regarded as its antithesis and requires a distinct paradigm shift in how one reads the world. This alternative worldview is however not unique or new. It is a worldview more prevalent in the East, and can be observed within some of its cultures and languages.

Although Buddhist perspectives have been applied to global issues by authors including Sivaraksa (2005) and Hershock (2006), this paper positions 'self' as the central theme when engaging with global issues in particular those that revolve around global citizenship education (e.g. humanity, multiculturalism, sustainable development, conflict resolution) that has emerged in acknowledgement of the growing interdependence of societies across borders, marked by technological advances in transport and communication that facilitated the movement of information, people and ambitions in the last 2 decades. Using 'self' as the focal point, the psychological basis in the management of global issues is examined rather than attending to the global issues directly using Buddhist perspectives. The relevance of this approach is noted in how a dominant Western psyche can perceive the same themes of 'interdependence' and 'change', that have permeated literature on globalisation, differently from that of the Buddhist or views in the East given this fundamental difference in where both sides locate 'self' in their worldviews. This inevitably will lead to a mismatch of expectations and misunderstandings in discussions.

In the light of the current and inexorable spread of global citizenship education that is mostly Eurocentric in nature, dialogues between the West and other existing knowledge systems is imperative. The dominance of the West as central to knowledge production and dissemination should not be disregarded and be acknowledged (Altbach, 1975). With the continuation of the West as a major contributor of knowledge, an awareness of the influence its content has on societies within and beyond has to be heightened, while recipients should be aware of the limitations of the ideologies and methodologies that are framed by Western perspectives. The diasporic quest of a mostly Eurocentric global education or global citizenship education should not be undermined, but rather be put into perspective as a localized political project led by some countries to perpetuate an ethnocentric social imaginary of globalisation within a neoliberal discourse (Lingard, 2009). The assumption of a 'global' stand runs the risk of trivialising a non-universal social reality, that is populated by constantly changing local culture particularities, nor considers the inherent dualism and dilemmas within the discourse: 'essentialisms versus anti-essentialism that trivialize power relations; unexamined ethnocentricisms versus absolute relativisms; deficit theorization versus romanticisation of difference; fantasies of supremacy and entitlement versus paralysis in complicity and guilt; paternalism/salvationism versus indifference/alienation; dogmatism versus 'everything goes'; and the 'world at large' versus 'the world within' '(Andreotti, 2011a, p.308). In summary, global citizenship education is potentially an epistemologically imperialist venture, a form of intellectual colonization (Gough, 2002), if it is unable to resonate with local cultures. More meaningful dialogues between the West and other existing knowledge systems can help fulfill its implicit commitment to a 'global' stand and even complement Western knowledge by offering alternatives that have not been considered.

For a meaningful dialogue between self and no-self, one needs to recognise that as a non-Western knowledge, Buddhism inevitably falls into the realm of the 'Other', a social imaginary constructed by the West to justify its crusade to civilize and educate others while positioning itself as the pinnacle model for progress and cultural supremacy (Mignolo, 2000). Cultures, traditions and knowledge beyond the European context are deficit theorized as inferior, ignorant and non-rigorous in methodologies (Said, 1978; Wallace, 2003; Smith, 1999). Battiste (2005) problematises this as a deficiency of the West where Eurocentric educators have insufficient theory, scholarship, research or practice to draw upon when they encounter cultural and knowledge differences, and thus they accord to these differences a respect for diversity. They also enter into the familiar and seemingly less conflictual positioning of supremacy that either assimilate or assign stereotype by race. Although Battiste is drawing attention to a Eurocentric attitude towards Indigenous Knowledge (IK) and not Buddhism, this attitude is prevalent in Western thinking towards any Other. Wallace (2003) criticises how Western Buddhologists i.e. professional scholars of Buddhism readily categorized Buddhism into either 'religion' or 'philosophy' without realizing the ethnocentricity of such defining terms and that Buddhism may not fit neatly into these Western categories. His strongest criticism towards the Buddhologists is their approach in accessing the knowledge where the 'contrast between scholarly professionalism and contemplative inexperience has introduced a glaring bias into modern academic Buddhist scholarship' (Wallace, 1999). In other words, Buddha's emphasis on experiential understanding of his teachings was often neglected in scholarly pursuits, leading often to misunderstandings or misinterpretations of Buddhism. Wallace's (1999) criticism resonates with the documented insistence of Buddha that his teachings are more than philosophical debates:

At one time when Buddha was teaching the monks, he asked Venerable Sariputta, "Sariputta, do you believe this teaching?" Venerable Sariputta replied, "I don't yet believe it." Buddha praised his answer: "Very good, Sariputta. A wise person doesn't believe too readily. He looks into things, into their causes and conditions, and sees their true nature before believing or disbelieving". (Chah, 2007, p.270).

Thus in order to understand Buddhist teachings and the concept of no-self, one has to take them on beyond a pure intellectual exercise but contemplate, reflect upon and experience them for a complete understanding (Chah, 2007, p.49).

Based on Western categorisation, Buddhism is indeed difficult to define. In a conversation with Revel, Ricard describes the challenges of placing Buddhism into 'religion', 'philosophy' and even 'science' by quoting the words of His Holiness Dalai Lama: 'Poor Buddhism! Rejected by religions as an atheistic philosophy, a science of the mind, and by philosophers as a religion' (Revel & Ricard, 1999, p.25). He highlights that if a religion means believing a dogma by blind faith, Buddhism is not a religion because Buddha was clear that all his teachings should be examined and not be accepted as truth simply out of respect for him. On the other hand, in proposing Buddhism as a form of scientific knowledge, both Ricard (Revel & Ricard, 1999) and Wallace (2003) highlight the ethnocentricity of Western experimental methodologies that rest upon the ability to validate via reproducibility by anyone with the same means of investigation, but have restricted the scope of validation to only the visible and measurable material world. As such, any other avenue of experimental validation is rejected if not deficit theorised. Contesting this preconception, Ricard (Revel & Ricard, 1999) relates to Buddhism as a contemplative science of the mind that has been explored and investigated with attestable reproducibility by many Tibetans, with the result of contemplative science being verified by the (inner) transformation of oneself as manifested in one's behaviour. He

contrasts the objectives of natural science and contemplative science where the former is trying to describe the material world as accurate as possible while the latter is in developing an inward knowledge of oneself to give meaning to life. For Wallace (2000, pp.103-118), Buddhism is a body of systematic knowledge that examines causality within human experience, accompanied by theories of the mind and its relation with the environment. In his opinion, after being tested and experientially confirmed many times over the past twenty-five hundred years by means of duplicable meditative techniques, Buddhist knowledge reflects a rigor that would be expected of any empirical science and should not be readily dismissed.

Buddhism offers clear, prescribed methodologies for the exploration and understanding of one's mind, an attribute that is accessible to everyone regardless of race, class, culture particularity or knowledge systems (Chah, 2007, p.266; Revel & Ricard, 1999, p.161-162; Sumedho, 2007, p.261). Despite being founded in the East (i.e. India), it would be unreasonable to consider Buddhism as an exclusive Eastern tradition because Dhamma (in Pali), or Buddhist teachings, is the word for 'nature' or what is natural in Thai (Sumedho, 2007, p.25). Being of the natural world, the knowledge is available to everyone and may be found in varying degree in other cultures around the world as described by Abram (1996). In Buddhism, it is recognised that 'the Buddha did not invent Dhamma, did not decree the Dhamma. He merely revealed what was already there.....enlightenment is knowing the Dhamma' (Chah, 2007, p.24). However, while Buddhist teachings have been extensively translated from Pali, studied and documented in libraries found in Asia e.g. Tibet, India, China and Japan, language has previously impeded potential dialogues with the West. But with an increase in accurate translations as well as teachings in English by renowned Buddhist practitioners, some of whom are educated in the West, Buddhist knowledge has become more accessible.

This paper comes from two perspectives. One is as a Singaporean Chinese who experiences the tensions between East and West worldviews e.g. the collectivism and individualism, and notices the distinct cultural imprints in how both sides envision the world. The other is from the position of a practitioner of Buddhist teachings, who has been listening to and reading Buddhist materials in both English and Chinese language for more than 20 years to recognise the importance of language in the conveyance of Buddhist teachings. While I am not an academic expert in Buddhist teachings, credentials, positions and duration of study are not the only yardsticks for credibility in Buddhism. As Thai Buddhist monk Chah (2007, pp.293-302) has highlighted, putting on a robe and becoming a monk does not make one an expert. It is the practice that matters regardless of whether one is a monk/nun or not. In the investigative spirit of Buddhism, this paper only seeks to open a new area of discussion and serve as a reference for future dialogues on related matter. As a lesser known 'Other', in the rest of the paper, an attempt is made to clarify and put together three basic but important concepts in Buddhism as identified by Chah. They are namely no-self/interdependence, impermanence/change and suffering, so as to present the Buddhist worldview for reflection upon ongoing global issues that are central to being a global citizen.

Self and No-Self

The concept of self (or no-self) is instrumental in our identity formation and can be important in understanding how a society may operate at a psychological level, individualistic or collectivistic. However, there appears to be a lack of engagement between Buddhist no-self and the Cartesian self as a prevailing mindset that underlies the many discourses in global issues especially those that are increasingly being integrated into education which is an avenue for social conditioning. From a no-self perspective, many existing discourses in

global issues are confined within the paradigm of a Cartesian self. Using Steinvorth's (2009) *Rethinking the Western Understanding of the Self* as the main text of reference, through the works of philosophers Descartes, Plato, Heidegger, Hume and Locke, Steinvorth argues for the dominance of a Cartesian self in modernity, who has a firm belief in the 'unity of mankind, the universality of reason and equal rights of everyone to decide on their life' (p.61). In his argument for the Cartesian self in modernity, Steinvorth (2009) focuses on its central ability to judge i.e. the faculty to deliberate over its thoughts and feelings for decision-making. This ability to judge is complemented by a quintessential free will that empowers one to make decisions regardless of others, serving as the vehicle for reasoning that defined Western rationality. It positions the Cartesian self as an agent of change who can inquire and open up new spaces to effect changes, and to challenge earlier conceptualisations that may be formed based on self-interest. Concurrently, when examining modernity where shared humanity and the advocacy for universal human rights emerge, Steinvorth dismisses two possibilities that hint towards the birth of equality in modernity. The first is the 'Golden Rule' which is the principle of reciprocity that has been preached in many civilisations. He highlights that the Golden Rule is traditionally not understood as a principle of universal equality or liberty but as a respect of status differences in a hierarchy. The other possibility is an unexplained goodness which Heidegger referred to as the mysterious Being, a divine voice that if one listen closely to, will tell to respect everyone's will equally. In rejecting these possibilities, Steinvorth proposes that the emergence of humanity and human rights is due to a 'universal tendency of human nature' (p.69) to seek the empowerment and enactment of one's capabilities in a pursuit of their perfection leading up to extraordinariness. Hence in modernity, the Cartesian self as an autonomous, judging individual with free will, will seek extraordinariness in various areas of interests, or what Steinvorth refers to as value spheres, in order to give meaning to one's life pursuits. Since living for one's sake or in authenticity can differ by each individual's standards, it is deemed that by conferring equal rights to everyone such that everyone is able to judge independently from others i.e. equality, the true nature of reality will be revealed through this practice of scientific objectivity.

Placing the Cartesian self in a modernity of universalistic individualism (i.e. living for one's sake), Steinvorth regards its emergence and dominance as a reflex reaction to a societal suppression of one's self-worth that causes one to lose meaning in life. The Cartesian self seeks alternatives out of oppressive situations, to break societal conventions to become extraordinary. This leads to the flourishing of various value spheres e.g. in the development of art, science, the state and capitalism, sometimes in the glory of God if not the emancipation of individuals from authorities. Hence, in abandoning the shackles of conventions, equal rights are then offered to each individual as a universal obligation and a means of personal salvation in modernity, and to authenticate reality through the summation of individuals' chosen realities. This examination on Steinvorth's interpretation of the Western self in modernity allows us to understand Western rationality as a line of reasoning that can be mapped onto current discussions in other fields and discourses. For example, shifting from a philosophical to a sociological perspective, the strive for extraordinariness as a basis of rationality, supports the morality of authenticity framework in Giddens' (1991) reflexive project of self. For Giddens, in the process of 'being true to oneself', one has to conquer and shed off the emotional blocks and tensions that are historical imprints and baggage imposed on us by others which prevent us to understand ourselves, thus allowing one to disentangle the true self from the false self. It is a project of becoming free from dependencies and achieving fulfilment (pp.78-79) and mirrors Steinvorth's (2009) manifestation of extraordinariness to break the bondage of social conventions. In other words, in a perpetually changing modernity, the Cartesian self seeks to establish its own identity by constantly

authenticating itself in a self-reflexive project and the impetus for self-reflection is the desire to be authenticated in the extraordinary sense (i.e. to be different/special) leading to a hyper-individualistic self.

However, because Steinvorth's (2009) argument for a Cartesian self is framed within the concept of humanity and the notion of humanity i.e. unity of mankind and equal rights to all, a tension arise if we consider the prevalence of the Cartesian self in Humanity and in an Individual where the former seeks unity of people while the latter prizes hyper-individualism. Nevertheless, this situation can be reconciled when considering how the extraordinariness of self can be validated by one's actions or that the authenticity of self is validated by extraordinary acts. As such, the impetus for extraordinariness creates a hyper-individual who seeks out acts or value spheres that will allow his/her extraordinariness to be manifested, which in this case is to unite people under the banner of humanity (or social justice), an act of extraordinariness that reinforces the Cartesian self. For the Cartesian self, performing an extraordinary act is simply an attempt to express a self that wants to be extraordinary or different from others.

With this understanding of the Cartesian self in modernity, its manifestation can be observed in various areas in the current dominant neoliberal climate such as the emphasis on creativity in schools, the great importance placed on achievements in a plethora of international ranking as signals for future growth or even in the exploitation of others for profits by multinational companies. For the Cartesian self, the motive underlying such attainment may go beyond the rationality of profit making as expected in a neoliberal discourse, but is instead an attempt to define oneself against social norms with a personal pioneering agenda to create a private dynasty (Schumpeter, 1934). This drive for extraordinariness that centers around self authentication is similarly echoed in McClelland's (1961) proposal to cultivate an attitude for achievement which he believes will always precede economic achievement because economic success that is based on a new creation is only justified on economically rational grounds retrospectively when it can be irrationally conceived at its point of creation. Regardless of the situation of a country, developed or developing, rich or poor, industrial or agricultural, totalitarian or democratic, people with high achievement motives will be able to find ways within the existing systems for economic achievements. Thus McClelland suggests that the way forward for a society would be to mould the new generation through an appropriate parenting style that cultivate this achievement motive. This idea, together with Inkeles and Smith's (1974) greater emphasis on formal schooling in the shaping of values and attitudes, put schools as an ideal conditioning environment for the cultivation of a Cartesian self who will possess an achievement driven attitude. The cultivation of the Cartesian self can be through means such as encouraging the development of creativity and entrepreneurship as a means to stand out and celebrating school or the individual's achievements in order to break the bondage of normalcy for extraordinariness in any area that may offer economic returns.

Yet, even as one choose to engage with the human capability discourse as the antithesis of the neoliberal discourse, parallels between the human capability discourse and Steinvorth's (2009) human nature to seek out extraordinariness in various value spheres can be identified. The human capability discourse addresses and values everyone's functional capability in all areas with accorded freedom in order to contest the universalism of self-worth and dignity (Sen, 1999) that is implicit in the assessment methodologies of international bodies like UNESCO and World Bank within the neoliberal framework and noted in programmes like Education for All. What the human capability framework offers is an opening up of the playing field to everyone through an envisioned supported freedom in the society, be it in terms of finance,

knowledge or accessibility to resources. However, the human capability approach may not have critically examined the power relations that are inherent within each value sphere because, as Steinvoth reminds us, the extraordinariness or the value of one's capability in each sphere is self-defined by its members. Therefore, if it is the desire of everyone to be extraordinary, a pecking order will be the natural resultant often dictated by those already in power. The use of the neoliberal and human capability frameworks as examples is to highlight the pervasiveness of the Cartesian self even when placed in antagonism. The Cartesian self can also be seen in the creation of a 'West'/me and 'Others' in an establishment of a power relationship under the post-colonial discourse. This desire for power or hierarchy is the manifestation of the Cartesian self and also the essence of identity politics in multicultural studies which seeks to assert one's rights as a self-defined group.

Hence, as we consider how discourses may be limited by the Cartesian self, Buddhism offers a seemingly radical perspective with a two-truths-in-two-world concept (TTTW): 'conventional truth in a phenomenal world' and 'ultimate truth in the real world' (Chah, 2007, p.27; Revel & Ricard, 1999, p.136). In essence, Buddhism regards the world from two different perspectives. The phenomenal world is that which one is familiar with, based on sensory perception that drives one's desires and feelings, giving rise to thoughts. In Buddhism, the sense of self is considered to be a social construct of the ideas that one receives from the conditioning of the phenomenal world (Chah, 2007, pp.259-260) and the different perspectives and attitudes in people arise according to one's interactions with different environments. The phenomenal world is thus also considered a world of delusions as it is dictated by fallible senses and is taken to be the cause of confusion and sufferings one experience on a daily basis. The real world, on the other hand, is abstract and beyond sensory perceptions. It is a world that according to Buddhism, can only be understood through an experiential understanding of interdependence, impermanence/change and no-self. In contrast to the sufferings of the phenomenal world, the understanding of the real world is supposed to bring equanimity. Since Buddhism emphasised on an experiential journey that can only be of one's own, the scope of this paper only allows for engagement with the conceptual aspects of Buddhist teachings.

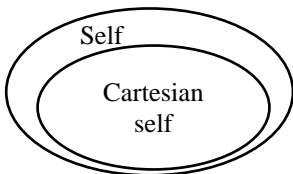
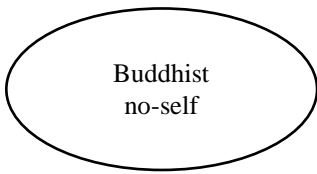
Table 1 on TTTW gives an outline of the discussion on identity in the two worlds with some significant characteristics. Under the TTTW, the Cartesian self is of the phenomenal world while the no-self is of the real world. The concept provides a framework for us to realise the locality of current discussions on global issues as a limiting factor and offers an alternative worldview through no-self to challenge current discussions on global issues that are marked by the Cartesian self.

Embracing Humanity with Suffering

In the phenomenal world, the tension of 'me and others' runs high with the Cartesian self and attempts to alleviate this tension can be seen through the works of NGOs and support for global citizenship education with its associated human rights education and multicultural education where the concept of shared humanity as a universal trait is a recurring theme. But this concept of shared humanity is nebulous at best with a continued struggle to find a basis for this metaphysical construct that falls between universalising and embracing differences. Among the various suggestions, Levinas (2006) looks upon it as a sense of responsibility that prioritises the Other, Moellendorf (2002) discusses it as a duty under cosmopolitan justice while Steinvoth (2009) proposes that it is an act of extraordinariness. When discussing humanity, Todd (2009, pp.16-21) offers a balanced view on the concept of humanity by confronting the negative side of humanity with its violence and cruelty instead of

romanticising in its apparent goodness and justice, and refers to Levinas' (2006) appeal for global responsibility based on the Other as the means to address humanity. Buddhism would agree with Todd on having a balanced view of humanity but it takes humanity into a different direction that is not of a good-evil dualism but of suffering-equanimity/happiness using a different perspective i.e. an understanding of suffering as the means to address humanity. From a no-self perspective, the proposal of a Levinasian global responsibility to address humanity can be seen as a judgemental metaphysical claim because it necessarily implies an irresponsible half that does not care enough and also, in prioritising the Other, it allows the sense of self to persist even if the ego lessens in its encounter with the Other. Levinas' view of a self-emptying moral self through care for others would also be too extreme. Further, the Levinasian thinking does not offer a strong rationale for the Cartesian self to take up global responsibility even with the intellectual proposition of interdependence. It would be counter-intuitive for the Cartesian self who has been conditioned to place self before others.

Table 1 *Two-Truths-in-Two-Worlds Concept (TTTW)*

	Phenomenal World	Real World
Locality		
Characteristics	<p><u>Cartesian self in modernity</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • seeks extraordinariness (desire of becoming) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - authenticating self - man over nature • judgmental • possesses ultimate free will = in full control of one's decision for a predetermined/expected result which does not involve others (certainty) 	<p><u>No-self</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • not overwhelmed by a desire (of becoming); mindfulness <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - man with nature (interdependence) • non-judgmental; simply be aware of dichotomy of thoughts • absence of ultimate free will = have the capacity to make decisions but with an understanding of interdependency with others; results cannot be predetermined (uncertainty)

Buddhism sees the sense of self as a natural disposition and in order to embrace humanity, we need to thoroughly understand suffering to look beyond self towards no-self. Thus, it starts from 'self' to engage others. Understanding suffering is the First Noble Truth and in the rest of this section, an attempt is made to frame a basic but important classic Buddhist teachings of the Four Noble Truths into the TTTW model in Figure 1, taking into consideration modernity and global citizenship education. The Four Noble Truths are as follows:

First Noble Truth: of suffering

Second Noble Truth: of the origins of suffering

Third Noble Truth: of the cessation of suffering

Fourth Noble Truth: of the way out of suffering

As the paper examines the Four Noble Truths, one is reminded that the rigour of Buddhist methodology in understanding life lies in its emphasis on experiential learning and reflexive nature. This is a deviation from the typical rigour of academic literature which emphasises comparisons and critical thinking but yet is the essence of Buddhism that should not be marginalised. It encourages one to refrain from casting opinions readily, but simply to notice our habitual responses while contemplating their relevance before or when responding. This methodology requires a mindfulness that informs one's choice of action with an understanding of the interdependent and impermanent nature of the real world, hence reducing suffering as a choice of (global) responsibility that is extended not only to others but also to oneself. One may perceive the first two Noble Truths as reflections of the phenomenal world while the Third and Fourth Noble Truths may be taken as methodologies that will bring one towards the real world.

The First Noble Truth: 'There is suffering' is a reflection and acknowledgement on the typical state of mind in the phenomenal world. It is crucial to note that the term 'suffering' is often used as the English translation of its Pali counterpart 'Dukka'. But 'Dukka' does not necessarily refer to pain or agony as one may associate with and the actual meaning can be easily be lost in translation. Instead, it refers to being 'incapable of satisfying' or 'not able to bear or withstand anything' (Sumedho, 1992, p.16). It represents a habitual reaction to perpetually changing conditions that is incapable of fulfilling one or make one happy.

When the sense of what I want' and 'what I think should be and should not be' arises, and we wish to delight in all the pleasures of life, we inevitably get upset because life seems so hopeless and everything seems to go wrong. We just get whirled about by life – just running around in states of fear and desire. And even when we get everything we want, we will think there is something missing, something incomplete yet. (Sumedho, 1992, p.22).

Hence, 'suffering' in Buddhism encompasses a broader concept referring to a sense of restlessness that points to one's habitual responses in the phenomenal world of sensory perceptions where one is constantly exposed to and conditioned to the dualism of pleasure and pain. Located in the phenomenal world of egocentricism, the First Noble Truth does not deny the pain, anger and irritation that one experiences but look at such suffering as a bond every human being will naturally share over space-time, regardless of richness and poverty, genders, races and ages (Sumedho, 1992, pp.14-15).

In the context of humanity found in global citizenship education, efforts to reflect upon even the minute dissatisfaction found in the ordinariness of lives can bring out one's empathy for another and develops compassionate tendencies. It is in this engagement with suffering that everyone is equal. The compassion arising from the recognition of a common suffering provides the capacity to put oneself in the shoes of others i.e. to be empathetic and to reach out to another. Complemented with an understanding of interdependence and no-self, it can help to dissolve existing power relations so that we may engage in discussion across and beyond differences. Without an attachment to self, one also goes beyond wanting things to go in a certain way to create more capacity and space to engage others in an open-minded manner. Although proposals for global citizenship education to engage in multi-perspective dialogues have been offered (Andreotti, 2011b; Todd, 2009, pp.98-115), such a space may not necessarily bring everyone, especially those who have an invested interest in maintaining a 'me and others', into a dialogue. It can also be a perfunctory showcase for a Cartesian self who will join the space to exhibit a willingness to listen to others as an act of extraordinariness. The Cartesian self in such a space may remain opinionated, judgmental and unreceptive to other viewpoints without any reconciliation in mind. The Cartesian self

thus challenges any dialogical model where different viewpoints are encouraged to avoid the universalisation of knowledge and ideas, particularly noted in the post-colonial discourse.

Although TTTW has been tabulated, the rigid delineation of two distinct and separated worldviews is only meant as a conceptual framework for reference. Firstly, the proposal of an ‘alternative’ worldview does not mean that it is not already present in the first place. It is alternative not because it is new but because it can be easily overlooked, being against the grain of one’s understanding of a readily accessible world built upon sensory perception and desires. As such, one may naturally possess insights from both worldviews but the framework helps to put things into perspective. Secondly, as a fluid mindset, the Cartesian self can oscillate within a spectrum of attachment to self and no-self. This dynamic model adheres to the Buddhist concept of impermanence and change. In Figure 1, the success of a dialogue may then depend on where one and the other stand in this spectrum. A dialogue is likely to be more successful if both parties (or more) are closer towards no-self for a liberated exchange of ideas without either holding on to one’s own opinions tightly, and each with an openness for change through active listening. On the other hand, a dialogue is impossible between two ideal Cartesian selves who will only engage in his/her monologue. Yet, regardless of the initial standpoints, the success of any dialogue should only be taken as probabilistic because of the potential for change during the interaction. From the Buddhist perspective, what motivates a dialogue to take place and be sustained is therefore the compassion for one another that arises from an understanding of a common bond of suffering. This understanding can take us deeper into a dialogue to understand differences and also to go beyond them as a global citizen.

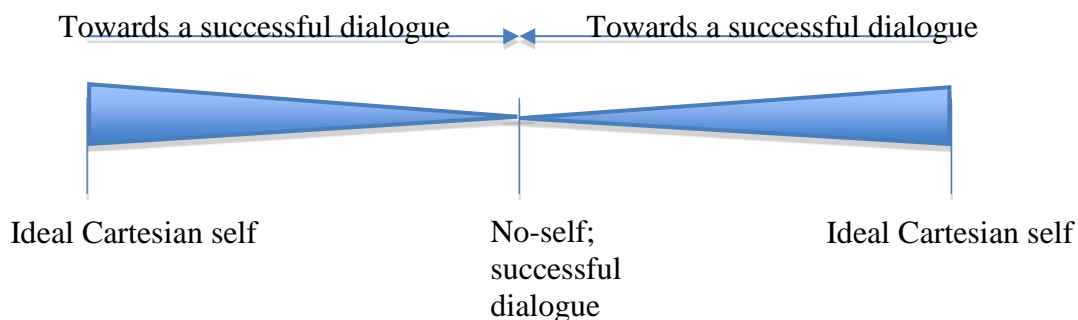


Figure 1 A proposed model for a successful dialogue based on identity

Throughout the paper, Cartesian self in modernity has been a key focus and in Buddhism, such a trait is explicitly located in the Second Noble Truth as a desire to become (extraordinary). The Second Noble Truth is a scrutiny of the origin of suffering, which is one’s attachment to desires. There are three forms of desire: desire for sense pleasures, desire to become, and a desire to get rid of. These are not exclusively separated forms of desire but represent different aspects of it. For example in the case of the Cartesian self, the desire to become extraordinary necessitates a rejection of the social conventions to remain like everyone else or a rejection of one’s suffering when one is unable to attain extraordinariness. The following quote from Sumedho puts across aptly the nature of the Cartesian self:

We can be caught in the realm of ambition and attainment – the desire to become. We get caught in that movement of striving to become happy, seeking to become wealthy; or we might attempt to make our life feel more important by endeavouring to make the world right.....When we become disillusioned with trying to become something, then there is the desire to get rid of things. I want to get rid of my suffering, my anger or jealousy. (Sumedho, 1992, p.30-31)

In Buddhism, these desires arising from a sense of self are thus also considered natural inclinations, a condition of the mind. They do not define the inherent nature of a person but yet it is easy for one to be driven by these desires due to an inability to recognise them. Further, Buddhism recognises that it is not the desire (for extraordinariness) that brings about suffering for the Cartesian self but the grasping of this desire that causes suffering. Grasping implies the attachment to self, thinking it's really me and mine. Accordingly to Sumedho (1992), 'We are not just hopeless victims to desire. Desire has power over us and deludes us only as long as we grasp it, believe in it and react to it' (p.32). With the Cartesian self dominating modernity, the First and Second Noble Truths offer a Buddhist perspective in understanding the Cartesian self who is caught up in its way of thinking, driven by its desires and besieged by a suffering that has gone unexamined. The reflective practices found in Buddhism seeks to offer an experiential way to understand the entrapment of the phenomenal world and its suffering, while the realisation and the compassion that arise from such an understanding can enable one to move beyond the Cartesian self towards a no-self, helping to facilitate dialogues and build bridges within and for humanity.

As it is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the methodologies dealing with suffering, only a brief overview of the Third and Fourth Noble Truths will be mentioned here to illustrate the robustness of this set of Buddhist teachings. The Third Noble Truth: the cessation of suffering is a direct extension of the Second Noble Truth which examines the causes of suffering. If Giddens' (1991) reflexive project of self is to validate oneself in modernity, the whole aim of Buddhist teachings could be seen as its antithesis and the Third Noble Truth marks the end of the self or emergence of no-self with the end of suffering. Buddhism advocates the development of a reflective mind in order to let go of the delusions of self and related desires (Sumedho, 1992, p.38). Therefore, it is a practice recommended in Buddhism to vigilantly take note of the three desires via mindfulness and seeing them as they are when they arise so that one will be able to let them go accordingly, just like putting down a burden. However as Sumedho (1992) warned, it is a challenging practice because it would require a willingness to look deeply at one's own reaction without judging oneself. It also takes courage and patience to 'bear with the unpleasantness of a particular condition...to endure boredom, despair, doubt and fear in order to understand that they cease rather than running away from them' (p.45). But 'it is in embracing suffering that suffering ceases' (p.45). Unlike annihilation, cessation is the natural ending of any condition that comes about. When one lets something go and allows it to cease, then what remains is peace. According to Sumedho, 'there is no need to become the perfect person because the pure mind is where the perfect person arise and cease' (p.44).

Complementing the Third Noble Truth which provides an insight into the cessation of suffering, the Fourth Noble Truth attempts to guide one out of suffering with what is known in Buddhism as the 'Eightfold Path', a comprehensive methodological framework to create the conditions conducive for the cessation of suffering or the lessening of the sense of self. The Eightfold Path is categorised into three areas: Wisdom, Morality and Concentration. Each of these areas supports one another in the path out of suffering/self into enlightenment (Chah, 2007, p.432) and any of them may serve as the starting point. It has been said that there are eighty four thousands approaches in Buddhism, accounting for the different starting point for each individual depending on one's character, disposition, intellectual and belief (Revel & Ricard, 1999, p.34). However, for the purpose of this paper, only 'Wisdom' has been specifically addressed as a possible intellectual entrée into the alternative worldview.

Table 2 *Eightfold Path*

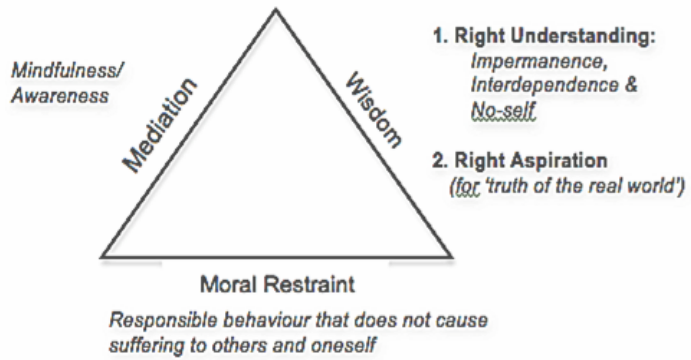
Wisdom	Morality	Concentration
Right Understanding Right Intention/ Aspiration	Right Speech Right Action Right Livelihood	Right Effort Right Mindfulness Right Concentration

Under Wisdom, Right Understanding refers to the insights developed from the first three Noble Truths. Without Right Understanding, it is said that everything is viewed through the various filters and lens of social conditioning and one is unconsciously driven by desires leading to suffering. Consequentially, with Right Understanding, the illusion of self is released. With the dissolution of self, the body and mind may no longer continue as a personality infused with opinions, conditioned thoughts and the reactions acquired in the phenomenal world. One can reflect upon the understanding that this physical form is simply Dhamma (i.e. the way it is), a result of the interdependent nature of the real world. Further, in recognising the impermanence of the phenomenal world where everything is always variable and changing, the more one try to make things conform to fixed ideas of each other and societies, the more frustrated one gets and the more suffering one experiences. An understanding of the world from this perspective, however, is not a fatalistic reflection. Neither is it an attitude of ‘that’s the way it is and there is nothing you can do about it’. Buddhism sees it as a very positive response of accepting the flow of life for what it is so as to learn from it and work with it (Sumedho, 1992, pp.54-55). The frustrations one experiences may simply be the failure of the Cartesian self.

Another component of Wisdom is Right Aspiration or Intention. However ‘aspiration’ here does not refer to a desire. The Pali language makes a clear distinction between ‘tanha’, meaning desire arising from ignorance and ‘samma sankappa’, which is an aspiration coming from Right Understanding and of not wanting to become anything. It can be considered as an attitude or movement towards an understanding of the real nature of the world (Sumedho, 1992, p.56). Thus, it encourages contemplation and reflection, and to keep an open mind and heart.

Lastly, Morality refers to a framework of conduct that suggests for one to take responsibility for one’s speech, action and activities, and to be mindful of one’s desires and impulses so that others and oneself will not be hurt through negligence. This helps to generate a sense of calmness within oneself. Concentration refers to the practice of meditation to decondition the mind and letting go of all the fixed ideas and views one holds on to in order for a clarity of mind to emerge (Sumedho, 1992, p.59). In other words, going beyond social constructions entails the cultivation of the ability to sustain awareness so that one can be constantly mindful of how one’s thoughts, ideals, values, cultural attitudes and prejudices are products of the environment, and thus not to be taken too seriously (Sumedho, 2007, pp.195-211). This can support the multi-perspective dialogical model discussed earlier because it psychologically predisposes one to be open and receptive to possibilities that arise from dialogues. Both Morality and Concentration have well described methodologies that may be taken up in future research. The following table puts together the Four Noble Truths with the important concepts of Buddhism discussed earlier for a concise overview.

Table 3 *The Four Noble Truths and Humanity*

<p>Reflections on the phenomenal world</p>	<p>The First and Second Noble Truths:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding the nature of suffering/dissatisfaction and its relation to self → cultivating compassion for humanity
<p>Beyond the phenomenal world; real world</p>	<p>The Third and Fourth Noble Truth:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Letting go of suffering/self with a broad-based, prescribed methodology for different individual → action for humanity <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <p>Mediation=Concentration; Moral Restraint=Morality in the Fourth Noble Truth. The terms have been changed for one to relate to easily.</p>

An Alternative Worldview in Addressing Global Issues

Buddhist teachings challenge several concepts and viewpoints that dominate current ongoing discussions on global issues found in global citizenship education such as humanity, identity and sustainability. As mentioned, from the Buddhist perspective, these discussions are framed by the Cartesian mindset caught within the phenomenal world and this paper contests the ‘global’ if a distinctly different worldview that can be located prominently in the East is not taken into account.

Table 4 is constructed to offer a no-self perspective to the ongoing discussions in global citizenship education. It consolidates some of the issues that have already been highlighted although it is not meant to be an exhaustive list. From the table, the concepts of suffering/compassion, no-self, interdependence and impermanence is applied to the various discussions, suggesting the simplicity but extensiveness of Buddhist teachings. The no-self perspective found in Buddhism thus offer an alternative way of thinking, for reconceptualising the state of the modern world driven by the Cartesian self and contributes to ongoing discussions using this other knowledge system.

The Nature of the World(s)

The discussion so far examines the contrast between Cartesian self and no-self, and their influences on our perception of humanity and global citizenship education. However, the profound concept of no-self in Buddhism as the central theme of this paper has yet been delved into. Since the concepts of no-self, interdependence and impermanence/change as important tenets of Buddhism are interrelated and implicated in the co-existence of the phenomenal and real world, they will be discussed together using the TTTW framework. A better understanding of no-self together with interdependence and change will help to broaden the scope of current and future discussions.

Table 4 *Global Issues from a no-self perspective*

Theme	Proposal
Global citizenship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consider multiple worldviews including the proposed Buddhist worldview which has its influences in several Eastern cultures. However, it should be highlighted that this worldview is not exclusive to Asia. As a mindset, it may also be found in varying degree in various cultures or down to the individuals.
Humanity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Suffering as a common bond of humanity. To discuss the term, one needs to understand suffering in Buddhist terms and to explore it in an experiential way. • No-self/interdependency and change as the basis to reexamine the power relationship and hierarchy that are maintained among the various identities. • Compassion with wisdom as an agent for change through dialogues or actions
Sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interdependence with no-self; be aware of the man-over-nature tendency of the Cartesian self • No-self/interdependency and change as the basis to reexamine the power relationship and hierarchy that are maintained among the various countries or organizations in controlling resources
Multiculturalism/ Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No-self/interdependency and change as the basis for a constantly but naturally changing identity or identities. This holds true for having multiple identities as well. • No-self/interdependency and change as the basis to reexamine the power relationship and hierarchy that are maintained among the various identities. • Compassion derived from the understanding of suffering to alleviate sense of guilt and blame in the hierarchy of power (post-colonial)

Although the TTTW in Buddhism may seem abstract and counterintuitive especially with a real world that is beyond sensory perception, the framework can be correlated with scientific findings on the nature of our physical realities as modern physics moves from the Newtonian to the quantum worldview. But even as progresses are being made, the classical Newtonian worldview still dominates the knowledge system with its sufficiency to bring about material improvements and because of the inadequacy of language to describe an abstract atomic/subatomic world (Capra, 1992, pp.53-61). The Newtonian world is a three dimensional space that is absolute, independent and immutable. Any physical phenomenon that occurs or changes within it takes place in a separate dimension of time that is also taken to be absolute and independent. From the Newtonian perspective, the elements that construct the world are discrete solid particles governed by forces between them and subjected to the laws of motions, the fundamental concepts of classical mechanics; God had created a mechanical world that had been set in motion to run in a deterministic manner like a machine regulated by immutable laws (Capra, 1992, pp.63-66). However, all these principle concepts of the Newtonian world are now challenged by knowledge derived from the quantum world and Einstein's special theory of relativity. The special theory of relativity displaces space and

time as absolute and independent entities. Instead, it suggests that both are intricately associated to form a fourth dimension known as the space-time continuum. As such, depending on two individuals' relative velocities, their separate observations of an event will differ and also contravene traditional scientific objectivity. With the special theory of relativity is also the equation $E=mc^2$ (E=energy; m=mass; c=speed of light) which equates mass to energy. In other words, any particulate mass can be regarded as formless energy, contesting the Newtonian concept of matter being composed of indivisible and immutable units. Lastly, from the Newtonian perspective, when two subatomic particles collide at high speed in a particle accelerator, they are expected to break up into smaller units. However, it has been observed repeatedly in experiments that while two subatomic particles may break into units, these units may not necessarily be smaller but can be greater than the original particles as they are created out of the energy used to accelerate them for the collision. This points to the mutable nature of the subatomic/atomic particle world: energy can manifest as particles and these particles can transmute into other forms or disappear as energy. This energy-particle relationship also suggests that the properties of a particle can only be understood with respect to its interaction with the environment. Since the particle is not an independent entity but an integrated part of a whole system, it rejects the classical Newtonian concepts of indivisible elementary particles and isolated objects while subscribing to the view of a 'whole universe appears as a dynamic web of inseparable energy patterns' (Capra, 1992, p.92).

Taking the concept of a fluid and dynamic energy network further, the concept of nonseparability in quantum physics bears a similarity to the concept of interdependence in Buddhism, which reinforces that an event can only occur dependent on other factors i.e. mutual causality. Consider the well-established wave-particle duality nature of subatomic particles and light. At the subatomic level, electrons, protons and smaller entities like quarks exist in a paradoxical nature as either a wave which is spread out over a large area in no particular direction and thus exist everywhere at the same time, or as a particle that is confined to a small volume within a specific locality. As a wave at rest state, it is not possible to define a point location for such an entity. It is only when instruments are used to determine its location, the very use of the instrument itself will convert it to a particle. Niels Bohr referred to this phenomenon as the 'principle of complementarity' where the result of being either a wave or particle depends on whether there is any interaction between the subatomic particles and observers through the instruments used to measure them (Ricard & Trinh, 2001, p.82). Even then, its eventual location as a particle is only a probability within the extensive wave. In contrast to the deterministic Newtonian world, this probabilistic nature of the quantum world is one of its major characteristics.

The interdependent nature of the subatomic world is best exemplified by a thought experiment of Einstein, Boris Podolsky and Nathan Rosen in 1935, known as the Einstein-Podolsky-Rosen (EPR) experiment. In the experiment, we are to imagine that a particle disintegrates into two light particles i.e. photons A and B. By the law of symmetry, they will always travel in opposite directions. Given the wave-particle duality of photons, before any measuring instrument detects them, they exist as waves and not particles. Since they are waves, they may exist in any given direction but only when A has been captured by the detector and become a particle then will it have a specific direction of travel. In that case, Einstein argued that it is not possible for B to guess where A is heading and order its behaviour accordingly to be in the opposite direction unless A can inform B instantaneously of the direction it has taken upon detection. Since nothing can travel faster than light, the information transfer is impossible because the photons are particles of light that are travelling

at the speed of light themselves. As such, the probabilistic interpretation of quantum mechanics where A can be in any direction can only be wrong. Evidently, this thought experiment was argued with classical physics in mind where both photons are discrete entities that need to communicate with each other. However, Einstein's arguments have been debunked by actual experiments that reaffirm the probabilistic (and interdependent) nature of the atomic/subatomic world. In an experiment carried out by Nicolas Gisin and his colleagues in 1998 in Geneva, the Swiss physicists showed that a pair of photons more than six miles apart are able to consistently show correlation in their decisions while overcoming the limit of the speed of light. These findings require a reinterpretation of the physical world at the atomic/subatomic level whereby A and B are no longer discrete entities but part of a nonseparable reality which allows them to stay in contact through some unknown interaction in order to react to each other instantaneously even though they may be miles apart. In other words, B shares the reality of A and vice versa. With this and other results, quantum physics had offered an insight into an alternative reality that has been verified by experimental observations and understood through the language of mathematics. Table 5 highlights the differences between the Newtonian and quantum worlds.

Table 5 *Differences between Newtonian and quantum worlds*

	Newtonian world	Quantum world
Nature of the world	Space and time are absolute; objectivity	Space-time continuum; subjectivity
	Mechanical machine-like world that run by immutable laws; determinism	Fluid energy-mass world that is run by laws of probability; possibilities
	Consists of discrete, immutable particles	Consists of wave-particle duality nature of atomic/subatomic particles
	Discrete, independent existence	Interdependent existence (even at the universe level)
Derivation	Based on sensory perceptions	Beyond sensory perception; abstract

While differences between the Newtonian world and quantum world have been noted, similarities are found between Buddhism and quantum physics. Just as the quantum physicists see the world in a dynamic play of energy-mass where energy/waves/particles that make up these realities are always part of one another even when they transmute or split into different forms, Buddhism regards the world as a massive flow of events that are linked together and participate in one another. Interdependence is the basis of Buddhist emphasis on the emptiness of a phenomenon. However, 'emptiness' in Buddhism is not 'nothingness' as is with nihilism. It is simply a rejection of an autonomous and isolated existence of everything including self. No-self or the emptiness of self is a recognition of the interdependent nature of the world we are part of. The seventh Dalai Lama put these ideas across succinctly in a verse:

*Understanding interdependence, we understand emptiness
 Understanding emptiness, we understand interdependence
 This is the view that lies in the middle,
 And which is beyond the terrifying cliffs of eternalism and nihilism
 (Ricard & Trinh, 2001, p.63)*

Impermanence or change is also another fundamental concept in Buddhism that is based on interdependence (Ricard & Trinh, 2001, p.101). Since every phenomenon i.e. event or condition is contingent on others beyond itself in an interdependent reality, this emptiness becomes the means for creations, changes and possibilities (Ricard & Trinh, 2001, pp.31-32), supporting the concept of weak determinism in the law of causality in Buddhism (Zajonc, 2004, pp.183-184), where there is always the potential for changes effected through one's and others' decisions. This is compatible with the dynamic world of quantum where the laws of probability operate 'partly deterministic and partly nondeterministic' and provide the platform for changes (Zajonc, 2004, p.46). In essence, no-self is nested in the concept of interdependence while impermanence is the manifestation of interdependence.

