Globalization and Higher Vocational Education (HVE) in China: A Case Study in Shanghai

By

Molin Wang

Department of Integrated Studies in Education
McGill University

September 2006

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Canada

Abstract

In China, higher vocational education (HVE) is a specific educational form in terms of its the educational goals, management structure, and close relationship with the economy. During the past quarter century, China has experienced not only a substantial increase in economic progress, but also the influence of globalization on its political, socio-economic, and educational development. This thesis examines how HVE has changed since the emergence of a socialist market economy (SME) in 1992. It interprets the relationship between globalization and HVE in terms of actual changes that have occurred at the Vocational College of Shanghai Jiaotong University (VCSJTU).

The thesis is significant for three reasons. First, it generates useful insights into the process of HVE policy implementation in China since its economic transformation in the early 1990s, and interprets the relationship between globalization, SME, and HVE. The case study also generates insights which can contribute to understanding HVE policy on learning in relation to the context of the economic situation within China and the impact of globalization. Second, the thesis puts special emphasis on analyzing the culture and value changes in VCSJTU since its foundation and explores the deep roots between different values and their implications for people's understanding and appreciation of globalization in the school context. Third, the academic contributions of this case study include theoretical frames of reference on culture, education, and economic globalization. In particular, the study outlines and analyzes (with reflections) the experience gained during the internal economic transformations within China – an analysis which

contributes to the international sociology of education, to an understanding of the values within education in relation to the impact of globalization.

Résumé

En Chine, la formation professionnelle supérieure (FPS) est une forme d'éducation spécifique en raison de ses objectifs, de sa structure de gestion et de son étroite relation avec l'économie. Au cours des vingt-cinq dernières années, la Chine a connu non seulement une importante hausse de son développement économique, mais aussi l'influence de la mondialisation sur son développement politique, socio-économique et éducationnel. La présente thèse se penche sur les changements qu'a connus la FPS depuis l'émergence de l'économie socialiste de marché, en 1992. On y interprète la relation entre la mondialisation et la FPS sur le plan des changements qui se sont produits au Vocational College of Shanghai Jiaotong University (VCSJTU).

L'importance de cette thèse repose sur trois facteurs. Premièrement, elle nous éclaire sur le processus d'intégration de la politique de FPS en Chine depuis sa transformation économique au début des années 1990. Elle fournit une interprétation de la relation entre la mondialisation, l'économie socialiste de marché et la FPS. L'étude permet aussi du comprendre la politique de FPS sur l'apprentissage par rapport à la situation économique de la Chine et à l'impact de la mondialisation. Deuxièmement, la thèse met l'accent sur l'analyse des changements culturels et de valeurs au VCSJTU depuis sa création, explorant les racines communes aux différentes valeurs et leur rôle dans la compréhension et l'appréciation de la mondialisation dans le contexte éducationnel. Troisièmement, la contribution académique de cette étude de cas comprend des cadres de référence théoriques en matière de culture, d'éducation et de mondialisation économique. Plus particulièrement, l'étude résume, analyse et commente l'expérience

acquise au cours des transformations économiques internes de la Chine. Une telle analyse contribue à la sociologie internationale de l'éducation ainsi qu'à la compréhension des valeurs du monde de l'éducation relativement à l'impact de la mondialisation.

Acknowledgement

There are many people to whom I want to say "Thank You Very Much" for your kind help. The first one is my supervisor, Dr. Steven Jordan, who offered me his support and suggestions without hesitation, and who has been my supervisor for nearly five years. Dr. Jordan's expert guidance lead to the correct direction for this thesis and significantly helped to make it what it has become today. His consistent pursuit of the best quality thesis and his serious attitude towards research were essential to the completion of this thesis.

I also want to thank Dr. David Smith, who was my first supervisor in 2001, before his retirement from McGill University. Dr. Smith never failed to give me insightful instructions and always was willing to offer timely help and advice, which was very much important to a Ph.D. program beginner. I especially appreciated his kind patience, which was very humane and nice.

Dr. Dip Kapoor, one of my advisory committee members, gave me feedback that has greatly contributed to the development of this thesis. Dr. Kapoor's lectures in the Fall of 2004 were some of the most inspiring and impressive lectures I attended at McGill. His timely suggestions, generous advice and patience make him a most respectable scholar.

Dr. Christopher Milligan always provided me with his excellent technical advice and generous support. His boundless enthusiasm and persistent commitment to high quality research and thesis has helped me to polish the details of this thesis.

Dr. Duane Inman, a very good friend of mine, is the one who encouraged me every time I felt tired. Our correspondences about the differences between Chinese culture and Western cultures, and the cultural and value changes since the global economy has become the main trend in the world are so interesting and profound to me. From these discussions, I began to understand the differences between cultures and began to more deeply appreciate the tranquility, beauty, and subtlety of the Chinese culture, which have helped to make it so long-lasting. It was Dr. Inman's encouragement that helped me to gain confidence to use the English language; which is not my mother tongue.

I owe a lot of gratitude to the VCSJTU people, without whom this thesis would have been impossible. I want to thank them all for frankly sharing their stories with me and for confiding their deep thoughts and concerns.

I also would like to thank my many McGill friends. Dr. Linda Furlini, who was one year more advanced in the Ph.D. program than me, has been a great friend who always pushed me by the warmest encouragement, and who lent a helping hand whenever necessary, both professionally and personally. Dr. Charlotte Hussey's poetic, concise English has polished this thesis tremendously, and her elegance and friendliness are even more impressive than her perfect English. Shuling Chen, with whom I share the same point of progression through the Ph.D. program, has been a dear friend with whom I can share the joy of our progress, and the sorrow of our thinking blocks. Muhammad Agus Nuryatno, whose office is next to mine, has been a friend with whom I often share lunch and jokes. His sense of humor and intelligence has tremendously impressed me.

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Abbreviations

GDP – Gross domestic product
GNP – Gross national product
HVE – Higher vocational education
MOE – Ministry of Education
PRC – People's Republic of China
SME – Socialist market economy
SPE – Socialist planned economy
VCSJTU – Vocational College of Shanghai Jiaotong University

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the orientation, rationale, purpose, significance, research questions, and arrangement of the thesis.

1.1 Orientation of the VCSJTU Case Study

In China, higher vocational education (HVE) is a specific, post-secondary education in terms of its educational goals, management structure, and most importantly, its close relationship with the economy. According to the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2006), "vocational" means "providing skills and education that prepare you for a job." In most people's mind, "vocational" suggests some lower-level technical skill such as welding, carpentry, or agricultural expertise (Luan, Fang & Gu, 2002). However, in China today, the "vocational" skills offered in HVE no longer mean the lower-level labor skills, since the employment and labor market have changed tremendously as a result of the development of the national economy. Therefore, today, "vocational" skills mainly refer to technical skills including computer science, business negotiation, translation and interpretation, communications, and transportation. HVE is a Chinese term, equivalent to "technical-professional higher education" in Western countries (Shi, 2001). HVE has the "dual" characteristics of both vocational and higher education. As such, vocational education refers to cultivating students' practical and specialized skills, while higher education refers to the need to satisfy a post-secondary academic standard

(Zhong, 2002). This definition suggests that HVE is not merely training workers for the labor market, but also is educating intellectuals to help develop a prosperous nation.

In China, the decade of the 1990s was a crucial period of economic development that led to structural changes in the economic system. In 1992, China's economic system changed dramatically from a socialist-planned economy (SPE) to a socialist market economy (SME). The main difference between the two systems is that the former is a centrally controlled economy, while the later is a more market-oriented economy. SME is the economic system that exists only in China, and as its name suggests, it is a "market" economy under "socialist" conditions. Its reforms range broadly from export promotion strategies to regulatory frameworks in the banking system. The SME intensifies the efforts of economic reforms and thus promotes further economic development in China.

Globalization is a relatively new concept (Currie & Newson, 1998), and many researchers believe that it is simultaneously political, economical, and cultural (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Fitzsimons, 2000; Rajaee, 2000; Rizvi, 2000; Shaw, 1997). Morrow and Torres (2000) observe that "the most visible impact of globalization on education in developing societies stems from the imposition of structural adjustment policies" (p. 43). This is particularly true of HVE in China. Moreover, SME is a Chinese response to globalization. To support this economy, China's educational system has been restructured to provide the nation with manpower and brainpower, i.e., both labor workers and intellectuals. In the past quarter century, economic development within China and globalization's impact beyond China have dramatically contributed to the corresponding reforms and development of HVE. HVE has emerged as a fruit of this educational reform,

a reform leading to changes in school policies, curriculum, and management, all of which were implemented to meet the requirements set by both SME and globalization.

What kind of a new educational environment have these HVE reforms created? What are the forces driving these reforms? Answers to these two questions are complex and interwoven with the impact of globalization on China's current economic development. First, an examination of the literature reveals that many researchers have attempted to answer both questions (Feng, 2002; Wang, 2002; Wang & Chen, 2002; Wu, 2002; Zhao, 2002). This analysis is essential not only in the educational field but for society as a whole due to the deeper implications of these questions. Second, few studies have investigated HVE's evolution politically, ideologically, structurally, and functionally in terms of the actual changes in the vocational schools. Third, little research has been conducted to investigate how HVE is evolving to match a national economic development that is aimed to satisfy international requirements driven by globalization.

In 1998, Yu claimed that further research on HVE was urgently needed, especially against the broad background of globalization. Therefore, an understanding of the questions raised by China's HVE, and a deeper exploration of them, are needed, so further investigation is necessary. A few research questions will help to orient an additional investigation: In China, what is the relationship between globalization and HVE? To what extent, and in what specific ways, has globalization affected HVE, if any? What is the relationship between globalization and SME? A thorough understanding of these questions will contribute to an appreciation of the interrelationship between globalization, SME, and HVE development in China.

To answer these questions and thus better understand the current situation of HVE in China, "Globalization and Higher Vocational Education (HVE) in China: A Case Study in Shanghai" was conducted at the Vocational College of Shanghai Jiaotong University (VCSJTU). The intended subjects of the case study are the administrators, teachers, and students of VCSJTU. A qualitative research methodology using a case study approach was employed. This approach was selected because it is suitable for addressing the magnitude of the topic in which: 1) the researcher has little control over the research setting (Yin, 1994) and 2) the research focus is primarily on the kind of evidence derived from the speech and actions of subjects and their understanding of the meaning of what is going on (Gillham, 2000). At VCSJTU, the analysis of the data collected is used to generate a thesis that investigates the relationship between globalization and HVE in China in terms of the actual changes that have occurred at VCSJTU over the past decade.

To illustrate the rationale underpinning the choice of the research methodology and methods, an overview of the setting, i.e., Shanghai and VCSJTU, is described as background for the research. First, the economic and cultural situation of the city of Shanghai is elucidated because this city is the supra-system which cultivates the growth of VCSJTU, and in which it is embedded.

Shanghai is located in Eastern China at the mouth of the Yangtze River where it empties into the Pacific Ocean. As a whole, China is still a poor country, yet Shanghai, its richest city, has a per capita income that runs well within, and even surpasses, the range of Southern European middle-income economies (Lofstedt & Zhao, 2002). A few unique features have contributed to Shanghai's successful economic development: special

geographic endowments, a favorable political environment, a comprehensive

infrastructure development plan, and an attractive set of economic initiatives and

investment incentives. All these combine to make Shanghai the driving engine of China's

economic modernization in this new century (Lien, Lee, Choo, & NG, 1996). On the

economic level, since the early 1990s, remarkable economic and educational

developments took place in Shanghai, whose own advances outpaced all other Chinese

cities (Edwards, as cited in Yatsko, 2001). On the cultural level, Shanghai's cultural

dynamics such as modern versus traditional, occidental versus oriental, and vigorous

versus modest, not only provide a broad background for my case study, but also are keys

to understanding the school culture at VCSJTU. In a word, Shanghai is now on the

cutting edge of commerce, industry, technology, and culture in China.

VCSJTU is one of the top three HVE schools in Shanghai. Both the faculty

members and students of the school are the brightest and best educated in Shanghai.

Together with other principal HVE institutions, VCSJTU serves as an example in the

field of vocational education (Cheng, 1999). Erickson (1986) comments: "What we learn

in a particular case can be transferred to similar situations" (as cited in Merriam, 2002, p.

179). Therefore, the research on VCSJTU is likely to produce significant outcomes that

can cast some light on other institutions as well.

1.2 Rationale of the VCSJTU Case Study

This subsection discusses the literature review in 1.2.1 and the personal reasons

that led to the conduction of this case study in 1.2.2

1.2.1 Literature Review

As it involves some complicated and dynamic factors such as the population, economy, and decisions made by a socialist government, the topic of vocational education always has been one of the key research concerns in Chinese education. In the past decade, when globalization was integrating China into the world economy (World Bank, 1997), it offered enormous possibilities in terms of "imported" new jobs and foreign investment. In return, these possibilities demanded significant modifications in production behavior and economic policies (Morrow & Torres, 2000) and have tended to "force" Chinese education into a new framework. Consequently, major changes have happened in the educational field including transformations in school policy and school culture.

Currently, many aspects of HVE have been investigated in many ways. Yang and Wang (2000) have presented their ideas on the quality of teachers and curriculum development. Cao, Zhang and Huang (2002) point to HVE's responsiveness to the labor market as well as analyzing the quality of the HVE program. Cao (2002) presents his arguments for recognizing HVE by listing some basic questions and calling for further investigation. He argues that HVE's role and position in China's educational system remain unclear because in the mind of the general public, HVE is not a component of higher education. This attitude has led to difficulties in raising financial aid and to uncertainty as to the direction of HVE teaching. Besides these issues, some researchers examine some specific topics relating to HVE. Peng (2002) and Wu (2002) give their ideas on the relationship between the development of HVE and the regional economy. Zhou, Zhen, and Liu (2000) discuss the knowledge and skills that HVE students should

develop at school. In October 2001, the World Trade Organization (WTO) nominated China as a formal member. Since then, new topics concerning the relationship between the WTO and HVE are being discussed, including predictions about the new development trends of HVE and the corresponding reforms in its administration system (Feng, 2002; Wang, 2002; Wang & Chen, 2002; Wu, 2002; Zhao, 2002).

To summarize, a review of the literature concerning HVE in China during the past decade indicates that little researches has been done on the evolution of HVE, with regards to the broad background of SME and globalization. As well, little research has been done in respect to interpreting the relationship between globalization, SME, and HVE in terms of the actual changes in HVE schools (Cheng, 1997). The lack of such research may lead to a distortion of information and false conclusions concerning HVE policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation process. Therefore, further research is called for regarding HVE, and thus my case study at VCSJTU.

1.2.2 Personal Reasons

My personal interest in doing such a case study at VCSJTU mainly comes form my own experience at VCSJTU in 2000. What intrigued me initially about this school was the conflict between the responses toward VCSJTU's clear-set educational goals and its program aims. Even when everything is clearly set in terms of 1, 2, 3, some people felt deeply concerned about these aims. For example, VCSJTU asked the teaching faculty to help students to become high achievers regarding the "percentage of holding various certificates," but this simple requirement aroused many doubts not only toward school policy but also toward the HVE program in general. Many teachers doubt whether the

college should focus on this percentage because they believe instead that college education should focus on a well-rounded education for students. This conflict lingered in my mind, and I believe it has generated significant questions that deserve investigation.

1.3 Purpose of the Case Study

Burbules and Torres (2000) suggest that "globalization is clearly happening" (p. 18). China, like most other countries across the world, has accepted this reality and has developed unique responses to it. Both SME and HVE are the response and expression of the impact of globalization in economic and educational spheres respectively.

China's educational system is not unique in paying increasing attention to global economic pressures and opportunities, and to domestic pressures to use the new market principles. However, changes in China's education, especially HVE, have been rather unique. The suddenness, scope, degree of previous structural and administrative reversal, and vigor that characterized the reform emerged only recently during the early 1990s. The interplay between the economic and political contexts of globalization and SME has been the background against which the major HVE reform was initiated and implemented. However, the relationship between globalization and HVE, as well as how HVE has been shaped by globalization and SME need investigation. Thus, the purpose of the case study at VCSJTU is: 1) with regard to the broad background of globalization and the economic and educational contexts in China, to explore and interpret the actual changes in HVE as represented at VCSJTU, politically, ideologically, structurally, functionally, and operationally; and 2) to also investigate why the changes happen as they do by specifically examining the relationship between globalization and HVE in China, with a

particular emphasis on explaining how HVE has been shaped and initiated by the emergence of SME and globalization.

The VCSJTU case study is not meant to produce a mere "factual report" of how many students enroll every year and how much funding the school receives from the government. This kind of data will be helpful for understanding the background of the school, but it is more important to analyze the elements that have lead to changes at VCSJTU in the past decades, and to trace the reasons why things have happen as they do. To summarize, this case study will provide school descriptions, including contextual and historical details and accounts of the nature and quality of teaching and learning in practice; detailed reports of the relationship between globalization and HVE and of how people interpret globalization at the school level; and critical evaluations of the problems encountered in the school in the past decades in terms of decision-making for learning and teaching.

1.4 Significance of the Case Study

The VCSJTU case study is significant for three reasons. First, it generates useful insights into the process of China's HVE policy implementation since its economic transformation in the early 1990s, and interprets the relationship between globalization, SME, and HVE in China. The case study also generates insights which can contribute to understanding the HVE policy on learning in relation to the context of the economic situation within China and the impact of globalization.

Second, the thesis puts special emphasis on analyzing the culture and value changes in VCSJTU since its foundation and explores the deep roots between different

values and their implications for people's understanding and appreciation of globalization in the school context.

Third, the academic contributions of this case study include theoretical frames of reference on culture, education, and economic globalization. In particular, the study outlines and analyzes (with reflections) the experience gained during the inner economic transformations within China, which contribute to the international sociology of education, to an understanding of values within education in relation to the impact of globalization.

Besides all these, this case study also compares HVE in China with professional/technical education in other countries within the time frame of the past quarter century. Such a comparison can be done within a framework of the "classroots realities" of education and culture, and can explore the reasons for the success or failure of HVE reform policies.

1.5 Case Study Research Questions

According to the purpose of the case study, it will focus on the following four research questions:

1. In what respects has VCSJTU's school mission, educational goals, inter-institutional cooperations, and curriculum development evolved in relation to globalization?

2. What are the main cultural and core values of the school: how have these values been determined; and what other factors have contributed to the building of the institution's culture?

3. What is the relationship between globalization and HVE in China in terms of the

    VCSJTU experience and practices?

4. What does VCSJTU's experience reveal about local-global interactions in relation to

    the literature on China's culture, education and globalization?

These four research questions are central to this case study. The documents collected, interviews and survey held, and observations made at VCSJTU are combined to answer these questions and thus, to reach the study's objective.

1.6 The Arrangement of the Thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction. It introduces the orientation, rationale, purpose, significance, research questions, and the arrangement of the thesis.