Table 6 *Parallels found between the two-worlds concept of Buddhism and quantum physics*

Phenomenal/ Newtonian World	Real/ Quantum World
Based on basic sensory perceptions	Beyond basic sensory perceptions
Discrete, independent existence	Interdependent existence
Deterministic	Probabilities/ Impermanence

Conclusion

Even though both Buddhism and quantum physics detect the nature of realities through different rigorous methodologies and instruments, both have arrived at the same conclusion of interdependence and change in an abstract world. Table 8 shows how the TTTW fits into the Newtonian-quantum world distinction although the focus of quantum physics is on the physical realities while Buddhism emphasises the associated mental affliction i.e. a mind that is predominantly bound in a paradigm framed by the phenomenal world. From the Buddhist perspective, without an insight to the real/quantum world for an alternative worldview, it will be easy to get caught up in the phenomenal/Newtonian world of sensory perception. With a self, an 'other' is necessarily created as its binary opposite, giving rise to differences, comparisons and one being judgmental of the 'other'. In modernity, this binary of 'me and other' is a characteristic of the Cartesian self who has taken up a pivotal position in discussions on humanity, post-colonialism, multiculturalism, feminism and identity politics to name a few. It may be important to be aware of these discussions as social constructs and the conditioning of differences in the phenomenal world, especially in view of the inevitable spread of a global citizenship education that, being Eurocentric in nature, is currently grounded in a western philosophy of the Cartesian self. This paper seeks to offer a deficit-theorised perspective of no-self within a TTTW framework in Buddhism for an alternative way to conceptualise the world and open up new areas of discussion. The table below puts together basic ideas from the two different perspectives i.e. Cartesian self in modernity and no-self in Buddhism for consideration. While not all the items in the table are necessarily comparable since they operate under fundamentally different philosophies, they do offer an overview of the discussion.

It is with the understanding of 'no-self' and the interdependent nature of the world that the illusion of 'me' and 'other' that the mind has created may be lessened or be extinguished to enable a move beyond differences and engage with one another as fellow human beings (Ricard & Trinh, 2001, p.71) who bear the same suffering. Interdependency within the real world of quantum suggests for one's linked co-existence with others (and nature) in an

Table 7 *Basic Ideas From Two Different Worldviews*

	Worldview	
	Western (Cartesian self in modernity)	Buddhism (emphasis on no-self)
Basis of Humanity	A human nature that seeks Extraordinariness <input type="checkbox"/> Achievement	Facing and understanding Suffering as a common bond; compassion paired with wisdom as the motivation and guiding principle
Valued Attitude	Critical thinking that judges and compares to create dualism e.g. a judgmental Cartesian Self that creates and rejects the Other	A non-judgmental awareness; acceptance of dualism as the way of the mind but valued the nature of the real world e.g. no-self over self to move beyond suffering
Identity; Perception of 'Self'	An independent entity	A non-independent fluid self – 'no-self' that exists in relation to other beings; Interdependence
Nature of World	Rooted in Determinism and Positivism; Newtonian	Rooted in Change/ Impermanence & Interdependence; Quantum
Sense of utility/ happiness	Sensory gratification based on material gains, pleasure and peace; sense of control	Profound sense of peace and equanimity; letting go of the desire for sense pleasure, for becoming and for getting rid of
Reflexivity	Constantly authenticating oneself in the midst of choices for a true self; self authorship	In the context of no-self, maintaining an awareness of one's desires as they appear so as not to be driven by them; responsible for one's actions to avoid suffering for oneself and others
Knowledge	Cumulative knowledge, teleological knowledge; linear with the end in mind; knowledge to control; knowledge based on observations of the external world through the senses; lifelong learning = acquisition of skills to cope with changes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of the phenomenal world, based on senses/perception, is subjected to change, thus can be cumulative or variable. But that of the real world is eternal with change as an intrinsic part of it. • Knowledge of the real world can be accessed via many paths (within the eightfold path) in a constant learning process. It is non-linear and the end is the natural manifestation of the process. • Knowledge is based on the observations of internal world through the mind and experience; insight knowledge to understand and not to control but see the way things are. • Lifelong learning = lifelong reflection on the Four Noble Truths for the development of resilience in face of changes

intricate web of relationships. Everyone is part of a shared reality in the space-time continuum. Here, it would be prudent to realise that the term 'interdependence' can easily fall into TTTW.

As an ubiquitous concept that permeates literature relating to globalisation, ‘interdependency’ is often considered in the macro perspective of economics, politics and environment (Held & McGrew, 2005) and limited to the phenomenal world where one describes and makes references to the changes and effects that are brought about by human activities. By contrast, the interdependence that Buddhism relates to is subtle and intimate, down to the quantum level where a reality of possibilities and relationships exists for a reflection of one’s identity and choice of actions with regards to others. Further, this understanding of interdependence has to be conceived together with the realisation of no-self. With a Cartesian self, the concept of interdependence can be subjugated to become a means for gratification, exploitation and power differentiation, which perpetuates the issues others may be trying to dissolve. But before one falls into the other extreme of rejecting extraordinariness, in the recognition of the natural existence of dualism, Buddhism places emphasis on moving beyond the dichotomy and taking the Middle Way. Moving away from the extremes is not considered a compromise, but wisdom derived from an understanding of the nature of the world that will allow one to transcend suffering (Chah, 2007, pp.115-121; Revel & Ricard, 1999, p.143). It does not mean that one should not do one’s best or make the best out of any possibility. It is simply to see life as the way it is instead of romanticising it.

Similarly on the concept of impermanence/change, current literature points us to a rapidly changing world as the result of globalisation and a knowledge economy that requires the ability to adapt with time, cope with changes, engage with lifelong learning and to embrace changes as the default operandi modus. It also promotes a switch of mindset from the traditional deterministic working of the world to one which is constantly in flux. Unavoidably, tensions will arise within the psyche of the Cartesian self who then seeks to control the outcomes through every possible means. The reaction to this tension may be represented by how international organizations and national governments attempt to ‘steer at a distance’ with their international/national assessments despite the rhetoric of a decentralisation of power (Rivzi & Lingard, 2010, p116-139; Hudson, 2007). The ability to control and determine outcomes is a basic characteristic of the Cartesian self. When this support for impermanence/change is managed by the Cartesian self, the efforts may also be for gratification, exploitation and power differentiation. Interestingly, in the area of impermanence/change, long existing Eastern philosophies may provide a clearer framework for future discussions as they deal with the concept of ‘change’ as the natural state of the world (Capra, 1992). In his book, Capra (1992) has compared quantum physics with various Eastern schools of thought i.e. Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism and Zen. However, the concept of ‘change’ in Eastern philosophies can also fall into TTTW. For example, when Capra considers Taoism and Buddhism together as philosophies of change, the distinction between them is unfortunately lost. As a philosophy, (earlier) Taoism may be considered ‘世間法’ while Buddhism is considered ‘出世法’ which means ‘knowledge of the world’ in the former and ‘knowledge beyond the world’ in the latter (Xie, 2011, p.93) even though both espouse no-self‘無我’. This touches upon another level of complexity that exists in Eastern philosophies. Taoist understanding of impermanence/change can be contextualised within the phenomenal world, a reflection on nature as an observable phenomenon. Whereas Buddhism addresses the change beyond it in the real world as discussed earlier. This differentiation of ‘change’ in the two Eastern philosophies despite their common no-self is a reminder that the various fundamental concepts of Buddhism have to be considered together when engaging with Buddhism in discussions. Nevertheless, this distinction may open up a possible area for future research with regards to the concept of change. In his book, Xie (2011) also highlights that the best schools of thought in China may be in Taoism, I-Ching (易经) and Buddhism. In considering the seemingly greater interest in Confucianism in

Western academic literature, the remark reminds us to consider Confucianism in its original context of a hierarchical model that abides by the Golden Rule of reciprocity, or *Ren* (仁) as noted by Zhao and Biesta (2010), but which is rejected by Steinvorth (2009). This promotion of social hierarchy and subservience to authority was the reason for the introduction of Confucianism into the Hongkong curriculum by the British in the early 1900s, in an attempt to have the citizens abide by British rule (Pennycook, 1998, pp.123-124). Therefore although Confucianism may contain notable concepts of humanity for an alternative framework of morality as suggested by Zhao and Biesta, one should take into account the context upon which it was constructed. Putting things into perspective with regards to this thesis, Xie categorises the Chinese philosophies of I-Ching, Taoism and Confucianism as ‘*世間論*’, knowledges of the phenomenal world in contrast to Buddhism. Such categorisation may help one to consider the position of these and other schools of thoughts in the East under the TTTW in future research.

In keeping to the phenomenal world of change, it would seem that one may seek out the Cartesian self who enforces control with its deterministic nature or go the way of Taoism with a no-self who relinquishes control exemplified by its outlook of ‘*逍遙游*’, an attitude of ‘carefree-ness’ and not being overly rigid. But from the Buddhist perspective, both would still be contained within the social conditioning of the phenomenal world although Taoism has a greater inclination towards the real world with a no-self. Despite noted differences between Buddhism and Taoism, it was their similarities that prompted the acceptance and flourishing of Buddhism in China when it left India (Xie, 2011). As influential philosophies of thought in the East one can infer the possible cultural influences Buddhism and Taoism may have had on culture through common practice, attitude and sayings that reinforce the concept of interdependence/no-self and change as part of social conditioning. For example, looking at language, the Chinese saying ‘*時勢造英雄*’ (translated to ‘a hero is born out of circumstances’) and a reference to ‘*天時地利人和*’ for the success of an event (translated to ‘needing a combination of weather, time, good situation and the right people’) are manifestations of the concept of interdependence and to reinforce no-self. Further, ‘*人世間難免有悲歡離合，陰晴圓缺*’ (translated to ‘in life, it is unavoidable to have sadness, happiness, parting, reunion, good days, bad days, fulfillment and non fulfillment’) reflects the natural changes in life with its dualistic constructions. While it is not within the scope of this paper to review the Chinese or other Eastern cultures, the examples provided of common Chinese sayings seeks to provide an insight as to how language may have been and can be used to steer one’s understanding towards the real world. The concept of no-self may also be the reason for the ubiquitous collective nature of the societies in Asia, in contrast to the individualism located primarily in the West with rhetoric such as ‘freedom of rights’ where freedom appears to be infused with the egocentricism of the Cartesian self. This potential of language prompts a reflection on how the instructional languages of various discourses such as the current dominant neoliberal discourse in policies and mass media may have cultivated our sense of being e.g. the Cartesian self in modernity. However, it is not to imply that similar sayings are absent in English or in other languages, rather it is suggested that the prevalent usage of such sayings may differ in different cultures or societies and over time. Even in the Chinese context, if the language of neoliberalism becomes more dominant in comparison to related sayings mentioned above, the mentality of the Chinese people can change over time. Nevertheless, an examination into the Eastern cultures using the TTTW framework is likely to offer a fertile area for future research.

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University Linkages and International Development Assistance: Lessons from the Canada-China Experience

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Abstract

This paper compares two Canada-China university linkage programs, namely the Canada-China Management Education Program (CCMEP) and Canada-China University Linkage Program (CCULP), to examine their historical contribution to the development of Chinese higher education during the 1980s-90s. Two theoretical lenses are employed, world systems theory, and cosmopolitanism. The findings reveal three key differences between the two programs: (1) while the impact of CCMEP was limited to the field of management education, knowledge and skills from CCULP were disseminated in a wide range of areas; (2) unlike CCMEP, which largely achieved institutional goals only, CCULP projects were able to meet the objectives set by participating institutions and the Canadian International Development Agency; and (3) CCMEP projects were more affected by the 1989 Tiananmen event than CCULP projects. In spite of these differences, both programs shared many commonalities and greatly supported the development of Chinese universities, enabling them to contribute significantly to China's social and economic transformation over the two-decade period following the launch of its open door policy. Based on the history of both programs, the paper concludes with three key recommendations, concerning the significant role of institutional and national agencies, as well as people-to-people relationships in development aid activities.

Keywords: Canada, China, International development, Educational cooperation, University partnership

Introduction

The late 1970s and early 1980s was a turning point in China's modern history, when the country – under Deng Xiaoping – began to make economic reforms to re-join the world economy. Deng's Four Modernizations were launched to enable China to become a world power in the areas of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology (Agelasto & Adamson, 1998; Hayhoe, 1989). The higher education sector was accordingly restructured so as to be able to produce qualified human resources to meet the demands of this major initiative. However, due to the chaos and tragedy of the Cultural Revolution in the previous decade (1966-1976), Chinese higher education had lagged far behind its Western counterparts by the late 1970s, especially in terms of science and technology (Agelasto & Adamson, 1998; Hayhoe, 1989). There was a lack of qualified faculty and staff locally who could improve the capacity of the higher education sector. International educational cooperation, bilateral and multilateral alike, was thus seen as crucial for importing new knowledge, innovation, and more advanced science and technology from developed nations into China during its early years of recovering from the Cultural Revolution.

Canada was among the first of Western developed countries to re-build official relations with China, as well as to provide it with development assistance immediately after the latter began to be reintegrated into the world. In particular, the Canadian International Development

Agency (CIDA) focused on helping China develop its human resources, by establishing university linkage programs between the two countries. Two of the major CIDA-funded university linkage programs were the Canada-China Management Education Program (CCMEP), which ran between 1983 and 1994 and the Canada-China University Linkage Program (CCULP) between 1988 and 1995. These two projects, among others, played a vital role in improving the capacity of Chinese universities to respond to China's development needs during the 1980s and 1990s. In fact, Canada provided China with around CDN 250 million dollars of development assistance from 1981 to 2000 (Jackson, 2003), most of which went to education, nearly one fourth of the World Bank loans to Chinese higher education at the time. Canada's development assistance approach of pairing its universities with Chinese universities was also relatively unique, in comparison with the smaller scale assistance projects other Western countries provided Chinese higher education throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

It is important to point out that China has also been seen to adopt a distinct approach from a number of Western DAC [Development Assistance Committee] donors, in its involvement in educational collaboration with the global South for over a period of 60 years. In recent years, China's assistance approach has gained increasing attention at the international level, and also, wider recognition and respect, at least by many developing countries, including those in the African region, where much of China's large-scale educational aid has been focused on higher education development and professional training (King, 2013). These sub-sectors have been seen as indispensable for producing competitive skilled labor in the global knowledge economy, but unfortunately, have largely been ignored by many Western governments in their international projects. As King (2013) points out, since early on, China has always emphasised mutual benefits and equality in its international educational collaboration. Hence, while the major emphasis of this paper is on the comparative analysis of CCMEP and CCULP programs, we would also reflect on any parallels between Canada-China educational experience during the 1980s and 1990s and China's development approach in its international educational assistance.

The purpose of this paper is to make a comparative analysis of CCMEP and CCULP programs to explore their historical contribution to the development and growth of Chinese higher education in the 1980s and 1990s. The study begins with the discussion on the theoretical frameworks of the critical neo-Marxist approach of world systems theory and cosmopolitanism. The qualitative research method is then presented, followed by an overview of CCMEP and CCULP programs. Next, a comparative analysis is made, based on the interview findings and other collected documents. The study concludes by offering three major recommendations, based on lessons learned from the success of both programs.

Theoretical Frameworks

To compare CCMEP and CCULP, this study employs two theoretical perspectives, including world systems theory and cosmopolitanism. In this section, however, it is important that we begin by reviewing another relevant neo-Marxist approach, that of dependency theory, since the world systems concept is closely connected to it. Developed by economists and political scientists in Latin America in the 1940s and 1950s, dependency theory views the world in terms of the center-periphery dichotomy, contending that the state of underdevelopment in the global South after the Second World War has taken place through their political and economic interaction with the North, particularly North America, Western Europe and Japan (Holsti, 1985; McLean, 1983; Altbach, 1977; Carnoy, 1974). Central to this theory is the position that the latter controls the global system by dictating and manipulating all economic and political

rules, at the expense of the former. For instance, in international trade, they are able to take advantage of cheap labor and raw materials in the South, which can then import back manufactured goods at higher cost, making capital outflows exceed the inflows of profit in the South. Hence, it is developed nations that benefit from a trade surplus based on unequal exchange. In this regard, dependency theorists reject the capitalist development theory, which maintains that development is a linear process and all countries would undergo the same stages of development (Holsti, 1985; Carnoy, 1974). Simply put, since the international system takes the form of exploitation by capitalist countries, it is impossible for developing nations to “duplicate the process of change which took place in the developed countries” (Carnoy, 1974, p. 53).

In education, dependency theory began to be widely adopted in the 1960s and 1970s as a critique of the failure of many international development programs in developing nations (Carnoy, 1974; Altbach, 1977; McLean, 1983). Within this frame, educational planning and development in the South in the post-World War II period became increasingly dependent on the expertise and resources of Western scholars, mainly in the form of foreign assistance. The adoption of western models had led not only to the failure of knowledge transfer in international educational programs, but also to the marginalization of local knowledge in developing nations over the years. The resulting issues of educational inequality and dependency between the North and the South, in the long run, help perpetuate economic and political dominance of the former over the latter. Hence, through the lens of dependency theory, international university linkage programs would be likely to provide greater benefits to Northern institutions than their Southern counterparts.

Drawing on dependency theory, world systems theory also discusses the issue of inequality and dependency between developed and developing countries. However, world systems theorists argue that the global order is a complex construct, with many countries holding multiple roles. Hence, instead of viewing the world merely from the center-periphery dichotomy, they add the in-between category of semi-peripheral countries or regions, which they argue played a significant role in maintaining and reinforcing the structural inequalities among countries in the world (Wallerstein, 1974; Forster, 1999). According to Immanuel Wallerstein – a pioneering scholar in the development of world systems theory – “the existence of the third category means precisely that the upper stratum is not faced with the unified opposition of all the others because the middle stratum is both exploited and exploiter” (Wallerstein, 1974, p. 405). In addition, while dependency theory views the center-periphery relationships as zero-sum interactions, world systems theory contends that the position of each country within the global system is not fixed, meaning they could move up or down, depending on how they react or respond to global realities.

In recent decades world systems theory has gained more currency than dependency theory, in explaining issues of inequality within the global system. One of the early examples that support the former was the rapid economic growth, also commonly known as “the economic miracle”, of four Asian societies, namely Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea, which began in the 1960s. Later, a number of other emerging economies also surprised the world, including Malaysia, Thailand, China, India and recently Vietnam. China’s economic success, in particular, has been phenomenal, with its annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth of about 10% from 1979 to 2011 (Sutter, 2012). By 2010, it had surpassed Japan and become the world’s second largest economy (Sutter, 2012), indicating a shift in its economic position toward the center. Obviously, the current world order has been restructured and reshaped by the changing geopolitics after the end of the Cold War, as well as the intense

process of globalization over the last twenty years, which has enabled many countries to progress, while at the same time, challenged others, economically and politically.

World systems theory has also garnered more attention than its dependency counterpart in discussing educational issues within the global order. As Forster (1999) pointed out, many countries hold multiple roles at the international level, both as donors and as recipients of foreign educational assistance. For instance, looking at the recent development of higher education in the Southeast Asian region, one could see that countries such as China, India, Thailand, and South Korea, have recently been seen as emerging donors for such countries as Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar (NORRAG, 2007; Sato et al., 2010). China has also been seen as one of the major aid providers to higher education in the African region as well (King, 2008; Gillespie, 2001). In fact, since the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the country had acted as a donor in its relations with other Third World countries (King, 2013).

Another practical aspect of framing educational issues within the world systems lens is related to the possible benefits each country could gain from participating in the global system. Again, China offers the clearest example here. Along with its economic growth over the past 30 years, Chinese higher education has significantly expanded and had enrolled 29 million students by 2008 – the world's largest in absolute numbers (Zha, 2011). Also, since the mid-1990s, China has also focused on strengthening its research capacity, through introducing a number of policy initiatives, including Projects 211 and 985, which had supported the rapid upgrading of 112 research-intensive universities – or 10% of the total number of Chinese universities – by 2013 (Zha & Zhou, 2013). The Times Higher Education World University Rankings (2013-14) shows that over 10 Chinese universities had already joined the top world 400 universities by 2013. Hence, while it still takes time for Chinese universities to be part of the world's elite league, comparable to their western counterparts, in terms of knowledge production, science and technology, it is not an exaggeration to conclude that Chinese higher education has greatly benefited from and moved forward well in the global competition over the years. In fact, China is not alone. In recent years, many elite universities in the Asia Pacific region have gained more recognition and international status. More than ever before, aspiring for world-class university status has increasingly become part of their ordinary policy discourse. Cummings (2010) is very positive about this changing trend, asserting that at present, while the West is still at the core of knowledge production, Asia “has much more potential – investment, talent, unique biosphere, humanistic objectives, a collaborative spirit, and an impressive array of recent accomplishments – than is generally appreciated, suggesting that the Asia-Pacific region may be emerging as the new power-house of knowledge production” (p. 52). For all these reasons, we argue that world systems theory is most appropriate for this comparative study of CCMEP and CCULP.

An important aspect we emphasise in this paper is the successful history of two major university linkage projects, CCMEP and CCULP. Therefore, we find it useful to embody elements from Kenneth King's (2009) study on international university partnerships in our analytical frame of world systems theory. In particular, we adopt two determining factors for successful international partnership programs, the first of which is related to the length of a visit or study program at a foreign partner institution. As King (2009) explains, “the minimum time to allow a visitor to become somewhat more local is a term or a semester, but, better still, an academic year” (p. 38). A shorter time, he claims, would limit their understanding of systems in the host country. The other factor is the enabling environment, which he also sees as integral to help facilitate and support university partnership activities. This includes human

and financial resources, people's commitment, the local cultural values, and political conditions, among others (King, 2009, p. 45).

While world systems theory is central to our comparative paper, we argue that it would be incomplete to compare CCMEP and CCULP, purely from an economic and political standpoint. Especially, we are convinced that the key to the success and sustainability of CCMEP and CCULP lay in human connections built over the years among academic groups from both countries. Therefore, in this paper, we end our comparative analysis of both programs by looking at them through a cosmopolitan lens (Brown & Held, 2010; Held, 2003; Nussbaum, 2010; Pogge, 1994). As a political theory, cosmopolitanism has a long history, with its origin commonly associated with Stoics' idea of a "citizen of the world" (Brown & Held, 2010; Brock & Brighouse, 2005; Held, 2003; Nussbaum, 2010; Brock, 2009). Such an idea is associated with the argument that everyone is "part of a fraternity of mankind and that as a member of the cosmos he could not be defined merely by his city-state affiliation" (Brown & Held, 2010, p. 4). For centuries, however, cosmopolitanism remained largely concerned with the basic ethical, religious and legal principles (often referred to as moral cosmopolitanism), with a loose connection to practical politics (Brown & Held, 2010).

It was the political philosophy of Immanuel Kant in the 18th century that "a more robust transition from a moral cosmopolitan orientation to an institutional position" began to take place (Brown & Held, 2010, p. 9). Kant, in his work *The Metaphysics of Morals*, talked about the need to establish "cosmopolitan law and a universal condition of public right", that could be applied to the issue of justice at the global level (Brown, 2010, p. 55). He also argued in his *Perpetual Peace* that "a cosmopolitan legal condition must not only be concerned with the rightful relations between individuals within states, but also with the rightful relations that should exist between state actors and their rightful treatment of all human beings" (Brown, 2010, p. 45). Such a political philosophy, obviously centered on the notion of a global or international society, has had a significant impact on the recent scholarships of many well-known cosmopolitans, including Martha C. Nussbaum, Onora O'Neill, Charles R. Beitz, Thomas Pogge, and David Held, among others. Hence, most contemporary cosmopolitan thought is related, in one way or another, to the idea of global governance, with some cosmopolitan scholars also suggesting the layout of what institutional designs or political institutions are set up to ensure that principles of moral cosmopolitanism are implemented for the benefits of everyone (Brown & Held, 2010). This means cosmopolitanism places a strong emphasis on human values and dignity, and aims to promote mutuality and equality among different communities and societies.

In recent years, cosmopolitanism has gained more attention and acceptance in the field of international relations in general and in international academic collaboration in particular. This is mainly due to the inability of traditional paradigms, including realism, (neo-)liberalism and the Neo-Marxist approaches of dependency and world systems theories, to fully explain and deal with global issues of dependency and inequality among countries. As Held (2010) argues, the mere focus on maximizing one's own national interests, be they political or economic, has thus far created a number of problems, such as poverty, economic crisis and war. In education, the transfer of knowledge between the North and the South since the decolonization era has, for the most part, been seen as a failure (Crossley & Watson, 2003). Especially, there has been a widening gap between higher education systems in the two different zones. In this regard, it needs to be reiterated that the success of the CCMEP and CCULP programs could not be completely understood only from the economic and political

perspective. Hence, it is important for this study to end the comparative analysis by applying the cosmopolitan lens.

Research Methods

This study uses a qualitative research methodology, which Creswell (2005) describes as “an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducted in a natural setting” (p. 1-2). In this approach, the researcher usually relies on “the views of participants; asks broad, general questions; collects data consisting largely of words (or text) from participants; describes and analyzes these words for themes ...” (Creswell, 2005, p. 56). The exploratory nature of the qualitative approach is appropriate for this comparative paper, because, as noted earlier, there has been very limited literature about either CCMEP or CCULP, let alone any analysis of the reasons for their success. Hence, using this approach, the study has been able to unfold the history of Canada-China academic relations in the 1980s and 1990s, from the lived experience of past participants.

This study’s primary method of data collection is semi-structured interviews, supplemented by documents from both primary and secondary sources. The purpose of using these documents was to gain a solid understanding of the emerging themes at the analysis stage. In selecting interview participants, the study utilized a purposive sampling technique – a commonly used strategy in qualitative research. This technique involves recruiting certain groups of people with rich information about a particular phenomenon, individuals or events (Creswell, 2005; Patton, 1987). Hence, over a two-year period from 2011 to 2013, the study has completed over 65 open-ended interviews, with both Canadians and Chinese, who had participated in each program, either as administrators, students or faculty, at the time. Many of them were already retired at the time of our data collection and were located in many different regions of both countries. For the purpose of our study, we designed our interview questions in a way that allowed the participants to narrate their past experience. Once detailed notes were completed, data was coded and analyzed qualitatively, then interpreted in relation to documents that had been collected, to identify emerging themes and reflect on similarities and differences between the two distinct types of linkage project, CCMEP and CCULP. Important to note is that these themes were an important part of our rationale for adopting the theoretical perspectives of world systems theory and cosmopolitanism.

An Overview of CCMEP and CCULP

Relations between Canada and China were officially re-established in 1970, and had improved since then, through trade, Canada’s voting for China’s entry into the U.N. in 1971, several visits to China by Canadian officials (including Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in 1973), and the establishment of a family reunification program that allowed Chinese residents to emigrate to and be reunited with their relatives in Canada (Wilson, 2001). An educational exchange agreement and the Memorandum on Educational Cooperation between China and Canada were signed in the early 1970s to promote educational and cultural exchanges between the two countries. Such an opportunity allowed more than 2,514 Chinese students and scholars to come to Canada for both short-term and long-term study between 1970 and 1983 (Singer, 1986, p. 8). However, university-to-university cooperative activities between the two countries were quite limited throughout the 1970s. Canada’s official development assistance programs did not take place until 1981, when Canada informed China that it was eligible for Canadian official development assistance (Maybee, 1985). This marked the beginning of Canada’s huge development assistance for Chinese higher education as the country was being reintegrated into the world.

From the outset, Canada's educational collaborative program in China was based on the strategic concept of "the multiplication of contacts at the thinking level", suggesting that with its limited resources, Canada would focus its development assistance programs mainly on helping China develop its human resources (AUCC, 1993; Wilson, 2001). The AUCC's report in 1993 indicated that throughout the 1980s, CIDA spent an annual amount of between CND \$10 and \$12 million on the human resources development sector in China. Most of the funding went to supporting university linkage programs, the two major ones the Canada-China Management Education Program (CCMEP) and the Canada-China University Linkage Program (CCULP).

The Canada-China Management Education Program (CCMEP)

Following a visit to China by Canada's Minister of External Affairs in 1981 and a planning mission to China 1982, the Memorandum of Understanding between CIDA and the State Education Commission of China (SEDC) was signed in 1983, with the purpose to strengthen management education programs in eight of China's key universities (Ryan et al., 1987; Hayhoe, 1989). Both parties agreed upon the establishment of the Canada-China Management Education Program (CCMEP), which linked eight Chinese universities with ten Canadian universities. This first phase CCMEP program ran between 1983 and 1988 and was completed with a total expense of CND \$12.1 million (CIDA, 1992). The second-phase projects (1987-1994) were an expansion of the first-phase program to include 24 Canadian and 24 Chinese schools, with the main focus remaining on management education. However, there was a shift of emphasis in the second phase from mainly training managers, despite still going on, to training Chinese faculty (McLean, 1986). The total expense for the second phase was CND \$27.5 million (CIDA, 1995). Chinese provinces in which CCMEP projects were carried out included Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Hubei, Hainan, Fujian, Guangdong, Shaanxi and Zhejiang.

In CCMEP, the responsibility for implementing the projects was passed to the universities concerned, immediately after CIDA and China's State Education Commission signed the agreement (Song, 1994; Maybee, 1985). Partnering universities then set up their own management team to govern the projects. For instance, the linkage project between the University of Toronto (U of T) and Huazhong University of Science and Technology (HUST) was managed by two management teams: one was located in the Faculty of Management at U of T and the other in the College of Economics and Management at HUST (Song, 1994). Through university-to-university agreements, various operational objectives were designed, including "training in Canada of young Chinese faculty to the MBA, M.Sc. or Ph.D. level; training in Canada senior Chinese faculty through visiting scholar programs and short-term visit; provision of course, lectures, or research in China by visiting Canadian professors; and provision of books, equipment and materials for management training in China" (Ryan et al., 1987, p. 1-2). The expansion of the CCMEP program in the second phase also added numerous new collaborative activities, especially at the national level. Those activities covered study tours, conferences, joint research, and a national Ph.D. program in China (CIDA, 1992). It should be noted that CCMEP operational objectives in the first phase were broadly designed in a flexible manner so that academics from both sides could explore and learn about each other, due to their limited knowledge of the cultural and academic differences between the two countries, during their early years of partnership (McLean, 1986). Lessons learned from the first phase were, therefore, useful for the planning and design of CCMEP objectives in the second phase, which became more concise and structured (McLean,

1986). Overall, CCMEP has thus far been the largest and longest international collaborative project in Chinese higher education (Mirus & Wegner, 2010).

This program was in response to China's need of management education from Western countries to help accommodate its economic reforms, based on the Four Modernizations plan. As pointed out earlier, due to the chaos and tragedy of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), China had lagged far behind other countries by the late 1970s, in terms of science and technology (Agelasto & Adamson, 1998; Hayhoe, 1989). Also, there was a lack of technical and entrepreneurial skills among Chinese managers at the time, with more than two thirds of them lacking formal technical education (Falkenheim, 1987). Until 1983, China had only five institutes for management training, with a total of 100 teachers and 2,000 students (Hayhoe, 1989). This training system itself had long been dominated by the centrally planned economy concept, which became less relevant to the 1978 economic reforms. Thus, Canada's management education programs were to meet China's urgent need for new knowledge and skills. It was also interesting that China's international cooperation strategies at the time were different from those of other developing countries. Instead of looking at assistance to meet its basic human needs, China focused mainly on economic growth and modernization (Wilson, 2001).

On the Canadian side, maintaining and increasing trade with China were seen as major motives behind Canada's support for CCMEP. During the 1960s, China was Canada's largest wheat buyer and by the early 1970s, Canada's overall export to China had reached \$ 200 million, representing China's third largest trading partner (AUCC, 1985). With many ministerial visits between the two countries involved mainly in the promotion of trade, Canada's export to China kept increasing throughout the 1970s. The opening-up of China and its economy in the late 1970s was thus seen as an opportunity for Canada to increase their trade activities with China. In fact, as Wilson (2001) indicates, the Canadian business community was trying to lobby their government to use development assistance to improve their trade with China. Canada's Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, along with CIDA and the Department of External Affairs, played an active role in Canada's discussions with China at the time. Hence, the development of CCMEP was seen to be closely tied to Canada's considerable economic interest in China.

The Canada-China University Linkage Project (CCULP)

By the mid-1980s, relationships between Canada and China as well as between their higher education institutions had greatly improved and matured. With its rapid economic growth, China began to focus on other development areas, in addition to the economic sphere, and thus, sought Canada's support (Wilson, 2001). At this request, Canada announced in 1986 that CIDA would double its development assistance in China to CND \$200 million over the coming years and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) was instructed to develop a development plan for China, called "Canadian Strategies for China", which would focus on the development of human resources in other areas, in addition to trade (Wilson, 2001). The development plan led not only to the expansion of CCMEP into the second phase (1987-1994), as discussed above, but also the development of a new program in 1988, called the Canada-China University Linkage Program (CCULP).

Unlike CCMEP, which focused mainly on management education, CCULP aimed to help Chinese universities to improve their capacities in a wide range of development areas, including agriculture, forestry, energy, transportation, and telecommunications (AUCC, 1993). At the institutional level, CCULP projects set up seven major themes to be achieved by

participating Chinese universities. Those themes were: (1) the enhancement of university capacities to dealing with their external environment; (2) development of university management capacities; (3) enhancement of teaching; (4) development of curriculum; (5) enhancement of research; (6) enhancement of accessibility; and (7) enhancement of equity (AUCC, 1990). This was different from CCMEP in which there were no unifying themes at the institutional level. This was because the responsibility of all CCMEP projects was passed to universities involved, making the operational objectives varied among all institutions (Ryan et al., 1987). In addition to its support for setting up institutional goals, CIDA included three major priorities in CCULP: (1) sustainable development, meaning that Chinese universities would be able to maintain the activities started by the projects, and that Chinese trainees who study in Canada would be able to be re-integrated into their home upon the completion of their training abroad; (2) participation of women in the development; and (3) environmentally sound development (AUCC, 1991). By comparison, these CIDA's development priorities were not included in CCMEP.

From 1988 to 1995, CCULP covered 31 projects that linked Chinese universities and their affiliated teaching hospitals with Canadian universities. Among those projects, 29% were in health and nutrition; 26% in engineering; 13% in education; another 13% in environmental sciences; and 6% each in agriculture, community development and international relations (Pan, 1995). Similar to CCMEP, CCULP involved such activities as faculty exchanges, collaborative research, training of Chinese students and scholars in Canada, program and curriculum development, conferences, seminars, and study tours in both countries (Pan, 1995). However, unlike CCMEP, which covered only key institutions, as discussed above, CCULP projects were widely dispersed to include small and inland institutions (Pan, 1995). Chinese provinces in which CCULP projects were carried out included Beijing, Guangdong, Shanghai, Tianjin, Hubei, Zhenjiang, Shaanxi, Jilin, Jiangsu, Sichuan, and Gansu.

Also, while there was no executing agency for CCMEP, CCULP projects were managed by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) – a not-for-profit, non-governmental institution whose role is to promote the interests of Canadian universities at home and abroad and also administers, on behalf of government agencies and companies, many international collaborative programs (Nassr & Tunney, 2000). Hence, on the Canadian side, AUCC was responsible for “the coordination, implementation, monitoring and financial management of the CCULP program ...” (Pan, 1995, p. 104). The responsibility on the Chinese side was delegated by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation to the State Education Commission. The total expense for the CCULP program was CND \$19 million, which was funded by the Canadian International Development Agency, with some matching funding from the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation (CIDA, 1992). Important to note is that all CIDA-funded projects, including CCMEP and CCULP, received an extension of at least one year due to the delay caused by the 1989 Tiananmen incident (Further discussed later in this paper).

Obviously, Canada's increased economic activities with China accounted for the former's decision to expand CCMEP to its second phase as well as to establish a new program of CCULP (Frolic, 2011). However, the fact that CIDA tried to embed its development priorities in CCULP projects suggests Canada's move away from its mere focus on aid ties to its role as one of the actors in promoting sustainable development in China. This policy was clearly related to Canadian political engagement at the international level, especially during the Cold War period. As Trilokekar (2009) points out, after the Second World War, Canada was trying to develop its international image, through establishing “its unique role as a non-colonial,

middle power, seeing itself neither as center or periphery in the world state” (p. 132). Instead of imposing its own ideology on developing countries or following that of either the capitalist or the communist blocs, Canada, like Norway and Sweden, focused its international assistance programs on meeting the development needs of developing countries, including China (Weiler, 1984). Hence, one could see that Canadian foreign policy behind CCMEP and CCULP was economically and politically motivated.

Findings and Discussion

This section presents the comparative analysis based on the emerging themes from the interviews and collected documents, including government reports, project reports and policy papers. One of the key themes is related to the emphasis of both programs on sending Chinese scholars to Canada, either as visiting scholars or graduate students, for their professional development. The study revealed that through this opportunity, Chinese scholars were able to upgrade and broaden their knowledge in their own field, and adopt new approaches of teaching and learning. Like many others, one Chinese interviewee who had participated in the CCMEP project as an MBA student and was a vice dean at Tsinghua University at the time of our interview asserted that knowledge from Canada was very practical and relevant to his career, when China was moving toward a Western model of market economy (Interview with Tsinghua University participant, 7 July 2011). Before then, he had been trained with the concept of a planned economy, which became irrelevant to the 1978 economic reforms. Another interviewee who went for his Ph.D. at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) at the University of Toronto under CCULP expressed the same opinion about the practicality and applicability of his education from Canada (Interview with East China Normal University participant, 1 July 2011). For instance, he viewed as important the involvement of Ph.D. students in the development of course outlines for their future teaching. Also, to stimulate his students’ critical thinking, he began to adopt a student-centered approach, providing more opportunities for students to participate in class discussion. These were among the teaching and learning methods, which he claimed he had learned from Canada. Obviously, participants’ good understanding of the Canadian education system and its values could be attributable to their lengthy stay in Canada, which was around six months for visiting scholars and somewhat longer for graduate students.

Another important theme of our comparison is the focus of both programs on strengthening and improving the quality of Chinese universities. Many Canadian professors were sent to China to assist Chinese professors in developing new programs as well as supervising doctoral students. For the first time, for instance, nine Chinese universities were able to develop their MBA programs, eight of which were part of CCMEP projects. According to the participant from Tsinghua University, this would have been very difficult, without CIDA’s support, since all their professors came from engineering backgrounds, yet they were mandated to develop new programs in management. Another Chinese professor participating in CCMEP also indicated that many new MBA courses were offered in the Chinese language as well (Interview with Xiamen University participant, 12 July 2011). Likewise, some Chinese universities, participating in CCULP, were able to develop and strengthen several Ph.D. programs. A Chinese participant in the partnership program between the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and Beijing Normal University pointed out that most Chinese professors at the time had no experience supervising doctoral students at all, so they needed support from their Canadian counterparts (Interview with Beijing Normal University participant, 6 July 2011). He further claimed that at present, his institution – Beijing Normal University – has a strong Ph.D. program in China. Another example was the Tianjin Medical University School of Nursing (TMUSN), which through its partnership with the University of Ottawa’s School

of Nursing, was able to establish the associate's degree program in 1992 and master's program in 1995 (Nassr & Tunney, 2000). Overall, all interviewees mentioned that Chinese universities supported by both CIDA's programs have made remarkable progress over the years, and have become among well-known institutions in China by now, with international standards of teaching and research in a number of fields.

The wider dissemination of knowledge among Chinese academic communities was another interesting theme in this comparative study. As the Xiamen University participant explained, the MBA course books developed by Chinese professors and their Canadian counterparts at Xiamen University were also used by the Tsinghua program at the time. Similarly, medical knowledge under CCULP was also widely disseminated through strong networks among Chinese hospitals in remote and rural China. According to Nassr and Tunney (2000), "Once trained, the staff at Guangzhou Children's Hospital (GCH) were able to improve the quality and delivery of health care to the children of Guangzhou Province and South China..." (p. 6). All this indicates that the long existence of networks among scholars in China (Hayhoe, 1989) played an important role in disseminating new knowledge and skills within the country. This cultural tradition could be seen as part of the enabling environment that helped facilitate knowledge transfer from Canada to China.

It is important to note that due to its main focus on management education, the social impact of the CCMEP program was primarily related to the management education field in China. CIDA's development priorities, such as the environmental sustainability and women's participation may not have received sufficient consideration in CCMEP projects (Bernard et al., 1992). By comparison, with its broader focused areas, CCULP projects had a far-reaching impact on a wide range of knowledge areas. Especially, in addition to the above-mentioned positive effects, CCULP had involved women in many development projects, recognizing their important role in the society. The establishment of the Chinese Minority Women's Studies Center under the CUN-SFU partnership was a good example of this (Nassr & Tunney, 2000). Also, many CCULP projects were concerned with environmental and cultural sustainability (Nassr & Tunney, 2000).

Most importantly, both CCMEP and CCULP programs achieved CIDA's purpose of "multiplication of contacts at the thinking level". The AUCC's report in 1992 indicated that "many Chinese professors [who participated in CCULP] were linked to Chinese policy makers through national advisory boards and councils, the National Academy of Science and the National Environmental Protection Agency" (1992). Both projects also developed networks among Chinese and Canadian scholars, through conferences, missions, meetings of project directors and newsletters. The report was consistent with our study's findings. Especially, all interviewees claimed that many past participants became leaders in their respective fields upon returning to China. Some of them later played an important role in policy making, as consultants or advisors, in many Chinese government entities beyond academia. This means the projects had a wider policy impact on Chinese society. Jackson (2003) indicates that, "as many as one-third of the projects in the higher education portfolio were judged to have made significant impacts on policy" at both the provincial and municipal levels (p. 10). Again, it should be noted that CCULP had made wider contacts outside of academia than CCMEP, due to its broader focus (Bernard et al., 1992).

The third key theme regarding the comparison between CCMEP and CCULP was concerned with the important role of an executing agency, in this case the AUCC, in translating Canada's development policy into practice at the institutional level, bridging the policy gap between the

government and universities, especially on the Canadian side. As indicated earlier, the responsibility for implementing all CCMEP projects devolved upon the universities concerned, immediately after CIDA and the Chinese Ministry of Education signed the partnership agreement. Therefore, CCMEP's operational objectives were overall designed by Canadian and Chinese participating universities, with limited involvement from CIDA. On the Canadian side, the only group who helped coordinate and organise CCMEP at the national level was the Federation of Deans of Canadian Management Schools (Interview with Canadian Management Dean, 4 June 2012). Basically, representatives of Canadian business schools participating in CCMEP held regular meetings to discuss issues concerning the program operational activities. The group also provided CIDA with annual reports regarding the progress and challenges facing CCMEP in each phase. However, only at the end of the first phase in 1988 was a CCMEP office established at McGill University, with financial support from CIDA. According to what a Canadian participant who ran the office pointed out, this was because CIDA expected CCMEP activities in the second phase to be more structured and organised (Interview with Canadian CCMEP officer, 23 September 2012). Despite all its support, CIDA was not directly involved in the management of the CCMEP office or the overall activities of CCMEP program.

The lack of involvement of CIDA in the management and operation of CCMEP illustrates the fact that, like other developed countries, Canadian universities have enjoyed a strong tradition of institutional autonomy, and their approach toward their international cooperation with universities in other countries is also quite independent of their own government. In this regard, there is always a lack of policy consistency between the government and universities (Trilokekar, 2009; Pestieau & Tait, 2004). In fact, Pestieau and Tait (2004) explained that the Canadian academic community oftentimes expresses their discontent with CIDA's bureaucratic system and interference. Hence, CCMEP projects were operated mainly by universities from both countries, although CIDA was the major source of funding. As a result, the program could only achieve its goals set at the institutional level, without much relevance to CIDA's development policy (Ryan et al., 1987).

By comparison, CCULP projects were coordinated by the AUCC, which played a key role in bridging the policy gap between national and institutional levels. In particular, the AUCC were responsible for the coordination, implementation, monitoring and financial management of CCULP (Pan, 1995). Thus, both China's and CIDA's development priorities were incorporated into the CCULP program, as discussed above. During the program implementation, the AUCC organised regular meetings among project coordinators and regular exchange visits by universities concerned as well as by staff from both the AUCC and from CIDA (Pan, 1995). In fact, during our study, one Canadian participant on the Canadian side greatly appreciated the supporting role of AUCC in international university activities, in the absence of a central government agency, such as a ministry or a department of education (Interview with AUCC participant, 4 October 2012). Therefore, unlike CCMEP, which could only meet objectives at the institutional level, CCULP achieved the goals of both Canadian government and universities. It is important, however, to point out that women trainees were also included in CCMEP activities (Ryan et al., 1987), suggesting that such CIDA's development priorities as women's engagement were somehow a concern for CCMEP projects, albeit not directly stated in their operational objectives.

The fourth theme for comparison relates to the negative impact of the 1989 Tiananmen event on both CCMEP and CCULP. Ten years after the open door policies were introduced, the Chinese economy had made significant progress, with an annual growth of around 10 percent

(CIDA, 1992). This had substantially improved people's living standards. At the same time, however, the young progressive generation of intellectuals became unsatisfied with limited job opportunities, inflation, the corrupt system controlled by a small elite group, and "the orthodox Marxist and Maoist social science theories" as well (Pan, 1995). To express their discontent toward the government and its system, students began to march on Tiananmen Square in April, 1989. An increasing number of students, elderly scholars, journalists, workers and residents later joined the demonstrations, demanding more economic reforms and liberalization (Wilson, 2001). On June 4, 1989, the government launched a military crackdown against those unarmed civilians, killing hundreds of them (Wilson, 2001). The event shocked the world and resulted in strong reactions and sanctions from the international community. With regard to foreign assistance, most Western countries called a temporary halt to their international cooperative projects with China. For instance, France decided to suspend most of their normal exchange programs with the country, as a response to its bloody crackdown (Hayhoe, 1989).

However, Canada took a different approach from other Western countries by maintaining and increasing educational and cultural programs with China so as to avoid isolating it from the international community (Hayhoe, 1989; CIDA, 1992). CCMEP and CCULP were still affected by the event, though. First, there was at least a one year delay of both programs and as a result, most university linkages were later extended one year to make up for the time lost. Second, as many interviewees mentioned, many trainees and scholars who were studying in Canada at the time under both programs did not return after the event, due to their concerns about their safety if returning to China. For the same reason, the Canadian government at the same time supported students who wanted to stay in Canada as well (Pan, 1995; Wilson, 2001). As a result, the Tsinghua University participant mentioned that among eleven Tsinghua students funded by CCMEP for MBA degrees in Canada, only one went back home upon completion of his/her study. He further explained that half of the visiting scholars also decided to stay in Canada after the Tiananmen event. The non-return problem had a greater impact on CCMEP than on CCULP, largely because the latter had just begun. It should be noted that as Mirus and Wegner (2010) indicated, the non-return problem for the CCMEP program had taken place even before the 1989 Tiananmen event, because most students and scholars saw more opportunities staying in Canada than returning to China, especially at that time. Hence, the Tiananmen event exacerbated a brain drain that had already begun.

Due to the non-return problem after the 1989 Tiananmen event, CIDA's policy on in-Canada study in both CCMEP and CCULP changed from supporting young scholars for degree or long-term programs to sending more senior faculty to Canada for a short-term study, as indicated by many interviewees. The changing policy also applied to those who had already been recruited for their study in Canada. For example, one interviewee mentioned that 15 Chinese from the Norman Bethune Faculty of Medicine at Jilin University could not go to Canada after the 1989 Tiananmen event, although they had already finished their French training at Beijing Normal University as a preparation for their study in Quebec (Interview with Jilin University participant, 11 July 2011). On the positive side, CIDA's changing policy, at the same time, enabled Chinese universities, under both CCMEP and CCULP, to establish their master's and Ph.D. programs with CIDA's support, as already discussed earlier.

Now, through the cosmopolitan lens, we move our analysis to the last theme of mutuality in the approach to knowledge transfer, which was manifested in both CCMEP and CCULP. According to our study, this theme was seen as key to the success and sustainability of both programs, making them relatively unique, compared to other international partnerships in

contemporary Chinese higher education. First, while we indicated earlier that economic and political interests lay behind Canada's support for CCMEP and CCULP, China was in fact allowed to determine what programs were of best interest for its development. For example, before CCMEP came into existence, a delegation of 23 people from the eight Chinese universities were invited to the conference to discuss the development of CCMEP in Hull, Quebec in November 1982 (Maybee, 1985). It was interesting that these Chinese delegates not only came to Canada for the conference but also spent some time visiting many Canadian business schools to learn from them. Related to this point, one Canadian professor who was selected for the CCMEP project said that these Chinese delegates travelled to find people whom they thought would be most appropriate for working in China. Plus, at the conference, the Chinese were the ones to decide on ten of out 28 universities to participate in the CCMEP project (Maybee, 1985). Likewise, the CCULP projects were also initiated and requested by the Chinese side. Hence, from the very beginning, Canada showed great respect for China and its development priorities.

Also, a number of interviewees from both sides retained their memories of the CIDA-funded programs quite well and mentioned that their experience with CCMEP and CCULP were deep and gratifying, personally and professionally. One participant in the Laval-Norman Bethune partnership said that both sides treated each other like a family and their relationships remained strong although formal partnerships ended (interview with Jilin University participant, 11 July 2011). Canadian participants also expressed the same feelings about their deep understanding of Chinese culture and values after joining CCMEP and/or CCULP. Both sides viewed their relationships as genuine, with many interviewees claiming that although Canada was the major provider of financial support to Chinese higher education at the time, CCMEP and CCULP took the form of equal partnerships, rather than donor-recipient relationships. Having said this, most of them felt that connections had gradually disappeared once CIDA's funding ended. Furthermore, they registered their concern about the lack of such deep people-to-people engagement in recent international projects in Chinese higher education, most of which are mainly concerned with revenue generation.

Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

In this paper, we have compared two key Canada-China university linkage programs, namely CCMEP and CCULP, to examine how they contributed to the development of Chinese higher education in the 1980s and 1990s. The discussions have revealed three key differences between the two programs. First, with its broader focus, CCULP had produced a wider impact on Chinese higher education and the society in a variety of knowledge areas, while the dissemination of knowledge from CCMEP had been limited to the field of management education. Second, CCULP was able to achieve its objectives set by both participating institutions and CIDA, with the AUCC playing a coordinating role between the government and institutions. By comparison, the responsibilities of CCMEP, once the program had been initiated, devolved directly on each participating institution, so the program could mainly achieve its institutional objectives only. The third difference was that CCULP was less affected by the issue of brain drain, partly caused by the 1989 Tiananmen event, than CCMEP. This was due to the fact that the former just began when the event erupted, while the latter had already been in its second phase. Despite all these differences, both programs shared many commonalities and were, in most respects, successful in the transfer of knowledge between the two countries.

Looking back to our theoretical argument of using world systems theory as one of the analytical lenses, we could see that Chinese higher education has made remarkable progress

over the last thirty years, benefiting a great deal from the country's interactions with the world community. As this study pointed out, both CCMEP and CCULP made a significant contribution to this history of successful development. Now, we would like to end this paper by providing three key recommendations. First, we have learned from CCMEP and CCULP that participating Chinese institutions had a clear sense of the patterns of knowledge they wanted, and tried to select Canadian universities best matched with their own interests and needs. In the face of limited resources, they also had to make hard choices regarding their selection of outstanding faculty and students with the right skills and commitment to participate in CCMEP and CCULP. Most interviewees saw this as one of factors leading to the success of both programs. Based on this lesson, one of our recommendations is that to successfully engage in international university partnerships, institutions in developing nations need to first have a clear vision and understand their own needs, capacities and limitations.

Second, a comparative analysis between CCMEP and CCULP has also suggested that nation-states remain important in coordinating and regulating the higher educational sector, especially within developing nations. From the beginning, the Chinese government took the lead in initiating partnership agreements and designating their higher education institutions to participate in both CCMEP and CCULP. The patterns of foreign knowledge and skills were selected based on the national development plan, with CCMEP and CCULP designed respectively to support China's economic reform and to tackle development issues the country was experiencing. This finding supports Cummings' (2010) argument that the economic success of many Asian countries, including their educational progress, has been largely attributable to the facilitating role of their respective governments. Hence, our second recommendation is that in their international university partnerships, developing nations should be free to develop their own education policy and be allowed options to explore patterns of education best suited for their national development.

Our first and second recommendations, which are concerned with the significant role of institutional and national agencies, reflect that Canada, as a donor, emphasised the development priorities of China, by helping the country meet its economic and social needs at the time. Hence, one could see a parallel between Canada's international assistance approach, adopted in CCMEP and CCULP, and China's development model with other developing nations over the last 60 years. King's (2013) recent study on China-African education collaboration has brought to light many characteristics of China's international development approach. As noted in the introductory part of the paper, since early on, China has used its assistance to respond to the demand of countries in the global South, including the African region, where much of China's education aid has recently been focused on higher education development and professional training. China has also stressed the importance of the local autonomy and ownership of development programs. For instance, all schools and other educational institutions built by Chinese assistance are always handed over to local ministries of education. Even Confucius institutes in Africa are jointly directed by the Chinese and local universities. In recent years, the Chinese government has also provided tens of thousands of African students and professionals with long- and short-term training in China. Above all, as King (2013) concludes in his study, China does not try to present itself as a donor to the African region, but instead, maintains a form of South-South cooperation, which both parties could benefit. Hence, Canada and China share many commonalities in their international educational development models, which have increasingly gained wider recognition and respect at the international level, as compared to many other DAC donors.

Another important lesson we learned from this comparative study is that regardless of their different areas of focus, CCMEP and CCULP had established strong human connections between academics from the two countries – the kind of relationships that had allowed university partnerships to take place in a two-way, rather than unidirectional manner. Such deep human relationships were seen to build the foundation for the success and sustainability of both programs. This lesson makes us more aware of the paradoxical realities of our increasingly interconnected world in which on the one hand, cultural sensitivity becomes a main concern for peace and prosperity for the international community, but on the other hand, revenue generation seems to become the major incentive for international university partnerships around the globe. I would like to echo Samuel Huntington’s statement in *The Clash of Civilizations* (1993): “the conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating civilizations,” and his suggestion that an understanding of different cultural values and knowledge systems would be the only solution (p. 25). In this regard, our last recommendation is that to ensure successful and sustainable university partnerships, more attention should be paid to building human relationships, through respect and willingness to be receptive to different cultural values.

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Family Background, School Resources and Students' Academic Achievements: Empirical Study Based on PISA Shanghai 2009

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Abstract

In 2009, 5115 students from 152 secondary schools in Shanghai joined the PISA organized by the OECD for the first time and got top test scores in reading as well as mathematics and science compared with dozens of other countries, which aroused a widespread and heated discussion at home and abroad. This study employs a "Two-Level Model" using HLM 6.08 to investigate the quality and equality of basic education in Shanghai by exploring the relative impact of family background and policy-amenable school resources on students' academic achievements. Most importantly, the role of schools in mitigating the effects of family background on students' academic performances is explored. The findings indicate that there is a significant gender performance difference in all three subjects, which cannot be mitigated by school variables. Family structure and family socio-economic status has no direct impact on students' academic achievements, but they still matter much through allocating students of different background systematically to differently schools. The performance gap between native students and immigrant students can be reduced by the student-teacher ratio and school average socio-economic status. The most efficient school resources in improving students' performances are high-quality teachers and resources in schools. The study suggests the selection mechanism that contributes to between-school segregation, and the effect of this segregation on student performance, must be taken into consideration when making education policies in Shanghai.

Keywords: Family Background, School Resources, Academic Achievement, PISA 2009

Introduction

On April 17, 2009, 5115 15-years-old students from 152 schools in Shanghai participated in PISA organized by OECD for the first time, and won the first place in reading as well as in mathematics and science compared with dozens of other countries, which aroused a widespread and heated discussion at home and abroad. As the first comparable international test for basic education China has ever participated in, this result breaks the prejudice that Chinese students can only "learn by rote" and shows to the world that Chinese students can not only master knowledge but also creatively apply knowledge to areas of daily life. Educational experts and researchers all over the world begin to be curious about the stories behind the "top first".

The main interest of this study is the issue of quality & equality of basic education in Shanghai. This paper focuses on how family background and school resources affect students' academic performance and whether schools can mitigate the impact of family background. More specifically, this paper is organized around the following three questions:

1. What is the current situation of equality of education in Shanghai? how individual and family background influence Shanghai students' academic success.
2. What is the most efficient school resource in improving students' academic

performance?

3. Can schools mitigate the impact of family background on students' achievements?

The third question is the most important because it centers on the potential function of schools that students from all kinds of family background have an equal opportunity to learn and succeed. If schools explain away or substantially reduce the effects of the family background, policy recommendations could be made in practice that equality of education can be realized through school investment or reconstruction. The second part of this study is the literature review and the third part is the introduction of data, variables and research models. Finally, I present main research findings, discussion and conclusion.

Literature Review

According to Roemer (1998), family background (e.g., SES) and personal characteristics (e.g., gender, ethnicity) are environmental influences that are beyond the control of individuals (he called "Circumstances"). He argues that inequalities due to differential effort are acceptable and views inequality of outcomes as indefensible when and only when they are due to differential circumstances. Therefore, equality of opportunity has been achieved when all those who expend the same degree of effort, regardless of their circumstances, have the same chance of achieving their objectives. In this study, the discussion of education equality in Shanghai will be based on Roemer's theory.

Studies exploring influencing factors of students' academic achievements start from two perspectives (Todd and Wolpin, 2003): the first one is the Educational Production Function perspective (EPF), which pays emphasis on relationship between school inputs and students' various outcomes. This perspective provides educational researchers and policy makers with a clear framework to recognize those high quality schools and explain the mechanism underline which these schools operate; The second perspective is based on Early Childhood Development Theory (ECD), which intends to explore the impact of family educational investment during children's early childhood and its effect on their follow-up development in either cognition or sociality. It is clearly that the two perspectives mentioned above focus on school and student/family respectively.

With the rise of large-scale survey and the development of methodology, a growing number of researchers begin to study the influence of both family and school characteristics on student achievement and combine the two research perspectives mentioned above. Some economists conduct deeper discussion on the interaction effect of family background and school resources. That is to say, school resources can not only affect the quality of education (mainly student performance) directly, but also mitigate the impact of family background on student achievement. As a result, studies on the impact of controllable school factor on educational quality and equality are of great value for educational policies.

There is a large body of studies examining the role of schools in influencing equality of opportunity. Some scholars demonstrate that school can mitigate the negative effects of social origins on status or other outcomes (e.g., Campbell, 1983). Others question the ability of schools to facilitate the equality of educational opportunities, and argue that schools reproduce the current social structure through ensuring the continuation of inequality of opportunities by specific educational practices or policies (e.g., Bowles and Gintis, 1976). Some other researchers find in their studies that schools have little or no impact on students' academic performance (e.g., Coleman, 1968; Hanushek, 1986, 1989, 1997). Reviewing empirical studies based on theory of EPF or CDT, there is a consistent conclusion towards the

important role of family background played in children's academic or non-academic development, while there is little agreement on school effects for the following reasons. Firstly, the incomparability of studies from different countries or time periods using various data or methodologies. Secondly, the problem of omitting variables in the econometric models inevitable to EPF studies. Thirdly, inaccurate measure of some important variables in the research model.

Methodological Considerations

Data and Variables

Data used in this study is obtained from school questionnaire and student questionnaire in the official website of PISA (www.pisa.oecd.org). After preliminary data cleaning that eliminates either missing or singular values, there are 150 schools and 5052 students from Shanghai in the analysis.

The dependent variables in this study are the language, mathematics and science scores from PISA. Results have been reported using scales with an average score of 500 and a standard deviation of 100 for all three domains. These scores represent degrees of proficiency in a particular domain. The independent variables are of three types: two sets of control variables describing both students and schools, a set of measures of students' or their family's background, which are also variables that are tend to cause inequality in education (the major focus), and a set of school variables that are thought to have both direct and indirect impact on students' academic achievement. The definition of main variables used in this study is introduced as follows:

Controls for Students and Schools¹

While teenagers in PISA samples are all in their fifteens, they may be in different grades due to diverse school systems of different countries or regions. As a result, grade (GRADE) is controlled at the individual level. School size (SCHSIZE) is controlled in the school level, which is derived by summing up the number of girls and boys at a school. In addition, schools are classified into different types as either public or private (SCHTYPE), according to whether a private entity or public agency has the ultimate power to make decisions concerning its affairs. This index has three categories: (1) Public schools, controlled and managed by a public education authority or agency; (2) Government-dependent private schools, controlled by a non-government organization or with a governing board not selected by a government agency that receive more than 50% of their core funding from government agencies; (3) Government-independent private schools, controlled by a non-government organization or with a government board not selected by a government agency that receive less than 50% of their core funding from government agencies.

Individual and Family Background

PISA examines a number of different background characteristics of students including (1) The gender of students (GENDER), which is a dummy variable (female=1, male=0); (2) The index of economic, social and cultural status (ESCS)², which is derived from the following three indices: highest occupational status of parents, highest educational level of parents in years of education, and home possessions³. Since there is no direct measure of educational

¹ Given space limitations, this paper did not list results for control variables in the following tables. However, Their magnitudes suggest the importance of including them as statistical controls.

² The PISA index of economic, social and cultural status is derived from a principal component analysis.

³ Home possessions comprises all items on the indices of wealth, cultural possessions and home educational resources. It is obtained by asking students whether they had a desk at which they studied at home, a room of their own, a quiet place to study, educational software, a link to the internet, their own calculator, classic literature, books of poetry, works of art(e.g.

resources in a family from PISA, ESCS is used as a proxy to measure the total family educational investment in an individual student; (3) Immigrant Status (IMMIG), whether the student or parents are born in Shanghai, mainland China or abroad. This index can be divided into the following five categories: Native students (the reference group), those students with at least one parent born in Shanghai; First-generation immigrants from mainland China (IMMIG1), namely, those born outside Shanghai, and whose parents born in other cities from mainland China; Second-generation immigrants from mainland China (IMMIG2), those born in Shanghai but whose parents born in other cities from mainland China; First-generation immigrants from abroad (including Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan) (IMMIG3), those students born outside Shanghai and with at least one parent born abroad (or in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan); Second-generation immigrants from abroad (including Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan) (IMMIG4), those students born in Shanghai, and with at least one parent born abroad (or in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan); (4) Family structure (FAMSTRUC), which is based on students' responses regarding people living at home with them. This index has the following three values: two-parent family (reference group); single-parent family (FAMSTRUC2); other family (FAMSTRUC3), those students living with other guardians or brothers and sisters.

School Resources

The variables measuring school characteristics are of four types reflecting different aspect of educational inputs from school: (1) Student-teacher ratio (STRATIO), obtained by dividing the school size by the total number of teachers⁴. (2) The index on the quality of school's resources (SCMATEDU), derived from seven items measuring school principal's perceptions of potential factors hindering instruction at their school. These factors are: shortage or inadequacy of science laboratory equipment; shortage or inadequacy of instructional materials; shortage or inadequacy of computers for instruction; lack or inadequacy of internet connectivity; shortage or inadequacy of computer software for instruction; shortage or inadequacy of library materials and shortage or inadequacy of audio-visual resources⁵. (3) The quality of teachers (TEAQUA) is derived from two variables: the proportion of fully certified teachers and the proportion of teachers who have a higher education qualification. (4) School socio-economic background (SCHESCS), refers to the average socio-economic index of the students attending that school, and reflects peer effect or student composition effect in a school. A low score on this index relates to a socio-economically disadvantaged school background and a high score on this index relates to a socio-economically advantaged school background.

Hierarchical Linear Models

The research focus is on estimating how students' score in mathematics, language and science are influenced by their family background and the schools they attend. Therefore, the hierarchical linear models (Bryk and Raudenbush, 1992; Goldstein, 1995) for multilevel data is used in this study. The HLM model acknowledges the fact that students are nested within classes and schools. The relative variation in the outcome measures, between students within the same school and between schools can therefore be evaluated. The HLM models have a two-level nested structure: multiple test scores nested in students, who are, in turn, nested in schools.

paintings), books to help them with their school work, a dictionary, a dishwasher, a DVD player or VCR, three other country-specific items and the number of cellular phones, televisions and computers, cars and books at home.

⁴ The number of part-time teachers is weighted by 0.5 and the number of full-time teachers is weighted by 1.0 in the computation of this index.

⁵ As all items are inverted for scaling, higher values on this index indicate better quality of educational resources.

To take into account the potential effect of systematical allocation of students to schools, and provide a comprehensive description of the efficiency in education systems, two kinds of HLM models are used in this study. (1) Model 1 with random intercepts and fixed slopes. The first level equation of this model is just like a traditional regression, except that the intercept of it is not a constant, but a random variable. (2) Models with random intercepts and random slopes. Both the value of intercept and slopes will change with the second level variables. This model have two different settings: firstly, model 2 includes only variables measuring school resources, and then the SCHESCS is put in model 3 in order to control for peer effect or school composition effect. All in all, three models for each subject are employed in this study. The specific introduction of models is as followed:

Models with Random Intercepts and Fixed Slopes

It is important to understand why some schools perform well and others less so. One usually predicts the first-level intercept by the school variables. With the introduction of the student-level variables as fixed effect, the equation can be written as:

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}X_{ij} + e_{ij} \quad (1)$$

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}W_j + \mu_{0j} \quad (2)$$

$$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} \quad (3)$$

Where i represents individual student, j is the school, and X_{ij} represents the i th student from a family in the j th school; W_j are the j th school's characteristics.

Models with Random Intercepts and Random Slopes

Schools may not be considered as the same as expected by educational policies. The third research question of this study can be answered by considering the slope of first level model as random and then testing if its variance significantly differs from 0. The equation can be written as:

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}X_{ij} + e_{ij} \quad (4)$$

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}W_j + \mu_{0j} \quad (5)$$

$$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11}W_j + \mu_{1j} \quad (6)$$

Where i represents individual student, j is the school, and X_{ij} represents the i th student from a family in the j th school; W_j are the j th school's characteristics.

Research Findings

Basing on the above discussion, three different models are built respectively for reading, mathematics and science and then variables of individual & family background and school characteristics are added in models, controlling for other variables that may have an impact on students' academic achievement. Table 1, table 2 and table 3 report the estimation results for three subjects.

Individual & Family Background and Students' Academic Performance

The investigation of equality of educational opportunity in Shanghai is begun by exploring how individual & family background influences students' academic performances (Question1). As model3 (the full HLM model) in table1, table 2 and table3 suggest, gender effects are large and favor girls in reading, while favoring boys in mathematics and science. For the subjects of reading and mathematics, the first-generation immigrants from mainland China have a much higher score than the Shanghai natives, and for the subjects of reading and science, the second-generation immigrants from abroad have a significant lower scores than Shanghai

natives. Results from model2 for mathematics and science in table 2 and table3 show that students from other family structure (FAMSTRUC3) have a significantly lower score than students from two-parent family but that effects drop to nonsignificance in the full HLM model. This is due to the remarkable impact of SCHECS on students' academic score in model3(full HLM model), which means family structure only has an indirect impact on students' performance through allocating students from other family structure to schools with low ESCS composition. What's more, no significant impact of family socio-economic background (ESCS) on students' academic performance (even in the preliminary model where ESCS is the only explanatory variable) is found, which is an unusual result. However, comparing results of three different models, ESCS dose has a significant impact in model 1and model 2 for reading and science, but the effect drops to nonsignificance in the full HLM model. This means that ESCS, as the most important family background, influences students' academic achievement indirectly through allocating students with different background into schools with different educational resources or student composition.

To sum up, there still exit apparent gender difference and immigration difference in Shanghai students' academic performances, but no direct impact from students' family structure or family socio-economic status is found in this study. Family structure and socio-economic status influence students' academic achievement through its role in school choice and student allocation.

School Resources and Students' Academic Performance

The subsequent analyses pursue school effects. In general, schools with more students (larger school size) have a better academic performance in all three subjects. Private schools that are totally independent from the government have a much higher academic scores in all three subjects comparing with public schools. Many of the effects from school control variables are important and interesting; however, since they do not relate directly to the research questions in this study, no further discussion will be put here.

Results from three tables suggest that school' student-teacher ratio has generally non-significant effect on either of three subjects. However, even after SCHECS is taken into account, the effects of teacher quality and the quality of school educational resources on all three subjects are substantial. These two school-level variables are the most important and most commonly employed school inputs in educational production function studies, and their significantly positive impacts on students' academic performance indicate the effectiveness of school resources in basic education system in Shanghai. On average, students attending schools that are enrolled with talents students who are good knowledge learners and discipline keepers will be greatly encouraged and be positively affected in academic activities. However, the SCHECS, which is the proxy for peer effect and also for the learning environment of a school, has a negative influence on students' mathematics score and no significant impact on the other two subjects.

The Interaction Effects between Family Background and School Characteristics

The HLM models that address the third research question are organized around the interaction effects between level-1 and level-2 variables. In order to explore the moderating effect of school variables on the relation between students' family background and academic performance, school variables are regressed on the slope of first level model on the basis of the estimation of variance component in the first level. This part focuses on knowing whether the effects of individual and family background are influenced by the characteristics of the schools that the students attend.

As mentioned earlier, there exists gender differences in all three subjects for Shanghai students. However, results from the interaction terms of school variables and gender in all three tables show no significant coefficient. That is to say, school variables cannot change gender performance gap in either subject. In other words, no matter what kind of school students attend, the gender difference in their academic performance remains. This is a disappointing result which should raise the attention of schools and educators in Shanghai. For the immigration status effect, it shows that school's student-teacher ratio has a significant negative impact on the relationship between IMMIG1 and academic scores in reading and mathematics. In consideration of the direct effect of IMMIG1 on students' academic scores, this suggests that in those schools that have a higher student-teacher ratio, the academic performance difference in reading and mathematics between Shanghai natives and the first-generation immigrants from mainland China will be reduced. In addition, as mentioned earlier for the science model, the second-generation immigrants from abroad have a much lower score than Shanghai natives. Now it shows that SCHESCS has a significant impact on the relation between IMMIG4 and students' science score, which means that in schools with students of higher social, economic and cultural family background, the academic performance difference between Shanghai natives and the second-generation immigrants from abroad will be largely reduced. In other words, the science score of a second-generation immigrant from abroad may be improved if he or she has been enrolled in a school with higher SCHESCS.

Discussion

In accordance with traditional opinion, girls in Shanghai are good at reading while boys perform better in mathematics and science. This may result from the natural gender difference in subject interests, but can also be attributed to differences in educational investment from family, which happened in students' early childhood. The society's expectation to different genders may lead parents and students to go overboard on one or some subjects that are related to students' future job and social character.

It is difficult for migrant parents to bring their children to Shanghai, let alone make their children receive compulsory education in Shanghai as more and more people flowing into big cities. The better performance of first-generation immigrant students indicates that the immigrants' parents maybe the elite in their field, place more value on children's education, and the immigrant children themselves may have higher motivation for study in order to stay with their parents. For those students who migrate at a larger age, their good performance may reflect the quality of basic education system in their hometown. Compared with first-generation immigrants, parents of the second-generation immigrants from abroad may have different notion of education from Chinese parents, which leads to their poor performance in Chinese education system.

It is founded that good educational resources directly or indirectly improve students' academic performance. This has caused the problem of school choices in Shanghai made by families according to geographic location and /or policies on school enrolment and also the problem of allocating students to different curricula in the form of tracking or streaming in schools. As a result, the between-school variance in students' performance is larger than within-school variance in Shanghai. That is to say, it is not the family background, but the schools they attend (or the peers they come in contact with) decide students' performance. On the other hand, if students in disadvantage have the same opportunity to be enrolled in good schools, the achievement gap of Shanghai students will be narrowed. However, family

background, such as social economic status, is the key to “good schools” and parents will exhaust their economic, social and human capital to achieve intergenerational mobility.

Table 1 *The Estimation Results of Reading Model*

Fixed	Effect	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
For Reading	INTRCPT1,	B0	B0	B0
INTRCPT2,	G00	537.108 ^{***}	537.131 ^{***}	537.537 ^{***}
SCHSIZE,	G01	0.012 [*]	0.011 [*]	0.011 [*]
SCHTYPE2,	G02	11.833	23.294	25.672
SCHTYPE3,	G03	49.954 ^{***}	44.720 ^{***}	45.478 ^{***}
STRATIO,	G04	-1.089	-0.949	-0.973
TEACHER,	G05	16.903 ^{***}	17.354 ^{***}	17.529 ^{***}
SCMATEDU,	G06	6.307 ^{**}	6.185 ^{**}	6.152 ^{**}
SCHESCS,	G07	-5.826	-6.036	-5.486
For	GENDER	slope, B5	slope, B5	slope, B5
INTRCPT2,	G50	29.149 ^{***}	31.507 ^{***}	33.128 ^{***}
For	IMMIG1	slope, B6	slope, B6	slope, B6
INTRCPT2,	G60	6.079 ^{**}	23.210 ^{**}	17.697 ^{**}
STRATIO,	G61		-1.280 [*]	-1.143 [*]
For	IMMIG2	slope, B7	slope, B7	slope, B7
INTRCPT2,	G70	7.321 ^{**}	10.937	11.728
TEACHER,	G72		-7.272 ^{**}	-7.021 ^{**}
For	IMMIG3	slope, B8	slope, B8	slope, B8
INTRCPT2,	G80	-10.314	0.032	-19.879
TEACHER,	G82		19.943 ^{***}	15.132 ^{**}
For	IMMIG4	slope, B9	slope, B9	slope, B9
INTRCPT2,	G90	-25.839 ^{***}	-26.510	-40.520 [*]
For	FAMSTRUC2	slope, B10	slope, B10	slope, B10
INTRCPT2,	G100	4.121	2.183	2.374
For	FAMSTRUC3	slope, B11	slope, B11	slope, B11
INTRCPT2,	G110	-11.301 ^{**}	-17.421	-5.384
SCMATEDU,	G113		11.558 ^{**}	11.538 ^{**}
SCHESCS,	G114			24.163 ^{***}
For	ESCS	slope, B12	slope, B12	slope, B12
INTRCPT2,	G120	3.775 ^{***}	5.651 [*]	4.511
TEACHER,	G122		2.634 ^{**}	2.300 ^{**}
SCMATEDU,	G123		-2.061 ^{**}	-1.837 [*]

Note. The second part of this table has been compressed with only significant interactive coefficients

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$.

The impact of schools in bridging performance gap caused by family background will be limited once students are allocated to schools according to their family background in any form. Even if good school resources offset the negative effect of poor family background, those students with good family background will benefit from this advantage the most. All in all, schools could do little to turn things around after parents' school choice or ability grouping within school.

Table 2 *The Estimation Results of Mathematics Model*

	Fixed Effect	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
For Mathematics	INTRCPT1,	B0	B0	B0
INTRCPT2,	G00	569.738***	569.949***	570.170***
SCHSIZE,	G01	0.014	0.015*	0.015*
SCHTYPE2,	G02	60.944	71.824	72.834
SCHTYPE3,	G03	81.078***	83.387***	82.747***
STRATIO,	G04	-1.000	-1.235	-1.197
TEACHER,	G05	25.479***	25.904***	25.988***
SCMATEDU,	G06	11.532***	11.570***	11.530***
SCHESCS,	G07	-14.056*	-14.617*	-14.208*
For	GENDER	slope, B5	slope, B5	slope, B5
INTRCPT2,	G50	-14.499***	-13.335**	-12.208*
For	IMMIG1	slope, B6	slope, B6	slope, B6
INTRCPT2,	G60	10.341***	30.615***	24.816**
STRATIO,	G61		-1.614**	-1.492*
For	IMMIG2	slope, B7	slope, B7	slope, B7
INTRCPT2,	G70	-0.356	-12.304	-10.651
For	IMMIG3	slope, B8	slope, B8	slope, B8
INTRCPT2,	G80	-8.040	19.680	10.177
TEACHER,	G82		16.599**	13.846
For	IMMIG4	slope, B9	slope, B9	slope, B9
INTRCPT2,	G90	-6.676	-10.839	-28.259
TEACHER,	G92		-13.306	-16.323*
For	FAMSTRUC2	slope, B10	slope, B10	slope, B10
INTRCPT2,	G100	-3.287	-11.866	-12.610
For	FAMSTRUC3	slope, B11	slope, B11	slope, B11
INTRCPT2,	G110	-21.914***	-33.287**	-22.809
SCMATEDU,	G113		18.225***	18.834***
SCHESCS,	G114			21.756**
For	ESCS	slope, B12	slope, B12	slope, B12
INTRCPT2,	G120	1.717	3.625	1.976
TEACHER,	G122		2.254*	1.906

Note. The second part of this table has been compressed with only significant interactive coefficients

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$.

Limitations

Since only cross-sectional record on students' academic achievements are available from PISA, it is not possible to infer students' earlier abilities or motivations. Therefore, the estimated coefficients found in the models should not necessarily be interpreted as causal impacts. What's more, the sample unit in PISA is school, and no relevant information about teachers from the class level can be collected this study. As a result, teacher variables used in this study are obtained by averaging the characteristics of teachers in a whole school, which are collected indirectly from principal questionnaire.

Table 3 *The Estimation Results of Science Model*

Fixed Effect		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
For Science	INTRCPT1,	B0	B0	B0
INTRCPT2,	G00	559.298***	560.354***	560.115***
SCHSIZE,	G01	0.014**	0.014**	0.014**
SCHTYPE2,	G02	2.928	23.821	23.674
SCHTYPE3,	G03	50.630***	45.516***	45.808***
STRATIO,	G04	-1.349	-1.362	-1.339
TEACHER,	G05	15.025***	15.917***	15.916***
SCMATEDU,	G06	5.692*	5.471*	5.484*
SCHESCS,	G07	-3.515	-2.786	-3.079
For	GENDER	slope, B5	slope, B5	slope, B5
INTRCPT2,	G50	-11.021***	-12.079**	-10.718**
For	IMMIG1	slope, B6	slope, B6	slope, B6
INTRCPT2,	G60	4.849	18.742**	11.957
SCHESCS,	G64			-9.482**
For	IMMIG2	slope, B7	slope, B7	slope, B7
INTRCPT2,	G70	6.372*	2.069	4.976
TEACHER,	G72		-7.994**	-8.222**
For	IMMIG3	slope, B8	slope, B8	slope, B8
INTRCPT2,	G80	-8.883	-0.184	-16.179
TEACHER,	G82		24.426***	20.294***
For	IMMIG4	slope, B9	slope, B9	slope, B9
INTRCPT2,	G90	-23.367**	-26.601	-41.065*
SCHESCS,	G94			-29.149*
For	FAMSTRUC2	slope, B10	slope, B10	slope, B10
INTRCPT2,	G100	-2.109	-10.674	-11.363
For	FAMSTRUC3	slope, B11	slope, B11	slope, B11
INTRCPT2,	G110	-20.374***	-26.678**	-12.532
SCMATEDU,	G113		12.757**	12.848**
SCHESCS,	G114			29.482***
For	ESCS	slope, B12	slope, B12	slope, B12
INTRCPT2,	G120	3.200***	3.554	2.214

Note. The second part of this table has been compressed with only significant interactive coefficients

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$.

Conclusion

Looking broadly at this paper that uses data from PISA to study the quality and equality of Shanghai basic education by exploring how personal & family background and school resources influence students' academic achievements, it can be concluded that there is an obvious gender difference in all three subjects for secondary students in Shanghai. Family immigration status has an important impact on students' academic performance. Family structure and family socio-economic status influence students through systematically allocating students of different background to schools of different quality.

As to the direct impact of school resources, teacher quality and the quality of educational resources matter much for students' academic development. Though "good" schools with better composition of students' ESCS or school inputs (such as good teacher and educational resources) have a significant impact in reducing the performance difference between immigrants and native students, this study offers no guidelines about the best way to accomplish what will surely be a good practice for schools in Shanghai. This is because moving all students in disadvantage to good schools is neither a practical possibility nor a practice automatically results in gains for students. Nonetheless, the findings do suggest that in any attempt to develop education policy in the light of above findings, the nature of the formal and informal selection mechanisms that contribute to between-school socio-economic segregation or resources segregation, and the effect of this segregation on student performance, must be taken into consideration. The policy options are either to reduce segregation of schools or to mitigate its effects.

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Advances in Research and Practice: An Overview of Education for International Understanding in Mainland China

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Abstract

Education for International Understanding (EIU) aims at a peaceful and better world for all human beings. Every member state of the United Nations is responsible for its expansion within its territory. Awareness of international understanding and EIU has been growing during the last twenty years in China. Policy-makers, educational officials, researchers, teachers and even students have been doing contributing toward this great human ideal. Much research work has been done to support the practice of EIU in China in developing its concepts, principles, aims, tasks, contents and strategies. Educational trials and curricular reforms are being carrying out in educational institutions and schools, especially in the larger cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Wenzhou, Suzhou and Shenzhen. However, problems exist in the process of implementation, relating especially to funding shortages, inadequate teacher training, and a lack of high quality learning materials. It is essential and necessary for UNESCO, APCEIU (Asia-Pacific Center of Education for International Understanding) and other organizations and institutions to offer their help and support in working together to solve those problems. Much work needs to be done by the policy-makers to spread and improve EIU all over the country, especially in rural and developing areas, in order to correct the problem of the uneven development of education generally, and consequently EIU, throughout the country.

Keywords: Education for International Understanding (EIU), Educational research and practice, Globalization, UNESCO, APCEIU, Mainland China

Introduction

Education for International Understanding is usually shortened into EIU. This term has a history of changes and enrichment. The term of “education for peace and security” was proposed in 1946 by the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO. But “at its very first session, however, the General Conference replaced these terms by the expression ‘Education for International Understanding’.” During the following 20 years there were many discussions and changes of the term. In 1968 a UNESCO programme including the formula “education for international understanding, co-operation and peace”. In 1974 General Conference held in Paris, the term became *Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (UNESCO, 1972). While the term EIU is now used it is intended to include aspects concerning international understanding, co-operation, peace, human rights and freedoms.

In the 1974 recommendation the interpretation of the term EIU was elaborated. Firstly, it states, “the word education implies the entire process of social life by means of which individuals and social groups learn to develop consciously within, and for the benefit of, the national and international communities, the whole of their personal capacities, attitudes, aptitudes and knowledge. This process is not limited to any specific activities.” Secondly, it continues, “the terms international understanding, co-operation and peace are to be considered as an indivisible whole based on the principle of friendly relations between peoples and states having different social and political systems and on the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. In the text of this recommendation, the different connotations of these terms are sometimes gathered together in a concise expression, ‘international education’” (UNESCO, 1974).

EIU became a part of Mainland China’s agenda in the late 1990s. During the first three decades after the establishment of the People’s Republic of China, China had been isolated politically and economically from the outside world, especially from the West, partly as a consequence of the Cold War. According to Deng Xiaoping, the General Designer of the Reform and Opening-up Policy in China, in 1983: “Education must meet the needs of China's modernization, the world and the country's future”. This has become the basis of the “Three Orientations” guidelines: “The Orientation of Modernization, the Orientation of World, and the Orientation of Future”. Since then China’s education has opened its door to the world, embracing the principles of EIU. Reviewing the literature concerning EIU in the Chinese mainland, indicates that the studies focus on themes such as developing the understanding of the concepts, understanding the importance and necessity of EIU, with summaries of its practice. There appears to be little inquiry into EIU’s fundamental theory.

EIU Research in China Mainland

EIU first came to Mainland China through UNESCO documents in the 1990s, one of the first being *Education for International Understanding: An Idea Gaining Ground* (UNESCO IBE, 1996). Subsequently, Zhao (1999), from East China Normal University, translated most recommendations of the UNESCO International Conferences on Education and released a Chinese collection of these recommendations in 1999.

Jiang and Bray (2005) review briefly the history of EIU in China, introducing its current status and predicting its trends. Harmony, in Chinese “*he*”, is an essential part of the core values in Confucianism and the core of traditional Chinese culture. The *Analects*, classics of Confucianism, stated, “The noble stress harmony but respect diversity, the vulgar stress homogeneity but ignore harmony” (*Junzi he er butong, xiaoren tong er buhe.*). Respecting difference and living in harmony are deeply rooted in Chinese culture. EIU has its legal basis in China in the Constitution of the People’s Republic of China, the Education Law of the People’s Republic of China and various other pieces of legislation. The ideas of EIU are also reflected in many subjects within the school curriculum including History, Geography, History and Society, Biology, Civics, Science, Chinese Language and Literature and Foreign Languages. However there are not yet specific classes in EIU. According to Jiang and Bray, “Some districts or cities with strong educational infrastructure, such as Beijing and Shanghai, are preparing to develop textbooks and/or other forms of teaching materials under the name of Education for International Understanding.” They also summarize some major problems concerning EIU. Firstly, EIU has not been regarded as one of the urgent fields in national education system by Chinese policy-makers. Secondly, systematic teaching materials are scarce. Thirdly, the supply of trained teachers with EIU knowledge and skills is limited. Fourthly, the level of EIU development is greatly uneven geographically. As to the future

trends, they think that during the coming years, EIU will receive much more attention in China. They see the practice of EIU becoming more abundant and diversified. The content of EIU will become a necessary part of civil and moral education in which China is starting to balance its national history and pride with Education for International Understanding. In the era of globalization, the sense of national identity and the sense of interconnection with all countries of the world will be strengthened in China. The new generations will be Chinese and global citizens. Subsequent to Jiang and Bray's review, EIU has developed quickly throughout Mainland China.

Zhao (2005)'s translations of the UNESCO International Conferences on Education, indicate many recommendations for EIU throughout the last half of the twentieth century, such as: Recommendation No.24: the Development of International Understanding Among Young People and Teaching About International Organizations (1948), Recommendation No.26: the Teaching of Geography as a Means of Developing International Understanding (1949), Recommendation No.64: Education for International Understanding as an Integral Part of the Curriculum and Life of the School (1968). Recommendation No.64 summarizes two decades' development of EIU from 1948 to 1968, making suggestions concerning EIU guiding principles, legislative and administrative provisions, studies and activities for primary and secondary schools, teaching aids and materials, teaching methods and co-curricular and extra-curricular activities, teacher preparation, research and experimental activities, international relations and exchanges, and implementation of the present recommendation.

However, Recommendation No.79, released in 1994, indicates a change in direction. It initiates the terms "declaration" and "programme of action" instead of "recommendation". This change shows the UNESCO's and its member states' determination of promoting EIU throughout the globe.

Huang (2009) has systematically researched the literature on EIU. He argues that there are three major factors which were behind the birth of EIU. Firstly, the great need of world peace. The two World Wars were disasters which brought the world endless sufferings and sorrow. Human beings need a new world and a new world needs peace. Secondly, the need to solve world issues. With the perspective of globalization, human beings face many common problems, such as deteriorating environment, population explosion, food shortage and hunger, poverty and illness, racial and religious conflicts. No country or community could solve these problems alone. Thirdly, globalization makes people all over the world live in a "village", the global village or the world community. People from different cultures must live together, work together and communicate with one another. Huang concludes from this that EIU becomes a must for everyone in the world. He also discusses the aims, principles, tasks, and contents of EIU.

Jiang (2002), from the Comparative Education Research Center of Beijing Normal University, divides the history of EIU into three stages: the formative stage (1946-1974), the growing stage (1974-1994), and the mature stage (1995-present). Another researcher thinks that there are 5 stages in the history of EIU: 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s and after (Yu, 2002).

Jiang (2007) gives an overview of EIU in Japan, South Korea and the USA. Japan and South Korea have their associations of EIU respectively and hold international symposiums annually. Scholars from China, Japan and South Korea decided to develop common textbooks of EIU in 2007. The USA started EIU in 1940s, and Japan in 1950s, shortly after the end of

the Second World War. EIU started early in South Korea and it has been developing fast there. In 2000, UNESCO set up the Asian and Pacific Institute of EIU in South Korea and made it the center of EIU in that region. Although its implementation in the member states is not always easy and there are often various problems and controversies, EIU continues to expand, becoming a new area of education all around the globe.

At present, research of EIU in China mainly focuses on the primary and secondary levels of education. However, some scholars argue that EIU should be spread and carried out in foreign language classrooms and post-graduate programmes at colleges and universities. To achieve this goal, there are several ways: bilingual instruction, co-operation in cultivating post-graduate students, promoting international education, developing multi-cultural education, and developing an innovating system of educational management (Li & Sun, 2010). Students in higher education are expected to make contact with international researchers in their field from all over the globe, Disseminating the ideas of EIU to these students should be standard practice..

To implement EIU in basic education in Mainland China, certain principles need to be followed: respect Chinese traditions, and identify and develop the native culture; highlight the global perspective, and cultivate world citizens; stress skills of communication; embed EIU into existing school subjects and develop school-based curriculum concerning EIU; strengthen cooperation and communication with foreign and international institutions (Zhang & Yue, 2009). A precondition to carrying out EIU in China's education is to respect the traditional native culture. Without this basis, it could not succeed. If a child is cultivated to be a world citizen, he or she must first be educated as a citizen of a certain country.

With the spreading of the central ideas of EIU in China, more teachers are beginning to understand its aims of international peace and good will for a better world. Therefore, they practice it, incorporating it into their educational philosophies. They trial their methods and initiate curricular reforms in their classrooms. One primary school teacher of English uses the collaborative learning method in an action research project and finds that the method has unique advantages for the implementation of EIU, and achieves noticeably favourable results (Lei, 2009).