Chapter 2 is the background chapter. It presents the international context (globalization), national context (China), and local context (Shanghai) as three layers for data analysis and for discussion of the theme. In terms of the international context (section 2.0), Chapter 2 does three things: 1) reviews the existing theoretical literature about globalization by presenting the definitions of globalization and a frame of ideas of globalization, culture, and education; 2) presents China's experience of globalization through transformations in its economic and educational systems during the past quarter of a century; and 3) introduces my personal experience of globalization. In terms of the national context (section 3.0), Chapter 2 accomplishes two things: 1) examines the

context of China by briefly outlining its history and culture, which are key to

understanding China's social changes over the past quarter century; and 2) explains the

SME in China by discussing its definitions, its emergence, and its role in China's

economy. In terms of the local context (section 4.0), Chapter 2 achieves two things: 1)

introduces HVE by tracing its history in China; and 2) introduces the significance and the

characteristics of Shanghai and its people.

Chapter 3 is the methodology chapter. It addresses four issues: 1) the case study

approach (section 5.0); 2) the methodological framework (section 6.0); 3) the researcher's

role in the case study (section 7.0); and 4) the school where the case study was conducted

(section 8.0). To present a thorough examination of the case study approach, Chapter 3

reviews the literature on the definitions, characteristics, strengths, and limitations of the

case study approach. It then delineates the methodological framework and the different

methods used in the data collection. To make the researcher's role clear, Chapter 3 begins

by discussing the researcher's dual role – as insider and outsider – and the contributions

that accompany this role. Chapter 3 also links the researcher's personal understanding of

the case study approach by outlining the researcher's personal experience at VCSJTU

when conducting this case study. Finally, Chapter 3 examines VCSJTU by reviewing the

HVE development in Shanghai, and by examining various aspects of the school to

produce a more complete picture.

Chapter 4 presents the data analysis and the emerged themes. It has three

subsections. Section 9.0 examines how the data was analyzed. Section 10.0 is about how

the themes emerged. The researcher took great effort to develop the themes section,

which is part of her own contributions. Section 11.0 contains the researcher's reflections

on the definitions of globalization.

Chapter 5 presents the conclusion. In this Chapter, the main findings are reviewed and suggestions for future research are made.

Chapter 2: Background: Globalization, China, and Shanghai

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the international context (globalization) in section 2.0, the national context (China) in section 3.0 and the local context (Shanghai) in section 4.0.

2.0 Globalization: The International Context

In this section, subsections 2.1 sets out a range of theoretical perspectives on globalization by introducing definitions of "globalization." It then presents a frame of ideas of culture and education in relation to these theories. This frame of ideas is presented to engage with my data analysis in section 10.0. Subsection 2.2 links changes in the global economy to China by discussing the changes in the economy and education system of China during the last quarter of the last century. It also explores the nature and roots of these changes. Subsection 2.3 presents my personal experience and understanding of globalization.

2.1 Theories of Globalization

2.1.1 Definitions of Globalization

Globalization is a relatively new concept (Currie & Newson, 1998). Many researchers have tried to define the term, but no comprehensive definition has been offered. Recent literature highlights the complexity of globalization, and different scholars focus on different aspects of it. *Politically*, "globalization" is viewed as the reshaping and repositioning of political institutions in nation states (Henry, Lingard, &

Taylor, 1999). *Economically*, "globalization" is seen as the next step in the progression of capitalism, or as the hegemony of transnational capitalism (Albrow, 1993, as cited in DeAngelis, 1998; Salt, Cervero, & Heord, 2000; Soros, 1998). *Culturally*, "globalization" is a force that seems to integrate diverse local and national entities into a single global whole (Albrow, 1993, as cited in DeAngelis, 1998; Barber, 2000, as cited in Burbules & Torres, 2000). Each perspective appears to interpret globalization from its own frame of reference. However, the most widely accepted definition of globalization is the economic perspective (Clayton, 2004; Ghosh, 2004; Luke & Luke, 2000). Weisbrot (2001) offers "the simplest, most commonly accepted definition of globalization: an increase in international trade and investment" (p. 38).

Many researchers believe that the more precise definition of globalization must address all three dimensions (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Fitzsimons, 2000; Rizvi, 2000). Rajaee (2000) points out that "globalization is simultaneously political, economic and cultural" (p. 44). Shaw (1997) maintains that globalization is comparatively multi-dimensional and suggests that it is "a complex set of distinct but related processes – economic, cultural, social and also political and military – through which social relations have developed towards a global scale and with global reach, over a long historic period" (p. 498). Marginson (1999) suggests that globalization is multidimensional and broad, having six aspects: "finance and trade; communications and information technologies; international movements of peoples; the formation of global societies; linguistic, cultural and ideological convergence; and world systems of signs and images" (as cited in Monkman & Baird, 2002, p. 499).

This variety of definitions and suggestions demonstrates that globalization is a complex concept. Many researchers observe that globalization is both a useful and slippery concept (Jordan & Yeomans, 2003; DeAngelis, 1998). The term "globalization" is being used with increasing frequency, but often with different interpretations by different commentators who may be focusing on different perspectives. As a "phenomenon of surpassing importance," Richard Pound suggests: "It is no longer a question of whether a country should respond to globalization, but how it will deal with it and even more importantly how successfully it will do so" (Sachedina, 2001, p. 4). It reminds us of the shared fate of many peoples with different origins across national and cultural borders.

2.1.2 Globalization, Culture, and Education

The globalization of capital flows, production processes, and labor use all contribute to the reconfigurations of values and cultures. Many researchers have been critical about the relationship between globalization and culture. Rivzi (2000) suggests that globalization "is not universally imposed by a colonial power upon the colonized, but rather is something that affects people and nations in a variety of different ways that are both asymmetrical and contingent" (p. 223). Capella (2000) also maintains that: "Globalization consists primarily in cultural change and in the decentralizing of power. The educational sphere is probably one of the areas in which the consequences of globalization are most seriously felt" (p. 249). Jones (1998) notes that: "The first process of globalization is the expansion of capitalism. The second process of globalization is the spread in the ideology of consumerism... Technical development in communications and

information systems has facilitated the transmission of a homogenous consumer culture"

(p. 88). Burbules and Torres (2000) observe that "global changes in culture deeply affect

educational policies, practices and institutions" (p. 21). Kellner (2000) points to the

necessity of rethinking education in the wake of dramatic transformations in the economy

and culture. In addition, Burbules and Torres (2000) also present an interesting point of

view:

> A number of developing countries, such as China or Malaysia, have become
>
> increasingly suspicious of globalization and have tried to find ways to
>
> constrain its effects on their national way of life. Yet, at the same time they
>
> desire some of the benefits of participation in a global economy and exchange
>
> of goods and information. (p. 17)

As an independent school, the experiences and practices of VCSJTU are more

valuable because "the cultural flows of globalization are experienced more directly by

self-managing schools and their students, as well as in a mediated fashion via educational

policy and restructuring" (Lingard, 2000, p. 80). As a HVE college, the practices and

value system of VCSJTU can be market-oriented. Apple (2004) puts forward a

description:

> To market something like education, it must first be transformed into a
>
> commodity, a product. The product is then there to serve different ends. Thus,
>
> rather than schooling being aimed at creating democratic citizenship as its

ultimate goal, the entire process can slowly become aimed instead at the

generation of profit for shareholders. (p. 619)

Is this description already a reality in VCSJTU or is it the orientation that

VCSJTU sets for itself? Apple and other researchers' opinions are part of a frame of ideas

and references for my analysis in section 10.0.

To conceptualize the relationship between globalization, culture and education, I

believe it is necessary to present the ideas that I will use as the frame for my data analysis

chapter. The first idea is a new form of culture, a *global culture* that accompanies a

growing globalization. Rizvi (2000) observes: "Such a dynamic cultural context has

given rise to the so-called 'third cultures' in which the stories of movement are best told

under the signs of hybridity and cultural mélange, rather than cultural adaptation" (209).

Luke and Luke (2000) also comment: "Hybridity, then, is not an invention of

postmodernism, globalization, and postcolonial theory. Rather it is social and cultural

formation born out of complex and intersecting histories that often predate direct contact

with the industrial and imperial West" (p. 284-285). In addition, Luke and Luke (2000)

present their understanding of the relationship of global culture and American culture.

Given the irrefutable fact "that the United States has the world's largest economy and, via

the world language of English, its intellectual industries, scientific and military systems,

and mass media and publishing exert substantial control over dominant modes of

representation and communication" (Luke & Luke, 2000, p. 289). However, they believe

"globalization and even, more specifically, Westernization do not necessarily mean

Americanization" (p. 289).

In my case study, values and cultures at VCSJTU are key issues that deserve careful investigation. Since the late 1970s, China's educational system has undergone radical and fundamental changes: "Global changes in culture deeply affect educational policies, practices and institutions" (Burbules & Torres, 2000, p. 21). The idea of "global culture" is particularly useful when different voices are heard at VCSJTU, especially since the role of higher education is undergoing profound transformation, and students, faculty, and administrations may be operating with contradictory ideas about their own positions, and about what higher education is and can be.

The second framing idea for my case study is *the relationship between globalization and education*. Morrow and Torres (2000) suggest that: "The most visible impact of globalization on education in developing societies stems from the imposition of structural adjustment policies" (p. 43). This is of particular importance for the case of China. In my data analysis, I discuss how HVE was born and how globalization shaped its development. I also use the Carnoy's ideas to frame my data analysis in 10.0. Carnoy (2002) suggests five ways in which globalization is having a major impact on education. In financial terms, most governments are under pressure to reduce public sector spending and to find funding sources for educational system expansion. In labor market terms, governments are under the pressure to attract foreign capital and increase the average level of education in the labor force. Also, pressure exists to expand higher education due to the relative rise in demand for more higher-educated manpower. In educational terms, the quality of national educational systems is increasingly being compared internationally. Carnoy's five judgments about how globalization is having a major impact on education are basic evaluation guidelines for my theme analysis. Besides, Rizvi (2000) observes

that globalization "has a commercial dimension that makes it sensitive to the needs of both markets and clients" (p. 222). Therefore, in my theme analysis, I am interested in understanding the response of HVE to globalization: what kinds of reforms and practices has HVE employed for further development, and how have these practices been shaped by globalization?

2.2 China's Experience of Globalization

Since the late 1970s, the outside world has been an "impetus" for changes in China (Moore, 2002). Together with the economic transformation within China and the introduction of new ideas coming in China, tremendous social changes have occurred in this country. These changes extend to the fields of education, academic research, health care, social insurance, the social security system, rural and urban consumer markets, formerly state-owned enterprises, national institutional units, national development, and values held by the Chinese for centuries, including those relating to Chinese traditions and culture. Chow (2002) comments that: "The country today is so different from what it was in 1978 that hardly anyone in or outside China in the late 1970s could have expected such dramatic changes" (p. 9). What China tried hard to achieve, and what it has achieved, are important dynamics in any attempt to understand its response to globalization, and underscore the idea that changes attributed to globalization are modified and fashioned by the particular circumstances in China. Therefore, China's experience in the past quarter of a century deserves careful examination. This section will review developments in China's economy and education that have occurred over the past quarter century.

2.2.1 China's Economy in the Past Quarter Century

China's remarkable economic performance started in the late 1970s. According to a World Bank report, "the Chinese economy expanded more than fourfold from 1978-1993. Between 1978 and 1995 real GDP per capita grew at the blistering rate of 8 percent a year and lifted 200 million Chinese out of absolute poverty" (World Bank, 1997, p. 1). In 2000, Jun Ma, an economist with the International Monetary Fund of Washington D.C., presented a comprehensive table of the basic indicators of the Chinese economy.

Table 2.1 China: Basic Indicators, 1978-1997

Year	Nominal ADP (yuan bn)	GDP index (1978=100)	Per capita GDP (yuan)	Percentage change of retail price index	Population (m)	Index of rural per capita income (1978=100)	Index of urban per capita income (1978=100)
1978	362.4	100.0	376.5	-	962.6	100.0	100.0
1980	451.8	116.0	457.7	6.0	987.1	138.1	127.0
1985	896.4	192.9	846.9	8.8	1,058.5	261.2	161.6
1986	1,020.2	210.0	949.0	6.0	1,075.1	267.9	182.5
1987	1,196.3	234.3	1,094.5	7.3	1,093.0	278.4	185.6
1988	1,492.8	260.7	1,344.6	18.5	1,110.3	289.6	187.9
1989	1,690.9	271.3	1,500.3	17.8	1,127.0	285.8	181.7
1990	1,854.8	281.7	1,622.3	2.1	1,143.3	300.7	197.8
1991	2,161.8	307.8	1,866.5	2.9	1,158.2	317.8	209.5
1992	2,663.8	351.4	2,273.4	5.4	1,171.7	328.1	228.3
1993	3,463.4	398.8	2,922.3	13.2	1,185.2	338.6	251.6
1994	4,675.9	449.3	3,901.5	21.7	1,198.5	355.5	273.7
1995	5,847.8	496.5	4,828.1	14.8	1,211.2	375.4	287.2
1996	6,799.5	544.2	5,539.3	6.0	1,233.9	409.2	296.7
1997	7,477.2	562.0	6,048.5	0.8	1,236.2	428.0	306.8

Sources: State Statistical Bureau, 1996, 1997a; Chen, 1998; Li, 1998.

Moreover, the economy of China can be perceived more clearly when it is compared to the economies of Eastern Europe and Russia:
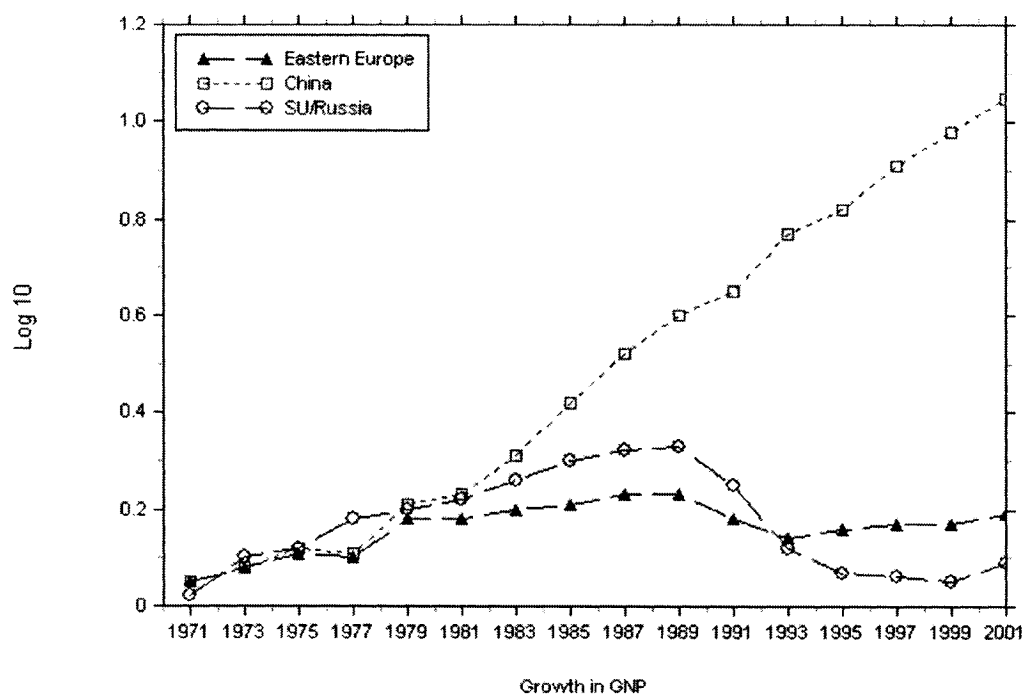
Figure 2.1 Growth in GNP: Eastern Europe, Russia and China

Sources: World Bank, *World Tables 1995* and *World Development Indicators*. As cited in Wedeman, 2003.

China's amazing economic achievements contribute a great deal to its pragmatic and incremental reforms and the correct theoretical guidance (Chow, 2002; World Bank, 1997). To be specific, before 1992, Chinese economic measures were aimed at rationalizing the managed economic system without calling its fundamentals into question. In 1992, China set an objective to build SME (SME will be explained in details in section 3.2.1.) After 1992, large scale economic reforms were applied (comparatively, the objectives of the first few years were modest) in order to achieve a more thoroughgoing transformation. With a gradually increasing success, the reforms became more ambitious (World Bank, 1997). As shown in table 2.1, between 1992 and 1997, China's annual average rate of GDP growth reached 11 percent. In 1996, for the first time,

China surpassed Japan as the largest deficit of the US trade surplus. Compared to other former socialist countries that experienced significant economic downturns during the early and mid 1990s, China's achievements are considered to be a miracle by many observers (Ishihara, 1993; Ma, 2000).

Some factors that help to explain the success of China's economic reform include: administrative and economic decentralization, the agricultural base of the Chinese economy, the agricultural reforms begun in the late 1970s, the central government's commitment to maintain macroeconomic stability, a disciplined and literate labor force, a growing administrative capacity, and a supportive Chinese Diaspora (Fewsmith, 1997; Ma, 2000; World Bank, 1997). According to observers from the World Bank: "These strengths have driven China's growth for the last two decades of this century. They could do the same in the first two decades of the next" (World Bank, 1997, p. ix). There is another major factor deriving from globalization. Furthermore, according to Chow (2002), China's successful economic reforms have been greatly influenced by globalization: China has introduced many ideas arising from globalization into its national economic reforms, including those of "market mechanism" and "decentralization," which formulate the core of SME.

In my opinion, globalization's "catalyst" role has helped to speed up the pace of economic reform, as so have an open-door policy and the construction of modernization, which cleared away many conservative and backward ideological restraints, such as "being shut to new ideas" or "staying isolated from the outer world." This kind of ideas blocks people's minds and are obstacles to decision-making. An open mind helps people accept and adopt ideas like "fair competition," "self-improvement," "adjustment to the

new economic system," and "distribution according to capability but not hierarchy," which later on proved to be the basic characteristics in SME. Gregory C. Chow, an economist at Princeton University and originally from Hong Kong, has advised top government officials in China and Taiwan for over two decades. Chow (2002) argues that nothing exists in the capitalist economic system that the Chinese government cannot consider and then adopt. This open-minded attitude contributes tremendously to the country's economic success (Chow, 2002). Ideological change is one of the premises for both economic reforms and the formation of SME. If past ideologies prevailed, it would be very difficult for China to accept new ideas and intensify its economic reform efforts, not to mention, setting up detailed economic strategies and putting them into practice (Rao, Chen, & Wang, 1994).

However, these amazing economic achievements are accompanied by negative consequences. An increasing unemployment rate, problems with the state-owned enterprises, weak revenue performance, an increasing rich-and-poor gap, corruption and environmental degradation are all major concerns faced by the Chinese government. An observer of the Chinese economy points out that: "The current unemployment situation shows that the benefit brought by the globalization trend has already been nullified by the exponential losses it brought" (World Bank Country Report, 2002). Failure to address many of these issues may lead to a slowdown of China's economic growth, give rise to government mistrust, and expose the government to serious political risks.

2.2.2 China's Education in the Past Quarter Century

The People's Republic of China (PRC) was founded in 1949. In the 1930s, the Chinese educational system resembled the American system (Chow, 2002). Besides public universities under government control, a number of private universities were in existence, many founded by American or French missionaries (Shi, 1997). After 1949, the educational system in China gradually shifted towards the Soviet system model. Although educational reforms were initiated beginning in the late 1970s, it was not until the latter part of the 1980s and early 1990s that China's educational system, to a large extent, return to the former pre-Soviet model (Chow, 1994).