The Beijing Institute of Education (BIE) is one of the earliest institutions to take on EIU research and practice in China. It set up a research programme at the end of the 1990s. Stemming from this, from 2005 to 2008, EIU was approved to be included in Beijing's local curriculum and EIU textbooks for grades 1-7 were published. From 2008 on, In-Service Teacher Training on EIU has been fully funded by the municipal government and hundreds of teachers of Grades 1-9 have been trained every year. "The project of EIU in Beijing is working to update the school curriculum through the addition of international issues and concepts, to publication of textbooks, development of EIU curriculum, piloting schools on EIU, and creation of EIU research projects before delivering in-service teacher training. EIU is a project with integrated educational approaches, including educational science research, curriculum reform, school development and teacher education." (Yu, 2009)

An innovative project of EIU practice led by Qian Lixia, which is entitled Innovative Practice of Inter-disciplinary Implementation of EIU based on World Heritages, also makes an important contribution to the development of EIU. A report of this project concludes that the success of a best practice case of EIU depends on good topics, innovative methods, a good collaborative research team, and a platform for communication and improvement (Qian,

2011).

Educational Research, the top journal on education in Mainland China, released a paper, *Establishment of Strategies for Education for International Understanding in Universities in the Era of Globalization*, in the 4th issue, 2012. It discusses many items concerning EIU, including concepts, objectives, contents, quality of teaching and the university system, and tries to build a system of strategies for implementing EIU at universities (Guo, 2012). It has some creative ideas and his effort is valuable for the development of EIU in China.

EIU Practice in Mainland China

Besides much research into EIU in China mainland, there has also been plenty of practice in this field, including curricular research on EIU in primary and secondary schools, attending international EIU conferences and participating in EIU programmes initiated by UNESCO and other international institutions. Some higher educational institutions and others in China also organize various activities in EIU. All evidence shows that awareness of EIU is increasing and educators and students are trying various ways to implement EIU programmes, adding their knowledge of EIU aims, cultivating their skills in cross-cultural communication and developing an understanding of the interconnectedness of the whole world.

A Sino-Japan international workshop on EIU was held in Beijing Normal University in April, 2005, with China starting to affiliate with other countries after first cultivating the aims within China. Five years later, another significant step was taken with the founding of the EIU Research Center of Beijing Normal University on November 27, 2010 and the hosting of an international conference on EIU. Prof. Nanzhao Zhou, from East China Normal University and chair of the area of university and industry at the UNESCO, indicated the importance of the center and how it cleared the barriers in initiating EIU in China, and built a bridge between China and UNESCO. Prof. Mingyuan Gu, the former Chairman of the Chinese Society of Education highlighted the need for EIU to be immersed in all curricula in order to allow students to know about the world, know about different ethnic groups on the globe, and their languages and cultures, and become world citizens with international views and minds.

EIU has been trialed and implemented in many cities, including Beijing, Shanghai, Shenzhen in Guangdong Province, Changchun in Jilin Province, Suzhou in Jiangsu Province, Wenzhou, Rui'an, and Zhoushan in Zhejiang Province. Zheng & Lu (2010) give an overview of the situation as it is today: geographically, it is located mainly in economically developed cities; its major driving motivation is the overall development of students; methodologically, besides curriculum development, there are many other forms of practice, especially action research directed by research programmes; it is still in the beginning stage of inquiry and research. One example of the practice is The Primary School Attached to Northeast Normal University which has implemented EIU in English language classrooms and developed school-based curriculum actively, focusing on developing students' language knowledge and skills, and developing their studying strategies, cultural awareness and attitudes towards the outside world (Sun & Wang, 2009).

EIU practice in the city of Shenzhen is growing quickly and effectively. The author visited four schools in Shenzhen, Guangdong Province in July, 2012, and found that the practice of EIU was flourishing all around the city. A background factor to this is that the municipal government takes "internationalization" as one of its leading objectives of educational development (as reported in an interview). In order to achieve this objective, they use the top-down approach, i.e., the programme of EIU is led by the municipal bureau of education,

directed and organized by the educational research and training center of the bureau, and implemented by teachers and students. Researchers, educational officials, school teachers and students involved in the reform programme work together, developing local curriculum and teaching materials which will be changed into textbooks in the future. Many workshops and seminars are held to discuss and solve whatever problems arising from classroom teaching, research and any situations of the programmes. Some schools put EIU into classroom instructions of some subjects, such as history, geography, civics, foreign languages; others make EIU an independent course. The author interviewed some teachers and principals, and found that most of them supported the local curricular reform programme of EIU which they find interesting and believe will be good to students' development. One drawback is that some teachers feel added stress, due to the heavier academic burden both to teachers themselves and their students. Suni Xu, one director of the educational research center from the Futian District, Shenzhen, informed the author that EIU trainers were invited from the Asia-Pacific Center of Education for International Understanding (APCEIU), located in South Korea, to co-operate in a school teacher training programme in June, 2013.

With the rapid development of Mainland China, economically, politically and culturally, people begin to realize that no country or people can live and develop alone with their door closed in an era of globalization and the development in communication technologies. Therefore, EIU practice and research will spread even faster throughout China. However, problems that influence its development still exist. At the national level, much attention needs to be paid by the Ministry of Education, and policies are needed to support EIU research and practice. Teachers from schools, colleges and universities need training in EIU, making further programmes within teacher educator institutions necessary. Lack of funds and EIU materials are other key issues in the way, especially in rural or developing areas. To solve these issues, support from UNESCO and APCEIU are essential.

Conclusion

EIU practice and research has already achieved much since the 1990s and intends to achieve a great deal more. However, there is still space for the Chinese to improve in this field of EIU and there are still many problems in front of us. This paper holds that more efforts should be made in the coming years in two dimensions: horizontally and vertically. Horizontally, EIU should be made a component of all subjects at primary and secondary schools. In some places, an independent course in EIU could be taught if conditions permits. And it should be spread to the rural schools considering educational equity. Vertically, EIU should be extended from preschool education to higher education. The existing research and inquiry needs to be examined by educational authorities and higher institutions. The evident worth of this area of study for China's future suggests that more funds are required to assure its successful implementation.

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An Empirical Research of the Retitling Phenomenon of Chinese Universities

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Abstract

From the perspective of organization and management theories as well as semasiology, the title of a university comprehensively reflects the university's education content, location, and characteristics. Therefore, titling a university should follow certain principles. There have been six "retitling waves" in the history of Chinese universities, the first five of which were mainly driven by external factors while the last one was mainly caused by the universities themselves. Taking as an example the retitled universities list released by the Ministry of Education of China from 2004 to 2012, this thesis proposes four principles of titling a university: practicality, consistency, localization and characterization. Through three phases of open, associated and focused coding, the empirical research has found out: the level of the universities has improved; the influence and geographic location has expanded; and the education content of the universities enriched gradually. There are deeper organizational, environmental, cultural, policy and competition motives behind the university retitling phenomenon. Hereby, the study will put forward three targeted suggestions.

Keywords: Universities in China, Retitle, Organization and management theories, Semasiology, Resource-based view (RBV)

Introduction

In recent years, the universities in China have raised the sixth "retitling wave". Due to continuous expansion of university enrollment, universities' competition for excellent candidates has become increasingly more intense. Universities in second-tier and third-tier cities have been retitled one by one, from senior vocational school to college from college to university. It has a hot phenomenon, attracting public attention especially the attention of examinees of the college entrance examination, college students and their parents. In the same period, the whole society has generally focused on employment of Chinese college graduates. Some scholars propose: The difficulty of employing college graduates will become one of the top ten social problems in 10 years' time (Wang & Feng, 2010). Among various reasons of college graduates' difficulty in being employed, the crucial one lies in college students and universities, characterized by what is seen as structural unemployment. This problem calls for higher requirements on major settings, teaching quality and education purposes of universities in China.

From the view of semasiology¹, titling a university represents the university's features to a large extent. In fact, the title of a university synthetically reflects the university's education content, location and characteristics. Therefore, titling a university should follow certain principles. Learning from Resource-based View (RBV) and Five Competitive Forces Model in organization theory, Span of Management in Management theory and in the Matching Principle of Competence and Position in human resources management theory, titling a university should basically match the university's education capacity, content, condition and environment. This research reviews the six major waves of retitling universities in China since the founding of modern universities the end of the 19th century. It proposes four titling principles universities should follow and designs the research framework for current retitling. Based on a sample of 103 universities put on the website of the China Ministry of Education from 2004 to 2012, whose titles were either completely changed from college to university or changed partially, this thesis, from the angle of semasiology, employs content analysis and software, i.e. Microsoft Word 2007 and Excel 2007, to analyze the trends and reasons of the retitling phenomenon from 2004 to 2012. And according to the organization theory, principles of management, human resources management theory and semasiology theory, some targeted suggestions will be given at the end of the study.

History and Significance

The title of a university is a Proper Noun, and it is explained as "single person, place, or thing's title. It is the opposite to a Common Noun which means the sum of an object or a concept"².

The History of Chinese Universities' Retitling

Since China's first modern university was initially founded in 1898, retitling a university has been closely related to the changes of the university institution and campus and the political and economic situation at home and abroad. Although most Chinese pursue the principle "Never change the title", most Chinese universities appear to have difficulties in keeping the original title. According to incomplete statistics, in the past decade, nearly half of 2,000 colleges and universities researched in Mainland China changed their titles. Taiwanese colleges and universities also witnessed a retitling wave from 1997 to 2008 (Wang, 2011). The public and media devoted considerable attention to this phenomenon, however, there are rarely any academic researches on it. By January 2013, in this field, no paper was employed as standardized, empirical study in the CNKI database. According to research, since modern universities were founded in China in the end of 19th century, there are six main retitling waves as follows.

Westernization Movement Raised the First Wave of Retitling University

In the late 19th and early 20th century, the Westernization Movement raised the wave of establishing modern universities across the country. Some 'traditional schools' in China became Institutions of Higher Education within a blink. For example: the first modern polytechnic university, PeiYang School of Western Science which was founded in 1895, was retitled as PeiYang University a year later in 1896; the first modern university, St. John's School in Shanghai which was founded in 1879 was retitled as St. John's University in 1903; the first national comprehensive university, Imperial University of Peking which was founded in 1898 was retitled as Peking University in 1912.

¹ See Guo, Wang, Zhang & Zhu. (2010).

² See Hartmann & Stork. (1981).

The Second Wave of Retitling University: from “Normal Colleges” to “Universities”

In 1920, a lot of Teachers’ Colleges in China were retitled as ‘Universities’ across the country. For example: Wuchang Teachers’ College was retitled as Wuhan University; Chengdu Teachers’ College was retitled as Sichuan University; Nanjing Teachers’ College was retitled Southeast University; Shenyang Teachers’ College was retitled as Northeastern University; Guangdong Teachers’ College was retitled Guangdong University. Only Beijing Teachers’ College partially kept its traditional title. Till now, it has remained Beijing Normal University.

The Anti-Japanese War “Forced” the Third Wave of Retitling University

During the Anti-Japanese War in China from 1937 to 1945, most universities had been transferred in backlands of China. In this period, many universities disappeared, whereas some others gradually developed. For example, Tsinghua University, Peking University and Nankai University constituted National Southwestern Associated University in Kunming, Yunnan Province. After the war, Southwest Associated University reverted back to the three universities, and developed other new universities, i.e. Yunnan Normal University. Similarly, Beijing Normal University and Tianjin Peiyang University formed National Northwest Associated University in Xi’an, Shaanxi Province. After the war, Northwest Associated University was divided into Northwest Polytechnic institution, Northwest Agricultural College, Northwest Normal College, Northwest Medical College and others.

The Founding of P.R.C. Raised the Fourth Wave of Retitling University

In the early years after the foundation of P.R.C in 1949, the Communist Party began to recognize and transform the National Universities founded by the former government. For a few years, all of the private universities were transformed into public universities. By learning from the Soviet’ Single-subject university model, several famous private universities were divided into public universities based on their schools or departments. For example, Soochow University and Aurora University’s liberal arts were divided to be part of Fudan University and others and their engineering subjects were divided to be part of East China College of Chemical Technology, etc. After 1949, the National Central University was retitled as Nanjing University and North China University was retitled as Renmin University of China.

Comprehensive Development Raised the Fifth Wave of Retitling University

Since 1995, the Chinese government has implemented the “211 Project”, “985 Project” and other policies to develop key universities which led to a large-scale reshuffle among Chinese universities. Most famous universities began to merge with other universities for comprehensive development. During this period, Tsinghua University merged with Beijing Academy of Fine Arts; Peking University merged with Beijing Medical University; Jilin University merged with Jilin Polytechnic University, Norman Bethune University of Medical Science, Changchun Geological College and Changchun College of Posts and Telecommunications. Besides, Wuhan University, Northeastern University and other comprehensive universities have also followed the trend.

The expanded Enrollment Raised the Sixth Wave of Retitling University

Since the year 2000, most universities in China have expanded enrollment frequently to compete for excellent candidates. In second-tier and third-tier cities, many senior vocational schools were retitled colleges and colleges were retitled universities one by one. According to the domestic media, some of the colleges only changed their titles, but did not reinforce their faculties or essentially improve campus environment (Xu, Deng, & Ji, 2012). And some colleges have changed titles more than once in recent years. For example, Zhengzhou Grain institution was successively retitled as Zhengzhou institution of Engineering and Henan

University of Technology; Huainan Coal School was successively retitled Huainan institution of Mining Technology, Huainan Polytechnic institution and Anhui University of Science and Technology.

Theoretical Value and practical Significance

Focusing on the sixth university retitling phenomenon in China, this research guarantees certain theoretical value and practical significance. Firstly, from the perspective of organization theory and other relevant theories, it proposes four principles that should be followed in titling a university in China and verifies whether those principles can be adopted in retitling universities in China. Secondly, based on semasiology theory, it attempts to study on the factors in titling a university and then figure out what types of titles are more recognized and popular with universities in China. Thirdly, it tries to test whether the titles match actual conditions of those universities and then explores the inner motivations and underlying causes from the outside (title) and the inside (fact etc.). Fourthly, based on organization theory and management principles, it tries to give comments and suggestions on the universities' organization hierarchy, geographic influence, education content, etc..

Titling Principles and Research Framework

Based on the retitling history of universities in China, retitling essentially is a process of titling. It objectively reflects the universities' establishment, development, transformation, division or abolishment of their "Full Lifecycle". Obviously, the first five waves of retitling universities in China were mainly driven by external factors, especially the political situation. However, the sixth wave was mainly driven by internal factors, i.e. the need to enroll students and build brand.

Titling Principles

In this way, it can be said that in essence, titling a university comprehensively reflects the university's education content, location and features. Whether a university will be retitled or not, its titling should follow certain principles. Referring to "Resource-based View" (RBV) and "Five Competitive Forces Model" in organization theory, "Span of Management" in management theory and the "Matching Principle of Competence and Position" in human resource management theory, the title of a university should broadly match the university's education capacity, content, condition and environment. Titling a university is supposed to follow the following principles.

The Principle of Practicality

Firstly, it should be practical and realistic. As an old saying goes, "Do things that you are capable of". Similarly, if an organization has puny abilities, it should not set grandiose aims; otherwise there will be a series of adverse reactions and negative consequences. Thus universities, shouldering responsibility for higher education, should follow the principles strictly. The principle of practicality is not only a principle for titling universities, but also a motto or an important part of motto for many universities in China, i.e. "Being Realistic", "Seeking The Truth" and "Being Pragmatic". Therefore, this principle is not only a reflection of universities' spirit, but also a foundation and benchmark of titling universities.

The Principle of Consistency

Secondly, universities should maintain their education contents consistent. Based on the "Matching Principle of Competence and Position" in human resources management theory, the title of an organization should adequately reflect its content. By means of this, it mainly incarnates the following characteristics: Firstly, titling should be comprehensive. The title of a

university should completely reflect the university’s education content. Secondly, titling should also be consistent. The title of a university should objectively reflect the university’s actual situation. Thirdly, titling should be forward-looking. The title should fully consider the inheritance and development of the university. The title of a university should be applicable over a long period of time. It cannot be echoed from what others have said, and cannot follow suit. If a university changes its title frequently, it may make disoriented its graduates, applicants, faculty, students’ parents and the society as a whole.

The Principle of Localization

What is more, universities should consider their “territorial” impact. According to “Span of Management” in management theory, every university should have its respective size and boundary. Therefore, the location or “territoriality” of a university is fixed basically, unless force majeure occurs. For example, during the Anti-Japanese War, Tsinghua University, Peking University and Nankai University formed National Southwestern Associated University in Kunming, Yunnan Province. As well as this, the impact of a university is also local. The different universities managed by cities, provinces, the Ministry of Education, have diverse influence, attraction and enrollment ranges. The consideration about “territoriality” and impact is to consider a university’s actual education experiences and abilities.

The Principle of Characterization

Finally, universities should take into account characteristic education. Each university has its unique development history and education characteristics, which created its comparative advantages and formed its Focused competencies with peculiar education contents and unduplicated characteristics. Those characteristics continued for decades, attracting students to travel far away to come for study. Therefore, the characteristics and histories of universities should be never forgotten when they are titled and retitled. Otherwise, it is difficult for a university to attract candidates and exert its Comparative Advantages.

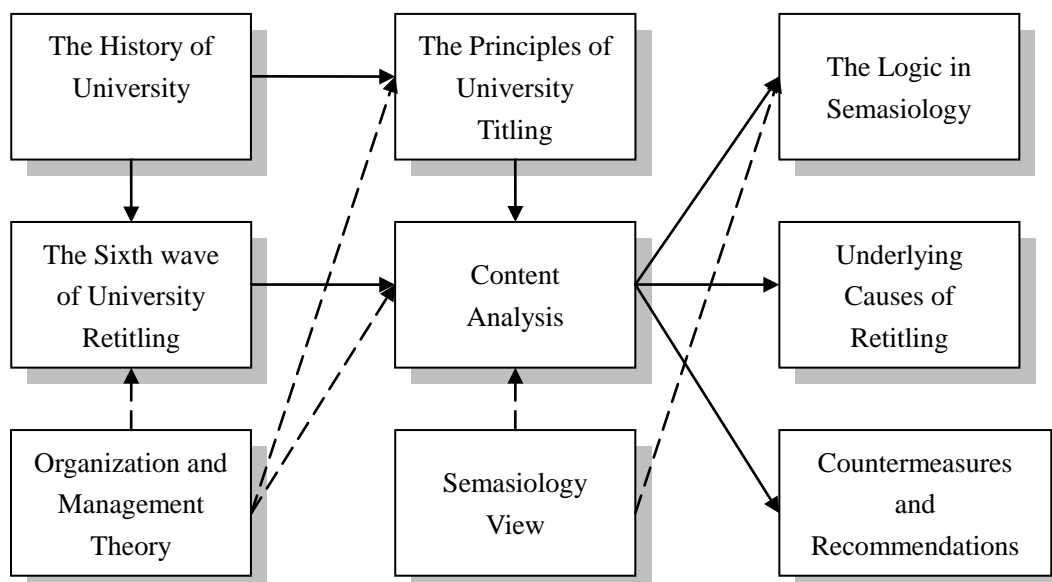


Figure 1 The Research Framework of Retitling University in China

Research Design and Framework

In summary, a research framework can be designed according to the following three points. Firstly, the principles for titling universities can be summed up based on organization and

management theory, and the history of retitling universities in China. Secondly, this research uses universities that were retitled during the sixth wave of the university retitling phenomenon as research samples. This process to make Content Analysis as empirical research lasted nearly nine years. Thirdly, by in-depth analysis and drawing titling principles, semasiology and organization and management theory, this research can find titling factors, underlying causes, and then propose countermeasures and suggestions. In figure 1, rectangular boxes represent nodes or theory basis; solid lines with arrows indicate the main courses of the study; and the dotted lines with arrows indicate the main theoretical-based paths.

Research Methods and Procedures

In the sixth and latest wave of retitling university in China, the Ministry of Education published on their website that 322 colleges or universities were retitled from 2004 to August 2012. Among them, 103 colleges were retitled as universities and 219 colleges remained their titles. 52 out of the remaining 219 colleges were retitled in 2004, 41 were retitled in 2012, and 31 were retitled in 2011. Colleges and universities were mainly located in provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities i.e. Liaoning, Tianjin, Beijing, Shanghai and Zhejiang, whilst the colleges and universities were retitled, mainly in Hubei, Henan, Shandong, Hebei and Heilongjiang provinces.

Sample Selection

According to statistics, 219 colleges that were retitled but remained as “colleges” mainly removed an original part of their titles, i.e. “Academy”, “Vocational Education”, “Professional Technology” etc., for example, Vocational Technical College was retitled as a Technical College. Because this kind of samples are not representative or significant, this research focuses more on the colleges and universities that were retitled at the levels of education content, geographic range and rank, especially those colleges were retitled as universities. If not, it would be difficult to reach the goal of the research design. In this case, 103 colleges and universities were chosen from the website of the Ministry of Education were retitled due to the levels of education content, geographic range or rank in the sixth wave of university retitling in China from 2004 to 2012. With a large number of retitling colleges and universities through many consecutive years, the sixth wave is a very representative research object. Published by the Ministry of Education, the retitling news’ authenticity, completeness and accuracy can be guaranteed, and its source of content and data are easily accessible. The reliability and validity of Content Analysis will be discussed further.

Sample

As mentioned above, those 103 colleges and universities were chosen from the website of the Ministry of Education, which were retitled due to the levels of education content, geographic scope or rank in the sixth wave of university retitling from 2004 to 2012 in China. Scattered in 29 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities, all of them were retitled except the ones in Tibet. Most of the remaining colleges and universities are located In Liaoning (9 colleges and universities), Tianjin (7), Beijing (6), Zhejiang(6), Shandong(5), Shaanxi(5), Guangxi(5), Jiangxi(5) and Jiangsu(5). Obviously, retitled colleges and universities are more in developed regions, especially eastern regions and capital cities of provinces. From the perspective of time, the colleges and universities were retitled most frequently in 2006 (22), in 2004 (20), in 2010 (18). It is difficult to figure out rules behind retitling since the annual number of retitled colleges and universities fluctuates significantly. The numbers of retitled colleges and universities from 2004 to 2012 are shown in Figure 2.

Research Methods

The object of this research is the titling of colleges and universities. In other words, the research object is to study former and current titles of the universities and colleges. As mentioned above, a university’s title is essentially the comprehensive reflection of the university’s education content, location and features. Whether or not a university will be retitled, certain principles should be followed in titling it. Only by keeping these principles, the public can draw a clear picture of key elements in mind as soon as possible, i.e. a university’s organization level, location, education content, features, advantages and cultural heritage. Thus, this thesis mainly employs Word 2007, Excel 2007 and other software to conduct Content Analysis, to find causes of the sixth wave of university retitling phenomenon from 2004 to 2012 in China. Here, the content and word frequency of the titles in the sample are sorted out, and their key words are classified and coded, wherein three steps are taken: Open Coding (also known as Initial Coding), Associated Coding and Focused Coding³.

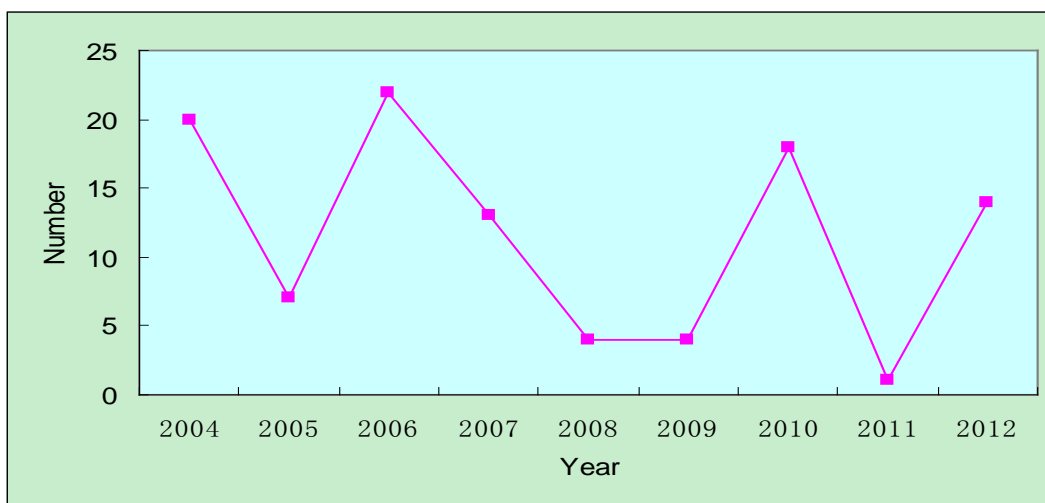


Figure 2 The Number of Retitled Colleges and Universities from 2004 to 2012

Note. Data from the website of the Ministry of Education of the P. R. C.

(<http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s245/list.html>).

Table 1 Examples of Initial, Associated and Focused Coding

Focused Coding	Associated Coding	Initial Coding			
Organization level	University	University			
	College	College	Graduate School		
Geographical Influence	Country	National	China		
	Large Region	South	North		
		East China	South China	Northeast	Southwest
	Province	Beijing	Inner Mongolia	Liaoning	Sichuan
	Small Region	Huaibei	Yanbei		
	City	Xi'an	Shenyang	Dalian	Wuhan
Education Content	(Prefectural level)				
	City	Laiyang			
	(Country level)				
	Comprehensive	United			
	Science and Technology	Science and Engineering	Science and Technology	Industry	Technology

Note. Data from the website of the Ministry of Education of the P. R. C. (<http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s245/list.html>).

³ See Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, (2009) and Babbie, (2005)

In this research, the number of Initial Coding reached 151, i.e. “Beijing”, “Laiyang”, “Second”, “Heavy Machinery”, “University”. Here, substantives in universities titles are separately calculated. Associated Coding is to sort out and integrate the different categories. For example, Geographical Influence is divided into 6 categories: country, large region, region, province, small region and city. At the end, 3 Focused Codes can be concluded: Organization level, Geographical Influence and Education Content. For example, “University”, “College” and “Graduate School” represent the Focused Coding of the Organization level; “Northeast”, “East China”, “Donghua” (means “East China”), “Southwest”, “Central South” and “South” represent the Focused Coding of Geographical Influence; “Technology”, “Science and Technology (or Polytechnic)”, “Industry”, “Finance” and “Medicine” represent the Focused Coding of Education Content. In fact, Coding is so complicated that it takes more than two months to be discussed, compared and analyzed. The retitling demands are prudently applied by those colleges and universities and then approved by the Ministry of Education. Thus, the reliability and validity of the sample is adequately guaranteed and the study results can be implemented repeatedly.

Reliability and Validity Test

The reliability and validity test of Contest Analysis have been one of the difficult and hot issues in academic research. However, the reliability and validity of qualitative research, i.e. Contest Analysis and the case study, are much different from quantitative research. So attention is also paid to this issue in this kind of research. Kirk and Miller (1986) proposed 3 forms of reliability testing in qualitative research. Firstly, Quixotic Reliability is used to determine to what extent a single method can be used to access the same measurements that will result in continuity. Secondly, Diachronic Reliability is used to refer to the measurement results and observations over different periods and times. Thirdly, Synchronic Reliability is used to refer to the stability and consistency of findings by different means at the same time⁴.

Therefore, 103 colleges and universities are chosen from the website of the Ministry of Education, which were retitled at the levels of education content, geographical range or rank in the sixth wave of university retitling in China from 2004 to 2012. Published by the Ministry of Education, the retitled news of colleges or universities is valid, authoritative and comprehensive, whose authenticity, reliability and accuracy are undoubted. Even if the sampling time or method is changed, i.e. collecting samples after half a year or doing field research, it is also consistent with the published results.

As a result, 10% of those 103 colleges and universities were orderly chosen in proportion each year. Then, those organizations' homepages were visited to verify those organizations' titles by using a search engine i.e. Baidu or Google. The selected samples are as follows: Central North University in 2004, Guangdong Ocean University in 2005, Civil Aviation University of China and Chongqing University of Posts and Telecommunications in 2006, Jingtangshan University in 2007, Shanghai Ocean University in 2008, Guilin University of Technology in 2009, Zhejiang Agricultural and Forestry University in 2010, Jiangsu Normal University in 2011, Inner Mongolia Medical University in 2012. The study result shows that all of them were retitled as scheduled, in accordance with the published information on the Ministry of Education's website. Therefore, the reliability of this research is 100%. Furthermore, the retitled time, causes and other relevant details can be found in the Introduction, History and other columns on the website of those universities.

⁴ See Flick, (2011).

In addition, in every step, the research design and framework are strictly followed in order to ensure its preciseness, for example, comparing the records and evaluations of different times to ensure the consistency and the Procedural Reliability. Meanwhile, 9 qualitative suggestions given by Wolcott (1990) are taken, i.e. “listens more than talks”, “record accurately”, “write as soon as possible”, “provide sufficient information”, “collect information as completely as possible”, “try to be candid”, “solicit feedback”, “balance opinions”, and “write accurately”⁵, to guarantee the Procedural Validity. In fact, China’s Ministry of Education strictly examined and approved the retitling applications from colleges and universities, which did not only consider their education history and characteristics, but also took into account their planning and development. What is more, it has to guarantee that the retitling is different to other universities’ titles in avoiding confusion. From the view of the examination and approval procedure, the sample’s Procedural Reliability and Procedural Validity can be guaranteed.

Analysis and Discovery

From the sample between 2004 and 2012, three trends can be seen with most colleges and universities. First they gradually increased in rank level, i.e. from “College” to “University”. Second they gradually expanded in geographic range and influence, i.e. retitling from “Province” to “Region”, and retitling from “Region” to “Country-wide”. Third, they were enriched in education content, i.e. retitling a university from a Science or a Liberal Arts College or University to a Comprehensive University, or retitling it from a single field of study to multi-fields. The retitling features for the 103 colleges and universities will be analyzed and summarized based on the sample’s statistics. Events and highlights of the samples will be interpreted according to the facts.

Changes of the Organization Level

Higher education system is divided into two types, i.e. universities and colleges. Universities are the organizations that implement higher education, which are divided into the following: comprehensive university, specialty university (single field university) and graduate schools. Undergraduate programs can be divided into a number of majors. Similar or related majors constitute a department. Its learning period is generally around 4 years, and it usually enrolls candidates from high schools and equivalent or those with an equivalent learning period. Some special subjects require a longer learning period, for example: 5 years of medical majoring. Colleges are also organizations offering higher education. They can be divided into two sectors: independent institutions and institutions that are affiliated with a university. Colleges are higher education organizations that usually focus on a special field or subject, i.e. the Normal College, Medical College, Agriculture College and Engineering College. Colleges basically have the same enrollment requirements and years of study as universities. Colleges affiliated to a university are often administrative branches. In some countries, at least 3 colleges can form a university (Yang, 2005).

The organization level changes of universities mark their status changes. In general, universities outrank colleges. Some universities rank at a bureau-level or even a vice-ministerial-level, while colleges usually rank at a section-level. In other words, universities may set up several colleges that affiliate to them, while colleges may only set some departments or divisions. Therefore, retitling a college from College to University does not only mean the change of the title, but also represents a higher status, higher levels, richer resources and a better environment. In the research sample, 94 universities were upgraded, accounting for 91.26% of the sample; no universities was degraded; 9 universities kept their previous titles, accounting for 8.73% of the total. Among the upgraded colleges and

⁵ See Flick, (2011).

universities, most were retitled from “College” to “University”, taking up 86.4% of the total sample. In addition, 1 has been retitled from “Graduate School” to “University”, 1 has been removed “Campus” off from its former title and was upgraded to an independent university. Other 3 are newly founded universities.

Table 2 *Organization Level Changes in the Retitling Sample (Unit: Number)*

Item	Upgrade			Downgrade			Unchanged	
	College	University	Others	University	University	College	College	University
2012	10	10	3	3	0	0	0	1
2011	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
2010	17	17	0	0	0	0	0	1
2009	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
2008	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	1
2007	11	11	1	1	0	0	0	1
2006	22	22	0	0	0	0	0	0
2005	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	3
2004	19	19	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	89		5		0		0	9

Note. Data from the website of the Ministry of Education of the P. R. C. (<http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s245/list.html>).

Changes of the Geographic Influence

The changes of geographical influence represent the impact of the universities in a certain extent. Generally speaking, geographic location can be an important factor in determining the range and influence of a particular university on the quality of education for example; the title “Communication University of China” is obviously more representational or influential than “Beijing Broadcasting College”. It will be not judged on whether “Beijing Broadcasting College” is a more popular or appropriate title than the previous. In the sample, 12 universities expanded in geographical influence, accounting for 11.65% of the total; 6 universities narrowed down, accounting for 5.82%; and 81 universities remained the same, accounting for 78.6%. In addition, there are other types of 4 colleges and universities, accounting for 3.88%. Obviously, mainstream universities keep their geographical influence, while other universities that try to increase their geographical influence account for a certain proportion. Here, the changes are shown in the following three tables.

Table 3 *Retitled Universities with Upgraded Geographic Influence*

Item	Upgraded							
	City-level	Province-level	City-level	Region	Region	Large Region	Province-level	Nation-wide
2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
2011	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
2010	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2008	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
2007	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
2006	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
2005	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
2004	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Subtotal	5		3		1		3	

Note. Data from the website of the Ministry of Education of the P. R. C. (<http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s245/list.html>).

In Table 3, most universities are retitled from city-level to province-level, which equates to 5

universities 41.66% of all upgraded universities; 3 universities are retitled from “city-level” to “region” and 3 universities from “province-level” to “nation-wide level”, accounting for 25% of all the upgraded universities. There is only one that was retitled from “region” to “large region”, accounting for 8.33% of all of the upgraded universities. In more detail, only one university is retitled from “capital city of a province” to “province-level”, accounting for 20% of those retitled from “city-level” to “province-level”. Only one university was retitled from “City (Country-level)” to “city (Prefectural-level)” of those that were retitled from “city-level” to “region”. Only one university is retitled from “region” to “large region” (from “Northwest” to “North”). 1 university is retitled as “Nation” and 2 universities are retitled as “Country” from province-level.

Table 4 *Retitled Universities with Downgraded Geographic Influence*

Item	Downgraded							
	Small Region	City-level	Province-Level	City-level	Large Region	Province-level	Large Region	Small Region
2012	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2011	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2010	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
2009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2008	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2007	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
2006	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
2005	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2004	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	1
Subtotal	1		1		3		1	

Note. Data from the website of the Ministry of Education of the P. R. C. (<http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s245/list.html>).

In Table 4, most universities were retitled from “large region” to “province-level”. 3 universities were downgraded, accounting for 50% of all of the downgraded universities. Only one university was retitled from ‘small region’ to ‘city-level’, taking the title of the province city instead of the title of the city situated in the north of the province. Thus, the title is more direct and accurate than before. The only retitled university from “province-level” to “city-level” had upgraded its education content. It transformed from an engineering university to a comprehensive university. Relevant analysis will be given later. “South”, “South China” and “East China” were taken out when the 3 universities were retitled from ‘large region’ to ‘province-level’, transforming them from single-subject universities to multi-subject or comprehensive universities. It is interesting that the only university that was retitled directly from “large region” to “small region” takes and creates “Central North” instead of “North China”.

In Table 5, geographical influences of 43 “province-level” universities have not changed, accounting for 53.8%; 27 “city-level” universities have also remained their titles, accounting for 33.3% of all of the unchanged universities; 7 “nationwide” universities have remained their titles, accounting for 53.8% in all the unchanged universities. A small region that is shown in one university’s title is only “Huaibei”. That university further clarifies its types of subjects. Next, the word “China” is included in 3 “nationwide” universities’ titles, “Southwest” is kept in 2 universities’ titles and “Middle South”, “East”, “China East”, “Northeast” and “Northwest” separately in all of the 7 universities with unchanged “large region”. Provinces or municipality “Xinjiang” and “Shanghai” are selected to be included into the titles of newly-founded universities, while the large region “South” is selected to be included into all 3 new universities. It is interesting that Chongqing, replacing “Yuzhou” (the

title of Chongqing in the old times) is shown in only one university's new title, which university transformed from a comprehensive university to a Finance and Economics university at that time.

Table 5 *Retitled Universities with Unchanged Geographic Influence (Unit: number)*

Item	Unchanged				Others			
	City-level	Small Region	Province-Level	Large Region	Nation-Wide	New Founded	Replace Old Title	Use New Title
2012	2	0	8	0	1	2	0	0
2011	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2010	5	1	8	1	0	0	0	0
2009	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
2008	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
2007	4	0	4	2	0	1	0	0
2006	7	0	10	1	1	0	0	0
2005	1	0	0	3	0	0	1	1
2004	7	0	8	0	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	27	1	43	7	3	3	1	

Note. Data from the website of the Ministry of Education of the P. R. C. (<http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s245/list.html>).

The Improvement of Education Content

The improvement of education content in colleges and universities defines those schools' specific characters. 45 universities have extended their education content, accounting for 43.68% of the total; 44 universities have not changed their education content, accounting for 42.71%; 7 universities have reduced their education content, accounting for 6.79%; 3 universities have further clarified their education content, accounting for 2.91%; and 4 universities have adjusted or transformed their education content, accounting for 3.88%. Universities that have extended their education content can be divided into two types: one type of universities have enriched their original subject contents in their titles. For example, 2 universities have been retitled from "Finance and Trade" to "Finance and Economy"; 1 was retitled from "Economy" to "Finance and Economy"; another from "Finance and Economy" to "Economics and Law"; 3 from the "Engineering" to "Science and Engineering"; 1 from "Light Industry" to "Industry"; 2 from "Aquaculture" to "Ocean"; 1 from "Shipping" to "Maritime"; and another 7 from "Chinese Herb" to "Traditional Chinese Medicine"; another type of universities have transformed from 'professional schools' to 'comprehensive universities'. For example, 2 universities has removed "Industrial" from their original titles; 1 has removed "Engineering"; three have removed the word, "Normal"; 1 has removed "Medical"; 1 has removed "Tropical Agriculture"; 1 has been retitled from "Science and Engineering" to "United".

Universities that have not changed their education content are mainly divided into 3 types. The first type remains completely unchanged. For example, "Science and Engineering" has been maintained in 3 universities' titles; "Finance and Economy" in 3; "Normal" in 3; "Nation" in 3; and "Technology and Normal" in 1. In the second type the reduplicated words are added, based on the Chinese pronunciation and title rhythm, but those new words do not change the essential meaning of the original titles. For example, 3 universities have been retitled from "Engineering (Gong) College" to "Industrial (Gong Ye) University". Similarly, 1 has been retitled from "Business (Shang)" to "Commercial (Shang Ye)"; 1 from "Medicine (Yi)" to "Medical (Yi Ke)"; 1 from "Agriculture (Nong)" to "Agricultural (Nong Ye)"; 1 from "Forest (Lin)" to "Forestry (Lin Ye)". The titles are simplified in the third type, but their original meanings are not changed. For example, 1 university has been retitled from "Civil

Aviation” (4 Chinese words, Min Yong Hang Kong) to “Civil Aviation” (2 Chinese words, Min Hang).

Table 6 *Improvements of Education content in the Retitled Sample (Unit: Number)*

Item	Extend	Reduce	Unchanged	Clarify	Transform	Subtotal
2012	6	0	8	0	0	14
2011	0	0	1	0	0	1
2010	8	2	5	1	2	18
2009	2	0	2	0	0	4
2008	3	0	1	0	0	4
2007	3	1	9	0	0	13
2006	9	2	9	1	1	22
2005	1	1	5	0	0	7
2004	13	1	4	1	1	20
Total	45	7	44	3	4	103

Note. Data from the website of the Ministry of Education of the P. R. C.

(<http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s245/list.html>).

Universities that have reduced their education content are divided into 4 types. The first type reduced only part of their original subjects so that their education directions could become clearer, and their education philosophy could become more standard. For example, 1 university was retitled from “Coal Normal” to “Normal”. The second type removed part of their original title to be more practical, for example, 2 universities were retitled from “Engineering and Technology” to “Engineering”. The third type removed part of their original titles to be more academic and normative, for example, 2 universities were retitled from “Architecture and Engineering” to “Architecture”; 1 from “Aviation Industry” to “Aviation”; The fourth type is more interesting. Only one university was retitled from a ‘comprehensive university’ to a ‘professional university’: from “University” to “Technology and Business University”. It can be concluded that the retitling can make the university's position clearer, and help a university avoid direct competition with other famous comprehensive universities in the same region. In this way, a university’s own characteristics and advantages can be better explored.

For the three universities with education contents clarified, the subject contents were made clearer, though their education position has not changed significantly. 1 university was retitled from “Aviation Industry” to “Aviation and Aerospace”; 2 from “Electronic Engineering” to “Electronic Science and Technology”. In the 4 universities which have adjusted or transformed their education content, the change of their education content means changing their educational direction. 1 university was retitled from “Engineering Normal” to “Vocational and Technical Normal”; 1 from “Technology” to “Textile”; 1 from “Chemistry and Engineering” to “Engineering” and 1 from “Architecture Engineering” to “Science and Technology”.

Countermeasures, Limitations and Prospects

Former president of Wuhan University, Liu Daoyu, made this insightful comment: “Some Chinese people proudly display all their goods in the window. But the next generation will always want to do things in their own unique way, disregarding the previous approach.” This view may partly explain the retitling phenomenon in universities of China (Xu, Deng, & Ji, 2012). Moreover, this empirical research leads to a comprehensive and objective finding: the retitling phenomenon in universities of China is not only caused by external reasons, but also driven by deeper factors of organization, environment, culture, policy and competition motivation. So it is an integrated proposition.

Countermeasures

With foreign university titles for reference, this thesis tentatively proposes the following comments and suggestions, from the perspectives of organizational level, geographical influence and education content.

Give More Organization Resources to Create a Complementary University System

According to *2009 U.S. University Rankings* published by *U.S. News and World Report*, in the top 100 U.S. universities, 13 universities were titled “College”(or institution) and 8 titled “Campus”, accounting for more than 20% totally. It shows that the title of a university is not necessarily connected with its reputation and strength in America. However, according to the *2012 U.S. University Rankings*, in the top 10 universities, 3 were titled “College” (or institution), accounting for 30%; in the top 100 universities, 9 were titled “College” (or institution), accounting for 9%, for example, the famous Massachusetts institution of Technology (MIT) which was in the top 8. In the top 100 universities, 20 were titled “College”(or institution) or “Campus”, accounting for 20%, i.e. the famous University of California (Berkeley Campus), University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill Campus), Rutgers University or the State University of New Jersey (New Brunswick Campus).

However, there is a different condition in China. First, different ranks mean different power. Universities have a higher status, more space, more resources and more favorable conditions than colleges. According to *Provisional Regulations for the Foundation of General High Schools*, universities and colleges are different in ranking and education strength, which undoubtedly provides the intrinsic motivation for colleges to be retitled as Universities. Retitling could put colleges in a more competitive position, i.e. an increase in rank level, education scale, enrollment targets, degree-granting, assessing professional ranks and titles and appropriate funds for construction, etc. (Wang, 2009). Second, “University” is generally more famous, popular, and bigger than “College”. Thus, the media, high schools, university candidates and their parents often say “Take the University Entrance Exam”, rather than “Take the College Entrance Exam”. Therefore, Chinese often have different ideas and complex for “University” and “College”.

In this case, the following points should be taken into consideration when policy-making. Firstly, universities should break away from the administrative hierarchy, and establish their self-governed academic hierarchy. Secondly, more organization resources should be given to colleges so that colleges can have an equal status to universities. Thirdly, a number of small but exquisite, specialized colleges should be established as well as large and comprehensive universities, to create a Chinese characteristic, complementary university system.

Position the Geographical Influence Accurately to Give a Suitable Title

In China, geographical influence does not only indicate the location of a university, but also shows the university’s popularity, influential range and enrollment scale. Thus, some colleges or universities undoubtedly believe “the bigger, the better” But, as educational institutions, universities should be practical and realistic instead of “misnomers”, and take full account of their history and culture to appropriately express its influence. For example, in 2004, great controversy was caused when Beijing Broadcasting College was retitled Communication University of China; in 1985, East China institution of Textile Science and Engineering was first retitled as China Textile University, and then Dong Hua University in 1999, which gradually cleared its position and geographical influence.