Nowadays, China's educational system is divided into pre-school education, primary education, secondary education, junior high school education, senior high school education, post-secondary education, higher education, and postgraduate education (Hao, 2001) (Appendix 1). Stevenson (1998) observes that in China: "Elementary and secondary education follows the 6-3-3 pattern, and the control of the curriculum and textbooks lies with members of the central government" (p. 159). China has a centralized educational system. The Ministry of Education (MOE), the supreme administrative body for education in China, was founded in 1949 at the same time as the PRC:

It is responsible for carrying out related laws, regulations, guidelines and policies of the central government; planning development of the education sector; integrating and coordinating educational initiatives and programs nationwide; maneuvering and guiding education reform countrywide.

(Education Evolution in China, 2004)

The curriculum and school administration in China is set by the MOE. Cheng (1998), an observer of the practice of the MOE, suggests that the centralization of education in China "was very much the consequence of Soviet influence under which higher education was seen as a governmental endeavor taken care of by the respective government departments" (p. 18). Education, as a part of a national plan, cannot be excluded from this kind of influence. To view it from another angle, this kind of centralization was justified by the fact that, before the 1980s, China's economy was centrally planned and the economic situation in different provinces did not vary greatly. A changeless education was determined by a changeless economy.

However, changes have occurred in many aspects in the educational domain in the past quarter century. The first and most important change is the decentralization of education. Since the late 1980s, and especially in the 1990s, pressure to ensure that each province acquired autonomy in education came from various sectors: business groups, professional educators, and the National Council of Education (Xu, 2001). Therefore, initially, reform in higher education was intended to increase the autonomy of institutions and to break the unified system of programs and the unified curriculum structure. According to Cheng (1998): "The consequences have been quite significant in the realms of curriculum and teaching and particularly in fund-raising" (p. 18). Furthermore, according to Mok and Chan (1998): "Decentralization permits school authorities to enjoy more flexibility and autonomy in deciding administrative, recruiting, programmatic and personnel matters" (p. 293). Education decentralization has been one of the long-term goals of the *Outline of Reform* issued by the State Council in 1993, and this goal had been successfully accomplished in the past decade throughout China. Education

decentralization brings many changes, for example, in curriculum development. Before

the late 1980s:

> Clear boundaries between specializations were maintained through the
>
> teaching plan, the teaching outline, and the textbook… Each specialization
>
> was self-contained, with students being given all their instruction under its
>
> auspices, having little contact even with other specializations in the same
>
> department. (Hayhoe, 1989, p. 34)

However, since the late 1980s, curriculum has been determined by the provincial

education authority, but not the MOE in Beijing. Furthermore, a credit system and a

selective course system were introduced; therefore, students enjoyed the freedom of

selecting courses outside of their majors. These systems provided the students with more

flexibility and widened the scope of their learning (Pepper, 1990), which was also a

response to the increasingly important role of information and technology worldwide.

Overall, the educational structure has become more "rational" in terms of many new,

practical educational policies issued in the past quarter century. For example, *Decision on

Educational Structural Reform* in 1985 and the *Higher Education Law of People's

Republic of China* was issued in 1998, along with many other proposals and policies. As a

result, since the 1990s, the quality of education and training and the efficiency of higher

education institutions have noticeably improved and become more responsive to the needs

of economic and social development in the nation (Jin, 1998; Lofstedt & Zhao, 2002).

By observing the changes in China's economy and education in the past quarter century, it is clear that when China was integrated into the world economy, the outer world offered enormous possibilities in terms of "imported" new jobs and foreign investment. An observer from the World Bank suggests that: "In an era of rapid globalization, with huge advances in technology and the information revolution, the countries that open their doors to fresh ideas and new concepts will be the ones that prosper" (World Bank, 1997, p. 101). In return, these changes and possibilities have demanded significant modifications in production behavior and economic policies (Morrow & Torres, 2000). They have tended to "force" the Chinese economy and education into a new framework. Consequently, major changes have occurred in the domains of the economy and education, and future changes are expected: "From its recent trends, one can expect continued improvement in the Chinese education system as in the Chinese economic system" (Chow, 2002, p. 365).

2.3 Personal Experience and Understanding of Globalization

My interest in the relationship between globalization and education in China arises from personal reasons. From the late 1980s to the early 1990s, I was a high school student in China. That was the time when globalization began to "knock" on China's door.

Actually, in the 1980s, China was already very open-minded towards curriculum content, even though this fact may not be widely recognized in the Western world. From my personal experience, I know that our high school English textbooks in the early 1990s included *Merchant of Venice* by Shakespeare, Madam Curie and her radium story, several pieces from *Tale of Two Cities*, the story of Abraham Lincoln, and selective pieces from

his Gettysbury address. Furthermore, Christmas and other Western customs also were introduced. Overall, our curriculum was not the mere repetition of Mao's quotes, as many Western people might assume. Besides, we also learned world geography and world history, both in junior and senior high school, being mindful that this was a nationwide curriculum set by MOE, not particularly for my city. The "outside world" had never been so far away as to be unimaginable and untouchable. This world included the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, and did not necessarily exclude countries in America, Africa, and other parts of the world.

Increasingly, since the early 1980s, foreign, Taiwan, and Hong Kong newspapers and journals; TV programs and movies; live broadcasts of the Olympic Games and other international events also have been a major source of information. The mass media's dissemination of non-political information and its broadcast of entertainment programs have dramatically increased. This increased access to different sources of knowledge has led to an intellectual enrichment and evoked a variety of different interpretations among students. However, at the school level, administrators and faculty hold different views on these changes. For example, administrators found school management increasingly difficult, whereas faculty members found teaching increasingly challenging. Some researchers called this phenomenon the "breaking-up of the unanimity," meaning that people's diverse views and understanding are appreciated rather than ignored (Jin, 1998).

Since the 1990s, social changes accompanied by economic transformation have brought more changes to the educational system. Significant modifications have been made to the old educational system by putting it in a new framework. My personal

experience at VCSJTU enables me, from a practical perspective, to view the impact of globalization on China's educational system and the corresponding changes in the HVE system. From 2000 to 2001, I was an assistant lecturer in the Business English Department of VCSJTU. Two personal experiences are still in my mind. First, I experienced the same anxieties that my teachers must have had when I was in high school a decade ago. At VCSJTU, ninety-five percent of the students were born and grew up in Shanghai. These students had fresh ideas and were apprehensive of the rapid changes happening in their daily lives. However, at the same time, they were eager to be part of the change. They were no longer "ignorant" when they came to school and did not expect professors to offer them the "already-existent knowledge in the textbooks." Rather, their ideas sometimes challenged their professors' ideas. Indeed, now, teaching was perhaps even more of a challenge than it had been for my teachers a decade before. Second, in terms of teaching practice, I have found that HVE in Shanghai has been both innovative and also reflective of the economic developments and the requirements set by foreign trade or businesses in Shanghai. I have realized more and more that "teaching-learning" is very much a mutual experience and that HVE is a reflection of the educational reform and structural adjustment brought on by globalization.

Moreover, I also believe that globalization and the resulting increase of communications with China can contribute to a more thorough and objective understanding of this country and the Chinese people. As one of the few countries still under communist party control, China existed in a very different setting from 1949 to the late 1970s. It is widely viewed that "communism" is a threat to world peace and security. However, a country ruled by the communist party and a country that practices orthodox

communism can be totally different. In the past quarter of a century, the Chinese communist party has adjusted itself to the changing global environment, and thus, its ideas, polices, and achievements should be understood through its "real actions," rather than by its "evil name" alone. An "evil country" that practices orthodox communism will still shut its door to the outer world no matter how hard globalization knocks. Moreover, an "evil country" will not implement the kind of economic reforms and the greatly improved living standards of millions of people that China has accomplished.

3.0 China: National Context

Teng (1995) points it out that: "China is one of the largest countries in the world, with a total land area of approximately 9.6 million square kilometers accounting for 6.5 percent of the global land area" (Appendix 2, 3). Also, China is the world's most populated country and one of the few remaining countries that call themselves "socialist" or "communist." In China, "new and old, modern and traditional, eastern and western, individualist and collectivist, Marxist and Confucian patterns and cultures have alternated and coexisted" (Lofstedt & Zhao, 2002, p. 181).

To understand the economy and education in China, it is important to understand China's history and culture. China's economic and educational policies are not decided in a vacuum, but are subject to the influence of the cultural and historical traditions of the Chinese people, including the leaders who make the policies and the common citizens whose support is required. To view it from the angle of globalization and culture, "only through situated, local, and self-critical analyses can we begin to see the two-way,

mutually constitutive dynamics of local-global flows of knowledge, power, and capital, of systematic as well as unsystematic and uneven 'effects'" (Luke & Luke, 2000, p. 276).

This section has two subsections. Subsection 3.1 combines the history and culture of China to introduce its general context. Neither history nor culture by itself can provide a complete picture of China. Only a thorough knowledge of both can provide a better understanding of how much globalization has affected China's "core." In 3.1.1, China's history is reviewed by introducing the history of feudalism through the dynasties, and by comparing the economic strategies of three generations of Chinese leaders since the foundation of the PRC in 1949. In 3.1.2, Chinese culture is examined by exploring its core philosophical system, Confucianism. In 3.2, SME in China is introduced by setting it against the international context of globalization. In 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, the definition, the emergence and the role of SME are analyzed with reflections on the economic experiences gained during the past quarter century.

Figure 1: Map of China

3.1 China: History and Culture

3.1.1 History of China

3.1.1.1 Basic Facts

China's history evolved through many different dynasties, the earliest being the Xia dynasty of 2200 BC. The last dynasty was the Qing, spanning the years 1760 to 1911. From 221 BC (Qin Dynasty) until 1911 (Qing Dynasty), China was a feudal country. In all the dynasties, the people were ruled by an emperor, who was believed to have received a mandate from heaven to be their ruler (Chow, 2002). The significant events that occurred during each dynasty contribute to each one's particular characteristics. For example, Chow (2002, 2003) carefully examines the historical heritage that affects present-day China and presents a brief summary of Chinese history. Here, I only will list several facts from his summary: *Shang*, 1766-1121 BC – An advanced culture with rich human resources (Figure 2); *Zhou*, 1122-211 BC – A golden period of development of Chinese thought; *Han*, 206 BC – 220 AD – A large empire, the adoption of Confucianism; *Song*, 960-1126 – A flourishing capitalist economy; *Qing*, 1644-1911 – The impact of western and Japanese imperialism.

Figure 2: Bronze Vessel of the *Shang* Dynasty, 1766-1121 BC

(This is the largest and heaviest bronze vessel ever made in the world. Height: 133.2 cm; Length: 110 cm; Width: 78 cm; Weight: 875 kg. It was made more than 3,100 years ago, in the *Shang* Dynasty, for the emperor's mother)

From the mid-nineteenth century, China gradually shifted into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal system. The 1911 revolution toppled imperial rule and the feudal monarchy, and gave birth to the Republic of China. After World War II, the civil war between the nationalist party and the communist party broke out. It ended with the communist victory of 1949, which led to the creation of the PRC (Lofstedt & Zhao, 2002).

From 1949 to 1976, China was in Mao's control. From 1966-1976, the turbulent "Cultural Revolution" erupted, bringing national economic development and the educational system to a standstill.

In the late 1970s, Deng Xiaoping, who was "in many ways an enthusiastic reformer" (Wright, 2001, p. 169), consolidated his power as the national ruler. He and other leaders began to prepare for broad structural changes and pragmatic reforms. The turning point in China's economy was the adoption of the "Open Policy" in 1978. Since then, China has stepped into a rapid economic development era. Deng introduced the idea of "socialism with Chinese characters," that is, the combination of public ownership (socialism) and individual, private, and foreign-invested sectors (market economy).

From 1989 to 2003, Jiang Zemin was the main leader in China. In 1992, China declared its economic objective of building SME. From 1978 to 1999, China's economy increased smoothly, with an average annual growth rate of 9.5 percent (Chow, 2002).

Since late 2002, Hu Jintao has led China. He still follows the economic system that Deng set two decades before, and that Jiang put into practice during the past decade, to intensify economic reform efforts and to integrate socialism with the market economy.

3.1.1.2 The Chinese Market Economy in History and China's Response to the West

To understand the current economic situation, and more importantly, the initiatives and other deep-rooted reasons for the initiation of Chinese economic reforms, two things deserve special attention in Chinese history.

First, from the Han dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) until 1949, the Chinese economic system was essentially a market economy (Chow, 2002). Moreover, the market economy in the Han dynasty already was developed to a high level. For example, a message in Sima Qian's *Records of the Historian* written some 1,800 years ago states:

> There must be farmers to produce food, men to extract the wealth of mountains and marshes, artisans to produce these things and merchants to circulate them. There is no need to wait for government orders: each man will play his part, doing his best to get what he desires. So cheap goods will go where they will fetch more, while expensive goods will make men search for cheap ones. When all work willingly at their trade, just as water flows ceaselessly downhill day and night, things will appear unsought and people will produce them without being asked. For clearly this accords with the Way and is in keeping with nature. (Chow, 2003, p. 7)

From the above message, it is obvious that Sima Qian understood the economic law of supply and demand based on people's needs, and that economic conditions are achieved by an "invisible hand," rather than by government plans. Furthermore, his simple and clear description is much earlier than Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in 1776 (Chow, 2003).

A market economy has existed in China since the Han dynasty and continued to develop through the rule of later dynasties up until modern China. Even in the first half of the 20th century, while China was going through revolutions, political instability, and

wars, its market economy continued to function and develop, and would have grown more rapidly if internal political stability had existed and war with Japan had been averted (Chow, 2002). According to Chow (2002): "This explains why China was capable of returning to a market economy after economic reform started in 1978, and why, once the Chinese people were given some economic freedom, economic development has been so rapid since 1978" (p. 19).

Second, China's defeat in the Opium War in 1840 was the beginning of its tumultuous nineteenth century, notable for external aggression and internal chaos (Wright, 2001). According to Chow (2003), "China was a relatively very rich country in 1700. It produced many highly valued products that were exported to the West, first through the Silk Route and later across the oceans" (p. 1). However, in 1840, China was defeated by the British in the Opium War and paid Great Britain an enormous war indemnity of $21,000,000 (Roberts, 1999). China also signed many unequal treaties and gave away territory and similar rights to Germany, France, and other Western powers. Together, these countries "took every advantage of China's unpreparedness and weakness" (Morton & Lewis, 2005, p. 156). China's humiliating defeat in the Opium War was its first by a foreign country in its three thousand years history. Even though some of the Chinese dynasties (for example, the *Yuan* Dynasty 1280-1368) were dominated by the nomadic Mongols, they were still Chinese dynasties, not a defeated people utterly conquered and incorporated into the British Empire.

Consequently, China's defeat by the British in the Opium War, its continued military losses throughout the 19th century to other Western powers, and the signing of numerous unfair treaties produced three long-lasting outcomes:

1) A great resentment developed towards the incompetent Chinese government and the foreign imperial powers that forced concessions out of China's weak rulers (Morton & Lewis, 2005).

2) Nationalism became a strong force in Chinese society (Chow, 2002). Wright (2001) points out that "the Opium War and its aftermath inaugurated China's 'Century of Humiliation,' which endured until 1949 and the final victory of the Chinese communist revolution...During this long and challenging century, the British, and also other foreign powers following at their heels, dominated but never quite subjugated the Chinese" (p. 99). This national resentment still persists today, and can help to explain "the mass uproar over the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Serbia in 1999, which the Chinese viewed as reminiscent of mistreatment suffered after the defeat in the Opium War" (Chow, 2002, p. 16). The mixed feelings that developed out of the great resentment for the Chinese government and the conquering foreign powers combined with the forces of nationalism are still important factors affecting China's diplomatic, and thus political and economic, relations with the outside world today (Chow, 2002).

3) A profound self-reflection towards its own culture occurred. For centuries, "the inertia and persistence of traditional patterns and both material and intellectual self-sufficiency all made China comparatively resistant and unresponsive to the challenge of the West" (Fairbank & Reischauer, 1989, p. 258). However, the Opium War defeat threw China into a period of deep self-reflection and even self-doubt towards its own culture and traditions, in spite of its long history as the unparalleled ancient center of East Asian civilization.

3.1.2 Culture of China

"Culture" is the behavior and relationship between human beings, and the human activity that emerge among human groups. Even though culture is an abstract concept, it permeates into human behavior and human activities; thus, it is concretely expressed. For example, the Egyptians built pyramids to pay homage to their emperors. Building a pyramid is a concrete thing, but paying homage is an abstract thing.

A leading premise in the understanding of the different character of different cultures is that different people view the relationships between human beings and nature differently. For over five thousand years, China's agricultural base has shaped tremendously the foundation of Chinese culture. That is, the essence of Chinese culture is to accept and to make the best of what nature has bestowed, but not to create the things that nature has not bestowed. This is also the rule in agriculture in primitive society, when people's power and capability were very much limited. To view this phenomenon from a deeper perspective, in China, nature and people are not opposite; on the contrary, people are part of nature and people rely on nature. This obedient attitude later became a dependence on nature and on other people, which did not lead to the self-reliance and self-dependence that exist in the West. In the West, people are in opposition to nature, and thus take steps to change their environment to live a better life. That is the root of why the spirit of creation and dependence evolved, and is appreciated, in the West.

3.1.2.1 A Brief Description of Confucianism

As Chow (2002) points out: "China has the longest living civilization, with a written language that can be traced back to 3000 BC" (p. 10). Furthermore, the core of

Chinese culture is Confucianism (Ren, 1998). Confucius (551 BC - 479 BC) was the first

and most important educator in Chinese history, developing Confucianism around 500

BC by delivering Confucian principles through teaching.

According to Rowen (1998), "Confucianism is shortened for a bundle of values

and predispositions for behavior" (p. 21). It covers a wide variety of values: "benevolence,

moral-rightness, conscientiousness, filial piety, respect for authority, brotherly respect,

propriety, sincerity, self-cultivation, human knowledge, uprightness and more" (Rowen,

1998, p. 21). However, Confucianism is not a religion: "Confucius proclaimed that he did

not have much to say about God" (Chow, 2003, p. 8). Therefore, Confucianism is more

about relations among humans, not those between man and God, or holy spirits. It is

primarily a personal ethic, centered on proper relations within the family, among

individuals, and with the state, the latter being perceived as a large family (Ren, 1998;

Rowen, 1998; Seeberg, 2000). Murray (1998) observes: "It was a state ethic independent

of religion, just as Chinese Communism is" (p. 196). Murray also comments on the

relationships between Confucians and observes that the "social order was maintained

through specific role positions in a hierarchical relationship, governed by a code of

conduct" (p. 105). Chow (2003) also observes that "although China does not have a

well-functioning modern (West) legal system, business can be conducted in an orderly

manner on the basis of the ethical and moral principles of Confucius" (p. 8) because

"Chinese are taught that good moral behavior is more important than simply obeying

laws that may not be ethical" (Chow, 2003, p. 8). Murray (1998) further compares

Confucianism and Communism in China, suggesting that both favor state, rather than

private enterprise; both stress the rights of groups over those of individuals; and both are

operated by a dedicated group of public servants, sharing common philosophies and a sense of brotherhood, whose loyalties are tried and tested.

Confucianism places a great value on education and hard work. For centuries, East Asians have believed in the value of education for the Nation's prosperity, as well as for personal advancement. Most Chinese children and youth expect a good education to be the central goal in their lives and their parents support them in obtaining the best possible education (Stevenson, 1998). Education is not only venerated as an "honorable activity" (Seeberg, 2000), "but, by virtue of its scholar-official certification function, as a certain guarantee of socio-economically upward mobility" (Seeberg, 2000, p. 57). More importantly, Confucianism takes education as a sign of a person's ethical awareness, rather than his/her cognitive skill, though the latter is required as a mere technical matter (Seeberg, 2000). A unique point of Confucianism, not generally shared with other countries, is its teaching that everyone can achieve success though hard work, regardless of different levels of ability. Confucianism does not deny the difference of innate talents, but does not regard this as a "controlling" factor in one's life (Stevenson, 1998). Confucianism emphasizes "acquired efforts" over "innate endowments."

Confucianism also has a unique understanding of the relationship between responsibility and freedom. As Chow (2003) suggests:

> Chinese consider responsibility more important than freedom (at least relatively more important, as compared with the view of most Americans) and the common good of the society as a whole more important than an individual's self interests when the two are in conflict. (p. 8)

That is, social responsibility for the common good is more highly prized than individualism.

In general, Chinese philosophy, including Confucianism, "tends to be more concerned with human affairs as compared to speculations about the supernatural" (Chow, 2003, p. 46). Confucius said, "let us talk about humans first" or "I do not discuss god or the spirits." The Chinese are realists and pragmatic as they devote their energy to solving the problems of real lives (Chow, 2003). Confucianism focuses on real needs and practical problems that arise, rather than on abstract philosophical debates for their own sake (Li, 2004; Nolan, 2004).

Many researchers have observed that the essence of Confucianism has filtered into the lives of normal people and has become, to an extent, a part of the Chinese people's collective common sense (Liu, 2002). Some of Confucius' proverbs are so popular that "even the illiterates can use them in their daily conversation, which clearly demonstrates the far-reaching influence of Confucianism" (Ren, 1998, p. 33). For example, these are well-known maxims: "Knowledge is acquired through observations and knowledge is acquired to lead a disciplined life, to head a family and finally to govern a country" (Chow, 2002, p. 352); "Do not expect returns when you provide a service to others. Do not forget when others provide a service to you" (Chow, 1994, p. 162); and "A slow bird must start out early," a typical saying that emphasizes personal efforts (Stevenson, 1998).

Rowen (1998) observes that Confucianism has been an important factor in the successes of those East Asian countries within the Chinese cultural sphere: Japan, Korea,

Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and of course China itself. However, Confucianism has

had both positive and negative impacts on China. On the positive side, Confucianism

means upholding a high moral standard and honoring one's commitments in society

(Chow, 2002). Chen (1990) observes that "the ethics which Confucius extolled have been

regarded as the virtues which are in great need of being popularized today: courtesy,

justice, honesty and honors" (as cited in Murray, 1998, p. 107). On the negative side,

Confucius' thinking is said to promote too much respect for tradition and thus is a

hindrance to progress. Rowen (1998) summarizes Max Weber's opinion towards

Confucianism: "Max Weber attributed China's poverty to the inhibiting influence of

traditional Confucianism with its rigid social and family hierarchies at the core" (1998, p.

21). To Weber, family piety and the strong cohesion of the system prevented impersonal

economic rationalization: "Confucianism has not favored the rise of modern capitalism"

(Rowen, 1998, p. 21). Murray (1998) suggests that "Confucianism was the strongest

bulwark of the monarchy, used time and again as an instrument to subdue and exploit the

people" (p. 107). Chow (2002) comments that: "The negative side of respect for social

order and family values is the sacrifice of individual freedom and self-interest" (p. 12).

Individualism is not taken for granted as a virtue in China, unlike in many Western

countries. Rowen (1998) argues that "Confucianism did not provide protection for

property... In any case, it did not esteem the merchant but rather mandarin" (pp. 21- 22).

Confucianism has not been the only influence on the shape of China's social

terrain and cultural legacy. Daoism (Taoism), another school of thought which has

flourished since the Zhou dynasty (1122-211 BC), advocates "inaction, letting nature take

its course, and minimize government intervention" (Chow, 2002, p. 11). Daoism has

never been the most dominant culture in Chinese history, but its influence is also far-reaching and it is one of the most important schools of thought. Besides these, Buddhism, Zen, Christianity, and Islam play a role. Undoubtedly, however, no matter whether some people like it or not, Confucianism forms the core of China's culture (Li, 2004).

A description of Chinese culture, however brief, should note its emphasis on the importance of learning and on respect for scholars (Chow, 2002). Therefore, teachers are strong authority figures, and students are generally very obedient in the classrooms. Scholars and teachers, especially university professors, enjoy a high position in Chinese society.

3.1.2.2 Searching for New Values

Since the 19th century, in its own way, China had been responding to Western influences and searching for new values of the nation. After the Opium War in 1840, Wei Yuan (1794-1857) offered this widely held epigram: "Keep Chinese learning for our substance; Adapt Western learning for our use." Wei's ideas were the result of his "recognition of the value of Western technology but at the same time confirmed its proponents in their belief in the superiority of Chinese culture and the Confucian way of life" (Morton & Lewis, 2005, p. 160). In the early 1860s, China was quite aware of the military superiority of the West, "and military Westernization was seen as a solution to both domestic and foreign problems" (Fairbank & Reischauer, 1989, p. 309). As was described in subsection 3.1.2.1, Confucianism is a pragmatic way of thinking, focusing on the real problems of real lives. Wei and other Chinese thinkers, who were

well-educated in Confucianism, advocated "Self-Strengthening" and emphasized the selective adaptation of Western technology, particularly military technology. These thinkers brought their ideas into practice by introducing Western technology and establishing arsenals in major cities throughout China. For example, the Jiangnan Arsenal was founded in Shanghai in 1865. Nevertheless, Wei's school of thought had little effect on the average Chinese during most the 19th century.

This kind of search for new values did not stop until the early 20th century. The various progressive movements, e.g., the May Fourth Movement of 1919, are known for their all-out onslaught on tradition. They discredited the old sage of Confucianism and declared that the age of Western science, technology, culture, and democracy be called upon to replace the Confucian doctrine of ethical, hierarchical rules that had brought centuries of static conservatism to China. Today, the May Fourth Movement and other related movements are called as the "cultural renaissance" of China: "The objective was to replace outmoded and harmful Confucian values and mores with Western 'science and democracy'" (Hoston, 1990, p. 170).

Fairbank and Reischauer (1989) maintain that during that time, Chinese responses to Western impact were more likely, to reaffirm, or restore the old Confucian system rather than modernize it. A similar counterpoint characterized the internal dynamics of China's growth and change. Fairbank and Reischauer (1989) suggest that:

> Modern innovations had to be harmonized with ancient traditions. The
> proportions of old and new, Chinese and foreign, might differ sector by sector.
> Thus in economic reform the Maoist desire for local self-sufficiency had to

compromise with the need for national organization; market forces had to be used as well as central controls; individual enterprise had to be fostered along with bureaucratic planning. (pp. 536-537)

This kind of "combination" of different sectors is one of the most pronounced characteristics in China today, and this knowledge also can contribute to an understanding of the nature of SME as well.

Chinese history and the characteristics of Chinese culture have affected its economic behavior. That is to say, the appreciation for hard work, respect for scholarship, honesty and trustworthiness in human relationships, the emphasis on good social order, "and the high value attached to the common good as compared with individual rights, all have effects on the economic behavior of individuals and institutions" (Chow, 2002, p. 21). The new economic system in China, SME, is a result of both China's history and culture and is discussed in the following subsection.

3.2 Socialist Market Economy (SME)

Socialist market economy (SME) was the new economic system that China set up in 1992. It is very different from the SPE, in operation from 1949 to the late 1970s. The purpose of SME is to speed up the pace of economic reform, including an open-door policy and a mandate to modernize. Since 1992, SME has been the principal force pushing China towards a more market-oriented economy.

The following section 3.2.1 discusses the meaning and purpose of SME, and section 3.2.2 reviews the emergence and role of SME in China's economy.

3.2.1 What Is SME?

According to Zhu, "SME is the new economic system which is to promote China's economic development and modernization and make people's lives flourish. The leadership of the Party and public ownership are the core of the market economy" (1996, p. 1). Ishihara (1993) observes that removing controls and liberating everything does not create a market economy. Gore (1998) believes that SME is not an ideological reformulation towards capitalism as many in the West are quick to assume. Instead, "socialist" is particularly emphasized in SME to indicate China's basic characteristic and to create the bedrock of the market economy. Story (2003) also says: "The SME structure is linked with the basic system of socialism. The establishment of this structure aims at enabling the market to play the fundamental role in resource allocation under macroeconomic control by the state" (p. 100). While Cooper (2005) points out that today China is a 90% market economy. Chow (2002) observes that who is authorized to make economic decisions is the main difference between SPE and SME: "In the former, economic decisions are centralized and in the latter decentralized" (p. 29). SME includes reforms of institutional structures, pricing regimes, taxation policies and subsidy systems, as well as modifications in the leading ideologies, core values, economic authorities, and the role of the state and distribution of its resources (OECD, 1997). Among these factors, what distinguishes SME most is its reassignment of the relative roles of the state, market, and society at large (Gore, 1998).

Throughout the economic transformation era in China, conflicting principles of communism and the market competed to set the reform agenda. SME proposed a variety of different ideas contradictory to the basic ideological tenets on which the former SPE

system was created. For example, one of the major features of the SPE was the equal distribution of benefits. In SME, benefit distribution is based on fair competition and individual capability (Hao & Tan, 1996). Doubt exists as to whether state and public ownership can coexist within a freewheeling market economy, and this uncertainty may lead to the deterioration of the Communist Party leadership (Chow, 2002; Henderson, 1999).

SME, based on public ownership, cannot be effectively analyzed with a single profit-maximizing assumption because it is not the private entrepreneur who responds to market profit alone. Instead, SME has to respond to a much broader range of incentives, including economic rationale and political and social stability (Chow, 2002). Deng Xiaoping claimed that the purpose of SME is to "further liberate and expand the productive forces and also integrate socialism with the market economy" (as cited in Vajpeyi, 1994, p. 47). That is to say, SME requires not only the dismantling of procedures of control, but also their replacement by new instruments that ensure and safeguard the functioning of the market. This necessitates a new regulatory framework, or at least, the modification of present regulations in the areas of pricing, internal trade, distribution, and the creation of new forms of markets.

3.2.2 The Emergence of SME and Its Role in China's Economy

SME was not born instantaneously. It was a process. Understanding how SME developed is essential to understanding the current economy of China (Chow, 2002). 1978 and 1992 were critical years in the transformation process of China's economy. In the late 1970s, "the historical situation was ripe for reform since the Chinese people and

the political leadership were extremely dissatisfied with the state of affairs during the Cultural Revolution of 1966-1976. People wanted a change" (Chow, 1994, p. 19). After experimenting with the commune system and central economic planning for more than two decades, China's economic leaders recognized the deficiencies of the planned economic system (Gore, 1998). Moreover, the successful experiences of economic development in neighboring Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and South Korea were an impetus to China to make a change. Deng Xiaoping introduced the idea of an "Open-door Policy" in 1978, "which had a far-reaching effect economically and politically" (Lofstedt & Zhao, 2002, p. 184).

The open-door policy encouraged imports and exports. It covered a range of reforms, including: 1) adopting a responsibility system in agriculture, which ended the commune systems that existed in hundreds of millions of peasant farms; 2) opening the economy to international trade and capital; and 3) creating urban industry reforms that aimed to establish greater autonomy for industrial enterprises (Sachs & Woo, 2001).

These economic reforms achieved amazing outcomes. For example, in agriculture and foreign trade, "by 1981, there was a massive, almost spontaneous, dismantling of collective property in agriculture. In 1983, the People's Communes were formally eliminated, and the individual household was established as the basis of agricultural production" (Sachs & Woo, 2001, p. 480). It is a milestone in China's economy in terms of the basic role that agriculture plays in its economy. In terms of foreign trade, the open-door policy allowed foreign investment to contribute to growth through the import of capital, technology and managerial training. According to Chow (2002): "By 1987, the volume of foreign trade increased to 25 percent and by 1998 to 37

percent of gross domestic product" (p. 53). In the trade between China and the EU, the "total two-way trade increased more than twentyfold since reforms began in China in 1978 and was worth 54 billion euro in 1998. In 1999, the overall two-way trade stood at 69 billion euro" (Lim, 2003, p. 296).

The years 1989-1991 (characterized by the post Tiananmen conservative backlash) were an anxious time for China's leadership. Socialism in Eastern Europe collapsed, Germany was moving fast towards unity, and the Soviet Union had disintegrated, all of which raised a key question for China: What is the most appropriate way for countries to transform from a planned economic system to a market economic system? (Story, 2003) The years 1989-1991 were also the initial years of Jiang Zemin's leadership. To put it simply, it was a short period of perplexity and confusion.

Deng delivered his famous speech during his southern tour of China in early 1992. He renounced the traditional ideological dichotomy that equated socialism with state planning and capitalism with the market and finally cleared the way for the Party late in that year to set SME as the target model for economic reforms. Deng proposed three pragmatic criteria to evaluate the efficiency of economic reforms and measures: "As long as it promotes the development of the forces of production, as long as it enhances the comprehensive national power of the socialist country, and as long as it raises the standards of living for the people" (Gore, 1998, p. 68). Such clear criteria ended the perplexity and confusion that had lasted for a few years. Since then, SME has been the core of Chinese socialism and has had a long-lasting influence on many social aspects in China.

Many economists regard China's transformation from a SPE to SME as a success, or miracle (Chow, 1994; Gore, 1998; Mastel, 1997). This miracle was all the more noticeable in view of the problems facing many formerly socialist countries in Eastern Europe. Chow (2002) explains that: "The rapid economic growth in China, in the order of 9.5 percent annually from 1978 to 1999, suggests that China's current market economy, however imperfect, is a much better system than its SPE existing before 1978" (p. 367). According to the World Bank, by 1998, the GDP in China was half that of the USA. In December 2003, Gregory Chow delivered his famous forecast in Shanghai: By 2020, the GDP in China will be the same as that of the USA as long as China still holds to its SME system and to the potential course of its economic development.

4.0 Higher Vocational Education (HVE)

The economic development associated with the emergence of SME and the process of globalization now define the space within which HVE takes place, and must be taken into account when analyzing and interpreting the changes in HVE. Over the last decade in particular, HVE has increasingly been subjected to the influence of both globalization and SME. With HVE as a core engine now used to educate and train needed manpower for the nation, changes are inevitable within its field.

The following section begins by explaining what HVE is by introducing its definitions and characteristics. Section 4.2 addresses HVE's local Shanghai context. Thus, HVE in Shanghai is analyzed in Chapter 3.

4.1 What Is HVE?

4.1.1 Definitions and Characteristics of HVE

Accoring to Shi (2001): "The term 'HVE' is very much a Chinese 'invention';

because we have never encountered such a term in foreign texts, or in international

cooperations. HVE is similar to the 'technical education' or 'professional education'

offered in Western countries" (p. 336). HVE, the highest level of vocational education in

China, is a component of higher education. As shown in Appendix 1, the nine-year

compulsory education system includes students from the ages of 6 to 15, for six years of

primary education and the first three years of junior secondary education. After the

nine-year compulsory education program, students must pay to go to a senior secondary

school. Senior secondary school education is offered in the form of academic and

vocational education. The latter includes specialized technical schools, skilled workers'

schools and secondary vocational schools (Cleverley, 1991). HVE is a form of tertiary

education; it is open to all secondary school graduates.

HVE schools cover a variety of advanced specialized institutions, short-cycle

colleges, vocational and technical colleges, and higher educational institutions for adults,

etc. Oriented to the local economy, these institutions and colleges, with two-or-three

school year programs, provide people with advanced skills, or train specialists needed by

grass-roots working units. According to Wang (2000): "These talented people are

specialized in technical application, have enough theoretical knowledge, and can combine

theory and practice very well" (p. 1). From any angle, HVE does not aim to prepare

students for low and middle level technical jobs; this is the goal of secondary vocational

schools.

HVE has the "dual" characteristics of both vocational and higher education. Vocational education offers students with practical and specialized skills whereas, higher education sets a certain academic standard which satisfies the requirements of post-secondary education (Zhong, 2002). HVE, then, is not merely training specialists for the labor market, but also is educating the intellects for the development of a prosperous nation.

4.2 Shanghai: Local Context

4.2.1 The Significance of Shanghai

In terms of per capita production, China is regarded as a poor country (Lofstedt & Zhao, 2002). However, "the eastern coastal provinces have reached levels of development that compare well with – or even surpass – those of Southern Europe" (Lofstedt & Zhao, 2002, p. 182). Shanghai, which is located in Eastern China at the end of the Yangtze River where it empties into the Pacific Ocean, plays a leading role in the economy, culture, commence and other social aspects of the country (Yin, 2002). According to the statistical report made by Beijing in May, 2004 and 2005, Shanghai ranks the first in China due to its comprehensive strength.

Figure 3: Shanghai Pudong Night View

Figure 4: Shanghai Beach

Shanghai is not only the largest city in China but one of the largest cities in the world: it has a population estimated to be in excess of 12 million people (Rimmington, 1998). A few unique factors have contributed to Shanghai's successful economic development: its special geographic endowments, favorable political environment, a comprehensive infrastructure development plan, and an attractive set of economic initiatives and investment incentives. All these combine to make Shanghai the driving engine of China's economic modernization in this new century (Lien, Lee, Choo, & NG, 1996).

Shanghai has an excellent geographic location that enables it to use both domestic and foreign resources and to expand its domestic and foreign markets (Shi, Lin, & Liang, 1996). The Yangtze River is the longest river in China and also the third longest river in the world – only the Nile in Africa and the Amazon in Latin America are longer. Shanghai is blessed with easy access to world markets and a thriving inland from which to draw strength (Li, as cited in Mar & Richter, 2003).

Shanghai's political significance comes immediately after Beijing, the capital of China. The leaders in Beijing have to deal with Shanghai and its leaders in a very careful way "in order to facilitate the utilization of the city's economic and human resources while at the same time to avoid any unpredictable social and economic crises that may emanate from this largest metropolis in China" (Cheung, 1996, p. 58).

Economically, as Zhao Ziyang, the former prime minister stated in the mid 1980s, "Shanghai is the biggest economic center in China and such a role cannot be replaced by any other province or municipality" (Zhao, as cited in Cheung, 1996, p. 77). According to Rimmington (1998): "It [Shanghai] is of overwhelming importance in the

commercial life of the country" (p. 1). Since the early 1990s, remarkable economic development has taken place in Shanghai, development that has outpaced all the other cities of China (Edwards, as cited in Yatsko, 2001).