In addition, besides geographical influence, there are other rules behind titling the 103 colleges and universities. There is more history and culture presentation behind those titling rules, which can highlight the universities' spirit and heritage. To sum it up, there are generally eleven types. The first type is titling after the founder's title, i.e. Harvard University. The second type is titling after the assigner's title, i.e. Stanford University. The third type is titling in honor of a special person, i.e. Sun Yat-sun University, Norman Bethune University of Medical Science, and Lu Xun Academy of Fine Arts. The fourth type is titling after famous mountains, i.e. Yanshan University, Taishan College. The fifth type is titling after famous rivers, i.e. Yangtze University. The sixth type is titling after oceans, i.e. Bohai University (Zhu, 2011). The seventh type is titling after landscapes and places of interest. For example, Tsinghua University was titled after the Ming and Qing imperial garden titled Tsinghua Garden (Wang Mingxia, 2005); China Three Gorges University (Sanxia in Chinese) was set up in Yichang, Hubei. The eighth type is titling after the ancient title of the location, i.e. Chang'an University in Xi'an, Yuzhou University in Chongqing which has been retitled Chongqing Technology and Business University. The ninth type is titling after classical titles, i.e. Fudan University from Yu Xia Biography, Shang Shu Da Zhuan (the Commentary of the book) "Brilliant are the sunlight and the moonlight; after a night the day dawns again", Jinan University from Yu Gong, Shang Shu, "Facing to the South Ocean, try to teach and transmit Chinese culture to all corners of the land", and Tongji University from Jiu Di, Sun Zi, "People in the same condition help each other(or to pull together in times of trouble)" and so on. The tenth type is titling after the group's title, i.e. Hua Qiao University. The eleventh, also the last type is titling after the initiatory Foundation, i.e. Yang-En University.

In this case, this thesis proposes: firstly, universities and colleges, especially new universities, should not be aggressive in titling and retitling, and should not spoil things by excessive enthusiasm, but should follow the four principles proposed in this study. Secondly, when higher education management institutions take on the task of titling or retitling universities, they could learn from these four principles and take a realistic view in order to adjust to local conditions.

Set Forward-looking Developments Goal with Specified Education Contents

This study found that 44 universities kept their education contents unchanged, accounting for 42.71% of the sample. However, the majority of universities changed their education contents, most of which expanded them. According to the Resource-based View (RBV) proposed by American scholar Barney (1986), university education content is mainly based on the university's resources. However, accessing resources is not static but dynamic. At the same time, internal resource is only one aspect for a university to position itself. Universities should prospectively consider enrollment and other external environmental changes, mergers and other changes in regulatory policies, the quality and quantity of students, domestic and international universities' competitive strategies and so on.

American scholar Porter (1980) proposed the "Five Competitive Forces Model", which could effectively analyze customers' competitive environment. The Five Competitive Forces are: Threat of new Entrants, Threat of Substitute Products or Services, Bargaining Power of Buyers, Bargaining Power of Suppliers, and Rivalry among Existing Firms. If the "Five Competitive Forces Model" is constructed based on education content of universities, what should be specially considered are: the competitive ability of other colleges and universities, i.e. the Rivalry among Existing Firms; the ability of newly-found universities, i.e. the Threat of new Entrants; the ability of foreign universities and excellent education enterprises, i.e. the Threat of Substitute Products or Services; the students choose to apply, i.e. the Bargaining

Power of Buyers. According to statistics from the Ministry of Education website, despite the merger and other factors, enrollment expansion in China's universities had become a general trend. There were 1,396 colleges and universities, 607 adult colleges and universities and 728 postgraduate training institutions in 1997, with 9.03 million undergraduates and 0.5 million graduate students. After more than 10 years, there were 2,358 colleges and universities, 365 adult colleges and universities, 836 private institutions of higher education and 797 postgraduate training institutions in 1997, with 22.32 million undergraduates and 1.54 million graduate students. As a result, the enrollment of undergraduates increased by 2.5 times the previous amount of undergraduates and the enrollment of graduate students increased 3 times, while the number of higher education organizations in the same period.

In this case, this thesis recommends: firstly, colleges and universities should take on the tasks of titling and retitling in accordance with accurate social positioning. Secondly, universities should take into account the changes of environment so that they can grasp and highlight their characteristics as unparalleled Focused competitiveness, and achieve comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development. Thirdly, institutions of higher education management could plan to make strategic guidelines and regulations, and promote "independent personality" and diverse development of colleges and universities.

Limitations

Contest Analysis involves enormous data and information, long-term tracking and analysis, higher accuracy requirements of analysis process. These all pose higher challenges to this study. In the research, it is difficult to ensure completeness, accuracy and reliability of the sample through other channels, only if authorities like the Ministry of Education can publish a comprehensive retitling case of universities. Therefore, because of the short period that the sample was taken from, the content and comprehensive data of retitled universities from 2000 to 2003 was hard to obtain. In addition, although the Ministry of Education and other institutions of higher education administration made a relatively standardized and rigorous practice of retitling, some universities were still not accurately positioned to be given practical titles, or to be retitled more than one time.

Coda

Universities represent part of a nation's higher education. The title of a university is a kind of "business card", which is concise, intuitive and influential. At present, there are still some problems in China's higher education, especially education quality and educational direction. The title of a university does not only have formal meaning, but it also represents substantive significance of the university's style, beliefs and pursuits to a certain extent. It also partly shows the university's self-cognition, realistic guidelines and confidence of ambition. Till now, very few empirical researches can be found in China. In the future, more interesting discoveries may be found by studying on semasiology relationships and logical relations of universities' titles and mottoes, with Contest Analysis and other empirical approaches.

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The Fractal Dimensions of University Ranking in Asia and the World

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Abstract

This paper sought to describe the roughness of the criteria used to identify the top 100 universities in the world and in Asia based on the recent 2013 Times Higher Education Quality Survey (THEQS). This survey was conducted by Thompson Reuter, the most authoritative body by far which emphasizes teaching, research and citations. Our findings revealed that top 100 ranking universities in the world in terms of research exhibit a multi-fractal dimension while those in Asia manifest a mono-fractal dimension. Teaching and research-citation influence, on the other hand, showed mono-fractal dimension in both the top ranked universities in the world and in Asia. The researchers concluded that teaching and research in both groups are excellent in the top ranked universities. But in terms of citation, ruggedness or multi-fractal dimension are more evident in the top universities of the world while in Asia, while the top universities are mono-fractal or less rugged. They recommend that for universities to produce high quality and globally competitive graduates in the 21st century work places, emphasis should be placed in providing excellent teaching and research, premium in research volume and citations/research influence.

Keywords: Fractal dimensions, Universities ranking, Overall score, International outlook, Research citation

Introduction

University assessment is an umbrella term encompassing academic evaluation and research evaluation. The Quality Survey of World University Ranking (2013) by Times Higher Education (THE-QS) emphasizes on teaching, research and citations with high weighting in evaluation. Staropoli (1987) as cited in Huang (2011) in his paper where he stressed that some Asian countries have begun the evaluation of their higher education institutions in order to fully understand and improve their performance and service quality. Program evaluations may use different criteria, indicators and parameters depending on the purposes of evaluation. Academic evaluation encompasses the assessment of scholarly activities, achievement, outcome of research investment, etc. (Huang, 2011; Daniel & Fisch, 1990).

The three most influential international university rankings are: The Times Higher Education (THE) World University rankings along with the QS (Quality Survey) World University Ranking and the Academic Ranking of World Universities.

In the Philippines, the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) and Professional Regulation Commission (PRC) are the monitoring and evaluating higher education agencies and list their ranking per licensure examination results. This has produced much debate about its accuracy and usefulness. The expanding diversity in rating methodologies and accompanying criticisms of each indicate the lack of consensus in the field.

Quality assurance is fundamental in the pursuit of the quality in higher education. Program-based quality assurance is defined through criteria and standards used by higher education institutions and the CHED. For instance, in the selection of CHED’s Centers for Excellence/Development uses accreditation outcomes. While, institution-based quality assurance is a way of checking out that higher education institutions are effective in delivering academic programs and services (CHED, 2005).

This paper sought to investigate the ruggedness of the data through fractal analysis of the top 100 universities in Asia and the World per the 2013 Times Higher Education Quality Assurance World University rankings .The university ranking is based on the following parameters: Over-all score, Teaching – The Learning Environment, International Outlook – Staff and Students, Industry Income – Innovation, Research – Volume, Income and Reputations, Citations – Research Influence. Fractal dimension was computed to quantify complexity of shape in relation to the structure and texture. It also indicates the degree of self-similarity and scale invariance. The study utilizes trial version of fractal software in order to determine its ruggedness.

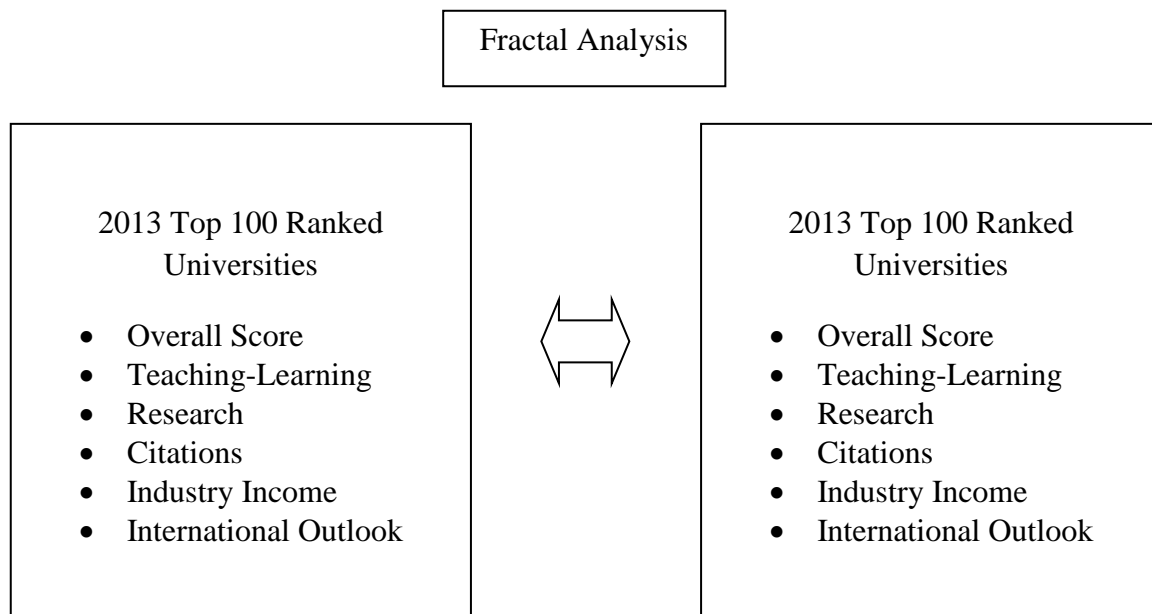


Figure 1 Conceptual Framework: A Comparative Study of the Fractality of University Rankings

Fractal analysis is an apt tool to assess the ‘rugged’ characteristics of data such as the worldwide university rankings. In this study, the researchers used the data from the top 100 universities in the World and the top 100 universities in Asia per the 2013 Times Higher Education Quality Survey World Ranking. It consists of several methods to assign a fractal dimension and other fractal characteristics to a dataset. It gives a pattern or signal extracted from phenomena. Understanding the nature of ruggedness gives a greater insight into the

phenomenon. The different criterion used in ranking the universities based on scores is not sufficient to describe the landscape of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in the world.

The real data from the Times Higher Education (THE-QS) which was inputted in minitab software then imported to fractal software.

Literature Review

Fractal behavior and structure can be intuitively appreciated in a variety of ways (Tang, Tao & Lam, 2001). In addition, in the same study, fractal is define as a mathematical sets with a high degree of geometrical complexity, which can model many classes of time-series data as well as images. It is a large suite of quantitative techniques for describing and analyzing complex and irregular phenomena (Brown, Witschey & Liebovitch, 2005). In addition, fractal theory also unites disparate ideas from set theory, topology, cosmology, hydrology, geomorphology, linguistics, geography, and many other fields.

In the study of Tang, Tao & Lam (2001), there is a need to familiarize fractals which is the process of pattern recognition requires the extraction of features from regions of the image, and the processing of these features with a pattern classification algorithm. According to Nuhfer (2010) fractal patterns occur in neural networks and synaptic connections. Several aspects of higher education such teaching, research, international mix, research citation and income involve fractal neural networks that manifest fractal traits.

Methodology

Several studies mentioned that fractals have found widespread application in a range of scientific fields, including education. The attribute variation in a fractal object can be described through fractal dimension, which is a measure of the roughness, or fragmentation, of the object. More jagged-looking objects have larger fractal dimensions. It is said that the higher the fractal dimension is, the more squiggly the object that is inside the square.

In this study, the researchers utilized data from the 2013 Times Higher Education Quality Survey (THEQS) which includes the following criteria: overall score, teaching, research, citations, industry income, and international outlook. The researchers made use of fractal analysis in interpreting and analyzing the date. Fractal analysis is a ccollection of mathematical procedures used to determine fractal dimension or set of fractal dimensions.

To determine the fractal dimension of the tabulated data set, the researchers first look at the entire ruggedness index (λ) then assess the ruggedness of the data at each scale (s) by looking at λs . Furthermore, these formulas were used:

$$\text{Legendre' Spectrum} \\ \text{Lambda} = 1 - \frac{\log_e(1-\alpha)}{\log_e(\text{data}/\text{min of data})} \quad (1)$$

$$\text{Lambda} = 1 - \frac{\log_e(1-\alpha)}{\log_e(\text{data})} \quad (2)$$

$$\text{Scale} = s = 1/\log_e(\text{data}/\text{min}) \quad (3)$$

Fractal dimension and Analysis of the parameters of the university rankings

Figure 2 and 3 shows the histogram of the overall scores of the top ranking universities in the World and Asia. There are more universities with scores between 60 and 70 than between 90

to 100. This indicates more small fluctuation at the lower tail of the probability distribution. It is an indication of a possible fractal distribution.

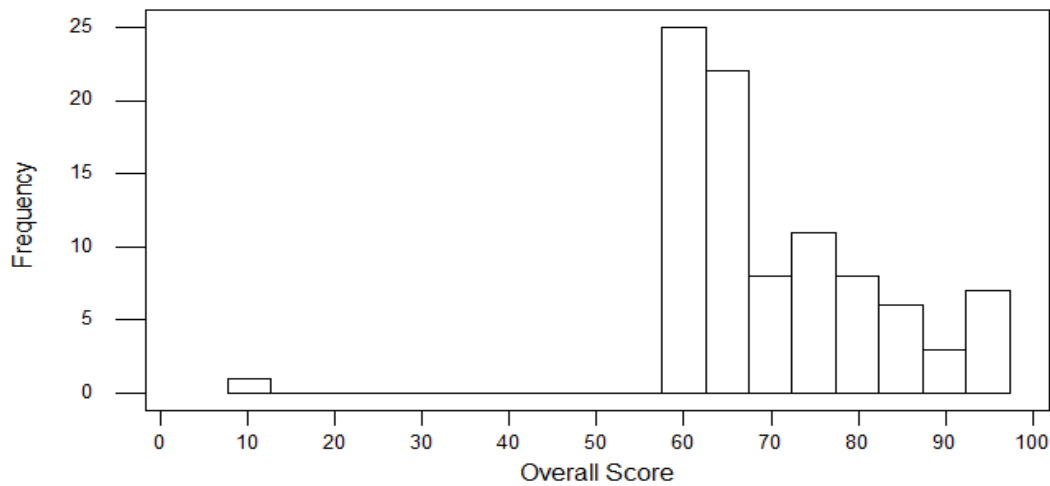


Figure 2 World Over-all Score (Combined Score)

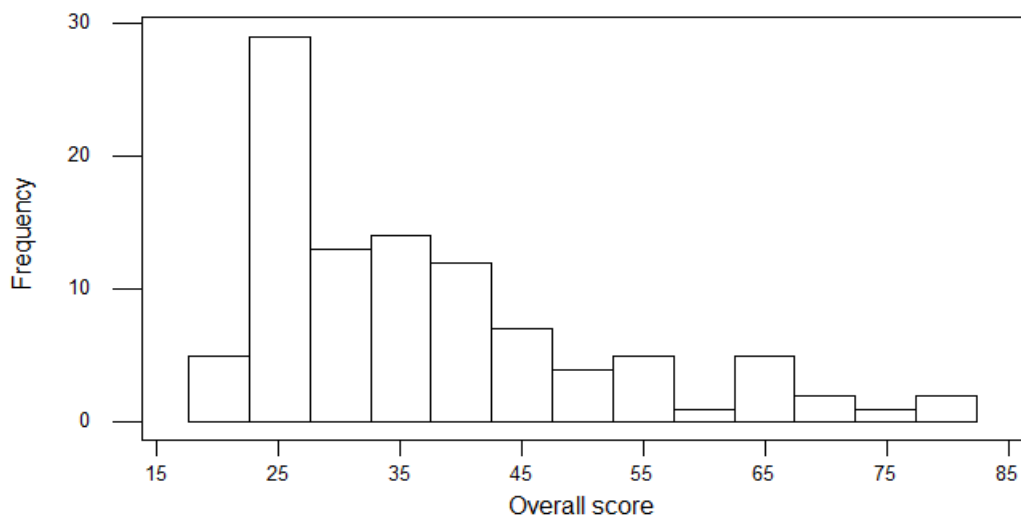


Figure3 Asia Over-all Score (Combined Score)

Lesser concentration of scores between 25 and 35 than 65 to 75 as shown in Figure 3. This again indicates a fractal distribution of scores. There are schools that concentrate almost entirely on one teaching-learning style while others employ a mixture (Blackman 2013).

Figure 4 and 5 showed the probability distribution in terms of learning environment. There are more universities whose teaching is 30 – 40 than 50 – 60. This entails that there are more top universities who are good in teaching in Asia than in the World. High-quality instruction means professors accomplish instructional goals and strengthen students’ meaningful learning through a series of planned instructional activities, such as preparation, curriculum design, teacher-student interaction, instructional activities and evaluation (Chou, Shen & Hsiao, 2010).

Fractal dimension is used in this research application. It is calculated by measuring how rough it is. Huang (2003) in his paper in 2011 mentioned that university evaluation encompasses both academic performance (often discipline-based) and administrative performance.

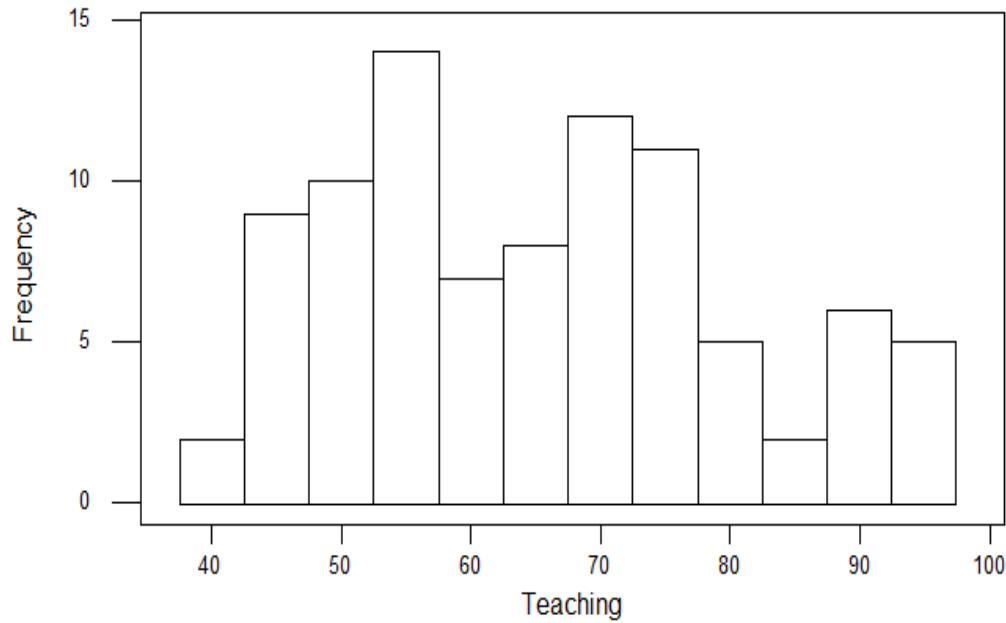


Figure 4 World -Teaching (The Learning Environment)

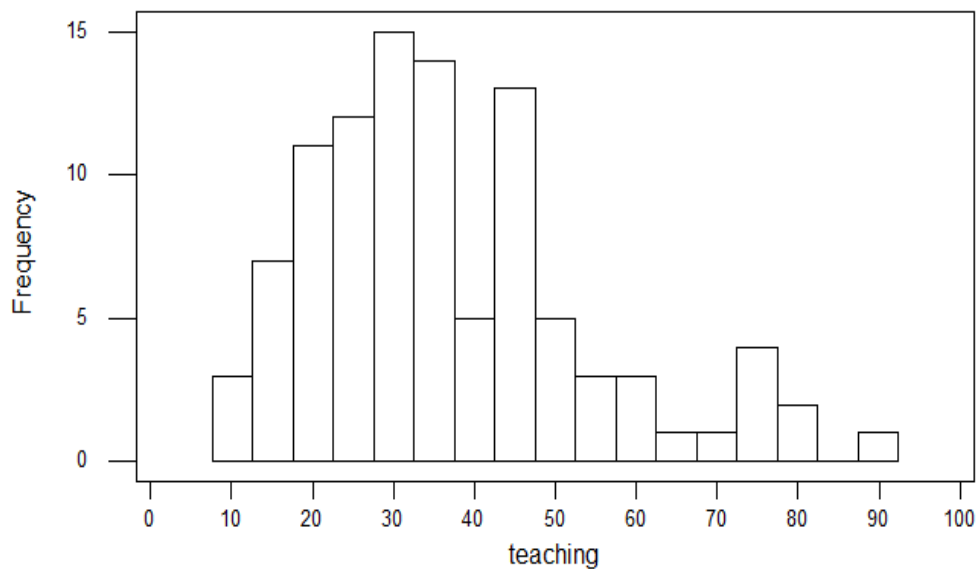


Figure 5 Asia – Teaching (The Learning Environment)

The ruggedness of Fig. 5 shows very steep slope at the lower scale in terms of teaching of the top performing universities in the World. This means that variations in the teaching performance of the best universities in the world are quite high while those at the bottom of the list have more or less similar performance. It is possible that their regard for teaching is very variable because they have different interpretation of the value of teaching. On the other hand, the lowest in the top performing universities have similar performance with respect to each other universities. It is also observe that fluctuations are lower.

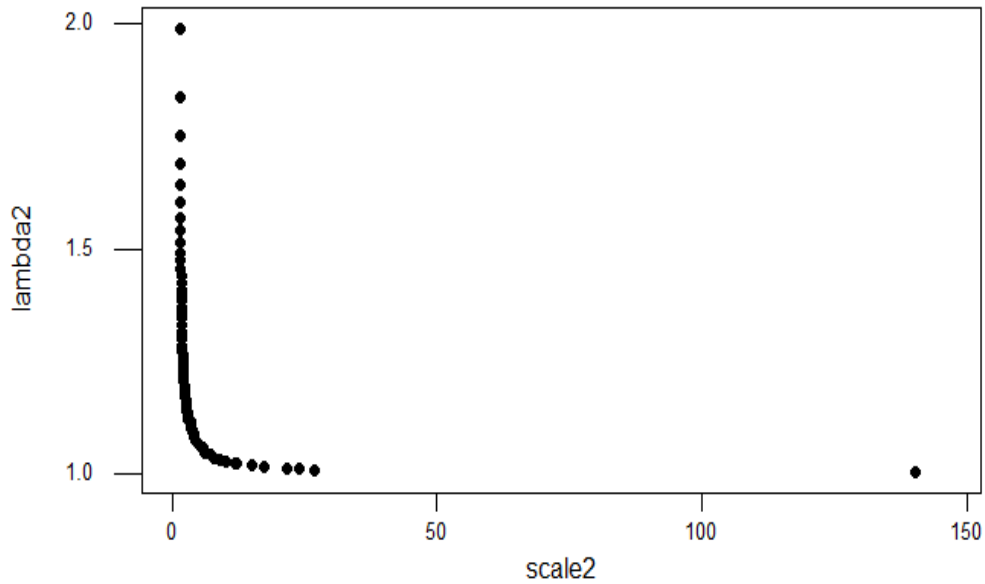


Figure 6 World -Teaching (The Learning Environment)

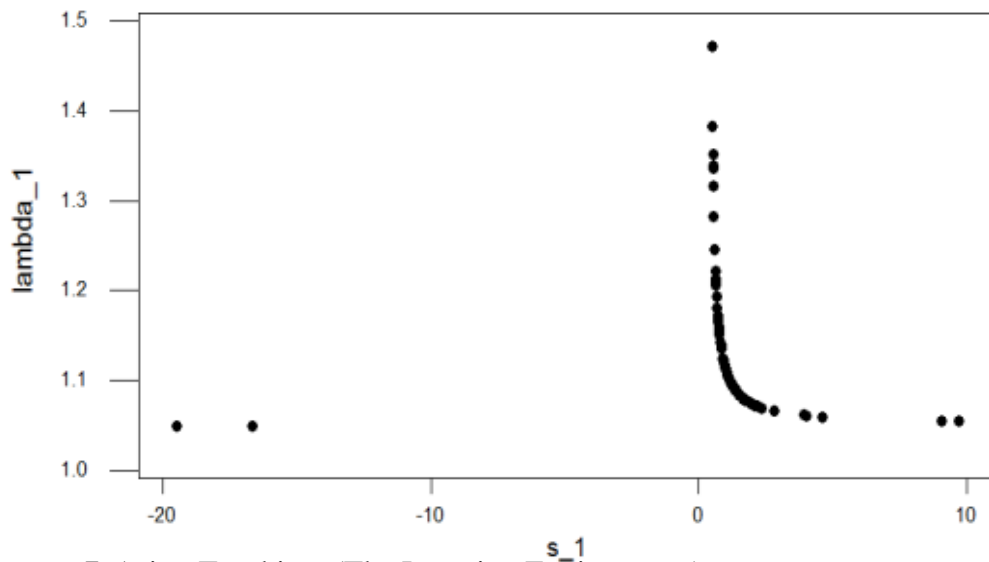


Figure 7 Asia - Teaching (The Learning Environment)

Figure 7 reveals very rough at the larger range of scores. This implies the same pattern in the top universities in Asia and the World in their level of quality in teaching and learning environment.

The figure above shows very rough at the lower scale and also less rough at the lower scale in Figure 9. This means that competition in at the world level is far more intense than in Asia. There are more international students and staff in the top universities in the World than in Asia that makes the performance of the universities rise above the other.

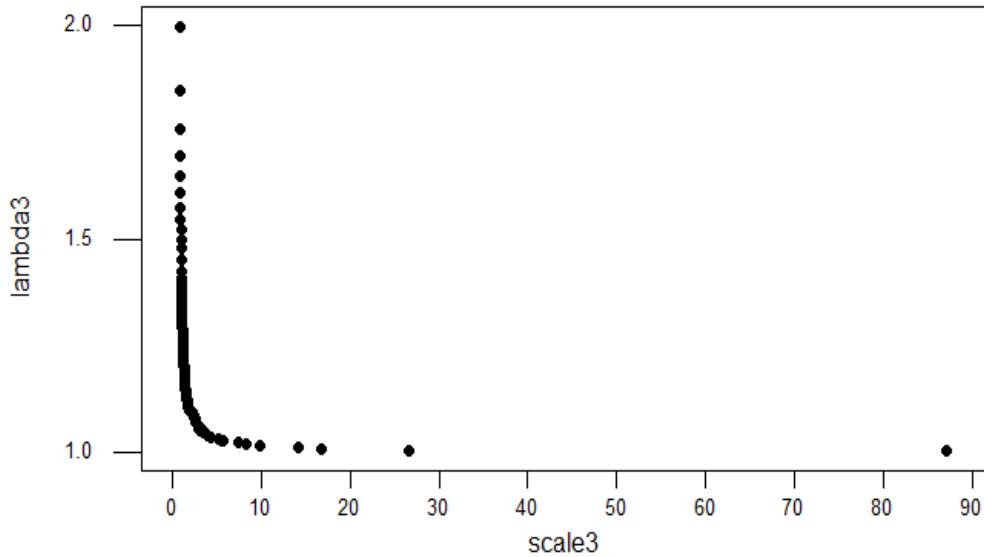


Figure 8 World –International Outlook (Students and Staff)

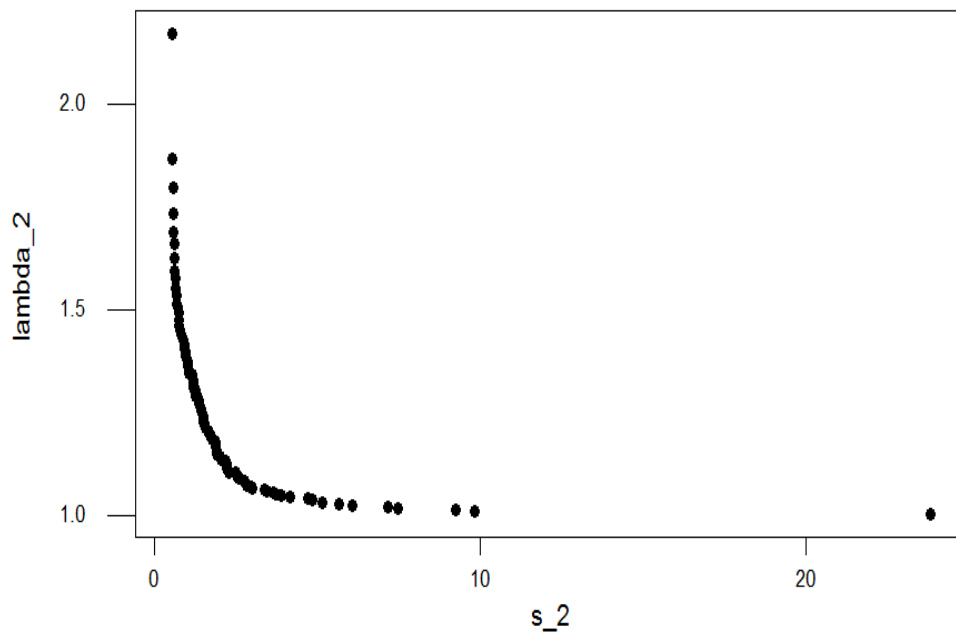


Figure 9 Asia –International Outlook (Students and Staff)

The top universities in the World in terms of industry income, innovations showed mono-fractal data while those of top universities in Asia showed a multi-fractal dimension. That is, top universities in the World are less irregular than those of top universities in Asia.

This shows that in terms of research, top ranking universities in Asia are more rugged than in the top ranking universities in the world. Throughout the world, universities operate in significantly different legal, organizational, bureaucratic, and political spaces. Some countries have highly centralized university policies related to funding, research support, and research grants. In the 21st-century global knowledge economy research universities stand at the center and serve as flagships for education worldwide. Top ranking universities in Asia are more particular in research compared to the top ranking universities in the world. A university may be at the top, but it does not mean that it is good in all indicators.

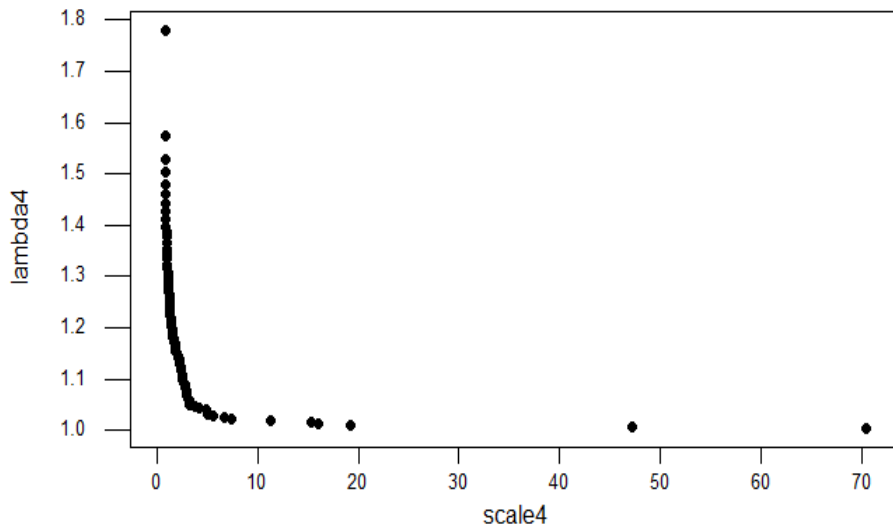


Figure 10 World –Industry Income (Innovation)

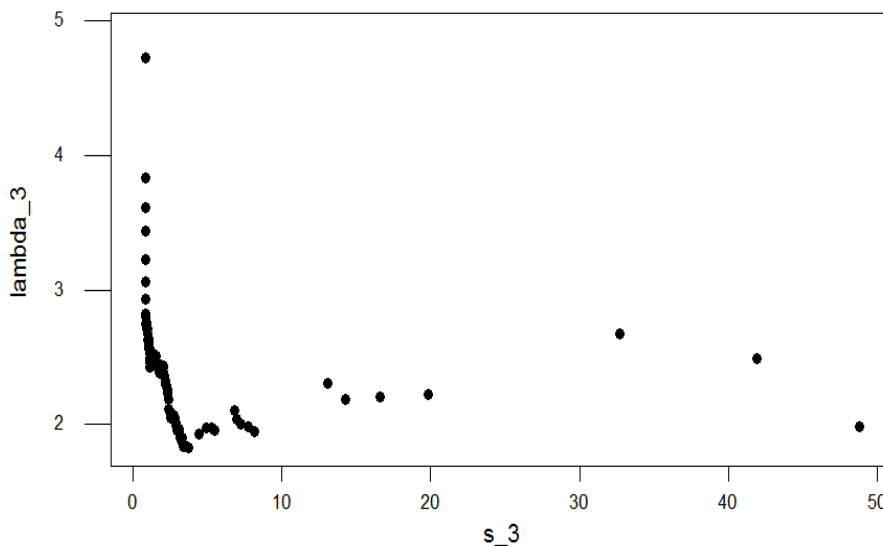


Figure 11 Asia –Industry Income (Innovation)

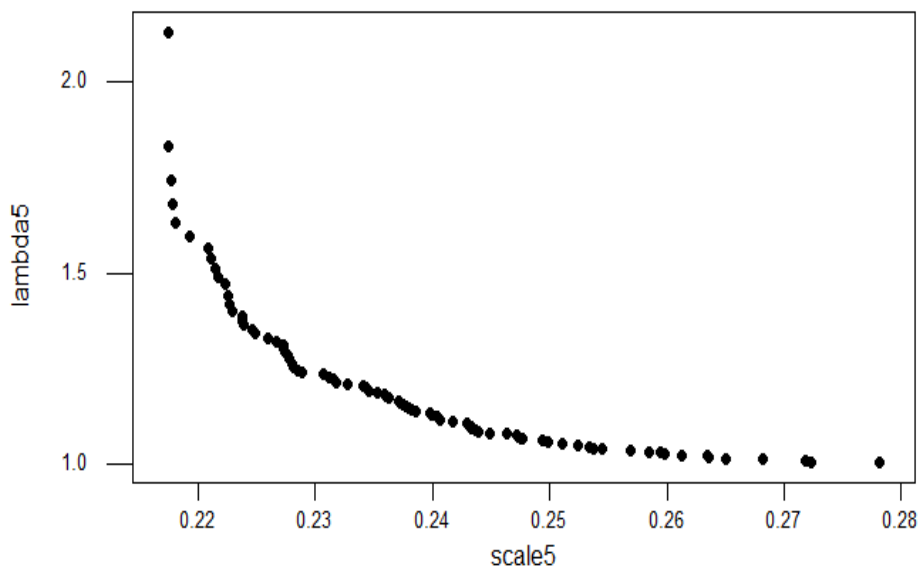


Figure 12: World –Research (Volume, Income & Reputation)

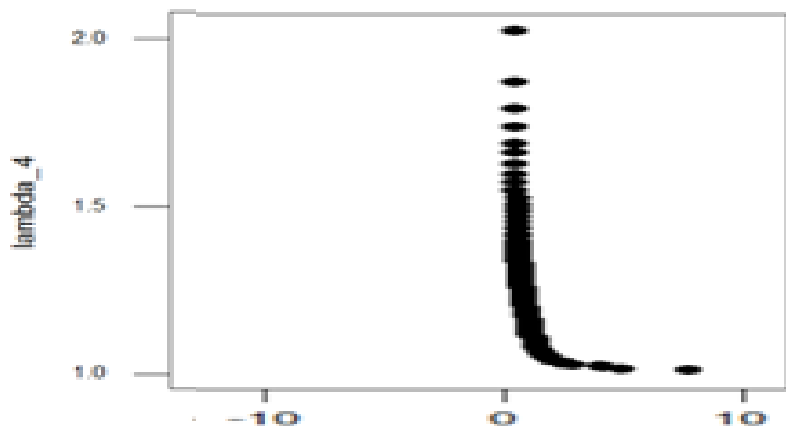


Figure 13 Asia –Research (Volume, Income & Reputation)

The performance of these ranked universities varies from one criterion to the other. This could mean each university has its own expertise. Some are considered best value schools because they offer higher quality in the program and with lower cost. Others are making the most promising and innovative changes in the areas of academics, faculty and student life. National University ranking identify some universities like Columbia and Stanford as colleges who are committed to producing ground breaking research.

Universities around the world often focus on the improvements in research achievements. Although, top universities in the world were performing very well, it does not mean that they are good in research as well as all in the other indicators. Furthermore, another way to look at the structure of this distribution is to measure how much it would take to move the middle institution to the group above it.

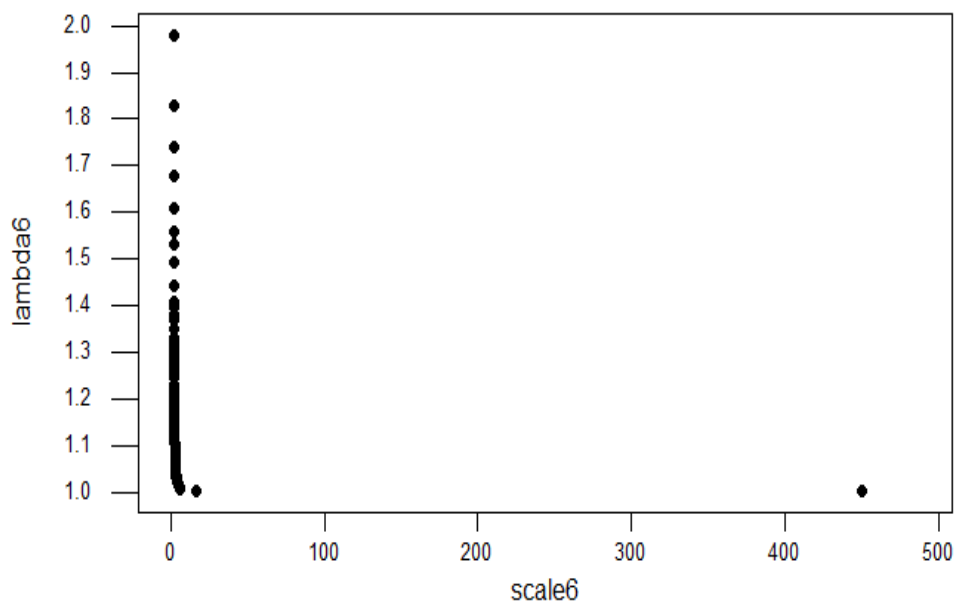


Figure 14 World –Citations (research influence)

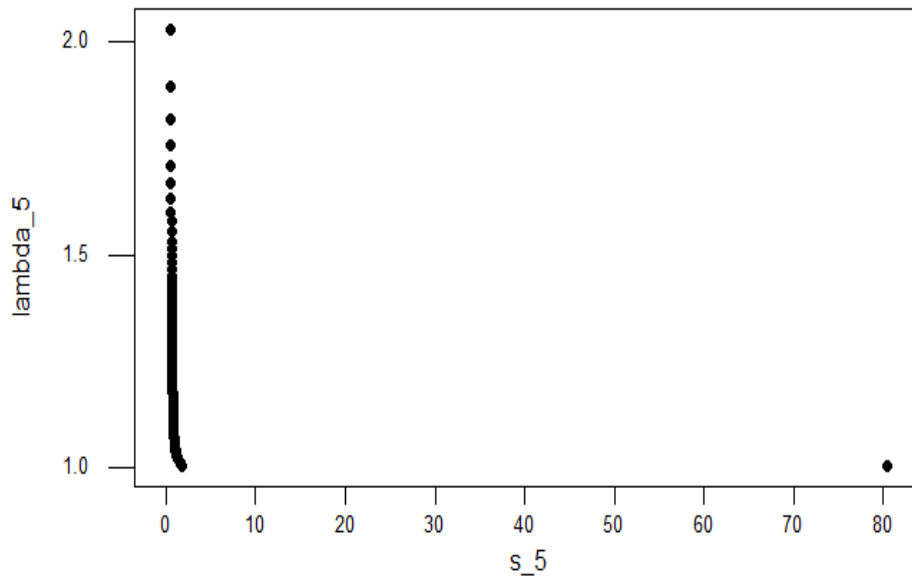


Figure 15 Asia –Citations (research influence)

Scholarly publication is one of the major indicators used in research evaluation (Huang, 2011). Evaluation committees consider peer review to be a major means of quality judgment and it can overcome certain difficulties in academic evaluation (Campbell, 2002). Figure 13 and 14 revealed that top ranking universities produced researches which were cited by several authors in the world. Citation is very important factor to consider in determining the top rank universities in Asia and the World.

Conclusion

Fractal dimension is a powerful tool in determining the ruggedness of the data. The scoring criteria used by Times Higher Education (THE-QS) such as overall score, teaching, international outlook, industry income, research and citations are dimensions that will encourage universities to produce high-quality and globally competitive university products/graduates needed in the 21st century workplaces. However, giving more emphasis/weight on research is not consistent in the World and in Asia. Fractality of teaching affect the fractality of research. Therefore, putting premium on research may not be a valid indicator of identifying top performing universities because teaching and research should go together. Top performing universities were excellent in both teaching and research.

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Attitude and Performance Profile of the Faculty Members on the Philippine Schools Overseas

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Abstract:

The study sought to identify the attitude of the teachers towards faculty evaluation. It also identified points that were included in the faculty development program aimed at improving teaching effectiveness and professionalism. Like all the school's in the Philippines and elsewhere, faculty performance evaluation has always been implemented and conducted regularly. However, every school has its own tool in evaluating teacher's performance and teaching effectiveness. The research conducted focused on the three areas of performance in the field of teaching effectiveness, management and services which incorporated multiple perspectives. While other teachers were negative towards evaluation, others realized that performance evaluation served as a tool of building bridges between teachers and administrators and to students. Some of them did not realize that getting feedback from the students has a unique role on reporting the effectiveness of their own teaching. To create a good practice in faculty evaluation distilled from research and development efforts, schools should establish the purpose of the evaluation. The most promising institutional approaches to faculty evaluation and which have the most potential to improving faculty performance are those most closely tied to well-supported, long-term faculty development. Thereby, schools must establish a legally defensible evaluation process and a system of grievances.

Keywords: Attitude, Evaluation, Performance, Teaching effectiveness

Introduction

Faculty evaluation procedure has always been designed around teacher characteristics believed to be desirable, and these characteristics have been assessed with criteria of numerical choices to identify the degree of achievement. Evaluative procedures have been developed with the purpose of identifying a tool that measures teachers' competence more effectively.

Evaluation is indeed an excellent tool for initiating change in the schools. It is more than the simple rating of teaching ability. It defines what is important in the practice of teaching and it also identifies the parameters for staff development. With its importance, it is amazing that evaluation remains one of the few areas which is within the control of the school management.

This prompted the researcher to implement tools designed to evaluate the performance of his faculty members with the idea in mind to use results as basis for teachers' recognition and incentives. Regular evaluation of the performance of the faculty was conducted using a valid tool.

It is in this note that this study was conducted to identify the aspects of teaching that need to be developed as well as the teacher's attitude towards faculty evaluation.

Theoretical Framework

There are many comprehensive systems for the evaluation of faculty performance and guidelines for the development of such systems; each includes a substantial component devoted to evaluating faculty teaching performance (Arreola, 2000).

Clarifying the expectations that institutions and departments have for their faculty and faculty had for their own performance is central to a successful faculty evaluation system (Arreola, 2000). Expectations for faculty work responsibilities and outcome are affected by institutional, departmental, disciplinary, and individual faculty priorities. These expectations also affect the methods, criteria, and the nature and sources of data used to evaluate faculty work. In recent years, both institutional and faculty expectations have begun to change because the nature of faculty work has changed. Redefinitions of faculty roles affect how the teacher role of faculty relates to the other dimensions of faculty work. Understanding long- and short-term changes in the teacher role will help clarify expectations for faculty work as a whole.