Culturally, Chen (2003) believes that Shanghai is a city with a "mixed temperament." Unlike most of the major cities in the world, which are either centers of government and administration, or locations where commerce and manufacturing for a whole region or nation are concentrated, the development of Shanghai into the huge metropolis it is today is entirely the product of international trade (Rimmington, 1998). This feature contributes to the variety of its culture. That "Shanghai is unique" is a shared view in China and beyond. A Shanghai style certainly can be recognized as a mélange of all that is foreign, trendy, or hybrid, including the preferred entertainments of the Yangtze region, such as the Shaoxing Opera and Kunqu Opera, as well as Western imports, such as cinema, drama, music, art, and nightclubs (Rimmington, 1998).

Historically, in 1843, Shanghai was opened as a treaty port. In 1845, Shanghai was forced to lease parts of its land to foreigners. It became a trading center soon thereafter:

> In 1870, Shanghai was the premier port in China for import-export trade. Its importance in trading continued to grow after World War I. By the 1920s, Shanghai accounted for 40% of the total import-export trade of China, and this share grew to 55% by 1936. Meanwhile, trade stimulated the finance industry in Shanghai. The gold market in Shanghai was referred to as "the only gold market in the Far East" before World War II... In the 1940s, many domestic

and foreign banks, insurance companies, trust companies and other financial

businesses moved into Shanghai. By the end of Sino-Japanese War, 441

financial companies were located there... In a word, Shanghai was able to

accumulate more than 40% of China's liquid capital. (Shi, Lin, & Liang, 1996,

p. 535)

In a word, whether viewed from a Chinese or foreign perspective, Shanghai has

been perceived as a "special" or "model" city.

Due to all these "inborn" features and a correct economic policy, Shanghai's

economic rebound since 1990 has proven its huge potential. According to Cheung (1996):

"The annual growth of its gross domestic product rose from 3.5% in 1990 to 14-15% per

annum in the 1992-1994 period. The increase of gross industrial output again rose from

4% in 1990 to 20% in 1992-1993 and 23% in 1994" (p. 82). Chow (2003) also observes

that: "the rapid economic growth of Shanghai since the early 1990s is a most spectacular

phenomenon in city development in history" (p. 183). It was unimaginable that Shanghai

could catch up with Hong Kong in one to two decades, being mindful of the fact that

Hong Kong itself was rapidly growing (Chow, 2003; Yatsko, 2001). As "one of the most

vigorous cities in the world" (French President Jacques Chirac, as cited in Yatsko, 2001,

p. 8), the focus of development in Shanghai is on outward-looking high-tech industries

(Chen, 2003).

For the future of Shanghai, David Li, the chairman of the Bank of East Asia,

believes, "I daresay that, in China, the bright lights of Shanghai, Guangzhou, and

Shenzhen will remain a strong lure for many years to come" (as cited in Mar & Richter,

2003, p. 207). Edelman (2003) also observes: "I strongly believe that Shanghai is a model

for what other cities in China can achieve through the WTO. It is already one of China's

most vibrant and progressive places and now it has won the right to host the Expo 2010"

(as cited in Mar & Richter, 2003, p. 209). Shanghai was already designated to assume the

role of the "dragon's head" in the economic reform and development process. A

widespread expectation existed both within and beyond China that Shanghai would soon

be rejuvenated and surpass Hong Kong as a metropolis (Chow, 2003; Wong, 1996).

According to Rimmington (1998): "Without any doubt, Shanghai is a highly significant

element in modern China and in its ongoing development" (p. 1).

Figure 5: Shanghai Metro

Figure 6: Shanghai Century Garden

4.2.2 Characteristics of Shanghai and the Shanghai People

When China opened its door to the outside world, Shanghai was recognized as

an important center for international trade and finance. According to Rimmington (1998):

"The present era of reform encourages diversity rather than uniformity, and the place of

the resurgent Shanghai in the overall cultural identity of China has again become an

issue" (p. 12). Generally speaking, Shanghai is recognized as a tolerant and open-minded

city, whereas other cities, for example, Beijing, maybe perceived as hidebound and

hierarchical. Rimmington (1998) points out that: "Shanghai people talk about money and

the market, and Beijing people about politics" (p. 12). Chow (2003) also reports that

"Shanghai people are fortunate to have a cultural tradition favorable for economic development" (p. 184).

Shanghai is an extremely complex social entity in terms of foreign settlements and the growing Chinese community in and around them (Rimmington, 1998). For centuries, the foreign and Chinese communities lived separate lives; however, they worked together towards a common commercial purpose – to make profit. This experience and other unique features introduced in section 4.2.1, all contribute to the nature and identity of Shanghai's people:

> The popular view of the character of Shanghai people was that, like all lower Yangtze people, they were likely to be clever and interested in business. As well as being quick of mind, they could also be quick of temper. They tended to get excited and were often seen to be edgy or nervous. They could be smooth, elegant and eloquent, and not surprisingly, adaptable to change. This all contrasted with the view of northern Chinese that, while the tough old northerners may seem shrewd and reliable, they were essentially dull and slow-witted. (Rimmington, 1998, p. 12)

The wit of the Shanghai people produced more than an economic miracle. Chow (2003) says that: "In 2002, while the national GDP grew about 8 percent Shanghai's grew about 10 percent even when it was already the richest region of China" (p. 190). Its dynamic economic life also manifests in the attitude and spirit of its people "who believe

things can get done quickly and done well, and by the confidence of the people that only the sky is the limit" (Chow, 2003, p. 191).

Summary

In this chapter, I presented the international context (globalization), national context (China), and local context (Shanghai) for my case study. In terms of the international context, I drew a complete picture of globalization by presenting its various definitions and by describing the debate between globalists and anti-globalists, a debate, which I believe, can throw light on the nature of globalization itself. I then introduced China's experience in the past quarter century both in terms of its economy and education. Lastly, I presented my own understanding of globalization in terms of my personal experience.

With respect to the national context, I first delineated the broad background of China's history and culture, which I believe contributes to a complete understanding of China's economy. I then defined SME and traced its emergence and development in the past two decades, and its significant contribution to the growth of China's economy. I presented the idea that SME is a Chinese response to globalization.

Regarding the local context, I discussed the special features and significance of Shanghai, the characteristics of its people, as well as the definition and history of HVE in China.

Chapter 3: Case Study Method, Data Collection, Researcher, and VCSJTU

This chapter includes three sections. Section 5.0 deals with the case study method. In section 6.0, the methodological framework of this case study is delineated and different methods used to collect data are also examined. Section 7.0 is about my role in the VCSJTU, where I conducted my case study. Section 8.0 presents background information on the school.

5.0 Case Study Method: Literature Review

This section has 4 subsections. Subsection 5.1 sets out a range of perspectives on the case study method by introducing different definitions of it. 5.2 then examines the characteristics of the case study method. 5.3 reviews the case study method from a critical perspective by presenting both its strengths and limitations. In 5.4, I explain why I selected the case study method for my research at VCSJTU by comparing the nature of this research with the criteria set by Yin (1994). The purpose of my case study is also spelled out in 5.4. My personal understanding/perspective on this case study is not contained in this section. Instead, 6.0 includes a discussion of my personal experience of doing my case study in the school, an experience which contributed to my understanding of the meaning and significance of the case study method.

5.1 The Definitions of the Case Study Method: Differing Perspectives

As the phrase suggests, the "case study method" is first of all a "method". "Methods" mean the "approaches used in educational research to gather data for inference and interpretation, for explanation and prediction" (Cohen & Manion, 1994, p. 38). Traditionally, methods refer to the techniques in a positivistic model, such as eliciting responses to predetermine of questions and record measurements (Creswell, 1994). However, the term has been extended to include the methods in interpretive paradigms. Consequently, participant observation, role-playing, interviews, episodes and accounts all come to be termed "methods" (Cohen & Manion, 1994).

Hamel, Dufour and Fortin (1993), however, argue that it would be "more appropriate to define case study as an approach, although the term *case method* suggests that it is indeed a method" (p. 1, italics in original). They build their theory on the belief that the case study method employs various methods – interviews, observations – the goals of which are to reconstruct and analyze a case from a sociological perspective.

As a research method, the case study is widely used in psychology, sociology, political science, social work, and business and community planning (Gilgun, 1994, as cited in Yin, 2003). However it is "not a new style of data gathering and analytic technique" (Berg, 2001, p. 225). Given that the case study is widely used in many social study fields, Yin (2003) observes: "most social science textbooks have failed to consider the case study as a formal research method at all" (p. 12). Part of the confusion surrounding the case study method is that the process of conducting a case study is integrated with both the unit of study (the case) and the product of this type of investigation (Merriam, 2002). Therefore, when discussing the definition of the case

study method, many researchers present their understandings and observations in terms of different focuses. For example, Yin (2003) defines the case study as one that focuses on research "process": "A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 13). Stake (2000) defines the case study method from the angle of "choice of object". He argues: "Case study is not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied" (p. 435). Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh (2002), however, look at the study "unit," or the "case". They claim: "Case study is an in-depth study of a single unit, such as one individual, one group, one organization, one program and so on. The goal is to arrive at a detailed description and understanding of the entity.... It uses multiple methods to gather data" (p. 27). Sturman (1997) also focuses on the "unit" of the study and suggests that the case study is the investigation of an individual, group, or phenomenon and may include both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Bogdan and Biklen stress the "unit" as well. They believe: "A case study is a detailed examination of one setting, or one single subject, or one single depository of documents, or one particular event" (as cited in Wellington, 2000, p. 90).

These definitions contribute to a general understanding of the nature of this kind of research method. From these definitions, it is clear that researchers arrive at different understandings of what a case study is. It is also clear that a case study involves fieldwork in which the researchers interact with research participants in their natural settings (Kirk & Miller, as cited in Gall, Gall, & Borg, 1999).

5.2 The Characteristics of the Case Study Method

Observing the characteristics of the case study method may throw light on the divergent understandings of its definition. Again, there is a very rich variety of perspectives.

Merriam (1998) concludes the single most defining characteristic of a case study is its object of study, the case. Merriam also observes that, unlike other research methods, a case study does not claim any particular methods for data collection, or data analysis. Sturman (1997) suggests that "the distinguishing feature of case study is the belief that human systems develop a characteristic wholeness or integrity and are not simply a loose collection of traits" (p. 61). Hamel, Dufour and Fortin (1993) observe it is the "wealth of empirical materials" that makes the case study method so noticeable. They argue that, as part of an in-depth investigation, a case study uses different methods to collect various kinds of information from which to make observations and that these empirical materials are the sources through which the object of the study will be understood. Miller and Salkind (2002) suggest that the case study method focuses less on discerning patterns and more on an in-depth description of a process, a program, an event or an activity. For Eisenhardt (2002), the case study method distinguishes itself on the basis of its variety of evidence – whether qualitative (e.g., words), quantitative (e.g., numbers), or both. Chen (2000) argues that a striking feature of the case study method is the frequent overlap of data analysis and data collection. Chen (2000) believes this overlap make timely changes possible when any problems arise and will confirm a correct direction when the research is in process.

5.3 The Strengths and Limitations of the Case Study Method

A given research method inevitably has relative strengths and limitations. The merits of a particular research method are inherently related to the rationales behind its being selected as the most appropriate method for addressing a research problem (Merriam, 1998). As a research method, the case study permits an in-depth examination of factors and explains the present status that changes over time (Yin, 1994). Stenhouse (1985, as cited in Wellington, 2000) and Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh (2002) believe that a case study seeks to understand a whole reality or environment and that the greatest advantage of a case study is the possibility of depth and perspective. "Case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events – such as individual life cycles, organizational and managerial processes, neighborhood changes, international relations and the maturation of industries" (Yin, 2003, p. 2). To summarize, the "case study offers a means of investigating complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon. Anchored in real-life situations, the case study results in a rich and holistic account of a phenomenon" (Merriam, 1998, p. 41). As Gillham (2000) suggests, "The case is unarguable: *it happened*, and something must be done" (p. 101, italics in original). Because of its strengths, the case study is a particularly appealing design for applied fields in education (Zhen, Tao, & Kong, 2003).

The advantages of the case study, however, imply its weaknesses. It has "depth," but inevitably lacks "breadth" or "generality" (Ary, Jacobs, & Razavieh 2002). "One of the earliest and lingering criticism of case study methodology relates to the extent that it can be used to generalize the other cases or other settings" (Sturman, 1997, p. 62). Gay

(1996) and Wellington (2000) comment that the dynamics of one particular case may bear little relationship to the dynamics of others. Ary, Jacobs, and Razavieh (2002) observe that the opportunity for insights in a case study is at the same time the opportunity for subjectivity or even prejudice. However, Stake (2000) argues, "the purpose of case study is not to represent the world, but to represent the case" (p. 448). Besides, as Cohen and Manion (1994) point out, the study of one particular unit will also throw light on the wider population to which that unit belongs.

In the contemporary research context, generalizable outcomes associated with numerical data and quantitative techniques tend to be highly valued. Case study research, using the qualitative techniques of interpretive social science and critical social theory, does not seem to enjoy the same acceptance (Macpherson, Brooker, & Ainsworth, 2000). On the evidence of the literature of the case study method – its definitions, its characteristics, its strengths and limitations – this method is enjoying increasing acceptance in the fields of social work and education. Case study tends to yield "ambiguous" data; however, this yield is not a surprise given the complexity of the research process and the involvement of so many dynamic factors such as people, time, and space. In my view, these factors are what make the case study method so suitable to develop a better understanding of the dynamics of a program and to address the magnitude of some issues that exist in education, for example, the culture and core values of a school. The rich materials that a case study produces are all "alive", and they deserve a careful examination.

5.4 Why the Case Study Method?

When I began to write my research proposal a few years ago, I had to carefully

consider which method I would be using. At that time, I did not have a very clear

research topic, at least not one as clear as it is today. After reviewing the literature on

globalization and HVE in China, and listening to the suggestions offered by my

supervisor and classmates, I decided to conduct my research as a case study.

I made the decision for three reasons. First, there is a need for such a case study

in the field of HVE. A review of the literature concerning HVE in China during the past

decade indicates that little research has been conducted that focuses on the evolution of

HVE in relation to SME and globalization. Similarly, few researchers had tried to

interpret the relationship among globalization, SME and HVE in terms of actual changes

in HVE schools (Cheng, 1997). The lack of such research may lead to distorted

information and false conclusions in HVE policy formulation, implementation and its

evaluation process. These concerns explain why I will conduct the case study at VCSJTU.

The purposes of my case study are 1) to explore and interpret actual changes in HVE as

represented at VCSJTU, politically, ideologically, organizationally in relation to

globalization and the economic and educational background in China, and to account for

why the changes happen as they do; 2) to specifically examine the relationship between

globalization, SME and HVE in China since the early 1990s, with a particular emphasis

on how HVE has been shaped by the emergence of SME and globalization.

My second reason for adopting a predominantly qualitative research approach to

VCSJTU derived from the essential issues and nature of the research that required me to:

1) probe deeply and analyze intensively the multiple reasons for the establishment and

development of VCSJTU; 2) document the actual changes in the form, style and extent of HVE in China, as represented in VCSJTU; and 3) interpret the perceptions held by people in the school about globalization. According to Yin (1994) and Gillham (2000), the case study method is most suitable for addressing the magnitude of a topic in which: 1) the researcher has little control over the research setting; 2) the research focuses are primarily on the kind of evidence derived from the sayings and doings of the subjects and from an understanding of what is going on. At VCSJTU, the intended subjects of my research are their administrators, faculty, and students. As a researcher, I will not interfere in school activities, though I will "participate" in and "observe" them. The analysis of the data collected aims at generating a thesis of how the emergence of SME and globalization have shaped the current conditions of HVE over the past decades, and how their joint effects will direct the future development of HVE. The nature of my research at VCSJTU means that the case study will be a very suitable methodology.

Third, whether or not the case study is the most appropriate method for the research at VCSJTU can be measured against the criteria established by Yin in 1994. The criteria are composed of three conditions: 1) Research questions must be more exploratory than explanatory and descriptive. Yin (1994) suggests that the case study is most effective in searching for causes, i.e., in answering "why" and "how" questions. My research questions for the study at VCSJTU are: How have the core values of the school been affected by globalization; and in what ways has the governing or management structure of the VCSJTU evolved in relation to globalization? 2) The control an investigator has over actual behavioral events. The exploration for the answers to the above questions will not involve interventions into the settings, or the behavioral events.

At VCSJTU, the researcher does not have control over events she will study, e.g., the learning and teaching activities of the school. 3) The degree of focus on contemporary as historical events. The research at VCSJTU is about globalization, which is a generally new topic. According to these criteria, the case study is the most suitable and feasible method for the research at VCSJTU. The aims are to examine the continuous events occurring at the school within a specific time frame and to focus on insight, discovery, and interpretation rather than hypothesis testing (Farmer, 2000; Yin, 1994).

The case study at VCSJTU will be descriptive, in that it "describes an intervention and the real-life context in which it occurred" (Yin, 2003, p. 15) rather than "explain the presumed causal links in real-life interventions" (Yin, 2003, p. 15).

6.0 Methodological Framework

Within the huge umbrella of qualitative methodology, there is a very rich variety of qualitative theories or paradigms. Phenomenology distinguishes itself by seeking to "understand the *essence* or *structure* of a phenomenon" (Merriam & Associates, 2002, p. 93, italics in original) and its "*interpretive* nature" (Merriam & Associates, 2002, p. 93, italics in original). In this case study, the phenomenon to be examined is the relationship between globalization and HVE in China in terms of how VCSJTU people experience globalization. Phenomenology formulates the basis for this research. Phenomenology, with roots in philosophy and psychology (Merriam, 2002), is "the study of life-world – the world as we immediately experience it pre-reflectively rather than as we conceptualize, categorize, or reflect on it" (Manen, 1997, p. 9). "Phenomenology asks for the very nature of a phenomenon, for that which makes a some-'thing' what it is and

without which it could not be what it is" (p. 10). The study of phenomenology requires researchers to record how people perceive a phenomenon, describe it, feel about it, judge it, remember it, make sense of it, and talk about it with others (Patton, 2002). Taking a phenomenological framework, this investigation is designed to clarify first the meaning, and second the structure and essence of the lived experience of the phenomenon for this person, or group of people.

For the case study of VCSJTU, I have chosen a phenomenological framework to answer the question: What is the relationship between globalization and the HVE program in China as represented by VCSJTU in terms of the actual changes that have happened in the school in the past decade. Such a study needs to develop an understanding of: 1) a complex phenomenon of changes related to the joint effects of globalization and the SME as experienced by participants in VCSJTU; 2) the possibility of plausible insights that bring the researcher and the participants in more direct contact with the world of changes they experience.

The framework of this study, then, is based on phenomenological investigation; it includes the concepts of examining and interpreting experiences. Within the frame of phenomenology, how the data was collected from the participants for examination is discussed in 6.1, and an interpretation for answering the stated questions is discussed in 9.0.

6.1 Data Gathering

This section has 9 subsections. 6.1.1 deals with gaining access to the field. 6.1.2 is about my first days in the field. The methods I employed in my five-month-long case

study – documentation, observation, interviews, and surveys – will be examined in 6.1.3, 6.1.4, 6.1.5, and 6.1.6 respectively. 6.1.7 and 6.1.8 introduce the field notes and other forms of data collected. Personal reflection is included in 6.1.9.

6.1.1 Gaining Access

Access to VCSJTU was gained through initial contact with its President. In January 2003, I mailed a formal letter to President Kong of VCSJTU. I explained the orientation and purpose of my case study, and asked him about the possibility of my performing research at VCSJTU. Kong replied me via email very quickly. He kindly agreed to my request. In February 2003, the Spring Festival season in China, I called Kong to offer my season's greetings and to confirm my return to VCSJTU in August of that year. In August 2003, I went back to Shanghai to begin my five-month-long case study.

My entering the site was very natural for two reasons. 1) I was hired as a part-time assistant lecturer in the Business English Department. That was my "public" and "official" role on site. Most professors and students had no idea that my "real" role was conducting a case study at the school. All they knew was that I was going to offer a course in the fall of 2003. Some of the teaching staff assumed that I had finished my Ph.D. at McGill and returned to VCSJTU to continue my career. Most of them were surprisingly friendly, and those I talked to appeared unconcerned that I would be there over the entire semester, not to mention that I was doing a case study at the school. 2) Due to my former teaching experience at the school, I was not an "absolute stranger". The school administration had not changed very much over the past two years, and most

of the administrative body still remembered me. Most Business English Department

faculty knew me, except two newcomers. My friends in other departments greeted me

with, "Ah, you are back!" Usually such loud, emotional greetings were accompanied by

vigorous, almost violent hand-shaking, and a hug and a laugh and sometimes numerous

follow-up questions.

6.1.2 First Days in the Field

A natural entrance to the site did not necessarily mean the first few weeks were

easy. Generally speaking, I adhered to a major principle during my first days in the field

– I did not try to accomplish too much (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). I began slowly. I

showed interest and enthusiasm for what I was observing, but I did not ask many specific

questions. I tried to ask general questions in order to give my subjects the time and

opportunity to talk. I mainly talked with the support staff in the maintenance office, or the

accounting office. I wanted to make myself more like an "insider" to the stakeholders of

the school before I conduct interviews with them. Therefore, for the first few weeks I

would have to be very careful not to antagonize anyone at the school, and that I would

have to try to fade into the background. Even though I was part of the background a few

years ago, I needed some time to reorient myself on the site. Thus, for the first few weeks,

I wanted to adopt the life of people in school conducting their daily tasks. That was easy,

since my daily life was already very much like their daily lives. The school authorities

did not try to "manage me" by making me listen to the lectures of some professors. Nor

did I feel that my access was severely restricted. I was able to go to any professor's

lectures and most of the staff meetings as long as I had time to do that.

During the first few weeks, my activities were mainly confined to my department. I went to watch some professors' lectures. As the first few weeks passed, I showed myself to be trustworthy, and then I was able to negotiate with individual professors of other departments so as to watch their classes. Towards the end of the semester, there were lectures when I was left to take care of myself completely. In the end, all the professors I asked agreed to allow me into their classes, and most were only asked on the same day as they were observed; in most cases they had only a few minutes' warning.

In these requested classes, I always sat in the last row. If I had told the professor earlier that I would be attending his/her lecture, then I preferred not to enter the classroom with him/her. Some students simply thought I was a classmate whom they did not know very well. In various classrooms of different departments, at least three students asked me, "Did you just transfer to our school?" If I went to the classroom with the professor, I still preferred entering the classroom from the back door, while the professor entered the front door.

By examining how I was treated and my involvement in the school activities, I found that I met the some coldness at VCSJTU as well. The most open coldness I received was from some supporting staff. I felt a lack of support when getting some of the documents I required. There was also some coldness from students themselves. However, I would rather believe the students were being "curious", rather than "cold." They would ask me questions like, "Do you think our HVE program is good? Do you like it?" In this case, I tried to answer such questions as truthfully as I could. I understood that like most young people, these students tended to see problems in clear-cut terms and were thus

often suspicious of me. That was not my major concern. As I wrote in my fieldwork notes: "There is some open and less open coldness around me. As I observed in the past few weeks, some staff was not as gentle and friendly as they appeared to be. When I was one of them a few years ago, I was accepted. Now I am no longer one of them; rather, I have moved forward, while some of them remained in their original positions. I can understand the deep suspicion that lurks behind their politeness and sighs of admiration when I answered their questions about my McGill experience: there is a suspicion towards educational research in general and of this kind of HVE program in particular." In order to solve this problem, I tried very hard to communicate with this group of people. I believe sincerity is the key to significant communication. As time went by, I showed them that I had not changed though my environment had changed over the past few years. I also consulted with Professor Yuan, in the Education Faculty of Beijing Normal University. She suggested that I ignore this problem and focus on my research. She said, "If they do not accept you, only time can help you to be accepted – only time can prove your sincerity."

After the first few weeks, I found those being researched "subconsciously" forced me to adopt a role shaped by their expectations. Partly, that was because they did not expect that I had a "dual" role in the school – teacher and researcher. As I wrote in my fieldwork notes, "It seems that how I situate myself was not determined by myself alone. This will be a process of warm-up for both sides." I feel that one of their major concerns regarding me was, "Are you one of us?" In this case, my experience at the school and my current teaching role demonstrate significant importance. After the first

few weeks' warm up, especially after I joined more and more school activities and

became a "familiar face" to most people, this kind of suspicion lessened.
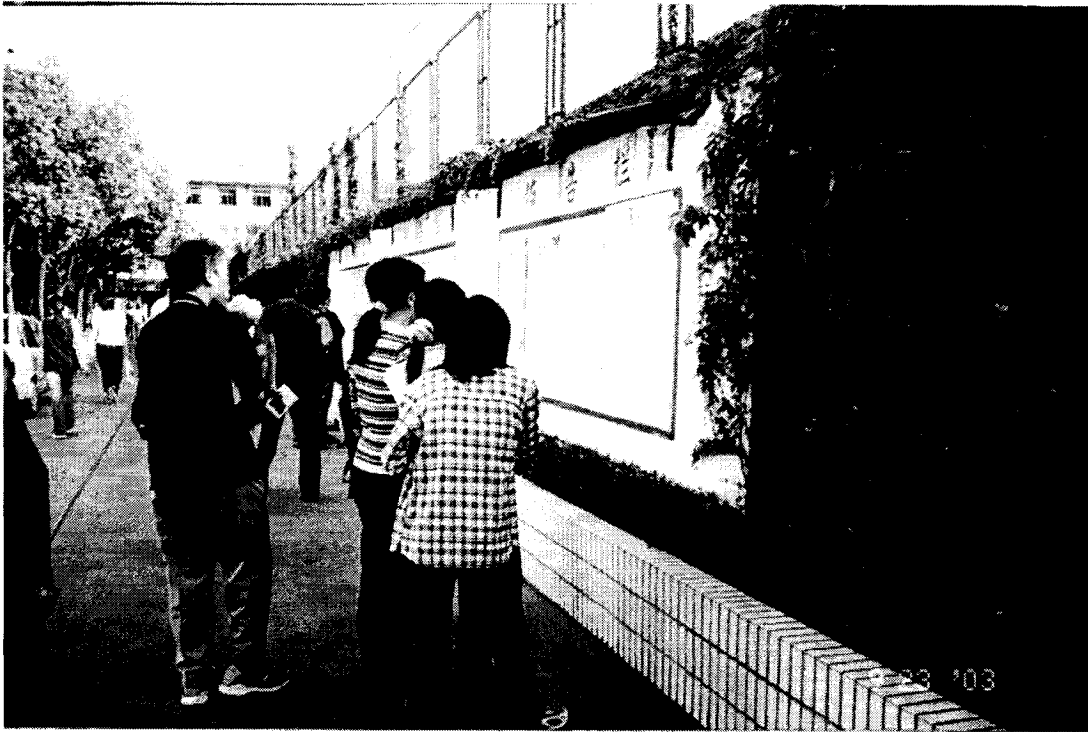
Figure 7: School Bulletin Board

6.1.3 Documentation

According to the categories that Taylor and Bogdan (1998) suggest, there are

public documents and personal documents. At VCSJTU, the public documents I collected

covered a broad variety of school materials – school archives since its birth, monthly

student edited newspapers, annual reports, work plans, lesson plans, policy reports,

memos from the president, bulletins for freshman, administrative records, academic

assessments of the school, annual calendars, and documents about the businesses where

students did their fieldwork. Some of these public documents were provided by the school while others I collected myself. Take the annual reports as an example. I collected the materials from the yearly archives of Shanghai Jiaotong University. I examined six years of reports (1998-2003). Each report was professionally designed though not widely disseminated. They described the school's situation in the past year. The mission and responsibility of the school revealed slight differences year by year. I tried to understand these differences against the huge background of Shanghai and found them helpful in my data analysis. These differences were mainly the major changes over the years and the increasing standards of student achievement in the English proficiency tests, in terms of an increase in the passing percentage. I read these public documents not only in the initial stage of research, but also over the entire course of my case study. At the initial stage, reading through the data provided exploratory information on the general background of the school. Over the process of doing my case study, I often consulted these documents as a background against which I could understand the school. For example, before I conducted an interview with the dean of the Electronics Department, I would turn to the documents about that department so as not to waste interview time on material already available, and also to provide fodder for the interview questions.

In terms of personal documents, which included people's own diaries, letters, pictures and records (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998), I only had little access to them. In order to find as many as possible personal documents, and to let these documents help to guide the interviews and to "spark memories and help people recall old feelings" (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998, p. 105), I often dropped by the interviewee's office to see if there were such kind of materials. This kind of "casual dropping by" did generate outcomes. There

was one particularly good faculty interview, which began with the discussions of her

personal pictures on her table. That was her 12-year-old daughter on their trip on holiday.

Then, we began very naturally about their trips and the education her daughter received in

Shanghai. A very friendly atmosphere pervaded our conversations and that interview was

one of the most productive interviews I did at VCSJTU.

Both public and personal documents played a key role in helping me to gain a

very holistic picture of VCSJTU. They not only formed a very important source of data

for the analysis of learning at VCSJTU, but also provided valuable information in

preparing for interviews and also for triangulating with interview data. However, the

greatest difficulty I encountered was that some documents were beyond my access. For

example, I needed to learn where the students finally went after their graduation.

However, the school administrators told me that such information was for school use only.

I was only able to learn the general employment rate. In this case, I had to turn to my

former students at VCSJTU, who entered the school in the fall of 2000 and graduated in

the summer of 2003. They provided very useful information, such as which kinds of

companies the students wished to be hired by and what helped them most to find

satisfactory jobs.

6.1.4 Observation

According to the degree of an observer's participation in the situation to be

observed, there are two kinds of observation, non-participant observation and participant

observation. Section, 6.1.4.1 examines classroom participation and observation. 6.1.4.2

talks about the observation done in school activities. 6.1.4.3 deals with other kinds of

observation done at the school. Then there is the analysis of the outcome generated from each method.

6.1.4.1 Classroom Participation and Observation

To describe what VCSJTU was doing, I tried to observe and understand how the school was experienced by different groups involved. To me, the most important group was that of the students, and I tried every possible way to gain access to them. When I attended the classroom lectures, no special announcement was made to the students about my presence, and I did not ask for such a statement, fearing that it might be accompanied by a demand that students always be on their best behavior when I was around, as with the "perceived impacts of observation" (Patton, 1990, p. 397).

I attended 31 lectures given by 11 professors from 3 different departments. Detailed notes were made about the teaching content, classroom atmosphere, students' responses, communication between professor and students, pedagogy, and, if applicable, unexpected events such as student lateness. After each lecture, I reviewed the notes and tried to set them against the background of the teaching goal. I also tried to summarize whether or not the goal had been achieved. To clarify my observations and gain the professor's perspective, I spoke with the professor following most observation periods. Informal conversations with these professors were held in the department professors' lounges. Through these contacts, I was able to gain access to their classrooms.

In these professors' classrooms, some students asked me what I was doing. I always explained that I was independent of the college and that I was researching the school. I tried to make it clear that I would not be reporting anything back to professors

and that no students would be named in my research. The students tested me and came to recognize that I could be trusted not to interfere and to keep whatever I saw to myself. I did feel that I achieved the desirable "insignificant other" status that Walford (2001) describes with most of the students. They recognized that I existed, knew why I was there and assumed that I would do nothing to affect them. Therefore, they did not change their behavior significantly. During boring lectures, some students read their novels, fashionable journals, and newspapers, talked secretly, or dozed.

In my own classroom teaching, I view it as an important opportunity to do direct observation. I paid particular attention to the students' responses when questions were asked. In class discussion, I observed which kinds of questions would evoke heated discussion and which would be responded to very poorly. For example, one time, when I asked a question about their understanding of English language learning in an era of rapid development, some students responded actively. Others were silent, and even buried their faces in their books, afraid that I would ask them a further question. Later, when I talked with one of these students, I realized that they were passive not because they had nothing to say, but on the contrary, because they had too much to say in only a few minutes.

6.1.4.2 School Activities

As described in 7.3.1, I joined a series of school activities – the students' registration, the school's opening ceremony, monthly staff meetings, the annual award-issuing conference, the weekly meeting of the campus broadcasting union of students, the recruitment conference for new student union members, the conference for new student union members, and the conference about the new quality-improving

program initiated by Shanghai Jiaotong University. I made detailed notes along with my observations. For example, in the school conference, I drew a picture of how the physical environment and seating was arranged, noted the length of the speaker's speech, the frequency of the audience's questions, and how the questions were organized according to different types. Subtle factors such as informal or unexpected activities or events and the connotative meanings of words were all included in these notes.

The purpose of this kind of non-participant observation is to notice the things that have become routine to the participants themselves in the school. However, these things may lead to an understanding of the school context. Take the campus-broadcasting meeting as an example. I found that these students repeatedly mentioned program reconstruction, and quality, and how to meet the needs of students more appropriately. Their major concerns provided realistic insights into the various factors that contribute to an understanding of what students were doing at the school.

I also conducted observations during lunch period, noting the groupings of students and professors in the cafeteria and talking informally with them. By sitting in the cafeteria, I found that students were more willing to approach me and answer my questions about their school experience and family background.

I also participated in some school activities. For example, I joined the annual staff sports meeting. Besides this, I was one of the committee members recruiting new faculty for my Department. I took many pictures in my role as participant observer. This kind of observation in the school milieu allowed me to systematically obtain data and interact socially with the people in the school.

Figure 8: Basketball Game

6.1.4.3 Other Observation

Simple observation, which is "to observe the facial expression, language use and

behavior in the interviews" (Wellington, 2000, p. 95), was used to observe facial

expressions, body language, connotations and symbolism in the language and how the

interviewees dressed, expressed affection, physically spaced themselves, etc. Some

interviews, dealt with sensitive topics that the interviewee was reluctant to talk about

directly, e.g., the possible tensions or obstacles in a staff member's promotion. Here

simple observation offered a potentially rich source of qualitative research insights and

consequently helped me to analyze and interpret the real meanings being transmitted.

To summarize, I tried to participate in everyday life and be part of the phenomenon, in order to do my observation. Three kinds of observation yielded significant outcomes, which revealed many aspects of the school culture, including administrative practices, staff behavior, and the shared values of the school community. The data gave me an increasing understanding of school practices and individual behavior. All these accounts have no absolute scientific truth, or represent the only version of the ways things are; however, they did supplement the interview data and sometimes paved the way for interviews.

Figure 9: Student Broadcasting Union Meeting

6.1.5 Interviews

This section has four subsections. How I selected my interviewees, how I

established rapport, and how I set my interview structure are discussed in 6.1.5.1. Then I

examine the student interviews, administrator interviews, and professor interviews in

6.1.5.2, 6.1.5.3, and 6.1.5.4 respectively.

6.1.5.1 Selecting Respondents, Establishing Rapport, and Interview Structure

The interviews I did are shown in table 4.1. We conducted these interviews in

our native language, Chinese, in order to ensure a comfortable atmosphere and a free

flow of information.

Table 3.1: Interviews

	Formal Interviews	Informal Interviews	Group Interviews
Administrator	7		
Faculty	9	6	
Students	6	4	Group #1: 2 people
			Group #2: 4 people
			Group #3: 6 people
			Group #4: 6 people

I tried to choose respondents who understood the school well and who were able

to reflect on it and articulate what was going on or were willing to express their thoughts,

feelings and opinions. I met some potential interviewees who often explained to me that

"I have nothing interesting to say." When this occurred, I usually suggested we have

lunch together and just "chat" during lunch period. That was very much like a "prelude"

for any further formal interviews. Then during our lunch talk, I found that those who

thought they had nothing interesting to share actually did have very interesting points of

view. Most of them admitted that they were very humble and did not realize that they had so many things to share.

At the outset of each interview and during the "prelude," establishing rapport with the respondent was a priority. For some respondents, I "established" rapport because we were both unfamiliar with each other; however, for some others whom I knew and who have been friends of mine a few years ago, I "resumed" the rapport. Generally speaking, for all of them, I wanted to present myself as a highly motivated and well-organized researcher who had done her homework, and therefore would not waste the respondent's time. I also wanted to present a friendly, open manner to invite interchange. Many respondents would be reluctant to talk openly, especially when they saw the tape-recorder. Therefore, trust was furthered by requesting permission to tape, offering the respondents a chance to read their transcript, and indicating that their quotes would be anonymous. If they still felt uncomfortable, I would not resist. I would ask if they minded my taking notes. I found it interesting that many people felt comfortable with pen and notebook, but not with a tape-recorder!

Most interviews went very well. Some interviews went like this: in the middle of the interviews, the respondents offered to extend the interviews beyond the agreed time and requested 45 minutes to an hour, or even an hour and a half. One interviewee even said, "Forget about the time, let's just talk." Some respondents, especially those who had been in VCSJTU for years, said that they were finding the interviews a very good opportunity to reflect and to bring together their own thoughts on the topical, and rapidly changing, notions of quality and accountability in the HVE program. There were numerous offers to continue our informal discussions over lunchtime, or tea break.

Semi-structured interview schedules were used to ensure the use of a common core of questions for each group in order to facilitate later triangulation of data. Provisions were also made to explore different questions with different respondents as issues arose. Given the medium size of the school (1,300 people) and the importance of identifying a respondent's background in order to understand their viewpoints, respondents were guaranteed that permission would be sought before quoting from them directly and anonymously. Everybody was happy with this arrangement.

In my three kinds of interviews to be discussed in the following subsections, both formal interviews and informal interviews were included. Besides the informal talk I mentioned in the earlier part of 8.1.5.1, there were some impromptu informal interviews that focused on one-on-one conversations carried out in the hallways, outside of classrooms, in the dinner room during lunch break, the small campus park, and at my home. The conversations ranged over a variety of school-related topics and were fortuitous opportunities to clarify earlier observations and gather more evidence for the emerging findings. They also served as a "warm-up" when later formal interviews were expected.