Austin (1996) has stressed that teaching competes with other faculty work such as research and service in allocation of faculty time. However, several influential reports refocused institutional attention and resources on evaluation, improvement and reward of faculty as teachers. Faculty themselves indicate their value their teaching responsibilities highly. In 1998, 72.8% of 33, 785 faculty at 378 colleges and universities indicated that their interests were “very heavily in” or “earning toward” teaching, while only 27.1% indicated the same primary interest in research (Sax, et. al, 1999). Faculty interest in teaching persists despite evidence that, across institutional types and different fields of study, faculty who spend the least time on teaching and the most on research receive the highest salaries (Fairweather, 1996). In addition, faculty face growing expectations to create student-centered classroom learning environments, focus on active learning, use techniques of classroom assessment and research, and develop pedagogical content knowledge, even though faculty rewards are rarely linked to such teaching innovations (Lazerson, et al, 2000).

Cashin (1999) and Seldin (1999) emphasized the importance of student ratings in evaluating teacher’s performance. Quantitative student ratings of teaching are used more than any other method to evaluate teaching performance. Student ratings play a dominant role in the operational definition of what constitutes effective teaching. Component of effective teaching identified from analysis of student ratings include six common dimensions of skill, rapport, structure, difficulty, interaction, and feedback (Cohen, 1981) as revealed in the study of Franklin and Theall (2001).

There are many ways to gather data about one’s teaching, but one of the most important pieces to include in a teaching portfolio is written self-assessment or self-reflection about a particular teaching experience, assignment, course design, or student interaction. Braskamp and Ory (2004) suggest the following as sources of evidence that self-reflective assessments can provide about one’s teaching: (1) the way a course has been designed, (2) the strengths and weaknesses experienced during the implementation of that design, (3) changes of adjustments made during the implementation and the rationale behind those alterations, (4) ways in which course assignments met or failed to meet course objectives and expectations, and (5) assessment issues including student learning outcomes and periodic course evaluations. Donal Schon (1995) suggests that reflection is a way of revealing what we know about what we do. Through this process, teachers generate new ways of knowing and understanding about the relationship between teaching and learning.

Aligning employees to organizational goals is a critical attribute that must be conditioned. This involves motivating employees to exercise high levels of effort in accordance with organizational goals, whilst allowing them to satisfy some of their own individual needs (Hume; 1995 and Robbins et al, 2003). Motivation is directly linked to the performance of employees. Their performance would consequently not meet the expectations required of them and employee productivity would be jeopardized. It can therefore be said that an employee's level of motivation has a direct impact on their level of performance, making the issue of motivation an important one.

Process theories of motivation on the other hand have a different focus being the attempt to explain why behaves in a certain way and the reasons behind their reactions (Robbins et al, 2003). Such theories suggest that individuals must first undergo a rational process of reasoned judgments about specific actions that they could perform before actually undertaking these actions. This emphasizes the conscious and purposive nature of behavior (Hume, 1995). Such process theories that have been developed include the goal-setting theory, equity theory and expectancy theory.

Behind Maslow's theory of motivation are two principles, firstly, the satisfaction of needs at any one level of the hierarchy will motivate an individual only if the prior needs have been reasonably fulfilled. Secondly, once optimal satisfaction of a level has been met, this need will cease to be a motivator (Sartain et al, 1998). It also proposes that while one set of incentives is good enough to motivate people at one level, another set of incentives is required for people at a different level (Ganguli, 2000) which is affirmed by the theory of motivation states that individuals will tend to act in a certain way when there is a high level of expectancy that will result in a desired outcome. This relationship considers the goals and the needs of the individual (Robbins et al, 2003). It is also important to note that the reality of effort to goals is not appropriate. What matters is how the individual perceives the outcome, whether or not it is a realistic image. Vroom's theory and constructed a theoretical model also suggested the amount of an individual's effort was determined by the expectations that an outcome could be attained and the degree of value that the individual placed upon it (Isaac et al, 2001).

Evaluating the teacher's performance is indeed a motivating factor for them to be efficient and effective in their teaching. Such performance coupled with incentives and rewards shall definitely encourage the teachers in their daily teaching performance.

Each person is a valuable human being. This concept is particularly true for teacher evaluation. There are some administrators who believe that, by its very nature, evaluations must be harsh and threatening: "Teachers meet these minimum standards, or else." This could be not further from the truth; positive human relations are even helpful in termination activities.

The concept of valuing others comes from the notion that all human beings are of worth (Manning, 1999). Most, at least, are minimally competent. Some are not competent and cannot be helped. Occasionally, those who cannot be helped can be guided in a different direction. Of course, there are times when winning takes on importance. In these instances, winning becomes the highest priority. However, the goal can be achieved through preparation and competence. Ethics and human caring can remain.

Often, administrators who evaluate teachers as failures in the classroom cannot envision these teachers are being successful in other fields. Most experienced administrators have see some teaching failures make excellent businesspersons, doctors, engineers, ministers and salespersons. No doubt, each of these professions requires working with people, but teaching requires skills that are unique to the profession.

Literature Review

Being concerned with helping teachers to perform satisfactorily is a characteristic sensed early by those with whom the administrator must work. Genuine concern helps to take some of the fear and anxiety from the other person when improvement is attempted. This view is not to be equated with assuming ownership or responsibility for the other person's problem.

For a teacher who has serious problem in one or more teaching areas, or who is not document in the required number of performance areas within a reasonable time, a program of assistance must be created. It should be designed to provide the ultimate assistance and may require extra resources.

One of the prerequisites for success in constructing, revising, or even using an evaluation system is to have basic understanding of the concept. The initial reaction to this might be skepticism, because everyone has evaluated someone or something. With teacher evaluation, there are some basics which should receive special attention. Teacher evaluation is used in an effort to accomplish two goals which are to ensure accountability or competency and to promote professional growth or change.

One of the primary problems of evaluation occurs when both of these goals are combined into a single instrument, and when evaluation of both goals is accomplished by the same person. In most circumstances, this turns the evaluation process into little more than a procedure to harass teachers. Evaluation has been cited as a vehicle for change. This is due to the fact that all components of change be given appropriate emphasis when they are connected.

There has been much discussion about professional practices and performance indicators. A professional practice is a broad area of teaching performance. There are dozens of professional practices which can be identified as significant aspects of teaching. These practices can be identified in somewhat of a hierarchical order, and school systems can identify a dozen or less of the most critical aspects of teaching by the addition of thoughtful performance indicators. Through these means, a large part of what it takes to be successful in the classroom can be identified.

A performance indicator is a description of a factor or a facet of a professional practice. The kind of performance indicator used in teacher evaluation is known as a leading indicator: that is, a factor with predictive value. For example, it is known that learning is enhanced by a purposeful sequence of review. Therefore, if the professional practice is "lesson plans" then one of the performance indicators may be "A sequence of review is included".

If review is incorporated, it can be predicted that learning will increase. It can be seen that the professional practices are descriptive of a generally recognized teaching practice, whereas the performance indicators are descriptions of specific components of that practice.

If evaluation is used for causing growth and ensuring accountability, its by-product has to be the teaching of teachers. This is true, because the only viable way to cause change is to have teachers learn new professional behaviors.

Evaluation should be the basis for eighty or ninety percent of the in-service training conducted in a school system. If this is not the case, the in-service activities or the evaluation system should be revamped because something is out of "sync".

Curriculum delivery system includes the evaluation system, the staff development, the personnel department, the instructional program, and the budget office. Many times all these components of a school system are operated as independent entities, with each having separate goals, but with all being somewhat loosely connected.

A change in the traditional way of operating the curriculum delivery system is suggested. The curriculum delivery system and all other components of the school operation should be closely connected to support the central focus of a school system. It incorporates the goals of education and embodies the belief system about the desired results of schooling.

Once the central focus is set, all components can be directed toward the outcomes necessary to achieve the focus. This gives evaluation and staff development a special significance, as each leads toward the accomplishment of requisite attitudes, philosophies, and skills necessary for accomplishing the outcomes derived from the central focus. This brings attention to the role of effective evaluation.

Some managers cling to an old myth – that high satisfaction always leads to high employee performance – but this assumption is not correct (Davis, 2002). Satisfied workers actually may be high, average, or even low producers, and they will tend to continue the level of performance that previously brought them satisfaction. This satisfaction-performance relationship is more complex than the simple path of “satisfaction leads to performance”.

The first mark of a profession is the possession by its members of some special competence (Aquino, 2008). A professional knows things which most other people do not know, or he has skills which the average person does not have. In this context, a profession is an exclusive society. The members of a profession are an exclusive society. The members of a profession possess an understanding of certain things and are distinguished thereby from the rest of mankind to whom such understanding does not belong. If you belong to a profession, you have a certain sense of superiority, of possessing insights which are reserved for the selected few.

Special knowledge and skills are required to be a good educator. Education does not take place naturally, but by deliberate design. The best conditions for learning are not matters of common knowledge, and the average person has had neither the time nor the skilled guidance necessary to master the art of instruction. Although some learning does occur when the beginner observes the experts, this approach is limited in actual practice; far more effective are those methods which the professional understands, which is the result of thorough preparation of educators. The educator must not only be well educated in what he is expected to teach, but he should undergo professional preparation to give special competence in instruction. He needs technical understanding about the processes of communicating ideas and facilitating the development of skills as well as the inculcation of attitudes and values, about the most efficient ways of organizing the materials of instruction, and about how learning takes place. While mastery of subject matter is required of the educator, he is also expected to have mastery of educational technique or method. Both are needed if he is to teach his subject effectively.

A change to improve the performance of personnel, yield better relations among administrators and teachers, improve the community's concept of schools, improve the

learning of students, or anything else local planners desire for the schools, cannot be accomplished overnight. Real change requires a long-term commitment.

The Problem

The main purpose of this study is to determine the attitude and the performance profile among the faculty members of the Philippine Schools Overseas (PSO) in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates during the School Year 2008-2009.

Specifically, the study sought to answer the following questions:

1. What is the attitude profile of the teachers towards evaluation?
2. What is the performance profile of the teachers in the past three years based on the following parameters:
 - 2.1. mastery of content;
 - 2.2. strategies employed;
 - 2.3. communication skills;
 - 2.4. evaluative measures;
 - 2.5. classroom management;
 - 2.6. service to the school;
 - 2.7. service to the community;
 - 2.8. professionalism?
3. What is the performance profile of the teachers in the current year based on the specified parameter?
4. Is there a significant correlation between faculty performance for the last three years and the current year?
5. What faculty development program can be proposed based on the findings?

Significance of the Study

The program of evaluation defines teaching perhaps more than any written document which schools may develop. The procedures within the evaluation system also help to define the culture of the school and school system. The institutional perception of teachers as professional persons and as human beings is also reflected in the evaluation procedure. If evaluation is viewed from this important perspective, it is easy to understand why sufficient time and resources for its proper implementation become a must. It is therefore noted that this study gives importance to all stake holders and other persons involved in the improvement of teaching-learning process including students, fellow teachers, school administrators and principals as well as the future researchers.

Methodology

The study used the evaluation research which presents an overview of what evaluation is and how it differs from social research generally. This research method systematically assesses the worth or merit of an existing evaluation procedure through analysis and examination of records and documents. The research was administered in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates in the three (3) Philippine Schools Overseas (PSO) namely; PISCO Private School, Pioneers International Private School and the Philippine National School. Teachers who have been employed for a minimum of four (4) years were included in the study. Abu Dhabi being the capital city among the seven Emirates and the richest of them all for having produced oil and other related by-products was the place where the study was conducted. This evaluation used the questionnaire to identify the attitude and performance profile of the teachers. It also used the existing faculty evaluation procedure to identify the performance of the teachers in each school. The survey questionnaire was the main instrument of the study. It was a survey on

their perceptions and attitudes towards faculty evaluation. It also utilized the results of the faculty evaluation performance for the past four (4) years.

The questionnaire about the teachers' attitude and performance profile was administered to the teachers who have been employed in the school for a minimum of four (4) years. Results of the performance for the past three years were retrieved from the principal's office. The present performance was also taken from the office of the principal. Teachers were then encouraged to write down comments about their attitude on the performance evaluation by tickling the responses which they feel appropriate. The data gathered were tabulated and analyzed. The data were tallied, tabulated and computed using the appropriate statistical tools. The results were then analyzed and interpreted and the findings served as means for analytical conclusions, implications and recommendations.

Results and Discussion

As presented in table 1, the faculty members of the three (3) Filipino schools in Abu Dhabi could not express explicitly their perception or they were undecided about whether or not we do allow the students to evaluate their teachers. They could not tell as well, on whether students think that rating their teachers is their basic right and that they could not also tell directly whether they were affected by their students' evaluation on their performance. Furthermore, some of the teachers could not also deduce whether they believe on the results of the evaluation nor tell whether the low achieving students tend to give their teachers low ratings. They were undecided as well on the belief that teachers' ratings in the faculty evaluation are not consistent. Moreover, the teachers of the three Filipino schools in Abu Dhabi were uncertain whether or not the results of the evaluation should be used for salary or merit increase.

Table 1 *Attitude of the Teachers towards Performance Evaluation*

	N	X ²	WM	Description
1. I feel excited about the results of faculty evaluation.	64	74.45	3.88	Agree
2. Teachers profit from the faculty evaluation.	64	43.05	3.78	Agree
3. If I had my own choice, I would not let students evaluate their teachers.	64	25.25	2.91	Undecided
4. Students often write comments they do not mean.	64	33.60	3.44	Agree
5. I can not see how faculty evaluation would help me.	64	29.47	2.47	Disagree
6. I ignore faculty evaluation results.	64	39.58	2.20	Disagree
7. I believe faculty evaluation is really necessary.	64	53.10	3.89	Agree
8. Students think that rating their teachers is their basic right.	64	32.47	2.94	Undecided
9. I hate the practice of students rating their teachers.	64	29.74	2.59	Agree
10. I am learning things from the faculty evaluation.	64	55.72	3.88	Disagree
11. Informing the teachers of the faculty evaluation results is important.	64	63.60	4.41	Strongly Agree
12. Some students hold grudges against their teachers and reflect these in their ratings.	64	48.13	3.95	Agree
13. Students' ratings are influenced more their by their relationships with teachers rather than by the latter's actual teaching performance.	64	46.91	3.81	Agree
14. I am not affected by my students' evaluation of their teachers' performance.	64	42.32	3.31	Undecided
15. I do not believe in students evaluation of their teachers' performance.	64	30.77	2.63	Undecided
16. Older teachers tend to be rated higher than the younger ones.	64	44.94	2.33	Disagree
17. Students attitude toward the subject can affect their Evaluation of the teacher.	64	74.57	4.08	Agree

18. Low achieving students tend to give their teachers low ratings.	64	27.78	3.28	Undecided
19. Teachers should be given opportunities by their heads to react to the ratings given by students.	64	64.73	4.06	Agree
20. Faculty Evaluation results could serve as basis for revising or improving teaching practices.	64	61.54	4.20	Agree
21. Teachers' ratings in the faculty evaluation are not consistent	64	25.72	3.30	Undecided
22. Results of the faculty evaluation should be used for salary or merit increase.	64	22.53	2.84	Undecided

The respondents disagreed that the faculty did not see how the evaluation would help them and that the teachers ignore faculty evaluation results. They also disagreed the notion that teachers hate the practice of students rating their teachers. And eventually, they disputed the statement that older teachers tend to be rated higher than the younger ones. The faculty members felt the needs of the evaluation system. Results should never be ignored. Students' ratings should be used to improve one's teaching styles and strategies.

The sixty-four (64) teachers in Abu Dhabi agreed that they feel excited on the results of faculty evaluation; that teachers profit from the faculty evaluation; and students often write comments which they do not mean. They felt that faculty evaluation is really important. They also agreed that some students hold grudges against their teachers and reflect these in their ratings. The teachers also accepted the fact that the students' ratings are influenced more by their relationships with teachers rather than the latter's actual teaching performance. They also agreed that students' attitude towards the subject can affect the students evaluation of the teachers. They accepted the point that teachers should be given opportunities by their administrator to react to the ratings given by the students. And lastly, the respondents believed that the teachers' ratings in the faculty evaluation could be used as basis for revising or improving teaching practices. If teachers have positive attitude towards faculty evaluation, they would always welcome the results of the said assessment of their teaching styles. Feedbacks of the evaluation whether coming from the students or the administrators should always serve as basis for revision or improvement of the techniques and methods commonly used.

On the other hand, the teachers strongly agreed that informing them of the faculty evaluation results is the best practice and that evaluators or administrators must update the teachers of their performance based on the evaluation reports. This finding simply implies that administrators should always see to it that the results of the yearly assessment must be relayed to the teachers or subordinates for basis of improvement and reevaluation. Knowing of the results would allow teachers to continue the best practices and do away styles which are obsolete and ineffective.

The profile of the teachers' performance for the past three years of their teaching is presented in Table 2. In the mastery of content, the computed weighted mean value is 4.30 which is on the Very Satisfactory level. The teacher showed mastery of the content of the subject that he or she is teaching. The VS rating of the teachers on this parameter showed that the conditions or provisions of the teaching process were extensive and functioning very well. There is a significant evidence of the teachers in depth as well as breadth of knowledge of the content of the subject.

In the second parameter on the Strategies Employed, the computed weighted mean of 4.22 suggests that the teachers fell under the range of the Very Satisfactory Level. The teachers

used teaching methods which were appropriate to the course and the level of the instruction. The teachers presented the lessons in a clear and interesting manner. The art of questioning was expertly employed and that higher dimensional level of questioning was evident. The teachers prepared activities and concepts were enriched. With regard to the teachers' communication skills, the computed weighted mean value of 4.06 was labeled under the range of a Very Satisfactory level of performance. Although this parameter received the lowest weighted mean value, the teachers still managed to manifest the wide range of vocabulary. In the course of his/her discussion, the teachers used words which are suited to the comprehension level of the students. The teachers use the language of instruction with ease and fluency with near perfect grammar.

Table 2 *Performance Profile of the Teachers for the Past Three Years*

Parameters	N	Weighted Mean	Level	Rank
Mastery of Content	64	4.30	VS	1
Strategies Employed	64	4.22	VS	2.5
Communication Skills	64	4.06	VS	8
Evaluative Measures	64	4.17	VS	6.5
Classroom Management	64	4.22	VS	2.5
Service to the School	64	4.19	VS	4.5
Service to the Community	64	4.19	VS	4.5
Professionalism	64	4.17	VS	6.5

On the evaluative measure, the computed mean value is 4.17 which signifies a Very Satisfactory Performance. The teachers were regularly conducting evaluations which were varied and differentiated. The tests employed were congruent with the philosophy of the discipline and objectives of teaching. The prepared tests covered the different levels of evaluation procedures. While on the Classroom Management, the computed weighted mean of 4.22 suggests a Very Satisfactory performance. The teachers had efficiently managed classroom routine activities. There was order and discipline in the classroom. The teachers had systematically and effectively managed his /her time. It was evident that the administrators had noticed a well maintained and clean classroom.

On the sixth and seventh parameters regarding teachers' service to the school in terms of his/her participation in curricular and co-curricular activities and in community extension, the computed weighted mean value of 4.19 suggested that teachers performance on this aspect was again Very Satisfactory. The teachers have been exposed to community service and that he have been ready to lead and coordinate any activities undertaken by the school. The teachers profile of performance on the parameter of Professionalism reflected a weighted mean value of 4.17 which connotes a Very Satisfactory level of performance. The teachers manifested the positive values that the teachers must posses. He/She shows dynamism and industry in teaching. The teachers have observed proper grooming and dressing. The teachers used round principles and exhibits value-based behavior. In the past three years, the teachers showed a very significant evidence of professionalism. They showed serious adherence to the conditions and policies set for instruction, teaching effectiveness and service.

The profile of the faculty performance in the current year is presented in table 3. This table has clearly presented eight (8) same parameters in identifying the performance of the teachers in the three Filipino schools in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. Professionalism had received the highest level with a computed weighted mean value of 4.47 signifying an Outstanding Performance. Most teachers had established and maintained a harmonious

relationship with his/her colleagues. He/She observed professional ethics in discussing problems with the faculty and administration. He/She enjoyed the esteem and respect of one's co-workers as well. The faculty members shared quality time and effort with his/her co-workers and they possessed positive values and skills. Next parameter in rank is Classroom Management with a computed mean value of 4.45 under the Outstanding Level of Performance. The teachers had effectively managed time and discipline in the classroom. Rules and policies had been strictly enforced by them.

Table 3 *Performance Profile of the Teachers for the Current Year*

Parameters	N	Weighted Mean	Level	Rank
Mastery of Content	64	4.33	O	6
Strategies Employed	64	4.31	O	7
Communication Skills	64	4.39	O	5
Evaluative Measures	64	4.42	O	4
Classroom Management	64	4.45	O	2
Service to the School	64	4.44	O	3
Service to the Community	64	4.30	O	8
Professionalism	64	4.47	O	1

On the other hand, the computed value of 4.42 in the aspect of Evaluative Measure implies that the performance of the teachers was also outstanding. Activities employed in the classroom are geared towards development and acquisition of needed content skills in relation to the course with focus on application and evaluation of knowledge. Learning is evident in the teaching – learning process.

The parameter on Communication Skills had ranked 5th among the aspects of evaluation with a weighted mean value of 4.39 under the level of an Outstanding Performance. The teachers had spoken the language of instruction more effectively with almost perfect grammar. He/She used a wide range of vocabulary which the students could easily understand. The words used were within the level of understanding of the students. Mastery of the Content ranked 6th among the parameters of evaluating the faculty. It has a computed weighted mean value of 4.33 and fell under the level of an Outstanding Performance. The teachers had given sufficient learning in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes as evaluated by the administrators. He had satisfied student's questions relative to the subject matter. He/She dealt conflicts of opinion impartially and justly. He/She had a wide grasp of knowledge and the content of the subject he/she handled.

While on the 7th rank was the Strategies Employed having a weighted mean of 4.31 and a level of Outstanding. The teachers had a view and the flow of the lessons. Teaching was well organized and presented in a smooth flow of the lesson. Discussions and lectures were administered properly and more effectively in a clear and interesting manner. The extent of the teachers' participation in the community had a weighted mean of 4.30 which showed an Outstanding level of performance. Teachers have been participating in community extension services with leadership and volunteer roles. Though this parameter receives the lowest rank, its result showed that the teachers' extent of participation in a community-based activity was well praised. They were active in almost all activities undertaken with in and out of the school. The Outstanding Level of performance of the teachers in the Filipino schools in Abu Dhabi reflects that all conditions and provisions were employed very well. There was a highly significant evidence of professionalism.

The next table presents the correlation between the faculty performance of the past three years and the current year using eight (8) areas of concerns. In the mastery of content, the average performance of the teachers was 8.93 during the past three years and in the current year is 8.79. The computed r value is 0.77 with t =test value of significance is 9.44. The said t-test value is greater than the tabled value of 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance. Hence, the null hypothesis which states that there is no significant correlation between the performance of the teachers in the past three years and the current year is rejected. The result showed that the teachers who have mastered the skills and the content of the subject that he/she is teaching would affect their performance of the current year. This simply implies that the teachers who would have mastered the skills during his/her first few years in the school had a better teaching performance in the succeeding years. Mastery of the content of the subject is a basic requirement of a teacher in order to have an effective teaching.

Table 4 *Correlation between Faculty Performance for Past Years and the Current Year*

Areas of Concern	Past 3 Years	Current Year	r -value	T-test Value
Mastery of Content	8.93	8.79	0.94	21.5
Strategies Employed	8.93	8.78	0.77	9.44
Communication Skills	8.89	8.74	0.30	2.50
Evaluative Measures	9.02	8.87	0.49	4.39
Classroom Management	9.09	8.94	0.64	6.62
Service to the School	9.04	8.89	0.44	3.81
Service to the Community	9.05	8.91	0.72	8.18
Professionalism	9.03	8.81	0.60	5.89

In the second parameter on teaching strategies employed, the average performance of the teachers in the past three years is 8.93 and in the current year is 8.78. The computed r value of correlation is 0.77 with a t-test value of 9.44. The t-test value is greater than the tabled value of 1.96 at the 0.05 level of significance; hence, the null hypothesis is rejected. There is a significant correlation between the teachers' performance on the strategies employed of the past three years and the current year. The effective approach or strategies used should be employed in the succeeding years. If the teachers had effectively used the different approaches or teaching strategies in his first few years of teaching, it is therefore imperative to say that the faculty would have employed a better and improved strategy in teaching. Teaching effectiveness would then be achieved.

In the third aspect of evaluation on the parameters of communication skills, the average mean performance is 8.89 during the past three years and 8.74 on the current year. The computed r-value of 0.30 and t –test value of 2.50 suggests that the null hypothesis is rejected. There is a significant correlation between the performance of the teachers in the area of communication skills during the past three years and the current year. Communication skills are learned through actual practice. When the teachers are always speaking the language of instruction in the course of discussion and when conducting the lessons, they would then master the skills in communication which has been required of them. The Teachers in the three Filipino schools in Abu Dhabi had shown expertise and fluency of the language. It is evident in their performance for the past three years and in the current year. The teachers were evaluated based on their performance of the test construction and other evaluative measures. The average mean performance of 9.02 during the past three years and average performance of 8.87 on the current year with a computed r- value of 0.49 and a t-test value of 4.39, suggest that the null hypothesis is rejected. There is a significant correlation between the past three

years and the current year on the parameters of the evaluative measures. The teachers have the skills on the test constructions and in the giving of any evaluative measures. This implies that if teachers are well trained on how to construct the tests, they will surely have a better performance in this aspect in the sense that this parameter is required of a teacher in the day to day lessons.

In the aspect of classroom management, the average performance is 9.09 on the past three years and 8.94 on the current year. The computed r-value is 0.64 and a t-test value of significance is 6.62. It is greater than the tabled value of 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance. Therefore, it is concluded that the null hypothesis which states that there is no significant correlation between the past three years and the current year on the aspect of classroom management has been rejected. There is a significant correlation between the two means of performance. It is believed that whatever system of management the teachers had employed in the past should correlate on the present year which the teachers have been employing. If they have performed so well in managing the classroom, it is believed that they would still be able to manage the classroom as effective as expected.

While in the aspect of services, be it in their participation in co-curricular activities and in the community service, the computed r-values were 0.44 and 0.72 in the past three years and 3.81 and 8.18 in the current years; the computed t-test value of 3.81 and 8.18, respectively, which are both higher than the tabled value of 1.96 suggest that the null hypothesis would be rejected. There is a significant correlation between the past three performances and the performance in the current year. When teachers participate in the activities of school more often in the past it also follows that they have the positive attitude to be more active to serve the school in exigency of service in the succeeding years.

Lastly, in the aspect of professionalism, the researcher had found out that in the past three years the average mean value was 9.03 and in the current year the average performance was 8.81. The computed r-value was 0.60 and the t-test value of significance of 5.89 with a tabled value of 1.96 at 62 degree of freedom. It is concluded that the null hypothesis which states that there is no significant correlation between the past three years and the current year in the parameters of professionalism has been rejected. There is a significant correlation on the aspect of professionalism between the past three years and the current year. When teachers attendance, submission of reports, health and personality, dynamism and industry, cooperation and loyalty, initiative and the working relationship with peers and staff have been rated very satisfactorily in the past it is imperative that they would have almost the same rating in these aspects in the years to come. When the teachers are used to the kind of behavior whether it is positive or negative, they would tend to follow such demeanor. They are not influenced by their colleagues. They only manifest their own kind of behavior.

Findings

The teachers who were involved in the study felt disagreement on the notion that they could not see how the faculty evaluation would help them. They believed that they had seen the importance of the faculty evaluation. They would not ignore faculty evaluation results. They would welcome the practice of allowing the students to rate their teachers. And lastly, the teachers disagreed that older teachers tend to be rated higher than the younger ones. On the other hand they could not tell whether it is the right of the students to rate their teachers. They were also undecided on whether they were affected by the students' ratings. Lastly, they could not tell whether there is inconsistency of the faculty ratings and that the results of the faculty evaluation should be used for salary or merit increase.

Nevertheless, the teachers agreed that they felt excited about the results of the faculty evaluation. They responded that teachers would profit from the faculty evaluation. They also learned from the results of the evaluation. They believed that the students hold grudges against their teachers through faculty evaluation. They also felt the importance of giving the chance to react on the ratings given by the students. And lastly, the teachers believed that the results of the faculty evaluation could serve as basis for revising and improving teaching practices. Finally, the teachers of the three Filipino schools in Abu Dhabi strongly agreed the importance of informing the teachers of the outcome and feedback of the evaluation.

The faculty members of the three schools in Abu Dhabi following the Philippine system of education had an excellent performance in teaching, willingly extended service to the school and the community and behaved accordingly towards work and in their relationship with their colleagues. Once accepted in the school abroad would mean that the teachers really passed the rigid screening of the selection of the staff and in the tough interview. The teachers tend to be pro-active rather than reactive. The researcher had found out that there is a significant correlation of the past teaching experience with the current experience in all of the indicated parameters. If teachers had performed very well in the past it is deduced that they would tend to have the same or better performance. Whatever practices they were used to in the past should be carried over in the current and in the up-coming years. Aspects regarding teaching effectiveness and professionalism had been found out to be the items to be included in the faculty development program. Though, majority of the teachers performed very satisfactorily in their teaching performance, it is felt by the researcher that the teachers should undergo such training to keep them abreast with the fast changing world.

Conclusion

The research conducted focused on the three areas of performance in the field of teaching effectiveness, management and services which incorporated multiple perspectives, i.e. evaluator, student and direct administrator in order to obtain a comprehensive and balanced assessment of the teacher's performance. While other teachers are negative towards evaluation, many had realized that performance evaluation served as a tool of building bridges between teachers and administrators and to students. Faculty evaluation should include all the roles of the teachers on content knowledge; pedagogy; and curricular knowledge. Evaluation should serve as a basis for ongoing faculty development process rather than viewing faculty evaluation as a stand-alone activity.

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Preschool Education Program: Empowering Filipino Adult Learners

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Abstract

This study aimed to investigate variables in the implementation of KABATAAN 2010 a preschool education program. It explored the paradigm thinking: both political and social aspects of the extension workers, their understanding of basic principles of community development continuum of volunteer style from dependency to empowerment. This is a quantitative descriptive study using the national data sets from UNESCO Institute of Statistics and data generated from researcher-made questionnaires. The finding shows that community preschool program like KABATAAN 2010 can generate success if sustained and its proponents would not undermine the basic principles and guidelines of community development which can reduce school failures among entrant to primary education and can empower adult learners through literacy. Thus, this program yielded no economic value and has not reached sustainability or empowerment phase.

Keywords: Preschool Education, Adult Empowerment and School Failure Reduction

Introduction

The understanding of the basic community development by proponents or extension workers is a powerful tool in achieving success of any project in the community. One basic example for community development study is KABATAAN 2010 which is a project initiated by Cebu Normal University faculty of College of Teacher Education as one of the flagship of the education pillar of E-HELP project. The collaboration is with Barangay Caputatan Norte, Medellin, Cebu, which is the 3rd from the bottom of the poorest barangay in Medellin. It was in response to United Nations' Millennium Development Goals which is to achieve universal primary education. It was further a realization of PNoy's Social Contract for national development which is quality preschool education as a necessity to avoid future problems due to lack of readiness skills of children for formal schooling. This was reflected in the number two of the 10 Point Basic Education Agenda 2016, "All public school children will have preschool education as their introduction to formal schooling regardless of income."

The promising goal of the program was for a greater access to preschool education. It will equip children ages three to five years old from the disadvantage families to be trained with the basic readiness skills in accordance with the seven domains which includes: gross motor domain, fine motor domain, self-help domain, receptive language, expressive language, cognitive and social-emotional domain. The end goal was truly a reduction of school failures and empowering Filipino adult learners in the future. The institutionalization of preschool education on May 21, 2009 was considered as an economic investment by the country to reach a state of zero illiteracy rate and one hundred percent both for male and female adults to become literates. But KABATAAN 2010 project in Caputatan Norte was seen by the locals as

a leave off task or unfinished business by the proponents but on the part of the extension workers they said that they had completed their task already. They thought that the graduation of their pupils and the delivery of these eighty-three pupils to the local primary education were considered as an accomplishment their tasks. According to the continuum of volunteer style in community development this was not the end goal of any preschool education program but instead the program has to continue or sustain every year and should gain community empowerment. Figure 1 shows the research framework of preschool education program and adult learner empowerment which can be altered by the undermining of the principles and guidelines of community development and having a low political and social preferences of the extension workers can stagnate the community status from development.

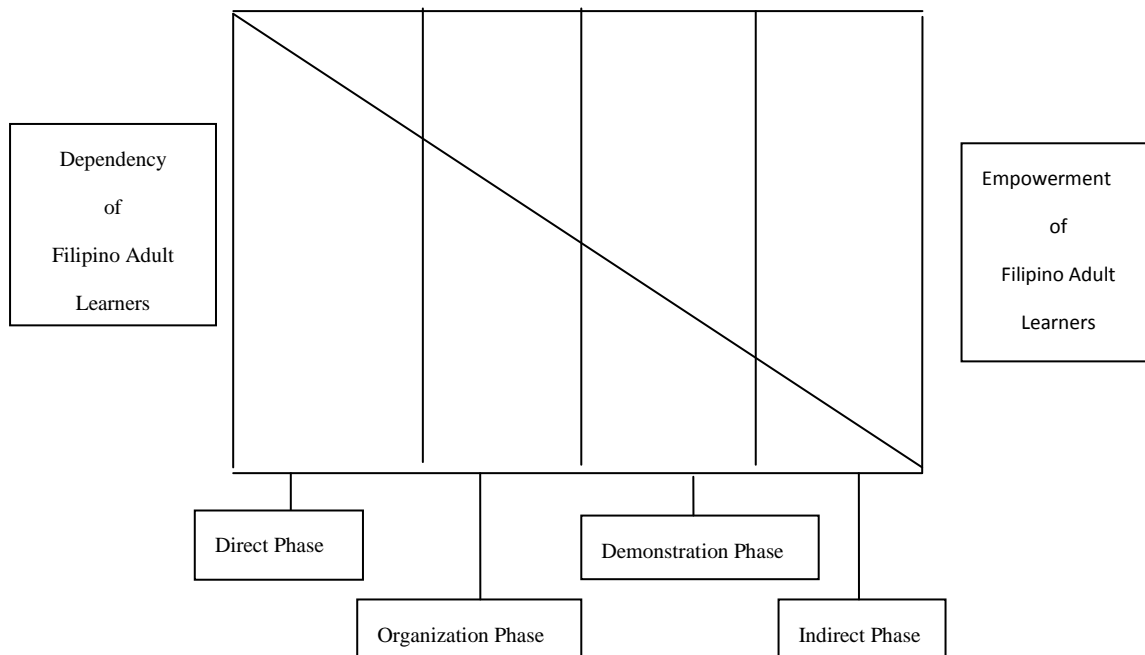


Figure 1. Research Framework of Empowerment of Filipino Adult Learners. Adapted from Padua R (2012, September).

This research framework would like to explain the relationship of dependency and empowerment of adult learners and preschool education program for the early learners. That when preschool education program can reach the highest phase that is indirect phase or self-sufficient then it would create a realm of empowered adult learners. The dependency versus empowerment levels are passive adult, mediocre adult, traditional adult and empowered adult. The passive adult is the result of direct phase of any programs of preschool education which has very little empowerment but has more dependency on the proponents. The mediocre adult is higher compare to the first level so as the traditional adult but the highest level is the empowered adult where there is very little amount of dependency. In this level the individuals or community can now stand on its own on how to behave more than a traditional adult do. They can be outspoken and has more skills imbibed than the traditional and contemporary adults produced from incomplete phases of community development preschool education programs.

Empowerment of adult Filipino learners must then start from the roots of children who ages: three to five must experience preparatory activities on how to be in the elementary school.

Most especially children from the remote areas are often deprived of the opportunities in the urban areas. As the trend in the public schools, the first year of teaching of the newly hired teachers are sent to the remote areas or the mountainous areas but when there is a vacancy in the downtown schools these teachers would apply in the urban schools. They preferred to teach in the city than on the mountainous areas of the country that is why most students in these areas are often deprived. There are some heroic teachers who opted to teach in the far flung areas but sad to note that they are very scarce. Majority of teachers would chose to be in the downtown areas where life is convenient, no hassle for transportation and no danger of going to their classes and back to their homes. Providing preschool education in the remote areas would be a holistic remedy for rural children to have opportunities to be equipped for the 21st century. They will have the readiness or aptitude skills and the passion imbibed in the early years. If children are exposed to become empowered adult learners at the very young age then there will be minimal reasons not to be better citizens in the future.

Preschool education is an economic investment of the country. In the sense that we need to invest capacitating human capitals that is empowered and that they can work in their full capacity and capability. People can only utilize the maximum potentials of their minds, if they are generative or productive to become human resource capitals of the country. Right now, there is a depletion of natural resources and a booming young population which brings new issues and concern on political management. These young minds can then be transformed into great capitals of the nation. Difficulty will only arise when children grows up without proper nurturing from adults and they encounter many school failures can lead them astray from the original context of nation's capital treasure. It is hard to allow failure of students from formal school to happen when we know the cause and still do nothing. This time it is better to reduce school failures from happening among students that would eventually lead to empowerment of adult learners.

With the constraint financial budget the local government units, they can still provide preschool education programs to their constituents by collaborating with the concerned organizations and engaging in the community organizing participatory action researches (COPAR) which can help them see the whole dimensions of their situation. Diagnose the common problems of the community which is the young population explosion issues and health care for young children and mothers of poor families and many more. These can be a big leap for them to be able to be empowered community. By looking into the neighboring organizations and collaborating with them to be uplifted would be a best possible sign that the community can be as committed to help itself for there can never be a change in the way things revolved in the community if outsiders are extending their help to the problems they viewed from a distance but are not considered a problem at all among the beneficiaries. So change is possible only when the community would be able to rise up and collaborate to help in this way help can really be considered as such.

But there were also community development programs and projects which were not successful as when these were evaluated based on the principles and guidelines of planning and implementing projects/program for community development. Problems may arise firstly on how volunteers perceived their roles as community developers different from their roles in workplaces One very good example is a preschool education program that was not successful is KABATAAN 2010 because of undermining the basic principles and guidelines of community development and in the end turned out to be none economic investment. The end view of any preschool education community project is to be able to sustain itself and become

self-sufficient or minimal to zero dependency on financial sourcing, budgeting, strategies and other aspects.

On the other side of the coin wherein the proponents of any community development projects or programs lacks the commitment and knowledge on how to go about the project in the community. If there is no immersion of the volunteers in the target area, this can be a hindrance to the project's self-sufficiency achievement. If the ideal community organizing would not be followed by the volunteers then the time element would never be a matter for they can be doing it so lengthy or so short but could not contribute any success in the real sense of developed project in the community. There will be backlogged that supposedly can be avoided if taken cared and discussed properly in the pre-planning phase, planning and on the implementation phase. Anything can happen for the first-timer volunteers, particularly those unseen paradigm of putting a community project. Projects which are not successful the volunteers should re-implement them. The volunteers should not entertain that there is no chance to undo any decisions that had been put into place. The social and political paradigms of the volunteers can greatly turned down the implementation of any community development.

The KABATAAN program can yield empowered adult learners if this project will be re-implemented and the volunteers should follow the guidelines and be more committed to live the principles of community extension program as different from the usual practice thereof. One shot deal of the project without proper planning, implementing and undermining the results of evaluation is too far from reaching the ideal goal. Community involvement would be the other weight of the seesaw but what if the problem is within the volunteers then that would mean that the volunteers can learn from their beneficiaries and that they should model for them to accept challenges too. The volunteers should never give up their implementation due to problems in communication and other wrong perceptions encounters in the community. Every community development volunteers should aim to meet the goal set at the start before leaving or phase outting entirely from the community that they served.

Literature Review

There have been a lot of literatures now available of the great impact of early childhood education or preschool to the growing life of children. As the World Bank (2007) highlighted that there are evidences from solid- economists, political scientist, neuroscientists, and social scientists point out substantial data proving that programs which promote the growth and development of young children (ages 0-6 years) are considered as the best investment for developing the human capital necessary for economic growth. In addition, it is the foundation of human-capital formation in the country. Likewise it can be the highest rate of return in economic development and the most cost-effective way to reduce poverty and to foster economic growth.

This growing importance of providing preschool education program does not only dwell and thrive in the urban areas; this has to thrive as well in the remote areas or rural areas in the country. The local government is taking initiatives in providing preschool education to its constituents even in their constraint financial budget. One community in Medellin, Cebu, Philippines cooperated with Cebu Normal University to initiate additional preschool education in clustered locations. As Boocock (2004) confirmed that the demand for educationally oriented preschool service has been fuelled by the growing awareness of individuals, local government and organizations that auspicious time for children is their early

years of life, the years from three to five is the right time begin their education. The exemplified study was conducted in 13 nations (Australia, Canada, Colombia, France, Germany, India, Ireland, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Sweden, Turkey and the United Kingdom), indicated that every year of preschool attended reduced the likelihood of school failure, specially for children from the most disadvantaged homes.

Cognitive development and school achievement can be contributed from attending preschool education as the start or the first step to formal schooling. In Singapore, they highly envisioned that preschool education prepares children to excel in the academic and social sharing and cooperating with teachers and classmates. Even in Japan that children who have attended preschool have higher scores compare to those who have not attended preschool. So as in Turkey the preschoolers outperformed in almost all cognitive measurements than those who have not attended preschool education.

The support for early childhood programs varies in forms because government officials see the importance of preschool education as a good economic investment. As stressed by Boocock (2004) that government involvement in the provision of preschool services takes different forms, from full funding and direct sponsorship of programs to a more modest role of regulating programs provided by the private sectors. There are those programs that parents are paying to some extent in the private preschool education and in some local government where funding financial resource is very minimal. But for those families who are below the poverty line cannot pay much so they need the support of the government. So the government provides free pre-primary education to end the gap separating the rich and the poor. According to studies those who have more in life has a lesser impact result of preschool education than those who belonged to the low income families. This literature confirms that high level income children are more advanced in the use of technology for learning that is available in the market than those children from the low level income families.

It is surprising to know that there are preschool education programs with good project design and has a good resource fund but failed to reach sustainability as a contrary to the study of Khwaja (2007) that good projects fall off because of inequality of resources. This seemed the other side of the investigation and it must be turned on to the political and social aspect of the extension workers, the understanding of the underlying principles of community development and the meeting of the guidelines of community projects. This focus might be a dust on the table but can be a reflective study for the country and the rest of the world. There might be decisions that need to be carefully weighed before implementing.

Growing numbers of short-lived projects is alarming that needless to say a waste of financial resources and lost opportunities for other growing children ages three to five years old. There are the many reasons to look into. In the case of E-HELP KABATAAN 2010 was exemplified that this project aimed to develop readiness skills of the beneficiaries' ages three to five years old of Caputatan Norte, Medellin, Cebu. Another compelling reason of this project was to make children become self-reliant and confident lifelong learners. In addition this engaged the local government to solve their educational problems by training potential day care volunteers to sustain the project. This project is a triangulation of accountability by the proponents, local government and the university. The focus was to strengthen Cebu Normal University's thrust to promote linkages with other government institutions to make a difference in the life of the Filipino children. It was in response to United Nations' Millennium Development Goals which is to achieve universal primary education. It is further a realization of PNOy's

Social Contract for national development which is quality preschool as a necessity to avoid future problems due to lack of readiness skills of children in formal schooling. This is reflected in the number two of the 10 Point Basic Education Agenda 2016, “All public school children will have preschool as their introduction to formal schooling, regardless of income.” But sad to note this project was discontinued in this Medellin, Cebu.

Methodology

This is a descriptive research study that uses a deductive approach to reveal the relationship of variables in community development in creating an empowered adult learner through preschool education program in the Philippines by using a case evaluation of KABATAAN, a preschool education program of Cebu Normal University. The study utilized both primary and UNESCO national data for the number of pupils enrolled in the preschool education, lower secondary and upper secondary; new entrants to grade one of primary education without preschool education; new entrants who have attended ECCE from the year 2001- 2009; national adult literacy rate; adult illiterate population from the year 2000, 2003 and 2008 in the Philippines; and used the researcher’s made questionnaires: Clear Development Concept of Preschool Education Program Survey (CDC- PEP-SQ); My Understanding of the Guidelines of Community Collaboration Survey Questionnaire (MUPDCSQ-6); Social and Political Paradigm Survey Questionnaire (SPPSQ); School Failure Reduction Survey Questionnaire (SFRSQ); and KABATAAN Phase Survey Update Questionnaire (KPSUQ) and interviews to gather data from the respondents who are local teachers and stakeholders in the community in Caputatan Norte Medellin.

Finding

Figure 2 shows the ratio of preschoolers to the lower secondary and upper secondary population . With the present system of Philippine education the government is taking action on the institutionalization of preschool education that paves the way to an increasing path of the preschool population which is remarkably low compare to the population of the lower secondary and upper secondary group. This evidence shows a response to the global awareness of the importance of preschool education that it has a great impact to growth and development of children, a best investment on developing human capital of the country necessary for economic growth and human-capital formation World Bank (2007). There are more students at the lower secondary compare to the upper secondary with a notable difference. This notable difference between the two groups may have a shift in the future because of the impact of the institutionalization of preschool in the Philippines. The impact would be students in the lower secondary population would be continued up to upper secondary with the acquisition of the readiness skills and competencies in their preschool education program.