6.1.5.2 Student Interviews

I had four group interviews with students and six individual student interviews. One group interview (2 people) and three individual interviews were done at my home. Others were conducted on campus, in a tea house, a student dormitory, etc. Each interview lasted one hour to one and a quarter hours. Questions focused on their views about the school, the HVE program, the leadership of the president, teaching, community

involvement, school culture, and their most valuable personal experiences in the school in reference to the national economy and to globalization. The students I chose were not only of a wide range of backgrounds – they came from different departments and different grades – but also were suitable, responsible respondents. They were more like my friends than mere students. Therefore, the interviewees were at ease and talked freely about their points of view. I also had informal interviews with students. Both kinds produced rich data filled with words that reveal the respondents' perspectives.

I found the student interviews were very productive due to the "interview quality." When I read the interview transcripts, I found most of them were not paraphrasing or mimicking other people, nor did they quote things from what they heard from TV or other media. On the contrary, they freely expressed themselves and somewhat challenged the common, shared view of most people. Therefore, I found it was easy to catch what was really going on. For example, Miss Shao, an HVE student who graduated in the summer of 2003 responded very differently when I asked her how she thinks about the newspaper issued in the school. She said, "I don't think it is good. Nor do my friends think so. I don't think the student editors and column writers are qualified. I believe only 'quality' people can do things with high 'quality'."

6.1.5.3 Administrator Interviews

Administration interviews were conducted over the semester. Administration questions focused on issues such as changes in the school over the past decade; how they interpret and perceive the reform process in the school and the economic reforms in the country; in what respects has the national economy and globalization been considered

when the school reforms were made; along with their personal views of globalization and the school development and what contributes to their understanding.

Most of the administrator interviews were productive. However, some were not as ideal as I expected given that I was very well-prepared. Some administrators had a great deal of experience interviewing others – in particular parents and teaching staff – and they would not allow me to take the lead in the interviews. I was questioned by them as well, perhaps more than they by me. The interview atmosphere was not very good, and I could feel blocks in the flow of information, and I often asked questions that elicited yes or no responses instead of stories.

6.1.5.4 Professor Interviews

I had fifteen faculty interviews, most of which were conducted in the faculty room after school, or around the campus. The questions focused on issues such as the development of curriculum and pedagogy. Other questions echoed those I had asked the administrators.

Most of the professors I interviewed are successful mid-career professors. I particularly found my insider role helpful in these interviews; professors often said, "As you can see in the school" or "You are also a teacher here, so you can feel and see". It gave me the feeling that they accepted me as one of their members and were willing to tell me all the things I might want to know. They made me feel that they wanted to talk and that to speak of particular subjects would not be impolitic, impolite, or insensitive.

Interviews proved to be the richest source of information. These interviews generated a great deal of data relatively quickly. The people I interviewed expressed their

views about a wide range of issues, and to wait for such information to be generated in naturally occurring situations would be very time consuming. Moreover, some types of information would not come up in natural situations no matter how long I waited.

6.1.6 Survey

The only quantitative-oriented method, survey, was employed when face-to-face interviews were not feasible for a large school population – the 1,300 students at VCSJTU.

Six surveys were held for the first year undergraduates in three departments who had registered in fall 2003, and one survey was given to the Business English students who graduated in the summer of 2003. The survey questions included 10 multiple choice and 3-4 open-ended questions. For the first year students, the purpose of the survey was to identify their expectations for their HVE studies. For the graduates, the purpose was to receive their evaluations of the three-year HVE program at VCSJTU.

Before delivering the survey, I consulted with two professors in Beijing Normal University, Professor Liu and Professor Li. They both gave me very good suggestions and therefore, these surveys were not identical but corresponded to each other. The diction of the questions in the surveys were different and designed according to the level of the respondents, but all the questions of each survey included a reference to identical concepts. Therefore, the results of the surveys can be compared and contrasted. The surveys were conducted in Chinese and then translated into English for the research report. The survey data reviewed the students' perceptions and views of school policy,

curriculum, pedagogy, and their personal knowledge of the national economy and globalization.

However, due to the difficulty of conducting a survey, some surveys received a poor response. This difficulty was mainly because the teachers I asked to take care of the survey were not experienced at this; then accordingly, students did not take the survey very seriously. The open questions, expected to generate stories or at least sentences, were left blank by many students. I did not get as good a response to these surveys as expected due to certain students not taking them seriously and to their often inefficient answers. So the survey information is supplementary.

6.1.7 Field Notes

Field notes were taken each time I finished an interview, did an observation, especially with the non-participant observation and the semi-structured interviews. It was the written account of what I heard, saw, experienced and thought in the course of collecting and reflecting on the data. My field notes also included my personal reflections on school events and how and why these events attracted my attention.

I can categorize the field notes in terms of the criteria that Bogdan and Biklen (2003) suggest – descriptive and reflective. The descriptive field notes were the second longest part of my data. They were a record of the details of what occurred in the field. They include: 1) Description of the activities. This kind of description forms the major part of the descriptive field notes. The goal is to capture a slice of real life on the site. I understand that the setting cannot be completely captured, so I transmitted as much as possible on paper. The descriptive field notes I took was purely description, not an

evaluation or summary. I tried to avoid using "abstract" terms. For example, when the

teacher was offering his/her lecture in the classroom, I did not write, "Teacher was

teaching, students were listening." I described what they actually did and said, and

recorded their responses, such as smiles or a look of puzzlement. I tried to produce the

sequence of both behaviors and particular events or acts; 2) Portrait of respondents. Their

physical appearances, dress, mannerisms, and style of talking and acting are all

considered. I tried to write down the particular aspects of people that might set them apart

from others, or tell me about their affiliations; 3) Records of discussions, chance

conversations, interviews, overheard remarks. The conversations that went on between

the respondents are recorded as well as what the respondents said to me in private. I was

particularly concerned with writing down words and phrases unique to the setting, or that

have a special use in it; 4) Description of the physical setting. I drew sketches of the

space and furniture arrangements of the physical setting; for example, how people seated

themselves in a conference room; 5) Description of my behavior. I considered myself to

be one of the instruments of data collection, thus it was important to take stock of my

own behavior, assumptions and whatever else might affect the data that were gathered

and analyzed. Such kind of description is particularly important in participant observation,

when I was part of the context.

Reflective field notes were my personal account in the course of doing my case

study. Yin (2003) suggests, "As you collect case study evidence, you must quickly

review the evidence and continually ask yourself why events or facts appear as they do"

(p. 59). This kind of reflection made up the majority of my reflective notes. Compared

with descriptive notes, reflective notes were subjective. I put emphasis on speculation,

feelings, problems, ideas, hunches, impressions, prejudices and any thoughts that popped up. My reflective field notes include 1) Reflections on method. For example, the arrangement of interview questions or perhaps the changes of interview questions, especially when I went to a professor's lecture and talked with him/her very casually, then realized that the later expected interview may have needed some change; 2) Reflections on analysis. I speculated on what I was learning from the site and the people in the site, the themes that emerged, patterns that may have been present, connections between pieces of data, and any additional ideas; 3) Reflections on my frame of mind. I tried to list my opinions, beliefs, attitudes and prejudices. When I reflected, I found these notes very useful in terms of them helping me to trace my thoughts; 4) Reflections on personal feelings. I also included the joys and problems encountered in the study.

The field notes were organized on a daily basis. After each visit to VCSJTU, I typed up notes from classroom and school observations. Then I would review, edit, and revise these field notes. The regular practice was important because handwritten notes scribbled on scraps of paper made little sense after two or three days, and the numerous classroom visits blurred together, making it difficult to recall who said what in what class. The difficulty of this practice was making the time to do it, especially after a long day in the field.

Reviewing the field notes, I found they recorded the dialogue in the informal interviews and described activities and interactions that took place during the school day and at special events. They also illuminated, through my own memos, my expanding and evolving understanding of what was happening in the school. More importantly, they

formed an early stage of analysis during data collection and contained raw data necessary for more elaborate analysis in the study.

6.1.8 Other Forms of Data

Since I left the school in January 2004, four to six female students have kept in contact with me via email. I have also had contact with their class manager, Ms. Li. I called her in April and September 2004. We talked each time for more than one hour over the telephone. In June 2005, we had a very happy reunion during my short trip to Shanghai.

Additionally, I took more than 150 pictures over the five months. I photographed school activities and special events like a sports meeting, or an opening ceremony. These pictures provide strikingly descriptive data, and they are very helpful in creating a photographic record of specific behaviors.

Figure 10: Short Play Contest Advertisement

6.1.9 Personal Reflections of Data Collection

I entered the field of VCSJTU with the purpose of identifying educational

practices and culture that contributed to the relationship between globalization and HVE

in China. In my analysis of this relationship as represented at VCSJTU, I moved from a

surface-level analysis of the educational practices that contributed to the school's success

to identifying and understanding the shared values, viewpoints and beliefs – the

underlying assumptions that contributed to this success.

The data collection process also reminds me of similar experience I had when I

was a Master student in China. In 1998, in our methodology course, we were instructed to

interview people and do observations. My interview was with a college student, who did

not pass the National College Entrance Examination the first year, spent another whole year preparing for it, finally passed the entrance exam, and was admitted by a university the following year. We talked two hours in his home. My observation assignment was done in the affiliated elementary school of my university, as were those of my fellow classmates. My professor gave me the highest mark in these two assignments, and I was asked to read one of my analysis reports in the class. That was the first time I saw that doing qualitative research with "human being" is a great experience. That was also the first time I realize that I have my own way of "probing" problems effectively. My approach does not irritate people. Instead, they tend to open their hearts to me.

This experience came back to me when I was at VCSJTU. There were people who suddenly poured out their thoughts, which they admitted was beyond their own expectation. There were people who recalled unpleasant experiences they had had years before, one that still strongly influence their way of thinking today. There were also shy people who eventually loosened up and spoke freely. This does not mean that I only listened to them, agreed with them, and supported them as their mood required. Rather, there were also times that the interviewee stared at me when he/she was thinking, and I met his/her gaze with one of equal intensity. On and on, I repeatedly felt the nature of Chinese people; "Still waters run deep" is a good description (I guess my experience in Canada contributed to my understanding of this nature more thoroughly). Among the faculty were many smart, warm people. Although initially they seemed to have no expression on their faces, they were in possession of a perfect sense of humor and responsibility. For most people, as long as they knew I was sincere, they would return my sincerity with their own.

The positive experience at VCSJTU does not mean there were no unsuccessful interviews, insignificant observations, or poor survey responses. I believe these failures offered me opportunities to self reflect and get well-prepared for further research.

7.0 The Researcher's Role at VCSJTU

This section has three subsections. In 7.1, I will outline and analyze the dual role I played in the school – insider and outsider. I will explore what I gained in the process of doing this case study. In 7.2, the contributions I made in this dual role are reviewed. In 7.3, I will discuss my personal experience at VCSJTU and my understanding of the case study method by presenting my perspective on its meaning and significance.

7.1 The Researcher's Role: Insider and Outsider

7.1.1 Insider

In this case study, I, the researcher, play both the insider and outsider roles. I am an insider because my background knowledge about China, my home country, provides me with the capability to comprehend its unique culture and ideals, particularly as they pertain to Shanghai, while allowing me to understand the organizational behavior in VCSJTU. This capability has enabled me to obtain permission and cooperation from the school and participants for conducting my research.

My personal experience in VCSJTU means that I have firsthand information about the school. The working experience I had from 2000 until 2001 has given me a better understanding of both the culture, teaching, and learning practices in the school. From 2000 to 2001, as assistant lecturer in the Business English Department, I offered

two courses to freshmen and was the "class manager" of two classes in this same department. My experience as a class manager, the one responsible for the academic development of all the students in both classes, provided me with the knowledge of how VCSJTU is run on a day-to-day basis and offered me a chance to understand the organizational behavior of administrators, faculty, and students.

In August 2003, when I started my study at the school, my own familiarity with its setting, my ease of access to the field, and my opportunity to carefully select my respondents were crucial factors that helped me to direct this case study. In this five-month-long case study, I was hired as a part-time lecturer in the Business English Department, offering Intensive English Reading to the first year undergraduates. I gave a six-hour lecture each week for twenty successive weeks. This empirical experience as an insider is particularly advantageous for conducting direct observation in the classroom and for understanding the possible elements that affect teaching and learning.

My Chinese background and my familiarity and connection with the staff and students in VCSJTU facilitated my research. When examining school policies, for example, my working experience provided with me an insider perspective that supported a more thorough interpretation of the sources of policy change and the contexts in which policy development has taken place. Cheng (1997) points out that only by a complete and correct understanding of the causes of changes is it possible to discover and interpret the policy-making process effectively. In this case, the insider role makes a marked difference.

7.1.2 Outsider

My three-year Ph.D. study at McGill University has provided me with the perspective of an "outsider". This perspective enables me to observe and interpret the phenomenon critically. My experiences at McGill contributed to my outsider role while conducting my research at VCSJTU. At McGill, I met a variety of classmates from South Korea, Pakistan, Canada, Great Britain, America, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, etc. In such an international setting, I came to see how other people view the world and thus began to better understand my way of thinking – to understand its strengths and limitations more critically. There were also a rich variety of lectures and workshops I attended at McGill which I found not only interesting, but insightful. Furthermore, my past three years living in Montreal and my travels in Canada and the US have also contributed to my outsider role by enriching my life experience.

Chen (2000) believes that in the outsider role the researcher does not directly become involved with the people of interest to his or her research. It necessitates some degree of "detachment", analysis, and interpretation from a "higher" level. Being away from the VCSJTU empowered me to conceptualize VCSJTU from a critical distance that allows me to identify the issues that might be overlooked by others outside of VCSJTU. For example, in one interview with Professor G, the former dean of the Business English Department, he mentioned the "ideology of the time of a planned economy." I probed this issue more thoroughly because such an unusual term suggested a "whole complex of topics important to the subject" (Kvale, 1996, p. 133). However, had I been merely an insider, I may have failed to recognize the implications of the term and thus missed his rich response.

7.2 The Contributions Made by the Role of the Researcher

In qualitative research, researchers themselves are viewed as the "research instrument," which greatly influences the final outcome (Chen, 2000; Gall, Gall, & Borg, 1999; Janesick, 2000; Patton, 1990; Walford, 2001; Wellington, 2000). Researchers affect the researched because "everything is capable of multiple interpretations, and misunderstandings stem not from in-competencies in other domains. Some things we do not see because we simply are not trained or situationally knowledgeable" (Fine, 1993, p. 279). Ignorance of the researcher's role may lead to serious faults. For example, Metz (2000) points out that both quantitative and qualitative researchers have often either failed to consider insider perspective, or misinterpreted them in the light of some combination of Western, male, middle-class, or administrative perspectives woven into traditional disciplines, as well as into the personal social formation of such researchers.

The case study seeks to develop an understanding of a complex phenomenon as experienced by its participants. The researcher must come to view the phenomenon as the participants view it. This is called an "insider perspective" (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 1999). At VCSJTU, as an insider, I benefited from 1) Participating in authentic human interactions, such as in interviews; 2) seeing things usually ignored by people who are not trained, or situationally knowledgeable (Fine, 1993). As an outsider, it helped me make conceptual and theoretical sense of the case. It also allowed me to report the findings so that my contribution to the research literature is clear. Furthermore, I was able to interpret the collected data with a conceptual and theoretical framework that allowed for multiple perspectives. To summarize, at VCSJTU, the researcher's empathy, intuition, judgment

and other psychological processes were all essential, in order for her to grasp the meanings of the phenomenon.

Louisy (1997) recognizes that indigenous researchers, with their own distinctive perspectives, are in a strong position to contribute to the process of development within their own countries. But insiders can also be biased and subjective when conducting research in a familiar setting. I have suggested that taking both roles at VCSJTU is advantageous in order to limit bias and subjectivity.

7.3 Personal Experience at VCSJTU When Doing the Case Study and Personal Understanding of the Case Study Method

This section has two subsections. 7.3.1 reviews my personal experience at VCSJTU by tracing my time at the school when I was performing my case study. 7.3.1 also focuses on how I situated myself in the school setting. 7.3.2 presents my personal understanding of what the case study method is and why it is significant in terms of helping me reflect on my personal experience.

7.3.1 Personal Experience at VCSJTU When Doing the Case Study

From August 2003 to January 2004, I did my case study at VCSJTU. I did not encounter the "time and money" problem that Merriam (1998) identifies – that is, "although rich, thick description and analysis of a phenomenon maybe desired, a researcher may not have the time or money to devote to such an undertaking" (p. 42). The part-time job at VCSJTU enabled me to live a peaceful life and to concentrate on my research.

During those five months, I lived in an apartment two minutes walk away from VCSJTU. I taught one three-hour class each Tuesday and Friday morning. I visited the school almost everyday. I collected documents, took pictures of students' activities and dormitories, shadowed the president, visited classrooms, and talked with faculty, or students during breaks. I observed people during the regular class time and during special events, such as an opening ceremony, sports meeting, and school conference.

The memory of my time at VCSJTU is still vivid. When I read through the data I gathered, it is as though I am talking with the VCSJTU people and working on the campus again.

My first day at VCSJTU was a hot afternoon at the end of August, 2003. Shanghai was experiencing its hottest summer since 1953. The students were still enjoying their summer vacation, so the campus was very quiet. Students were to register in less than a week for the fall semester. I watched the workers painting the school exhortation: "Love our nation, honor our school. Remember the water source when drinking water." This school exhortation was an eight-character Chinese proverb written in beautiful calligraphy. Other workers were cleaning the plants and flowers in the small garden. I talked with the gate guard, whom I knew when I was in the school three years before. After that first afternoon, I went to school almost every day. I normally reached school at 7:45 am, in time to see most students leaving their dormitories and going to classrooms to have their first class at 8:00 am.

I still remember a variety of school activities that I joined, both as a "watcher" and as a "participant." I attended 31 lectures given by 11 professors who were in 3 different departments. At the beginning of the semester, I followed the entire process of

the students' registration and the opening ceremony. I attended three monthly staff meetings over the course of the semester, in order to gain an understanding of the major issues in the school. I also joined the annual award-issuing conference at the end of the semester. In addition, I attended the weekly meeting of the student broadcasting union, the recruitment conference for new student union members, and examined how each new member was selected. I joined the conference for new student union members, the conference of the new quality-improving program initiated by Shanghai Jiaotong University, and the annual faculty sports meeting. I also served on the Business English Department faculty recruitment committee. More importantly, I offered an Intensive English Reading course for first-year undergraduates. Here, I directly observed my students through this classroom teaching. This variety of activities allowed me to gain significant understanding of the group of people whom I was studying.

My experience as a teacher was beyond description. The 34 students in my class were wonderful. I had never met so many wonderful students. For example, they had high scores on their National College Entrance Examination; gifts in a wide range of areas from piano and basketball to literature and stage performance; a high level of team sport and active involvement in class and school development; as well as open-minds and a strong work ethic. My classroom atmosphere was a friendly one. I enjoyed the time we spent together and found it was difficult to say good-bye. When I left school in January 2004, these students made a CD for me which included all their personal photos, comments on my teaching, their favorite songs, as well as photos of me taken during my lectures. The last day we were together was their exam day! The monitor gave me the CD with the whole class watching and smiling. The CD is one of the most valuable souvenirs

I have ever received. It was more valuable than the award I received from VCSJTU, because I view this CD as a proof of my hard work and our friendship. Their smiles go through my mind again and again since I have left the school. One girl student, Yuan, gave me a letter (not an email) with this comment: "You never know how much you have touched our hearts. In a hectic and restless time, you are an exception; your perseverance, enthusiasm and passion (I cannot find more appropriate words) encouraged me a great deal."