Figure 3 shows the gap of new entrants in the Philippines who have attended a preschool education and also those who have not attended. It can be seen in the graph that there is a promising and gradual change in the ladder of the figures the red line is going up which is the number of new entrants that attended a preschool education while the blue line is going down or in diminishing flow that sooner there will be no more new entrants that were not able to enroll in the preschool education program. This is remarkable evidence that Filipino people are concern to augment the status of the large majority. That they listened to the concerns of the children, parents, and teachers who shouted that preschool children can be a big asset if they can be given the proper care and nourishment while in the pre-elementary stage. In addition, it can even reduce their difficulty or failures in the formal school. While investing in

preschool education also can gain human capital resources in the future by supporting more preschool education programs in the country means more human assets.

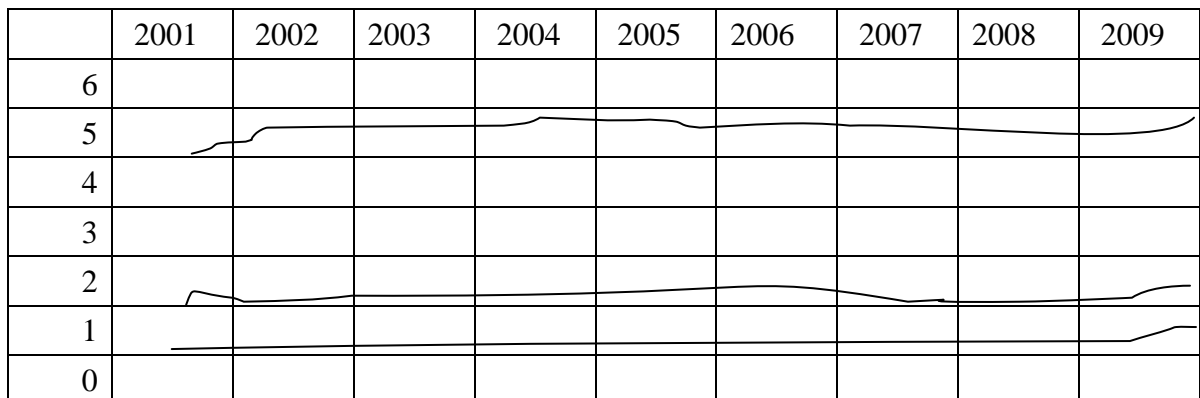


Figure 2. Gross Enrolment of Philippines Preschool Education (2001-2009; Unit: 100,000 pupils). Adapted from UNESCO Web Site (<http://www.uis.unesco.org>)

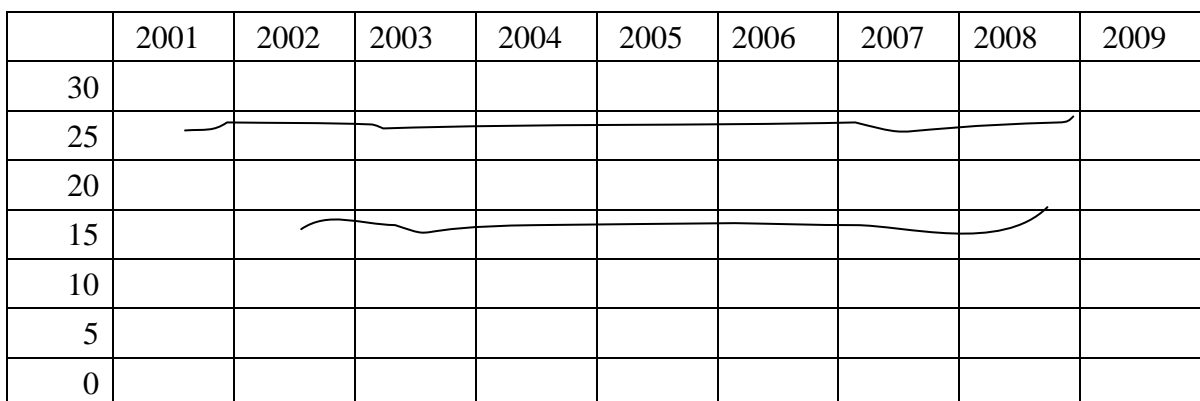


Figure 3. Gross Enrolment of Philippines Preschool Education (2001-2009; Unit: 100,000 pupils). Adapted from UNESCO Web Site (<http://www.uis.unesco.org>)

Figure 4 shows the Philippine national adult literacy rate total and adult literacy rate for male (below) and female (above) on year 2000, 2003 and 2008. This shows that there are more literate adult female than adult male during 2003 which has a wider spread disparity but as the year progresses to 2008 there is a merge of the path. This is a unique move of the literacy rate of the country. This movement posed a great question what had happen in the country with its social and political dimensions that causes a great shift on its literacy rate. If examine into a greater perspective then it can be seen as a major shift but if nothing yet has been done during this time would it not also posed a questionable remark? This is a thought that when figures would sporadically change there is a great lever that causes it. This defects the reverse side of the mirror an offbeat against the traditional notion that there are more literate adult male than literate adult female where in fact there are more illiterate adult males than illiterate adult females with a gap of 1% consecutively by 1,000 respectively for year 2003 and 2008. This may be due to the increasing numbers of male out of school youths as bread winners of the Filipino families. It is clearly shown in Figure 3 that there are more illiterate adult males than illiterate adult females.

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
96									

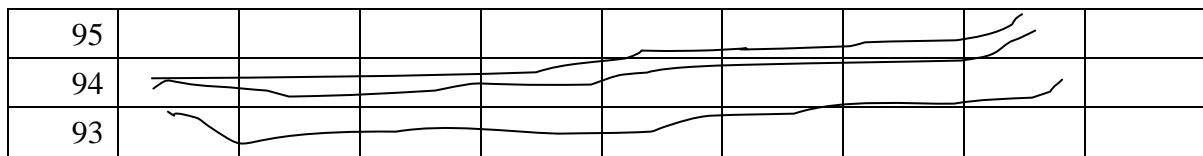


Figure 4. Gross Enrolment of Philippines Preschool Education (2001-2009; Unit: Percentage of the year population). Adapted from UNESCO Web Site (<http://www.uis.unesco.org>)

Figure 5 shows the trend of the adult illiteracy rate of Filipinos from 2000 to 2008. It shows that the total adult illiterate population (middle) boom due to the figures from the male illiterate adults (above) than the female illiterate adults (below). During this time the country's female population overstrike the males in achieving a good literacy opportunities. Most of the adult males are engaged in the field of work and has little time spent to be in the formal school and with the eagerness of female group to be in school. However, this was not true decades before 2000 most women were not sent to school because of the belief system of Filipino families that women were just taken care of by their husband and no need to have a formal schooling. During the empowerment movement of the female advocates in the country there were more women slowly overtaking men in the literacy rate level of the country progresses and even cascading in the early levels of education and more and more of males are being pushed out from the literacy system resulting in a more illiterate males of the country.

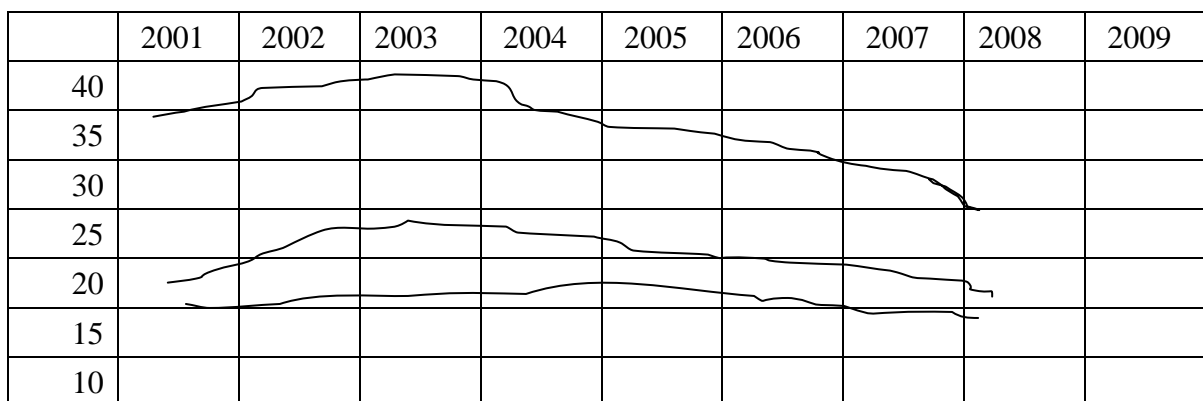


Figure 5. Gross Illiteracy Population Rate of the Philippines (2001-2009; Unit: 100,000 people). Adapted from UNESCO Web Site (<http://www.uis.unesco.org>)

Table 1 shows the number of new entrants to Grade one who have attended Early Childhood Care Education (ECCE) and those who have not attended. These shows there are more children who entered primary education without attending pre-primary or preschool education on the year 2001 to 2009. The difference is more than 2 million on year 2001 and becomes lesser up to 2008. These are the years prior to the institutionalization of preschool education in the country on May 21, 2009. While the gap rate 18% or 840,559 numbers of entrants who have not attended preschool on 2008 is still a very large number to level off that all entrants in the Philippines will be all preschoolers and this student has to hurdle the unreadiness and risks of school failures because they are not ready to engage in the formal school. The formal school consistently produced number of school failures as phenomenon worldwide among students as shown in the growing literatures these days. This takes more than 10 years as a rough estimate to make all new entrants in the primary education to have attended preschool education program.

Table 1 *Gross Enrollment Rate of Philippines Preschool Education (2001-2009; Unit: Person)*

Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Gap rate (%)	N.A.	30	28	26	23	26	23	18	N.A.

Note. Data from UNESCO Education and Literacy of the Philippines 2008.

Table 2 *Gross Response Rate of KABATAAN Extension Workers (2012)*

Sample Principles of Clear Community Development (%)	SN	N	P	C	SC
Meet people's real needs, even though the needs they themselves feel and express may be different	16.7	33.3	50.0		
A development worker's view should be responsive to the local people's expressed needs instead of Cebu Normal University's view, no matter what the difference may be.	16.7	33.3	50.0		
The world hunger situation mandates rapid change which can only be effective by using the best available technologies	16.7	16.7	66.7		
It is more important to develop local leadership, working with one or two people who will carry on, than to get a lot of project work done which depends on volunteer know-how and drive	16.7		83.3		
Most effective volunteer is the one who understands his host country's weaknesses and helps the people to understand (them) by reasoning rather than any imposition from above	16.7		83.3		
Providing agricultural and health education in school is more effective means of unlocking the seemingly hopeless developmental problems of the local community than attempting or changing adult attitude and ideas which have been deeply ingrained thoroughly.	16.7	16.7	66.7		

Note: (SN) Strongly Neglected, (N) Neglected, (P) Passive, (C) Complied, (SC) Strongly Complied. Source: Computed based on primary field data.

Table 3 *Gross Response Rate of KABATAAN Extension Workers (2012)*

Guidelines of Community Collaboration Extension Work Assessment Tool (%)	SN	N	P	C	SC
The purpose and objectives of Extension programs are defined, not by the extension workers, but by the community itself	100.0				
The extension workers role is to guide and assist in the unfolding of these goals in the community.	40.0		60.0		
Extension programs should not encourage dependence, rather, they should inculcate independence and self-reliance	100.0				
Extension programs should be successful if, when the program terminates, the community continues the activities started by the extension workers	80.0		20.0		
Extension workers need to control the urged to give material support because the community clamors for itself.	80.0		20.0		
Teach the community how to fish rather than give them a fish.	80.0		20.0		

Note: (SN) Strongly Neglected, (N) Neglected, (P) Passive, (C) Complied, (SC) Strongly Complied. Source: Computed based on primary field data.

Table 2 shows the rate of responses of the extension workers on the sample of the principles of clear community development. The first principle, *“Meet people's real needs, even though the needs they themselves feel and express may be different”* has a response of 50% passivity or no action done, 33.3% neglected, 16.7% strongly neglected. The second principle, *“A development worker's view should be responsive to the local people's expressed needs instead of Cebu Normal University's view, no matter what the difference may be,”* has the same rate of the first principle where there was no preference to the complied and strongly complied. The third principle, *“The world hunger situation mandates rapid change which can only be effective by using the best available technologies,”* has 66.7% passive, 16.7% both preferred as neglected and strongly neglected. The fourth principle, *“It is more important to develop local leadership, working with one or two people who will carry on, than to get a lot of project work done which depends on volunteer know-how and drive,”* has 83.3% passive, and both 16.7% neglected and strongly neglected. The fifth principle, *“Most effective volunteer is the one who understands his host country's weaknesses and helps the people to understand (them) by reasoning rather than any imposition from above,”* has 83.3% passive, and 16.7% strongly neglected. The sixth principle, *“Providing agricultural and health education in school is more effective means of unlocking the seemingly hopeless developmental problems of the local community than attempting or changing adult attitude and ideas which have been deeply ingrained thoroughly,”* has 66.7% passive and 16.7% for both neglected and strongly

neglected. The complied and strongly complied choices are all 0% for the six principles of community development answered by the respondent extension workers.

Table 3 shows the rate of responses on the guidelines of the community development program. The first guideline, “*The purpose and objectives of extension programs are defined, not by the extension workers, but by the community itself,*” has a rate answered of 100% strongly neglected. The second guideline, “*The extension workers role is to guide and assist in the unfolding of these goals in the community,*” has 60% passive and 40% strongly neglected. The third guideline, “*Extension programs should not encourage dependence, rather, they should inculcate independence and self-reliance,*” has 100% strongly neglected. The fourth guideline, “*Extension programs should be successful if, when the program terminates, the community continues the activities started by the extension workers,*” has 80% strongly neglected and 20% passive. The fifth guideline, “*Extension workers need to control the urged to give material support because the community clamors for itself,*” has 80% strongly neglected and 20% passive rate. The sixth guideline, “*Teach the community how to fish rather than give them a fish,*” has 80% strongly neglected and 20% passive response rate. The complied and strongly complied guideline preferences have 0% rate or no responses.

Table 4 *Gross Response Rate of KABATAAN Extension Worker (2012)*

Political and Social Assessment Tool (%)	SD	D	N	A	SA
Sees the needs of other more than self (Other's oriented)	16.7	50.0	16.7	16.7	
Has a strong willed to finish or complete project (Political will drive)	16.7	50.0	16.7	16.7	
Has great awareness of social reformation and transformation of community (Social Reformist)	16.7	50.0	16.7	16.7	
Believes in individual structures in building society (Structural Functionalist adherence)	33.3	16.7	33.3	16.7	
Believes that good followers are good leaders (Leadership's will)		33.3	33.3	33.3	
Possesses good research and analytical skills (Analytical)	16.7	33.3	16.7	33.3	

Note: (SD) Strongly Disagree, (D) Disagree, (N) Neutral, (A) Agree, (SA) Strongly Agree.
Source: Computed based on primary field data.

Table 4 shows the political and social preferences of the extension workers. The first paradigm thought, “*See the need of others more than self (other's oriented),*” has 50% disagree, 16.7% for strongly disagree, neutral and disagree. The second paradigm thought,

“Has a strong will to finish or complete the project initiated (Political will drive),” has 50% disagree, 16.7% for strongly disagree, neutral and agree but 0% preferred strongly agree. The third paradigm thought, “Great awareness of social reformation and transformation of community (Social Reformist),” has 50% disagree the same with the second thought has 0% for strongly agree but has 16.7% for agree, disagree and neutral. The fourth paradigm thought, “Believe in individual structures in building society (Structural Functionalist adherence),” has 33.3% strongly disagree and neutral while both agree and disagree has 16.7%. The fifth paradigm thought, “Believe that good followers are good leaders (Leadership's will),” has 33% for agree, disagree and neutral while strongly disagree and strongly disagree have 0%. The sixth paradigm thought, “Possess good research and analytical skills (Analytical),” has both 33.3% disagree and agree, strongly disagree and neutral have 16.7% and strongly agree has 0%.

Table 5 Gross Response Rate of Philippine Local Teachers (2012)

Indicators of School Failures (%)	SD	D	N	A	SA
The students are enthusiastic to go to school	5.0		15.0	80.0	
The students show reading potentials		5.0	15.0	50.0	30.0
The students are not left behind based on the ability requirement needed in the school		10.0	20.0	50.0	20.0
The students are not tardy in attending school hours	5.0	5.0	15.0	40.0	35.0
The students are eligible to be promoted to the next level		15.0	15.0	55.0	15.0
The student's biological and social needs are addressed with home and school collaboration		5.0	25.0	55.0	15.0
These students mostly do not have failing grades in English and Math		10.0	25.0	50.0	15.0
These students are not dropping out of primary grades due to difficulty of school work		5.0	5.0	70.0	20.0

Note: (SD) Strongly Disagree, (D) Disagree, (N) Neutral, (A) Agree, (SA) Strongly Agree. Source: Computed based on primary field data.

Table 5 shows the responses of local teachers to *preschool education effect indicators* that it can reduce school failure in the primary education. The first belief, “The pupils are enthusiastic to go to school,” has 80% that says agree. The second thought that, “The pupils

show reading potentials,” has 50% says agree and 20% says strongly agree. The third thought,” *The pupils are not left behind based on the ability requirement needed in the school,*” has 50% says agree and 20% says strongly agree. The fourth thought says that, *“The pupils are not tardy in attending school hours,”* has 40% agree and 35% strongly agree. The fifth statement,” *The pupils are eligible to be promoted to the next level,*” has 55% agree and 15% strongly agree. The sixth statement, *“The pupil’s biological and social needs are addressed by the home and school collaboration,”* has 55% agree and 15% strongly agree. The seventh statement, *“Most pupils do not have failing grades in English, and Math)”* has 50% agree and 15% strongly agree. The eighth statement, *“The pupils are not dropping out of primary grades due to difficulty of school work,”* has 70% agree and 20% strongly agree.

Table 6 shows the phase of KABATAAN 2010, the preschool education project of Cebu Normal University in the continuum of community development of empowering adult learners. In the *direct service*, KABATAAN 2010 was rated with 100% *affirmation* while on the *demonstration phase* it has, 23.3% said *yes* and 76.7% said *no*. On the *organizing phase* it was rated with 0% said *yes* and 100% said *no* or it had not reached this phase. Lastly, the *indirect service* it was rated with 0% said *yes* and 100% said *no* or had not reached this phase.

Table 6 Gross Response Rate of KABATAAN’s Phase (2012)

KABATAAN Phase Survey (%)	Yes	No
Direct Service, which the volunteer mostly does the work, gets the project organized, provide needed services, and generally takes the initiative for making things to happen.	100.0	0.00
Demonstration, which the volunteer spends most of his time demonstrating to others how to do something, but also spends a lot of time doing it him/herself, the work is shared.	23.3	76.7
Organizing with others, in this system- the volunteer encourages and stimulates promising counterparts and others in the community-working with people rather than directly with project.	0.00	100.0
Indirect Service, the volunteer is no longer direct but only in assisting the people who works on the project or means no longer having the hands on but monitoring phase.	0.00	100.0

Source: Computed based on primary field data.

Discussion of Findings

What is shown in Figure 2 and Figure 3 is the institutionalization effect of preschool education in the country and how the latter gives a positive feedback to the global community of the importance of preschool education to the growth and development of its citizens. In building the community it has to start with a policy that can bring a solid and strong nationwide change which is in support of its adherence of the progressing numbers of new entrants in the primary education that had been enrolled in preschool education. While in Figure 4 the literacy rate has shown a dominance of the female population which now speaks of entirely unique wave from the existing point of view of what is now a Filipino culture as against the traditional view that men should be the most literate in the family because he has

to support financially his family and he has to have a good job with a good salary. What is shown in the figures is an inverted leadership from male dominating to female dominating paradigm. Most of the professional leaders would then be females. There will be more female aggressive leaders in the country and men will be positioning in the inferior ranks. And in the family structures the females will be stronger in personality in leading the family it can be the mother, sister or wife but the father, brother and husband figures will be under dominated by the former, if not going to work on balance of support. At first this would create a shift of roles and can contribute to chaotic structures or dysfunctionality of families but later this can be balanced and well accepted by the Filipino society.

While having more illiterate males in Figure 5 as a result will give way for more females in elected and appointed positions because decision making comes from the most literate or those who have a higher educational qualification in the office then again this would be a very crucial impact of inversion of power. With this men can be more dependent and in the layman's term they label them as lame duck, irresponsible, dependent, lazy and mama's boy for whom depending on female figures who can be their mother, sister or wife. And further create shifting of roles among men because most women who are now in high positions have higher salary compare to them in consonance to their differences in the rank. The finding on Table 1 shows the additional burden of school failures in the society. School failures can bring more dependent adults to their families which can have a minimal workforce like only one or few members are working. Great demands of works for the under qualified members will be on the rise while there will be a shortage of workforce from the qualified workers. This will create an imbalance of supply and demand of the country's employment workforce. It is but wise to enhanced or revised a policy suitable to counter the rise of this problem because the existing policy is no longer responsive to the growing demand of under qualified and qualified workforce that is brought out by the rise of school dropped outs.

Many community developments are initiated and even supported by the government and non-government organizations but on the practice of conceptualization, implementation and evaluation are usually not anchored on the solid principles of community development. So many projects and capitals are wasted and left unattended because the results are short-lived programs and projects. The passiveness of volunteers is highly evident in Table 2 a clear disregard of the principles and the result of undermining has a great and larger impact to the society. This produces mediocre and passive members in the society. Its members will not reach empowerment. Empowerment of adults will never come from a weak political will of any implementers who does not value the significance to finish the goal started. More so with practices that are not anchored on following the guidelines of community development would end on the same way: short lived, chaotic, directionless and unprofitable investment for the volunteers and beneficiaries who are dependent and imbecile members. Porous and weak foundation of leaders even if re-implemented but opted to do the same way and evading the necessary protocols would still up end as short-lived. When most implementers are not sold out of their cause of action as shown in Table 4 and when they are doubtful that the community can do it then it becomes impossible to rise from the present situation when the implementers leave their program then that program will also come to an end. Instead of leading the community through odds and difficulties in the process it will have a passive attitude.

Surprisingly, it is well noted by the local teachers in Table 5 who responded that preschool education can help reduce the school failures that it can create functional, literate and

empowered individuals. They even reaffirm that the government's will to conquer illiteracy and dependency problem can be solved through promoting preschool education as a wise investment. Furthermore, this result reveals that this is a great opportunity for the project implementers to reflect on because these authorities have their hands-on knowledge about the difficulties of the pupils in the formal school. They know better than any other authorities in the community. The elementary teachers should be listened to. They can encourage or discourage the inflicted pupil in school to move forward. While evaluating the phase of KABATAAN project in Table 6 it shows that it is on the direct service phase and the community was at the initial stage of accepting and learning it to make it their own project. This sense of ownership from the community has not been build up. The volunteers failed to enhance the awareness of the project to the community.

Policy Implications

This is a great piece of study that can make the eyes of Filipinos open for real community development and never invest in unclear projects or programs that cannot meet the end to end purpose of the country. Policies regarding extension projects should be outcome based to avoid wastage of resources. Any preschool education projects should be considered as an economic investment that is meant to sustain and empowered adult learners. Before making any project the volunteers should be given a capability building training and should participate in the community organizing participatory action researches (COPAR) so that they will be immersed with the real issues and concern in the community. This is also the best way to implant seeds of strong political will and care for social justice that can carry on real empowerment of its citizens.

Conclusion

The idea of Calman (2005) of quality preschool and the institutionalization of preschool education in the Philippines was seen as an economic investment that speaks of a preschool education that is sustainable, able to empowered learners, and can reduced school failures. If individuals, organization, or local government would initiate preschool or pre-primary education then this can contribute to minimize the number of illiterates in the country. The risk of dropping out and repetition in the primary education is diminished if not it is lessened. The success of any preschool education program lies in the following the fundamental principles and guidelines of community development. The clear understanding by the implementers the dynamics of financial and other expenditures risks can avoid wastage of government funds. The strong leadership and commitment to do the task of implementation extension project or program of preschool education will remain a vision and will never be a realization if not put into strong foundation. Thus, it should start from immersion of the extension workers before the actual implementation to gain strong adherence of the challenges ahead. This is highly recommendable program for the community development.

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How ‘Scaffolding’ has been Perceived as Strategy for the Enhancement of a Democratic Child-centred Early Childhood Classroom through Play? A Reflection of the Learning Situation in Hong Kong with Those in the West

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Abstract

This paper reports data from a study about the challenges of educational reform through play carried out by three in-service preschool teachers in Hong Kong. Intending to abide with the new paradigm shift to quality teaching and learning originated from the West, these teachers tried to adopt the Vygotskian social constructivist theory and the Deweyan learning theory through the application of scaffolding technique to foster a democratic child-centred classroom through play. Case study methodology is employed in the study. The findings highlighted the differences and similarities between the types of scaffolding techniques employed and the situation on which to apply respectively by the West and those adopted in the East in the case of Hong Kong. The paper concludes with a discussion that education is a complex and complicated endeavour involving a plethora of judgments, ideologies and belief system which will affect diverse people and the “meaning” of their experiences, lives and Institutions. Implications are drawn through some reflections gained in this study. Future research work on the comparative studies on the belief system of the teachers and its relationship with the application of pedagogic approaches for a ‘democratic’ early childhood classroom between the East and the West is recommended.

Keywords: Scaffolding, Democratic, Child-centred, Play-based, Early childhood classroom

Educational Reform and Scaffolding Children’s Play

Since becoming a special administrative region of China, Hong Kong has been undertaking policy reform in the education arena in response to the global climate of change – the objective of reform, as stated in ‘the *Learning for Life, Learning through Life, Reform Proposals for the Education System in Hong Kong* (September 2000), is to keep pace with the changing world.

In accordance with the spirit of educational reform in the last several decades, the Guide to Pre-primary Curriculum issued in 2006 reassured the important of play as a learning strategy to be incorporated into different learning areas in an integrated holistic manner (2006, Hong Kong Education and Manpower Bureau, p.41). In this official government document for curriculum reform, the notion of ‘Child Centerness’ has first been introduced formally into the realm of early childhood sector and aroused big repercussion due to its ‘linkage’ with the educational voucher scheme (Lau & Ho, 2010). The major philosophical root pertaining to the child-centred educational learning theory includes ‘enlightenment, existentialism and progressivism’ and is being categorized under the ‘Humanistic Learning Theory’ by Kienel, Gibbs and Berry (1998). Among all the philosophers who advocate the humanistic learning theory, John Dewey, the ‘Father of Child-centredness’ (O’Hear, 1991), is the most important figure to influence the educational landscape both in Hong Kong and in the mainland of China (Lau, 2012), and educational reform in the past few years.

In order to ensure young children are able to “learn through play” in a child-centred play-based pedagogy, the technique of ‘scaffolding’ must be well mastered. According to the currently popular Vygotskyian social constructivist theory and the Deweyan learning theory via the application of the technique of scaffolding, international and local scholars have said that it is difficult to tell where the boundary lies between teacher-centred and child-centred play –based approaches” (Cheng, et. al 2008). Similar findings are reported in the previous research conducted by the author of this paper (Lau, 2010).

Although the focus of the research conducted in the year 2010 by the same author was not to collect data on the topic of scaffolding, it is observed that the effect of applying scaffolding technique in the teacher-centred classrooms did make a significant difference to those of child-centred classrooms. The essential difference between the two approaches rests in the choice between up-keeping of the traditional values and the deviation from them. The understanding of the early childhood stakeholders of the technique of scaffolding henceforth becomes crucial to the successful implementation of the play-based curriculum and thereby to the successful implementation of the ECE educational reform in Hong Kong for a change to new democratic values in the Vygotskian-Deweyan sense.

What Does ‘Scaffolding’ in Education Mean?

‘Scaffolding’ as a metaphor, was first introduced by Wood, et al. (1976), over a quarter century ago. It means that given appropriate assistance, a learner can perform a task otherwise outside his/her independent reach. A scaffold is a support, such as the temporary framework that supports workers during the construction of a building. As it relates to intelligent behaviour, scaffolding refers to the supportive situations adults create to help children extend current skills and knowledge to a higher level of competence (Rogoff, 1990). It supports performance of learning at the edge of a child’s competence.

The understanding of teachers who employ the ‘genuine’ questioning skills to scaffold children so as to push for depth of thinking is important. The teacher must ensure herself that, instead of applying the untimely direct interruption while the children are at play, she has to facilitate children’s learning through play. In other words, the technique of scaffolding is to facilitate children’s autonomy in learning. According to the play theorists, children would learn best if they are being challenged by the teacher to extend their zone of proximal development through scaffolding in play (Vygotsky, 1976) . When applying the higher level technique of scaffolding, the teacher should also encourage young children to scaffold each other for a higher order of thinking. Correspondingly, the fourth type and fifth type of scaffolding adopted in this present research are used to facilitate young children autonomic learning.

Play-based Curriculum and Its Scaffolding Techniques for Learning are Borrowed from the West

The notion of learning through play adopted by early childhood educators is being influenced globally by the developmental theory dating back to Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Friedrich Froebel in Europe, who believed that play is natural, holistic and innocent but is exemplified by the progressive movement in education led by educational guru like John Dewey in the United States who emphasizes the importance of ‘learning by doing’. Play is a form of learning by doing through which children could gain practical experience in action. Such assumptions primarily relate to children’s interests, children’s decisions about the curriculum, and the teacher’s role in a child-centered classroom. (Chung & Walsh, 2000).

Since the beginning of the modern world era in 1900, child-centred education has been promoted in early childhood and in early elementary education in the West. According to scholars in the West, (Dunn & Kontos, 1997; Frede & Bernett, 1992; cited in Pei Wen Tzuo, 2007), who advocate the importance of child-centred curriculum, have again indebted it to the nature of child development and its underpinned progressive educational philosophies such as that of Deweyan philosophy. Rogers (2009) states that John Dewey's writings are widely recognized as an important contribution to democratic theory and in that he quotes Westbrook's book "John Dewey and American Democracy" to confirm his discoveries:

Dewey was the most important advocate of participatory democracy, that is, of the belief that democracy as an ethical ideal calls upon men and women to build communities in which the necessary opportunities and resources are available for every individual to realize fully his or her particular capacities and powers through participation in political, social and cultural life.

Other studies in the West indicate that a child-centered curriculum can benefit children's school progress and personal adjustment (Hirsh-Pasek, Hyson, & Rescorla, 1990, cited in Pei Wen Tzuo, 2007). Essentially a child-centered curriculum focuses more on the importance of children's individual interests and their freedom to create their own learning through choosing from various classroom activities.

Contrasting with the Deweyan theory of a child-centred curriculum, a teacher-centered curriculum places more control of the teacher over children's exploration of learning (Simpson & Jackson, 1997, xli). Yet, the teacher's role in guiding children's learning is not eliminated in a child-centered curriculum. In a report in *The Guardian* (4.12.1990), Edward Pilkington in England wrote about the School of Education at Roehampton Institute (O'Hear, 1991) and in there relate play with negotiated curriculum to fostering the ideal of democracy:

Children should not be told what to do, but encouraged to learn for themselves. Their tutor, Graham Welch, assistant dean of education, tells the class that the key to learning is play: "You have to realize that everybody, including big kids like us, learns through play." This approach, rapidly becoming the norm in teacher training establishments and primary schools, stems from the idea that children learn at their own pace and according to their unique level of understanding. The traditional model of teacher standing in front of the whole class cannot work because the lesson will be too simple for some pupils, while leaving others behind. A more democratic and appropriate approach, says Roehampton, is to start with each child's understanding and develop from there. Thus the institute advocates that children should be given some control over how they spend their time in school, or in Roehampton-speak they should have the right to negotiate their own curriculum. "Negotiated curriculum is an idea rooted in a concept of 'democracy', says Graham Welch. "There is a lot of evidence to suggest that children as young as three are better motivated if they have a say in the way their day is organized.

A negotiated curriculum works best when a teacher employs the technique of scaffolding. A negotiated curriculum is also what Lau (2012) termed as the 'hybrid curriculum'. Morris and Adamson (2010) have also mentioned that the Hong Kong teachers have adopted a range of methods which are difficult to categorize as wholly progressive or traditional. This 'hybrid-curriculum mode, however, is responsible for bringing the major educational changes in Hong Kong and in China since effecting its influence in the land of the Dragon (Lau, 2012). On top of what has been discussed in the previous paragraph, a play-based curriculum would facilitate learning in a Vygotskian's social constructivist classroom. Teachers who are in

favour of a socially constructivist classroom stress the importance of interacting with children and enable children interacting among themselves. Teachers and children as well as children with children decide together what work best for the majority. In the process, groups of children with the same vested interest would try to state their view point and scaffold the oppositional interest groups of their stance. Should there be different opinions among the group, a cast of votes would be made. Therefore, as children develop within a school that functions like a democratic society, they learn and develop the ability to function well in the larger democratic society (Dewey, 1998).

Contemporary theorists and scholars of play in the West continue to link up play with children's learning via the use of questioning (scaffolding) technique in the Vygotskian manner. These theorists/ scholars have conducted research on play and are of the opinion that play has been viewed as a mediator in the development of social, cognitive, and language competence in young children (Bergen, 2002; Garvey, 1993; Vygotsky, 1976). These studies have inspired a host of classroom play interventions, in which children's activities are enhanced through adult guidance (Enz & Christie, 1997; File, 1994; Kohler, Anthony, Steighner, & Hoyson, 2001; Lantz, Nelson, & Loftin, 2004; Neuman & Roskos, 1993; Smilansky, 1968; Trawick-Smith, 1994; Vukelich, 1994; Williams & Silvern, 1992, cited in Trawick-Smith, 2010).

Scenario to Show a Genuine Form of Learning through Play by Scaffolding Used in the West

In a play scenario depicted by Samuelsson & Johansson (2006) in Sweden, we understand how the theory has been realized in practice:

The teacher in a playful way structures the context by questioning the children. The teacher takes the initiative, but also tries to follow the children, from their perspectives, intentions and interests. The play supports this. The children are encouraged to repeat and to imitate the teacher. The teacher sings and invites the children to join in. She counts the animals, and when the [child] starts to count by herself the teacher is flexible and continues the counting game. The teacher names and gives meaning to the situation. It seems as if the teacher strives to teach the children certain facts, like numbers and how the animals sound. She does not use many questions that do not demand a 'right' answer.

In the above scenario, the teacher has employed not less than one type of questioning and scaffolding techniques. Apart from teaching children the facts, the teacher encourages the children to repeat and to imitate her. What is crucial in a 'genuine' Western play-learning activities is that the teacher did not demand a 'right' answer from children by using 'too many questioning'. Teacher has even followed the children's preferences according to their interests to explore. The type of scaffolding techniques to enable this form of learning to realize is type four and type five in this research.

Echoing what has been discussed earlier, the emphasis in this Sweden's research confirms that, as the child grows in competence, there is a gradual withdrawal of support, and the child takes on more responsibility for completing the task. As children differ in their understanding of the nature of things, the teacher who scaffolds children in a whole class classroom organization (in a small class teaching environment with students of around 7 to 15) must ensure that every single opinion of different children is valued. In a social constructivist classroom where the teacher is scaffolding the whole class simultaneously, she must be attentive to the different opinion given by each student and then to facilitate the inter-change of ideas among the children. The decision derived ultimately and supported by the majority is

then accepted as the norm of practice in the social constructivist classroom. In the process, the teacher should not exert her pre-set outcome of learning and should by no means foster it onto the young children. Having said that, the teacher, as does her young students, could equally express her opinion in the joint process of learning.

On the other hand, concern raised in the literature review as well as in the case example suggests that research on play has been too narrow in scope, focusing only on childhood play that is frequently observed in Western societies while overlooking or undervaluing many developmentally significant play forms that are more common in non-Western cultures (Goncu, Mistry, & Mosier, 2000; Mcloyd, 1986; Roopnarine, Johnson, & Hooper, 1994; cited in Trawick-Smith, 2010).

Constraints and Challenges of Scaffolding in Classroom Settings Identified in the West

Although it is well documented in many research findings in the West that scaffolding children's learning through play is effective, it does not rule out the constraints faced when realizing this ideal. A research study conducted in the United States of America by Hogen & Pressley (1997, p.84-87) mentions the basic challenges confronting the constructivist classroom, which are listed below.

Challenge One: Class Size

The large size of the class presents a constraint for enable a genuine scaffolding classroom to take place as a teacher cannot interact for a sustained period of time with each individual student. Moreover, large classes present multiple zones of proximal development (Brown, 1994, cited in Hogen & Pressley, 1997). As a result, students most in need of academic help are least likely to seek it (Newman & Goldin, 1990, cited in Hogen & Pressley, 1997).

Challenge Two: Diverse Communication Styles

In a classroom with diverse cultures as well as with linguistically diverse students, the teacher might face a challenge as they need to respond to groups of culturally different students during scaffolding (*Ibid.*, 1997).

Challenge Three: Curriculum and Time Constraints

It is said that this scaffolding model advocates deep learning of complex content, which takes time. This is in particular the case when the teacher need to push for many topics within a limited time span. As a result, the teacher need to move on to new topics before the students have mastered the current topics (*Ibid.*, 1997).

Challenge Four: Ownership of Goals and Uncertain Endpoints

As scaffolding works best when the child initiates the interaction and stays in control of learning, the role of teachers become passive in terms of exercising control over where the learning leads (Searles, 1984, cited in Hogen & Pressley, 1997).

Challenge Five: Demands on Teachers

Hogen and Pressley remind us that in order to scaffold effectively, the teacher needs to know what a child already knows, what competencies are within his or her reach, and what his or her misconceptions are. This is a demanding level of insight for just one student, let alone for a whole classroom of children." In order to facilitate this kind of learning, "the teacher needs to know the curriculum well, has insight into where students are likely to have trouble, and understand the source of the trouble by probing behind the students' incorrect answers." Henceforth, "It can take years of experience to build up knowledge of all of the ways in which

students can go wrong and on which to teach for” (*Ibid.*, 1995).

Constraint and Challenges Encountered in the East –the Case in Hong Kong

The main difficulty when applying the scaffolding techniques underpinned by the Vygotskian social constructivist theory and the Deweyan learning theory, as observed by the author of this paper, is the misunderstanding on the part of the teacher that there is only one kind of scaffolding technique. It is mainly the third type of scaffolding technique mentioned in the present study. This type of scaffolding technique is far from the idealistic form for an enhancement of a democratic classroom. Very often, teacher has not utilized the techniques well, especially as the children gradually gain control of the task. The teacher should let children take over more of the responsibility, just as the way advocated by the play theorists in the West. The utilization of the techniques should result in the learning by both teachers and their young students. When the assumption of responsibility and control occurs, the teacher removes the scaffolding. Successful scaffolded instruction requires establishing intersubjectivity (Rommetveit, 1974) or a shared understanding of the task. The teacher is responsible for leading the learners toward this understanding and helping them develop their own conception of the task. This is done by creating a balance of support and challenge.

Aims of the Study

This study aims to revisit the technique of ‘scaffolding’ in young children’s play with teachers in Hong Kong’s preschools. By doing so, the researchers are able to identify different types of scaffolding techniques employed by the teachers, and when the techniques are used under different play situations, allowing a comparison be made with those scaffolding techniques/and play situation used by the West mentioned in the literature review section. The aim is to see how far they could foster a genuine democratic child-centred classroom in the Hong Kong situation.

Method

Participants

Participants of this research are practitioners of the local Chinese Kindergarten in Hong Kong and their teachers. All three schools participated in this research are sponsored by a Christian organization (Protestantism). They are known as faith schools as distinguished from schools which have no religion orientation. Participation in this research is voluntary upon the invitation of the researchers. There are altogether three case schools and three researchers participating in the research. The principal researcher would visit all of the three schools while the two co-researchers would visit one school each. Hence, in each of the school visit, there would be two researchers to collect data. There is a total of 3 classes of K3 kindergarten children (aged 5 to 6) led by three teachers respective as participants in the study.

Data Collection and Analysis

Case study technique was used as the means of inquiry. A case study resides in the territory between theory and practice, between idea and experience, between the normative ideal and achievable real. It captures pieces of experience that initially existed solely within the life of a single individual, and transforms that solitary experience into text (Shulman, 1998).

There are altogether six visits paid to the three project schools during the period between January 2012 and June 2012. Each visit took four hours to complete, which include the actual collection of data in the classroom and after-class conference with the teacher and principals. Analysis of data is based on the individual play episodes collected and is not teacher oriented.

Data is collected by audio, video-taped episodes and via photographic evidences. Field notes were kept after each visit. Data was triangulated by soliciting the principal's feedback concerning their observations of the correctness of the description made by the researchers. Data analysis was done among the researchers on the data collected. A research assistant helped to collate the data and compile them into files for identification.

In the first visit to the project schools, the researchers would illustrate the five types of scaffolding techniques mentioned by Roehler and Cantlon (1997) in the West. Accordingly, their idea of the five types of scaffolding techniques would be identified in the research for analyzing the type of scaffolding techniques used in the early childhood classroom in Hong Kong.

The rationale to do so is based on the understanding that the technique of questioning for scaffolding children's learning in a child-centred classroom would mean applying questioning in a 'right' manner as suggested in the research data collected in the West. In other words, how to scaffold children's learning appropriately and effectively? The issue of how to know 'which are the "right" situations to apply for the "right" scaffolding techniques' would ask for an identification of a particular type of scaffolding techniques used in an early childhood classroom in Hong Kong. The higher levels (the fourth and the fifth type) represent superior opportunities for the child to develop his or her higher-order thinking skills as they are scaffolding each other in a socially constructed child-centered democratic classroom. The five levels of scaffolding techniques are, respectively:

- (1) Offering explanation.
- (2) Inviting student participation.
- (3) Verifying and clarifying student understandings.
- (4) Modeling (Demonstration) of desired behaviours.
- (5) Inviting students to contribute clues.

Echoing in the sections presented earlier, it is not difficult to understand that, if early childhood practitioners wish to reform their classroom from the traditionalist style to a democratic one, they have to ally the Vygotskian social constructivist theory with the Deweyan learning theory by practising the fourth and the fifth type of scaffolding techniques.

Examples to Illustrate the Five Types of Scaffolding Techniques

The Making of Cookies as an Exemplar Case to Illustrate the Five Types of Scaffolding Technique.

Scaffolding Type One: Offering explanation

Since children have no idea of how to make cookies, adult (teacher) has to explain to them the way to do it. For example, to add how much water with a mixture of powder, to add how much sugar, how much butter, how long should we put the cookies mould into the oven....etc.

Scaffolding Type Two: Inviting Student Participation

After the demonstration and explanation of how to make the cookies by the teacher, now is the turn for students to try out the method.

Scaffolding Type Three: Verifying and Clarifying Student Understandings

When come to this stage, the teacher will probably observe whether student could manage to make cookies on their own. If the teacher observes that a child might not manage to make cookies, she/he then needs to employ some words so as to help students to complete their tasks. For example, if the teacher finds that the cookies mould make by the student is too

sticky, she might use question to prompt student as to add more powder to the mould. Or alternatively, the teacher might use questions to enable student to think for themselves that they could not add too much water to the mould or else it will become too sticky.

Scaffolding Type Four: Modeling (Demonstration) of Desired Behaviours.

The teacher might show interest in the shape of cookie mould made by the student, say for example, “Oh, your oval shaped cookie is quite nice and is different from the one I demonstrated to you before”. If the student wishes to make a square-shaped cookie or even a more challenging shape of cookies, like the heart-shaped cookie, the teacher should give some hints or indirect prompts by means of thought provoking questions or by validating student’s practice or responding to student’s vocalizations and words.

Scaffolding Type Five: Inviting Students to Contribute Clues

At this stage, the teacher should encourage the children to discuss with each other the cookies they made on their own. They are encouraged to exchange ideas on how they could manage to make a certain shape of cookies. Inter-change of ideas is highly encouraged in this type of scaffolding. The teachers should make use of every opportunity to facilitate the children to take such a move.

Findings

Types of Scaffolding Identified in this Research

After the initial explanation to the participating teachers regarding the types of scaffolding techniques used by the western countries, the teachers of the three project schools were found to be able to apply what they have learnt prior to classroom observations. Basically according to the teacher’s own identifications in all the three schools, all the five types of scaffolding techniques are used in this research.

However, of the three teachers in the study, two teachers say that their most frequently used scaffolding techniques is type one, two and three. There is a teacher in project school two thinks that she has included the fourth type of scaffolding technique as her frequently used technique. Together with the other two co-researchers of this paper, the author of this paper are of the opinion that these teachers did employ all the five types of scaffolding techniques though the first, two and three types were still the most frequently used ones.

The findings of this study are presented in the format of case studies obtained in a research study of scaffolding young children at play. But due to the limitation of space in reporting these case studies, the scenario each of three cases is depicted from the research for explanation, one of which would be mentioned in a more detailed way. The other cases would be mentioned to support the findings gained in this study.

What is described below is a case scenario to illustrate the types of scaffolding techniques identified by a teacher who thinks she has frequently used type one to type four techniques within a play activity. However, a check with the ‘genuine’ type of scaffolding techniques which aimed at democratic classroom suggested a gap between the espoused theory of the teacher with its theory in use.

Description of the Activity: Case One Scenario

In a small class of 8 students, the children were asked to draw pictures of clothes wear in the Chinese New Year. The scenario is taken from case school two.

The teacher first explained to her class what she expects them to do and then invites a child to explain which country that the dress drawn was he/she referring to. This is type one scaffolding since the teacher starts off by explaining her requirement to the child:

Teacher: Children, as the Chinese New Year is approaching soon, let me tell you how according to traditional practise of we Chinese people would wear in the New Year. (Teacher then shows pictures of people wearing different Chinese costumes in the Chinese New Year)

Teacher talking to a girl: What kind of clothing are you drawing? Chinese, Japanese or Korean?

Child: Chinese.

The child replies the teacher that the costumes are from China. The teacher is using type three scaffolding technique since she hopes to verify the child from her drawing through the child's own explanation.

Teacher: Oh, this is a Chinese costume. Well done! However, there are still lots of empty spaces on which you could add in some drawings. Do you think leaving so many white spaces in the picture is not so nice?

Child: No good.

Teacher: I think you should try to think how to add patterns to your drawings.



The teacher confirms the child's achievement and then guide the child (through oral explanation) to draw some more things in the empty space of the picture. During such process, the teacher clarifies the concept to the child. When the teacher is exercising her authority and expects the child to act according to her expectation, the type of scaffolding used is type one and type two respectively.

The Teacher queries the child why she has only painted the sleeves in green while the clothes are multi-coloured. Here, the teacher tries to seek for the reasons (and thus she verified from the child) why the child has chosen to colour the sleeves in green. By asking this question, teacher hoped that the child would follow her 'clues' and to think for an answer that would meet with her expectation. The type of scaffolding technique used here is type three.

The child says she does not know. This is certainly not the answer expected by the teacher. One would realize how the teacher has seized the opportunity to scaffold the child into higher level of thinking as seen in the next conversation between them:

Teacher: Do you know that the Chinese costumes might have different colours within the same clothes? What do you think?

Child: I don't know.

The teacher tries to push the child into higher level of thinking by asking her such question. Teacher deliberately told the child that the authentic Chinese New Year dress has different colours and challenges the child to see how she might amend her pictures. The teacher has used type four scaffolding technique since she would expect the child to provide her a creative answer. The child replied that she did not know. In here, teacher has invited the child to participate (Type two scaffolding). The teacher has also tried to clarify the child's understanding through type three scaffolding technique:

Teacher: Do you still not understand? May be David could provide some hints to you, Candy. Look, David's picture also has green sleeves, may be both of you could think of how to amend the color of a sleeve so as to make it different from the rest of the clothes. Have you got any ideas on this?

The teacher invites another child (David) to help that child (Candy) to solve her problem. In this incident, the teacher has requested another child (David) to verify the misconception of the child (Candy) concerned. The teacher is using scaffolding type three to fulfill her intention.

Teacher: Have you got any ideas from your thinking?

Child: to colour the other sleeves in red.

The child provides an answer of her own to the teacher, that is, to colour the sleeves in red. Teacher has employed scaffolding technique type four by the way she framed her questions. The aim of the teacher is to allow the child to provide an answer which is different from her expectation:

Since the teacher welcomes another new ideas that the child, the child gave another answer – cut the paper. In this example, teacher has used type four scaffolding technique. The teacher accepted the child's suggestion and asked the child how she would cut the paper and to

change the green color to another colour. The teacher has employed type four scaffolding technique since she has expected a creative answer from the child.

In this art activity depicted from the research episode conducted by Lau, et.al., (2013), the teacher basically uses oral conversation to ask questions in helping children to think in-depth in their drawing to meet the teacher's expectation. The teacher tries not to provide the answers and only uses questions to let children focus on what the teacher want them to draw. When the teacher found the children do not know the answers, she let the children see the real dress. It could be seen that teacher has provided concrete example for children to find out the difference between their drawings and the real one. Providing concrete example is a good teaching strategy for young children to learn. It is also important for the teacher to change her strategies to meet the children's abilities (Lau, Chung & Chan, 2013). In the post-lesson conference with the teacher, the teacher thinks that she has reached the requirement of the prevalent child-centred practices through play (art-work in this case) by using the higher form of scaffolding techniques. According to the ideas fostered by the western educational theorists such as those mentioned in (O'Hear, 1991) in the literature review section, teacher in this scenario has tried to employ the higher form of scaffolding type, namely type fourth of such, with the good intention of fostering a democratic classroom by giving room to students to think creatively in play.

However, when echoing the 'authentic' child-centred practices, the practice of scaffolding techniques employed by the teacher was found a bit mandatory. It is because she has insisted the child should respond to her questions when the child has not yet ready to provide her an answer. Thus, the child is found to provide an 'awkward' answer to the teacher by saying, "I don't know" several times.

On top of that, this case study reveals that the children do not understand the teacher's questions and also do not understand the teacher's expectation in their drawings. This also seems that this kind of conversation strategy is not a commonly used method by the teacher with the children. If the teacher is to apply the western theory of play in a child-centred constructivist's classroom, she should provide opportunity for children to engage in conversational exchange with one another.

During the discussion, the children may provoke each other's thinking so that they could engage in in-depth learning about the characteristics of the Chinese New Year dress (Lau, Chung, & Chan, 2013).

Identification of New Scaffolding Types Employed in the East

Apart from the above case example which shows the employment of the five type of scaffolding techniques as with those used in the West, it is interesting to identify some other types of scaffolding techniques which have emerged in the course of the research. These 'new' form of scaffolding techniques were being identified in case school one. This case school has a longer history to employ the child-centered approaches as compared to the other two case schools. The new forms of scaffolding techniques are respectively called type six, type seven, type eight, type nine, type ten and type eleven. They are basically a reverse of order of the preceding five types of scaffolding due to the swap of the role of the adult and the child in a small class teaching environment. For type eleven, it is found that the concept of "social constructivist scaffolding" could take place even without the immediate participation of children on the spot. Respectively, these new types of scaffolding could be identified as follows:

Type six: children takes the initiative to explain her work to the teacher.

Type seven: children invites teacher to participate in her activity.

Type eight: children verifying and clarifying teacher's understandings.

Type nine: teacher modeling of desired behaviours.

Type ten: children invites teachers to contribute clues.

Type eleven: scaffold across class by the teacher

Sequencing of Scaffolding Techniques is found Interchangeable in the Research Conducted in the East

It is found in the present study that it is not necessary to follow the fixed sequence according to the types of scaffolding identified, especially for the more democratic classroom. This finding could not be found in the literature which reports similar studies in the West, as it was found in Hong Kong. Some such practices could be found in case school one, school which has a longer history of practising the democratic child-centred approaches than the other two case schools. As no other similar practices could so far be identified in the reports from the West, a case example is not included here for comparison in this paper.

Most Constraints Identified in this Research Shared with Those in the West

The constraints found in this research do share the common features identified in the West, such as the time constraints and curriculum constraints. Similar to the teachers in the West, teachers in Hong Kong are also confronted by the pressure of allocating enough time for small group learning via scaffolding. The curriculum is so highly structured that it allows no room to cater for individual needs via quality scaffolding.

Teacher's Concerns in Case Three School on the Issue of Time Constraint and Curriculum Constraint

During a visit to case school three, a teacher has used the first three types of scaffolding techniques at the beginning of a lesson so as to build up the concept of things associated with the Chinese New Year for the children. It is not uncommon for the practitioners in the early childhood profession in Hong Kong that in the thematic teaching, the teacher is confined to use the first three types of scaffolding. However, as observed by the researcher in this research, as the lesson progressed on, the children were not only able to provide an expected answer to the teacher but an answer which was not expected by the teacher as well. In the post-lesson conference with the teacher, the researcher asked the teacher if she agreed to allow time for the children to express their ideas in the thematic teaching and to use scaffolding type four and type five in the process. To this challenge presented by the researcher, the teacher replied that, "I do understand but am willing to apply the fourth and the fifth type of scaffolding techniques if more resources, such as the time, funding, and a small class condition with a high teacher-to-student ratio and a flexible curriculum endorsed by the school."

Other constraints, which however, could be identified in the East, but not in the West, are concerns over the safety measure for young children and the cultural-based belief system of the teachers. These two constraints also apply to case school one, which is the most 'democratic' classroom identified in this research.

Case Two Scenario to illustrate Why a Lower Scaffolding Type is Used When Confronting the Safety Issue of Young Children in the East Blowing in the Wind Game

In a small class organization of 10 persons, children were participating in a rule-bound play activities. After the teacher explains the rule of the game, the children will then follow the rule to play the game. This scenario is taken from case school three.

In an out-door activity in case school one, the teacher is supervising a group of children to play a rule-bound game “blowing in the wind’ game:

Teacher: Well, children, when you play, you need to make sure to spread out so that you will not hit each other while playing the rope-jumping game.

When comes to the issue of safety and security, the teacher would use Type one of scaffolding so as to ensure children understand the safety requirement.

Constraints on Cultural Belief When Scaffolding the Fourth and Fifth Type in the East

According to the understanding of the research group in the present study, if children provide some creative answers that contradict with the value system [of the society], it becomes difficult for the adult to accept such creativity. The followings are conversation exchanges of the teachers with the researchers. In the conversation, one could realize how the deep held belief of the teacher might guide her thoughts into practices.

Case Three Scenario: Teacher in Case School Two Share Her Belief on Enforcing Children’s Learning through Play

The teacher says, “If I am asked to scaffold children’s learning by employing the higher level of scaffolding techniques, this practice has lurked in some dangers. It stems from the fact that the answers provided by the child might not be the ‘expected’ answer of the teacher. The prevalent ‘creative curriculum’ advocated by the play theorists, like Vygotsky and Dewey might be suitable for enhancing gifted children to learn through play. By engaging in free play, gifted children could have better chances to enhance creativity. However, these ‘genuine’ play-based curriculum while originated from the West might not suit children with lower ability.

As can be seen in the above case study, the teacher saw her role as an ‘authority figure’ rather than as a ‘facilitator’. When a teacher with authority makes all the necessary precautions to prevent her ‘children’ from dangers, she is practising in a traditional educational mode. The role of the teacher is therefore different from what is regarded as a facilitator. A teacher as facilitator would provide chances for the children to decide and to act on their own initiative, provided that the children would exercise reasonable judgment as well as to bear the consequences of their decisions made. Generally speaking, when the terminology of ‘teacher’ is used, the allied educational ideology would be the traditional teacher-centred one. The terminology of ‘facilitator’ on the other hand belongs to the child-centred ideology. The wikipedia provides the following explanations:

[Child]-centered learning, that is, putting children needs first, is in contrast to teacher-centred learning. [Child]-centred learning is focused on each student's needs, abilities, interests, and learning styles, placing the teacher as a facilitator of learning. This classroom teaching method acknowledges children voice as central to the learning experience for every learner, and differs from many other learning methodologies. Teacher-centred learning has the teacher at its centre in an active role and children in a passive, receptive role. [Child]-centred learning requires children to be active, responsible participants in their own learning.

Since the participating schools and their teachers participating in this research wish to abide by the new mode of child-center ness, they have to act as a ‘facilitator’ rather than to act the authority figure as a ‘teacher’ by theory. However, what was found instead was that a teacher in the case three scenario has employed the lower type of scaffolding technique (Type one, two and three), she did not match with the criteria of fostering a democratic classroom by being a facilitator for her young students. Paired with this condition, the teacher has not used the higher form of scaffolding techniques identified in the West (Hogen & Pressley, 1997) to foster a democratic classroom. What turns out in this research case scenario is that the teacher has refrained from adopting the higher form of scaffolding techniques in situations which they judge are not appropriate. As a responsible teacher, the teacher in this case scenario would consider the suitability of the technique to cater for the diverse needs of children only. In the sharing session, a teacher who is a Christian debated with another teacher who is a non-Christian in case school two. The debate centred around the issue of what is considered as the most appropriate types of scaffolding techniques and what is not when religious matter is concerned in their Christian orientated faith school.



A teacher in case school two, who is a Christian, thought that it would be better to adopt the lower type of scaffolding techniques so as to 'transmit' religious knowledge to the young children. To this suggestion, the non-Christian teacher did not agree. She thought that it is fine if she is to use the higher level of scaffolding techniques and to provide 'room' for the young learners to think deeply into the faith matter. This teacher did not think that coercion on the young child to learn Biblical knowledge is a good thing for the child. She thought that if taught in this way, the children would be deprived of their freedom in religion.

Conclusions and Implications

It is found in this research that time factor, size of class, life experience of children, and character of children all contributed to the success of implementation of scaffolding technique. Apart from that, application of types of scaffolding is also restricted to certain areas, such as in the teaching of fixed religious and moral practise and as far as safety measure for the young children is concerned. These two concerns are related to the cultural-based belief system of the teachers who will exercise their judgements when teaching occasions arise. The belief system is not restricted to the boundary between East and West but is universally applicable to people of all walks of life and nationality.

Bruner (1977) is right to say that, "A curriculum is more for teachers than it is for pupils. If it cannot change, move, perturb, inform teachers, it will have no effect on those whom they teach." This crucial role should be recognized by policymakers, who would allocate resources to support teacher preparation for reforms and who often blame the teachers when the objectives of a reform fail to materialize (Morris & Adamson, 2010).

After all, education is a complex and complicated endeavour involving a plethora of judgments, ideologies and the belief system affecting diverse people and the "meanings" of their experiences, lives and Institutions (Miller & Almon, 2009 cited in Lau & Cheng, 2010).

Suggestions for Future Policy Refinement and Development in Hong Kong (SAR)

From the findings and the sharing of the teachers in this research after discounting the practical constraints encountered, it is not difficult to realize that one of major difficulties to realize a 'genuine' democratic classroom is not the 'inabilities' of the teachers to exercise the techniques, but the belief system, the underlying ideology of the teachers in the faith schools. Here, the researcher has gained an understanding that given the effort and through the effective means of 'scaffolding' adult teachers to learn the 'new' teaching technique, it is possible to enhance the teaching skills of those teachers. But the transformation in full swing for a genuine educational change still relies on a change of the belief system of the teachers. Ultimately, it is the teacher who will play a major role in creating the conditions for learning, delivering the content, and transmitting the values held by society, policymakers, the school and themselves (Morris & Adamson, 1997, p.85).

An implication derived from this study is that, provided that teachers are willing to learn and to apply the higher form of scaffolding techniques, there is a chance for them to foster a democratic classroom through mastering the techniques, like what was found in case school one. It is anticipated that the situation renders no exception for teachers in the East and West. Question for further pondering is the issue on the belief system (including the religious and philosophical value system of the teacher) than a simple matter of the proficient use of scaffolding techniques for reaching the goal of democracy.

The mindset or deep-held belief of teachers is difficult to change. Once the pressure on teachers for reform in the new mode of curriculum is relieved (or relaxed), they will revert to their own idealistic practises. Hence the lesson drawn from this research is if teacher educators really wish teacher to practise the fourth and the fifth type of scaffolding techniques for a democratic classroom, the mindset/belief system of the teachers had to change. One way to do so is through action research initiated and conducted by the teacher themselves, as “Action research” has long been recognized as a good agent for an educational change (Schostak,1999).

It is anticipated that the findings of this research will contribute to policy makers, teacher educators and practitioners in the field on how they might formulate policy to assist teachers for such an eventual change, then a democratic classroom would not be just a mere talk!

But would it be ethically justifiable for one person to change the other person’s belief system under the banner of democracy? Would it be acceptable for us to raise this query after all? Before trying to ponder on these questions, one has to clarify the term and the interpretation of ‘democracy’ as the meaning on such might differ between the East and the West. Cheng, Chung Yi (鄭宗義), a Chinese scholar in Confucius study once mentioned in his lecture, that quoting references from literature, in the long-existed Confucius culture, the concept of ‘democracy’ does exist in the land of China, but is subjected to the application of what the Chinese official would mean as “democracy” (2012). In the long existed Chinese culture, ‘democracy’ in a society would equate the practice of ensuring good and sufficient living for the people (民生及民享), but it is not so sure whether it is for the democratic governance (民治) by the people. King, Yiu Kai (金耀基) in his writing, “Confucianism, Modernity and Democracy in Asia (1997)” mentions that, “What the scholastic Confucius emphasized is Administration (治道或行政) and not so much in Politics (政道或政治). The difference in interpretation on the notion of ‘democracy’ might perhaps give us hints to understand the difficulties of realizing the ‘genuine’ democracy in a child-centred play-based classroom in kindergarten underpinned by the Christian religious orientation and the Chinese Confucius ideology through the higher form of scaffolding techniques by the West. All these puzzles might well open ways for scholars to undertake further research work on the comparative studies on the belief system, ideology and judgements of the teachers and its relationship with the application of pedagogic scaffolding approaches for a ‘Democratic’ early childhood classroom between the East and the West.

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Civility in Secondary Schools: The Case of Hong Kong

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Abstract

This study explored the degree of civility in secondary schools in Hong Kong. Interviews were used to collect data for this study. Participants were secondary school teachers who have at least five years of teaching experience. The findings of this study were examined in relation to civility in the classroom, reasons for incivility, how civility is maintained in the classroom, gender difference in civility and the effects of incivility in the classroom. The data revealed differences in civility across the sampled schools. This study also creates awareness about civility in secondary school classrooms in Hong Kong.

Key Words: Civility, Incivility, Teachers, Students, Classroom

Introduction

Human beings generally as social beings are bound to interact. Given the much talked about globalization and the metropolitan nature of many cities in the world the necessity for public decorum is very compelling especially in a City-state like Hong Kong which is very tight and densely populated (Scales, 2010). This calls for reciprocity in behaviour and actions which is what is referred to as civility. Civility according to Scales (2010) is a collection of respectful and courteous behaviour which people put up to strangers in public arenas which involves forging personal interest and tolerating undesirable conduct for decorum to prevail. The RBC letter (1995) as cited by Connelly (2009) defines civility more succinctly as not having a single personal quality like politeness but more of a combination of several similar qualities...less a code of conduct than a spirit... that includes consideration, tact, good humour, and respect for the feelings and rights of others.

As the concept civility is difficult to define or even understand, some scholars prefer to define it in relation to its synonyms, antithesis or attributes. As a result, civility is said to embrace and encompass these synonyms: courtesy, decorum, etiquette, empathy, kindness, manners, mutuality, politeness and social grace (Lavery, 2009; Mulgan & Buonfino, 2009). As regards antithesis, the following have been mentioned: self-centredness, lack of consideration for others, inability to control violent behaviour during crisis, reckless behaviour, and low level of assimilation of common moral standards (Anheier, 2007; Calhoun, 2000; Forni, 2002; Shils, 1997 as cited by Evers, 2009). In terms of attributes, Clark and Carnosso (2008) after a synthesis of literature identified the following attributes of civility:

- Respect for one another and honour for differences
- Paying attention and searching for areas of communalities
- Participating in social dialogue and valuing its significance

From the above therefore, civility can be perceived as reciprocity in interaction and or behavior for the purpose of creating a conducive atmosphere for achieving the common good of any given organization or institution.

In the context of educational institutions, civility is manifested in terms of punctuality to classes and all school activities, regular class attendance, respect for teachers and fellow students, decent dressing, submitting assignments on scheduled, avoiding cheating, plagiarism, bullying, name calling and sleeping in class among others (Alberts, Hazen & Theobald, 2010; Braxton & Jones, 2008; Harris & Ackah, 2010, Pomerantz, 2007; Stiles & Tyson, 2008). By way of definition, a reversed definition of incivility by Feldman (2001) could be used to define classroom civility as any action or behaviour which facilitates a “harmonious and cooperative learning atmosphere in the classroom” (p.137).

From the Americas (United States of America - Baker, 2010; Clark, 2012; Swinneys, Elder & Seaton, 2010; Venezuela - Buonfino & Mulgan, 2009) to Europe (the United Kingdom - Phillips & Smith, 2004) to Asia (Australia - Phillips & Smith, 2004; China - Clark, Juan, Allerton, Otterness, Jun & Wei, 2012; India - Buonfino & Mulgan, 2009; Taiwan - Schak, 2009; Thailand - Buonfino & Mulgan, 2009) and to Africa (Nigeria - Abati 2008; Achebe, 1985; Adamu; 2012; Ghana – Nigeriannewdawn, 2013) the decline in civility has either been found or reported. Civility especially, its decline has become a subject of major discuss within the last decade more than ever before (Forni as cited by Lunday, 2007). For instance, Davetian (2009) has observed that even in the web, the entries on incivility or rudeness are on the increase on a weekly basis. On checking google.com, he said that he saw 3,500,000 of such entries in English and 150,000 in French. Stiles & Tyson (2008); Alberts, Hazen and Theobald (2010); Alkandari (2011) also found that within the last ten years, studies and research point to the fact that civility is not only on the decline but it is taking an epidemic proportion.

In spite of the reported decline in civility, there is a debate about its necessity or otherwise. For according to Alkandari (2011) while some individuals are of the opinion that civility or lack of it is a big problem that should be given serious attention, others are of the view that it is not very important, so acts of incivility should be gross over. However, it has been argued that for every educated person civility should be a must because issues of “integrity, compassion and empathy” should be voluntarily chosen by all as the appropriate things to be done (Forni as cited by Dechter, 2007; Seldon, 2009). In addition, it has been observed that secondary school students are “disengaged, disrespectful and unruly (Forni, 2008; Swinney, Elder & Seaton, 2010), just like it has been reported that incivility in the classrooms has gone beyond control in several K-12 settings (Boice, 1996). Consequent upon this, it has been contended that civility should be the core of every school as schools make a lot of impression on learners. Stressing further the significance of civility in the educational context, Vincent (2006) maintained that “civility is not another piece to be added onto the plate of an educator, it is the plate upon which all else is place” (p.28). This implies that without civility, nothing else can stand in the educational enterprise.

Civility is an essential ingredient needed for the effective functioning of virtually all societies, so all educational institutions as microcosms of the society cannot exist without civility (Connelly, 2009; Macomber, Rusche and Atkinson, 2012). In the United States of America and indeed many parts of the world, one of the traditional roles of the school is to teach civility (Evers, 2009; Meece, 2010; Seldon, 2009). In doing this, the school will be carrying out its role as an agent of socialization, as civility is learned (Evers, 2009; Laverty, 2009; Mulgan & Buonfino, 2009; Peck, 2002; Welsh, 2009). This is understandable as civility is a social skill essential for daily interaction of students in and out of school (Hatch, 1998). Scott (2009), Wilkins, Caldarella, Crook-Lyon and Young (2010) also argued that civility in school is used to increase civility in society as those who pass through school are prepared for future

citizenship. In addition, with the reported increase in unruly behavior and even violence in schools, it has been argued that this could be checked through creating an atmosphere of civility in schools (Berger, 2000; Mulgan & Buonfino, 2009; Forni, 2002). Indeed, it said that civility is instrumental to the establishment of a caring and supportive environment that is suitable for teaching and learning (Connelly, 2009). The school also is known to be an organized set up or a formal organization and all formal organizations need civility in order to achieve their collective goals (Smolarski, 2008). From the above, educational institutions need civility for survival and they have to transmit civility to the young for their immediate benefit and that of the larger society in the long run.

On the other hand, the absence of civility (incivility) in the educational system have been found or reported to have some negative effects. A few of these findings and assertions are that it leads to loss of valuable time as time that should have been used to accomplish some educational purposes are diverted to sorting out issues bothering on incivility, makes the learning environment toxic for both the teacher and learner (Barrett, Rubaii- Barrett & Pelowski, 2010; Clark & Carnosso, 2008); leads to the decline in students' respect and willingness to identify with their institutions, development of negative attitude by faculty to their job and profession (Bjorklund & Rehling, 2010, 2011); faculty reconsidering taking teaching as a career (Boice, 1996); accelerating the degree of stress for both faculty and students (Clark & Carnosso, 2008); impeding the efforts of students to succeed, impacting negatively on the how students perceive their intellectual and academic development, reduction in critical thinking during lessons and capacity to interact with course materials after lessons, making cooperative learning and reciprocity among students extremely difficult and impacting negatively on interaction between students and faculty and creating a sense of alienation and isolation in students (Hirschy & Braxton, 2004). In spite of the above, research appear to suggest that there is no agree on the impact of incivility on the learning environment. For instance, while twenty percent of faculty respondents of Ausbrooks, Jones and Tijerina (2011) indicated that incivility distracts them, four percent stated that it has no effect on them, for the students respondents, thirty - two percent stated that it distracts them while eighteen per cent indicated that it has no effect on them.

From studies of civility undertaken, a number of findings have been made; some of these findings are briefly summarized below:

Regarding civility in the classrooms, it has been reported that incivility is more common than civility, so the following incivility have been found: inattentiveness, class disruption, arriving late to class (Alberts, Hazen & Theobald, 2010); use of cell phone during lessons, doing home work for other courses, cheating in examinations, absenteeism (Alkandari, 2011); holding conversations during lessons, disapproving groans and making sarcastic remarks about teachers and fellow students (Boice, 1996) and sleeping in class, not taking notes, reluctance to answer questions, using g computer for things not related to the lesson, pager disruptions, coming and going out of class during lessons, leaving class early, cutting class, being unprepared for lessons, dominating discussion, cheating during quizzes, taunting or belittling other students, chewing gum, eating in class, acting bored or apathetic sarcastic gestures (Swinney, Elder & Seaton, 2010).

A number of reasons or causes of absence of civility in classrooms have also been found. Some of these are: large class size (these are classes above 100 students, Boice, 1996) and new technologies (Alberts, Hazen & Theobald, 2010; Berger, 2000; Boice, 1996). Others are lateness to class by teachers and students, stopping class early or lately, cutting or cancellation of classes and display of lack of concern for students (Berger, 2000).

As regards ways of curbing incivility, the following have either been found or suggested: friendly verbal reminders, requesting students to behave themselves, talking to concerned student(s) privately after class, directing a student to stop an unacceptable behavior, sending a student out of class, threatening to deduct marks from a student's grade, deducting marks from a student's grade, asking a senior colleague to speak with a student, lodging an official complaint about a student's behavior, knowing students by their names (Alberts, Hazen & Theobald, 2010); making direct eye contact with the concerned student(s), moving to that part of the class where incivility is displayed, posing a question to the person next to the student misbehaving, making lessons interesting, listening respectfully to students complaints, honestly admitting when things are not in order, knowing and using chain of command in the school, addressing all cases of incivility, not walking away from the students and being fair and just in assignments and treatment of incivility (Berger, 2000) and reporting incidents to the department, school official or the police (Swinney, Elder & Seaton, 2010).

With respect to gender while the Indiana University Survey (2000), Swinney, Elder and Seaton (2010) found that male students were involved in more incivility than female students, the data collected from the study by Alkandari (2011) suggested that female students engaged in more incivility than male students. For teachers, it has been found that students target female teachers more for incivility than male teachers (Alberts, Hazen & Theobald, 2010; Alexander-Snow, 2004; Barrett, Rubaii- Barrett & Pelowski, 2010).

In terms of school type and civility, difference has been found to exist regarding the level of incivility across schools. For instance, the degree of incivility in private schools has been found to be lower than public schools (Alberts, Hazen & Theobald, 2010; Swinney, Elder & Seaton, 2010).

In spite of the germaneness of civility in schools as illustrated earlier, most of the studies that have been undertaken in this area are in the United States of America and Europe with very little or nothing in Asia. Therefore this study intends to provide literature on Hong Kong (an Asian society) which could be used for further exploration of this area in Hong Kong and other Asian societies. In addition, most other studies focus on undergraduates but this study is on secondary school students. It has also been asserted that studies in civility are not systematic, therefore the need for more research in the area has been stressed (Barrett, Rubaii- Barrett & Pelowski, 2010; Ferriss, 2002).

Methodology

The method chosen for the collection of data for this study is interview (semi structured). This method was chosen because it gives opportunity for one to listen to the story of others and share their experiences (Adams & Cox, 2008; Sedman as cited by Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005) and it also enables one have an insight about how others understand their social world (Mishle, 1986 as cited by Bryman & Burgess, 1999). The method was also chosen because of its flexibility (Adams & Cox, 2008; Hannan, 2007). Interviews in this study therefore provided the opportunity for teachers who experience civility or lack of it on a daily basis in the discharge of their duties to share their experiences.

Sampling Technique

A sample of 10 participants who were secondary school teachers was purposively selected based on convenience. The participants were selected because they met the set criterion which is that participants must have taught in a secondary school in Hong Kong for at least 5 years. 5 years is considered adequate for acquiring experience about students' behavior as it has

been reported that teachers' experience matters in the behaviour of students (Hayden, 2010). The sample size of 10 is also considered adequate because according to Liamputtong and Ezzy (2005) a sample size is considered adequate when the researcher is satisfied that the data provided by participants has the needed information. Further information on the participants is as follows:

Table 1 *Demographic Data of Participants*

Names(pseudonyms) of participants	School type	Years of teaching experience
Hannah	A	23
Rhoda	A	25
Blessing	A	10
Esther	B	06
Peter	B	09
Alice	B	12
Sandra	B	08
Gina	C	06
Martha	C	15
James	C	11

Source: Author's fieldwork.

The interviewees were contacted separately, informed of the purpose of the interview; assured of confidentiality and their consent was sought. They were thereafter interviewed separately, some at The Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong, while others in Church after Sunday service. This was to ensure confidentiality as none of the interviewee knew what the other did. On the dates of the interview, the interviewer (the researcher) reassured each of the participants of confidentiality of whatever information they gave. The interviews which lasted for about 15 - 20 minutes saw the interviewer asking questions and taking down responses inform of notes. After each interview, the interviewer thanked the participant and collected the email address of the participant, and later sent the transcript of the interview to the interviewees to confirm if it truly represented what transpired. The transcription of each interview was done a few hours after each interview and sent to each of the interviewees who confirmed its true representation of their views. This was to give credibility to the information that was collected.

Method of Analysis

The data collected was analyzed by coding each interview, transcribing the verbatim notes taken during the interviews, sending the transcripts to each of the interviewee to confirm the true representation of the views expressed, reading the transcripts several times by the researcher and subsequently themes were identified. From this, the following themes were identified: classroom incivility, reasons for incivility; ways of checking incivility, gender and civility and effects of incivility in classroom. From the interaction with the participants, schools were in three categorizes here tagged A B and C, with civility appearing to be less from schools A to C.

Discussion of the Findings

The findings of this study are discussed based on the themes identified as follows:

Classroom Civility

All the respondents indicated that they experienced incivility in their classrooms while there

were some similarities across schools, there were also differences across schools. For instance, one of the participants in group A school stated: *“There is minor racial tension among the students. The racial tension is between students from Mainland, Hong Kong Chinese and Korean students who applaud students of their own race more than the others when they excel”*. Another participant from school A stated: *“Student sometimes mount pressure to make a teacher they do not like her style of teaching change or that the teacher is removed and replaced by another one.”* The third participant stated: *“A major problem is that students speak Cantonese during English lessons”*. A participant from school B stated: *“Sometimes, students do not like doing their homework or pay attention in class”* while another participant from the same type of school stated: *“Students play with their cell phones during lessons. Another participant stated: Sometimes students sleep in class”*. The fourth participant from school B stated: *“Surprisingly, most students cooperate with the assigned discipline and there is a measure of courtesy, especially outside the classroom”*. One of the participants from school C type stated:

Students’ misbehaviour could be categorized into two - less serious ones and more serious ones. The less serious ones are coming late to school, absenteeism, lying to both teachers and parents, singing during lessons, throwing paper balls in class and playing tricks on teachers. The more serious ones are willful destruction of property like computer or pulling down power point board and students fighting teachers and students.

Another participant stated: *“The students lack courtesy as they are not polite, they call teachers by their names to their faces and they do not use words like ‘excuse, thank you, please’ but rather always use commanding tones”*. The third participant stated: *“Some students hit or torment other students; some other students read other books or do homework during lessons or do homework for other students or hold conversations during lessons”*.

The above cases of incivility are similar to the ones found by Alberts, Hazen & Theobald (2010); Alkandari (2011); Boice (1996) and Swinney, Elder & Seaton (2010). On the issue of racial tension in schools, a related finding, is that which found that non-whites lecturers in the United States of America were more target of students’ incivility than whites (Alberts, Hazen & Theobald, 2010; Ausbrooks, Jones & Tijerina, 2011). In adult population, in Hong Kong, Lilley (2001) insists that racial tension exists and she cites Christine Loh Kung-Wai, Chairwoman of Citizens Party Hong Kong Against Discrimination Alliance as saying “It is entranced and yet people don’t want to talk about it”(p.140).

Reasons for Incivility

On reasons for incivility, a participant from school A stated: *There is simply racial competition among the students, another talked about immaturity, poor self image and irresponsibility*. A participant from school B stated: *sometimes students do not understand the lessons or they find some lessons boring or students seeking attention, self-centredness* and a participant from school C stated: *for the less serious misbehaviour, it is because students lack home training and they are not disciplined, for the more serious misbehaviours, it may be that some of the students have emotional problems*. Another participant stated: *The issue of popularity and use of modern technology such as smart phones*. Another participant stated: *It is difficult to give reasons for students misbehaviour because misbehaviour differ based on the subject that is taught*. Similar to some of the above, most earlier studies blame classroom incivility on large class size and advancement in technology (Alberts, Hazen & Theobald, 2010; Berger, 2000; Boice, 1996).

Checking Incivility

Participants reported different methods in maintaining civility in their classrooms. A participant from school A stated: *I mix the seats of the students rather than allow them sit in class based on choice.* Another participant from the same type of school said, *I give students activities that will make them mix with each other* and the third participant from school A said, *I talk to the students as a group.* For school B, a participant stated, *I ask the students to switch off their cell phones,* while another participant stated, *I supervise the students properly to ensure that they are attentive* and another participant said, *I give them class work instead of home work* and another participant stated: *I do not need to check them because I am facing them when I teach and I can observe all these misbehaviour at once.* For school C, a participant said: *I draw students' attention to the problem and tell them why it is a problem, I may ask a student to stand up or stand outside the glass door of the classroom.*

Another participant said,

I sometimes write a students' name on the board and only remove it if she improves for the remainder of the lesson, if not, then I pass the name on to her home/room teacher or I may threaten or actually keep the student(s) in class late, so this cuts into their recess or lunch time.

Another participant from the same type of school stated:

For the minor ones, I deduct conduct marks or give them black marks or demerit while for the more serious cases like fighting, we call parents of concerned students for a conference and deduct their conduct marks and if the reason for the fight is very serious, we refer the matter to the social welfare workers.

From research on this subject, the following ways of checking incivility in the classroom which are similar to those found in this research are friendly verbal reminders (such as switch off your phones ,can you suspend your conversation until after this lesson), suspending students from class, talking to students privately, threaten to deduct and deducting points from students' grades, filing an official complaint about a student's misbehavior, knowing the students and calling them by their names, rebuking and imposing penalties (Alberts, Hazen & Theobald, 2010; Alkandari,2011; Berger,2000; Swinney, Elder & Seaton, 2010).

Gender and Civility

This appears to differ across schools. A participant from school A stated: *Generally, the enrolment of the males is higher than the females, so the males are more involved in this behavior than females.* The other two participants from school A said something similar as they stated: *There is no gender difference in the behaviour of students.* Three participants from school type B stated: *There is no gender difference in the behavior of students* while one participant from the same type of school stated: *The boys tend to be worse in behaviour than the girls.* For school C, two of the participants stated: *There is no gender difference* while one stated: *All the students misbehave regardless of gender but while the boys misbehave openly and react to situations immediately and are aggressive in approach, the girls are more subtle in their misbehavior.* Findings from this research are in line with earlier findings in literature such as the Indiana University Survey (2000) and Swinney, Elder and Seaton (2010) that found male students to be more uncivil than female students. In addition, although Alkandari (2011) did not set out to find out gender difference in incivility of students but his findings implied that female students were less polite than their male counterparts. This finding according to him was inconsistent with earlier findings which showed no gender difference in incivility.

Effects of Classroom Incivility

The participants mentioned three effects of incivility in their classrooms. According to them

incivility in the classroom : *makes it difficult for students to mix freely and share ideas, makes the classroom unconducive for learning and diverts the attention and energy of the teacher from teaching to settling incivility issues.* This is similar to the findings of Ausbrooks, Jones and Tijerina (2011); Barret, Rubaii- Barret and Pelowski (2010); Clark and Carnosso (2008); Hirschy and Braxton (2004),

Conclusion

From this study it is obvious that there was civility and incivility in the sampled secondary schools (this conforms similar studies in the United States of America- Boice, 1996; Forni, 2008; Swinney, Elder & Seaton, 2010) but this varied across schools; how incivility was checked also differed across schools as its nature dictated how it was handled and the reasons for it also varied. The issue of gender difference in civility also varied across schools, while for some schools there was no gender difference, for some others, the boys was more involved in incivility than the girls. There was agreement on the effects of incivility in all the schools. As regards the use of convenience sampling method in this study, Liamputtong and Ezzy (2005); Miles and Huberman (1986) as cited by Bryman and Burgess (1999) raised doubts about its intellectual credibility, but according to them it could be used as the last option or as a starting point as it is in this case. In addition, to obtain a better picture of civility in secondary schools in Hong Kong, the inclusion of at least one student from the school which each of the participant (teacher) taught would have improved this study. Lastly, because of the small sample size of this study, the conclusion reached regarding civility and incivility in secondary schools in Hong Kong cannot be generalized beyond this sample.

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Book Review

Education and State Formation: Europe, East Asia and the USA by Andy Green, Palgrave MacMillan, 2nd ed., 2013, 439 pp. Paperback, ISBN 978-1-137-34174-7.

This notable book by Professor Andy Green has been revised from its first edition published in 1990. It explores the multi-dimensional and layered interplay between educational systems and state formation by examining, comparatively and historically, the complex process of their interwoven, interdependent evolutions in three continents, Europe, Asia and America. The volume employs macro-causal comparative analysis and parallel demonstration of theory, and is particularly valuable and appealing in an intensified era of globalization.

The book is organized in six chapters, in addition to its Introduction, Conclusion and Postscript. Chapter One depicts the uneven development of Western national education systems in Prussia (1780-1840), France (1806-1882), the United States (1830-1865) and England (1839-1902). Its comparisons cover elementary and post-elementary enrolments, and focus on teachers and literacy, observing that continental states went rather further in the licensing and training of teachers than England and the U.S. Unsatisfied with the limited exploration of the social origins of national education systems by founding fathers of sociology, Green surveys and criticizes the validity of four theoretical paradigms for explaining the emergence and rise of mass schooling and state development in Chapter Two. These include liberal theory in the early stage, the dominant functionalism developed by Emile Durkheim, both classical and neo-Marxism, and Weberian theory as used by Margaret Archer. Green concludes that the linkage between educational forms, changes in productive techniques and economic skill requirements is not direct, but is often mediated by other factors.

Chapter Three investigates how the national education system developed in parallel with the modern capitalist state by reviewing two major theories, that of Marx and Engels on the state and that of Gramsci on state and hegemony, which Green believes provide preliminary pointers for comparative analysis. Green reckons that the state plays a critical role in the consolidation of the ruling class's ideological and political hegemony and nationalism, in addition to the development of the economy. Chapter Four moves to rich illustrations of how continental states started, expanded and constructed formal schooling systems by transforming religious education during the periods of absolutism and enlightened despotism in the cases of Prussia and France. The author rightly points out that education and statism interacted mutually, and that the single most important contribution of education to bourgeois society was probably its role in fostering national unity or nationhood (p. 161).

Chapter Five turns to the US experience of interactions between education and nationhood, featured by a decentralized model. In the case of the U.S., the interactions were divided into four major stages: the colonial period, the Revolution, the early republic period and the Reform era in the mid-19th century. The chapter distinguishes the Reform era as a consolidation and culmination of earlier movements towards nation-building in a new context and subject to changing forces (p. 186), with an interesting observation that "No country has claimed so much for national education and nowhere has the reality fallen so short of its aims" (p. 263).

As expected, this British author offers the lengthiest discussion on education in England and the liberal state in Chapter Six, which contrasts sharply with both the European and the US

cases. The challenges the author faces in this chapter result from the fact that the development of national education in England occurred very late and that this, as well as the peculiar way in which it developed need explanation. , What makes this more paradoxical is that there were many of the social preconditions most likely to stimulate educational reform in England. In its lengthy narration of the English story, the chapter is divided into four parts: the peculiarities of the English, education and liberalism (1780-1839), bureaucracy by stealth (1839-1969) and the compromise system (1870-1902). The author believes that the nature of the British state must be understood in relation to the particular characteristics of the English. After a comprehensive review of several influential explanations he makes the point that only in Britain was individualism and hostility to the state so entrenched, unlike the revolutionary and authoritarian states in Europe, and therefore support for public education through the state could not easily be won (p. 232). In England, the very strength of voluntary interests tended to undermine the coherence and credibility of public education (p. 295).

To summarize earlier chapters, the author further argues that educational systems arose unevenly in the major nations of Europe and North America, but were not necessarily driven by popular demand or market forces alone. The unevenness was caused by time, space and pace, and in some cases these differences are historically quite remarkable. Specifically, one key social factor is identified as the need to provide the state with trained administrators and other specialized personnel and to inculcate and forge collective or national cultures and ideologies, oftentimes in circumstances characterized by the hegemony of dominant classes. In general, three historical factors have played and will continue to play a crucial role in educational systems: nationalistic responses to external military threats or territorial conflicts; internal transformations resulting from revolution or national independence; and situations, of economic underdevelopment. Meanwhile, the forms of national systems tended to reflect the nature of the state that created them, as demonstrated in the cases of France and the US, in addition to such other factors as civil society. Additionally the author argues from a comparative point of view that England represents the most exceptional case of educational development, as it carries the legacy of “freedom” and “individualism”, which safeguards against overweening central state control but may damage nationhood in ways not fully recognized (pp. 302-303).

In addition to his comparative analysis of England, France, Prussia and the US, the author adds a Postscript on education and state formation in East Asia. This arises from intense research efforts in recent years since the first edition of this volume. It first focuses on the state and development in the region, and contributes a review of explanations for rapid growth with equity in East Asian countries. Reflecting on cultural and institutional legacies, geopolitical factors and economic policies, the author elaborates that it is such “situational imperatives” as mercantilism and nationalism that offer more relevant explanations. In Part Two it then turns to interpreting the so-called East Asian “economic miracle” by reviewing two competing perspectives, human capital theory and developmental skills formation theory. The author showcases state formation and educational systems in Japan, Korea and Singapore, and asserts that the commonalities of East Asian education include highly centralized governance and planning, and the heavy emphasis on the core skills areas of literacy, mathematics and science. The Postscript brings the whole volume to a close with two key implications for development: that the role of the state in development is crucial, and it is particularly true for educational systems; and that democracy tends to follow industrial development rather than precede it, and that education has been always at the heart of the democratic process (p. 384).

Readers would have appreciated it more if China had been selected as a challenging case for the book, as China is unique for such a comparative and historical analysis in that it established its formal educational system well before capitalism emerged. And it would be very interesting to contrast continental China with insular Japan, just as Europe and England are compared in the book. In addition, the author makes the point that Confucian values cannot provide a sufficient explanation of why successful development has also occurred in non-Confucian countries, i.e., Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand (p. 323). This might be true, but it is widely noted that Confucianism has variant forms in history and in the greater China region, and the fact is that even the wider region has been geo-historically influenced by Confucian culture.¹

Nevertheless, the new edition of this book by Professor Andy Green is path-breaking in filling the gap of research on the intricate interplay of educational systems and state formation by providing 3D evidence of events in time and space for comparisons and broadening its examination to East Asian contexts with a special postscript. It should not be missed by any scholar who is in the field of comparative and international education, history, sociology, political science, and/or developmental studies, and by practitioners in educational policy, politics and development. As both a comparativist and historian, I highly recommend it to graduate students and other serious researchers, particularly because it is also an easily read book. In just one volume the broad, historical overview is provided of the interaction between of educational systems and state formation.

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¹ Li, J. (2009). Confucianism. In D. Pong (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of modern China* (Vol. 1, pp. 347-351). Detroit, MI: Charles Scribner's Sons.; and Li, J., & Hayhoe, R. (2012). Confucianism and higher education. In J. A. Banks (Ed.), *SAGE Encyclopedia of Diversity in Education* (Vol. 1, pp. 443-446). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

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