I remember the interviews I conducted in the school. Even today, I feel a lot of gratitude for those people willing to confide in me with their stories, thoughts, ideas and concerns. In some cases, especially from semi-structured interviews and casual talks, I still remember the interviewees' facial expressions, their expressive sighs, their delightful smiles, sometimes their embarrassed spells of throat-clearing, their subdued voices, and the look of tremendous satisfaction that came over their faces, or those slight frowns. Again and again, I felt I was interacting with "people" with whom I had much in common, no matter how different our backgrounds were. There were some people who suddenly opened up their hearts and poured out their thoughts. It was so sudden that later they themselves admitted that it surprised them as well. I remember one person, who seemed to be on the verge of tears. Some people shared their life stories and thereby facilitated the later interview interpretation process because these personal accounts provided a context. Responses offered in these interviews turned out to be easy to interpret, so that misunderstandings were avoided.

7.3.2 Personal Understanding of the Case Study: Its Meaning and Significance

Before I conducted my case study at VCSJTU, everything I knew about the case method came from related books, papers and theses. The five months I spent in the school contributed to my personal understanding of the meaning and significance of this methodology.

I believe that the purpose of the case study is to explain why things happen as they do, to interpret the nature of the "facts", and to generalize or predict from a single example, which requires an understanding of the broad context that emerges. The case study helps people gain an in-depth understanding of an organization and derive a comprehensive portrait of a range of human endeavors, interactions, situations, and perceptions.

The case study enables the researcher to interact with a group of people and to use the "case" to gain realistic insights into various contexts, issues and organizations. It also allows the researcher to analyze and interpret the meanings transmitted by the themes that emerge from the case. The most significant feature of this method is the connections that a researcher attempts to build with the researched. The process is time-consuming and requires patience, perseverance and love for research. How much the researcher devotes to the researched determines how much he or she can achieve in his or her case study. The levels of dedication, devotion, and passion can invariably be observed in his or her final research report. The case study is a painstaking process. However, no devotion means no gains. Yet this process depends on humane efforts, which makes it attractive to me.

8.0 The Vocational College of Shanghai Jiaotong University (VCSJTU)

This section has two subsections. In 8.1, HVE in Shanghai is introduced in terms of the policy context of Shanghai. In 8.2, the background information of VCSJTU is examined by tracing its establishment and by examining its administration and organization, as well as its faculty and HVE program. Lastly, the rationale to select VCSJTU is explained.

8.1 HVE in Shanghai: Policy Context and HVE Development

China's economic reforms begun in the late 1970s set the stage for subsequent educational responses. One current educational reform trend is that each region is to develop its educational system, or enforce reforms according to its own characteristics and its economic status (Xu, 2001). As noted in 4.2, Shanghai came to be on the cutting edge of commerce, industry, technology and culture in China over the past decades. The setting of Shanghai "favored development which subsequently contributed to Shanghai becoming number one in China in both education and the economy" (Mak & Lo, 1996, p. 377). As Archer (1982), Bowman (1984) and Plank (1983) believe: "the educational variance often is as great, if not greater, between regions within a nation as it is between nations" (as cited in Kelly & Altbach, 1989, p.15). The cultural and economic context in Shanghai provides the broad background against which Shanghai's education develops and flourishes.

HVE in Shanghai grew up in a very supportive environment, given the general education background and the vocationalization trend started in the late 1980s. In terms of the education background, as a cultural, political, commercial, and industrial center,

Shanghai clearly enjoys a high concentration of educational human resources. The general level of educational attainment in Shanghai is obviously much higher than the national average. "An average Shanghainese gets 7.4 years of education, whereas the national average is 4.5 years" (Lee & Hook, 1998, p. 131). Shanghai possesses more educated human resources than the rest of the country. Some of these human resources were the natives of Shanghai, and some others went to Shanghai from other cities across the country. Consequently, its educational level is much higher than the national average, making Shanghai one of the most educated cities in China (Lee & Hook, 1998).

Since the late 1970s, China has introduced a series of educational reforms, and HVE has assumed an increasingly important role in Chinese education (Ma, 2002; Xun & Chen, 2002). Since 1985, a series of policies and laws has influenced the development of HVE and also threw light on the general situation of Chinese education. In 1985, a document called *Decision To Make the Educational Reforms*, issued by the central government in Beijing, declared: "We should develop vocational education thoroughly" (Li, 2002). The document is viewed as the "prelude" to HVE reform (Ma, 2002). In 1992, the *Decision of the State Council on Vigorously Developing Vocational Education* was issued. It implied that vocational education is an important support in the emergence of SME. In 1996, the *Vocational Education Law of People's Republic of China* clearly demonstrated the legal role and responsibility of HVE. It was the first law to highlight the significance of HVE not only to higher education in China, but also to national prosperity. 1999 witnessed the first national conference on HVE, held in Beijing, and a number of important documents and policies were issued afterwards. HVE gained considerable strength in the 1980s through MOE which provided substantial funding for curriculum

development and HVE faculty training. Mak and Lo (1996) observed the educational

reforms in China and wrote, "One of the most drastic changes in education in China since

1978 has been the vocationalization of education. It has affected the upper secondary

level most, but also the tertiary level" (p. 381). Since the mid 1980s, secondary

vocational education has fallen short of the demand for it both in quality and quantity.

Simultaneously, the vocationalization trend has encouraged its conspicuous appearance at

the tertiary level (Lee & Hook, 1998). HVE, therefore, has gained in importance.

According to the China Educational Yearbook (2000), "HVE in Shanghai developed

dramatically since 1999" (p. 507).

In Shanghai, three characteristics of HVE's development are significant. First,

HVE developed very quickly in the late 1990s. "By 1999, there were 28 HVE schools in

Shanghai. It was three times as many as those in 1997" (Shanghai Vocational Education

Commission, 2002). Second, HVE is growing under increasingly supportive

circumstances. "Shanghai has some of the best universities in China, including Fudan

University, Tongji University, Jiaotong University, and St. John's University" (Mak &

Lo, 1996, p. 378). Some HVE schools are the subordinate schools of these universities,

including VCSJTU. The academic and human resources in these well-known universities

act as a "supportive base" for the running of these HVE schools. Third, Shanghai's

economy and HVE are closely related. As a city whose per capita income runs well

within, or surpasses the range of Southern-European middle-income economies (Lofstedt

& Zhao, 2002), "the richer and more dynamic parts of this region are already

experiencing labor shortages, rising labor costs and pressure to transform production and

exports into more sophisticated and capital-intensive activities" (Garnaut & Huang, 2001,

p. 443). How HVE responds to the actual changes in Shanghai's economy reveals this close relationship. For example, HVE curriculum and its continuous modifications are all set to meet the requirements of the local context. The most competitive majors in HVE schools are commerce, management, and English. These majors "mirror" the requirements of the labor market and the profitable jobs in Shanghai (Mak & Lo, 1996).

To summarize, with the emergence of Shanghai's new economic development has come a new educational paradigm. Education in Shanghai is a model for China due to its taking on of new initiatives and its flexible adaptation to new environment (Mak & Lo, 1996). Because Shanghai's economy came to rely on science and technology during the 1980s and 1990s (Yatsko, 2001) and especially since SME became the economic system in China, "education now carries an unambiguous mandate: to reform itself in such a way as to fit the SME and its accompanying political characteristics, and to ensure an abundant supply of quality workers" (Mak & Lo, 1996, p. 380).

8.2 Background Information of VCSJTU

In this section, the paper presents a thorough background introduction to VCSJTU, from its establishment and history to its autonomy and teaching body. Some of the aspects may seem ordinary, but are crucial to the understanding of the VCSJTU case. For example, VCSJTU's autonomy is included because it is unusual and is viewed as an outstanding aspect of the decentralization of China's education system.

8.2.1 The Establishment of VCSJTU

In 1999, new HVE schools were set up in each province; VCSJTU was one of them. VCSJTU is a subordinate college of Shanghai Jiaotong University. One of the oldest universities in China, Shanghai Jiaotong University was founded in 1896. It is ranked as one of China's top ten universities. From 2002 to 2004, Shanghai Jiaotong University ranked 10, 7 and 9 respectively. It has five campuses. VCSJTU is located in Shangzhong campus. To set up an HVE college within a university is in accordance with the tendency of international higher education. It is an important and practical move to develop HVE due to China's present realities (Li, 2002).
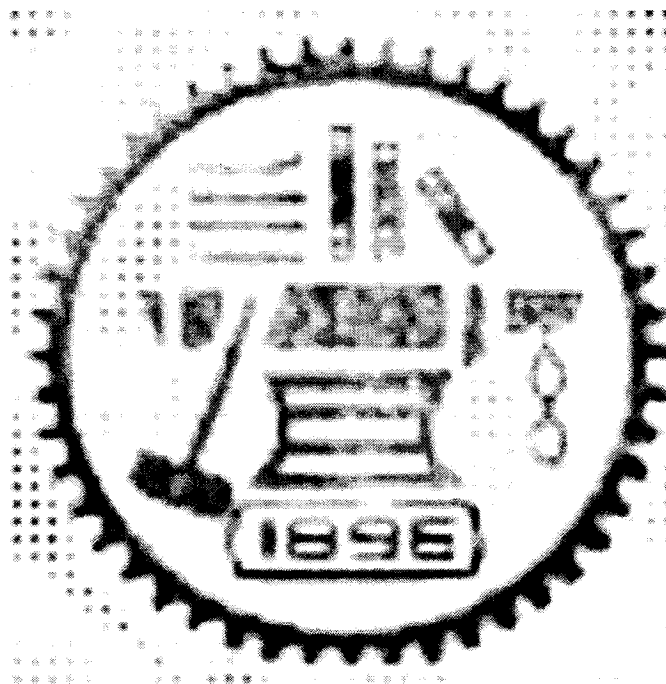
Figure 11: VCSJTU Symbol: Water Source

8.2.2 The History of VCSJTU

The history of the school reflects that of the nation. According to the school archives, in September 1978, the Shanghai government approved that Shanghai Jiaotong University build a "training base" for the University. It was the year of Deng Xiaoping's keynote speech, an address that defined a new direction for education after the decade of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) when education came to a standstill. In the early 1983, the MOE (then the State Education Committee) approved this small school as the training base for Shanghai Jiaotong University. It was to offer advanced adult education courses. In the 1980s and early 1990s, the school gave courses to people who did not have a chance to be educated during the Cultural Revolution era. There were also students completing their one, or two-year post-secondary education program. Take 1983 as an example, there were 579 students in the school. The majors and the quantity of students were as follows:

Table 3.2 Major and Students in 1983

	Short-term Class (1-2 months)	One-year Program Class	Two-year Program Class
Students	297	198	84
Majors	Foreign Languages, Computer Languages, Heat-Energy Treatment Theory, Relay Electronics Protection Theory	Philosophy, National Economic Plan	Enterprises Management, Marine Transportation

Source: VCSJTU Achieves.

The graduates of these three kinds of programs did not receive degrees, but education certificates. Theirs was a diploma certifying that they had finished a group of

courses and were thus entitled to practice in their fields. In the 1980s and early 1990s, the school did not have its own faculty; all the professors/teachers were from the other four campuses of Shanghai Jiaotong University. At that time, the school played a supplementary and supportive role for the other campuses.

According to the school archives and the interviews with older people at VCSJTU, the school developed quickly in the 1990s. Extensive building projects were carried out to cope with increasing student numbers and with the need to upgrade faculty accommodations. Meanwhile, some of the decaying old buildings were razed. In the mid and late 1990s, considerable investment was made in educational hardware at the school, as well as in well-equipped language laboratories, an electronics workroom, a reading room, student dormitories, gym, and a multiple-uses building for conferences and large lectures. In 1999, the school applied to offer HVE programs and was approved by the Educational Commission of Shanghai. In March 1999, the school gained the name of "VCSJTU".

Figure 12: Education Building of VCSJTU

8.2.3 The Autonomy of VCSJTU

As have been discussed in 2.2.2, in the 1980s and earlier, Chinese universities and colleges were directed by the central government or the MOE, not local governments. Since the late 1980s, China has been gradually moving away from a centralist model in which it controlled the detailed operations of education at all levels. The economic and administrative reforms have led to a decentralization and granting of semi-autonomy to lower administrative levels (Agelasto & Adamson, 1998).

Shanghai, as the first city to request more education autonomy, has gained a great deal of it since the late 1980s. VCSJTU, a school established in 1999, is

autonomous and reports to the local Shanghai government, not to the central Beijing

government.

8.2.4 School Board of VCSJTU

VCSJTU has one president, one vice president, one Party secretary, and two vice

Party secretaries. These five people comprise the school board. Under this school board,

the school administration body includes four branch offices: administration, student

affairs, academic, and the maintenance.

Figure 3.1 School Board and Branch Offices

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                        ┌─────────────────────┐
                        │    School Board     │
                        └─────────────────────┘
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School Board

Administration Office
Public relations and planning;
Foreign affairs and exchange;
Other

Academic Office
Interdepartmental affairs;
Supervision of teaching;
Academic exchange

Student Affairs Office
Normal education;
Extra curricular activities;
Employment service and
loans

Maintenance Office
School maintenance;
Transportation service;
Other

8.2.5 Faculty of VCSJTU

VCSJTU has a reputation of having on select faculty and students. It recruits teachers throughout the whole nation. In 2000, VCSJTU received over 150 applications and only employed 13 of these applicants.

By 2002, 83.3% teachers were from the whole country, and only 16.6% were from Shanghai. The VCSJTU faculty consists of two parts – the full-time faculty and the part-time faculty from other universities. By 2002, there were 38 full-time professors/teachers and nearly 70 part-time professors/teachers from other Shanghai Jiaotong University campuses or other universities. Among the 38 full-time professors/teachers, 18 are female, 20 are male. By 2003, all the departments at VCSJTU are headed by retired professors who had worked in the corresponding departments of Shanghai Jiaotong University for decades, or at least had worked for years in other universities. For example, Professor Xu, had been a full-professor in the Naval Architecture and Engineering Department of Shanghai Jiaotong University for over three decades. Now he is the chairperson of the Naval Watercraft Department at VCSJTU.

Table 3.3 Faculty Staff of VCSJTU by 2002

	Full-time	Part-time
Male	20	42
Female	18	29
Shanghai	16.7%	Not Available
Other Cities/Regions	83.3%	Not Available
Ph.D. Degrees	2.6%	Not Available

Source: VCSJTU Archives.

"Since the birth of VCSJTU, most of the professors in our school received their Master degrees" (VCSJTU Interview, Zhang, #1). Ms. Zhang, who has been working in the human resources department of the school since 1983, told me this in July 2002. "By 2002, we have 38 professors in VCSJTU, and only one of them has received his doctoral degree. As for the part-time professors from other universities, they are associate professors or full professors" (Zhang, personal interview, July 2, 2002). Most VCSJTU officials believe that the teaching experiences and scholarship of its faculty members compare favorably with those in other HVE colleges across Shanghai.

Figure 13: Administration Building of VCSJTU

8.2.6 Students of VCSJTU

Without a doubt, the students in VCSJTU are top students in terms of the HVE field in Shanghai. Over the past few years, their entrance examination records have always placed them first over other such applicants, and VCSJTU graduates are very much welcomed in the labor market. Two reasons explain VCSJTU's outstanding student performance.

More than 90% of VCSJTU students were born and raised in Shanghai. This reflects a characteristic of Shanghai people – most prefer not to go to other cities to pursue higher studies, or to find a job; rather, they would prefer to stay in Shanghai, which they believe is the best city in China. Yang said, "It is a little bit difficult for a native of Shanghai to find his roots in other cities. You know, Shanghai is very unique in terms of its culture and 'atmosphere'" (Yang, personal interview, July 1, 2002). Before 2003, VCSJTU reserved a small number of places for students from neighboring provinces, e.g., Zhejiang and Jiangsu Province. However, since 2003, the students enrolled in VCSJTU are all from Shanghai. "We do not reserve the numbers for other provinces any more. Because we need to report to Jiaotong University, and any possible arrangements may take time. So this year we do not do that any more" (Kong, personal interview, December 30, 2003).

VCSJTU students, as of 2003, represent a very balanced ratio of males to females. In some departments, females are more common than males, for example, in the Business English Department. In some other departments, the situation is reversed, for example, in the Tele-Communication Department.

According to a dormitory management official, more than 85% of VCSJTU

students live in the school dormitories. Males and females live in separate dormitory

buildings. Four people share one apartment. Other students live in apartments near the

school. Still others live at home if their homes are located nearby.

8.2.7 HVE Program in VCSJTU

In China, the secondary vocational schools seek to train chefs, clothing designers,

and electricians rather than cooks, seamstresses, and repair persons (Stevenson, 1998).

However, these subjects usually will not be included in HVE schools, whose purpose is

to train higher level specialists in technology, management, business, commerce, trade,

etc., which go far beyond the training target of secondary vocational schools.

By 2003, VCSJTU had five departments: Business Management, Business

English, Electrical Engineering, Naval Watercraft, and Tele-Communication. From 1999

to 2003, VCSJTU graduates received a diploma of education after their three years of

studies. Since the fall semester of 2003, VCSJTU has been entitled to deliver Bachelor's

degrees in four departments, the only exception being the Naval Watercraft Department.

In other words, students who registered in Fall 2003 will receive Bachelor's degrees in

the summer 2007, if they meet the academic requirements. VCSJTU people term the

Bachelor programs in other Shanghai Jiaotong University campuses as "First-level

Bachelors", and theirs as "Second-level Bachelors". Liu, the vice president of VCSJTU,

commented on the differences of the two programs: "We are to cultivate students with

problem-solving skills, creativity, and practical ability, that is, less theory, more practice.

But the Bachelor program offered in other campuses is traditionally academic and more theory-oriented" (Liu, personal interview, December 9, 2003).

Commenting on the new four-year program, President Kong said, "The three-year HVE program is no longer capable of supporting the rapidly developed economy and technology in an era of globalization, when the national economy and industry are coming more and more to rely on advanced technology" (Kong, personal interview, November 24, 2003).

The HVE program in VCSJTU is set up and adjusted according to the needs of Shanghai's economy and social development. All VCSJTU majors are determined by VCSJTU itself and then a report is sent to the Shanghai Educational Commission for the record.

8.2.8 Field Work, Labor Market Practice, and Employment

VCSJTU students have their field work in their last school year. For the Naval Architecture Department, the field work takes over six months. For the other departments, at least three months are required. The fieldwork was conducted by VCSJTU. In 2002, a group of students in the Business Management Department were sent to Singapore to do their internships. Some students will stay in the companies where they do their field work, as long as both the students and the company are satisfied with each other.

Employment practices in Shanghai have several features. First, the employers hope to recruit qualified people who quickly oriented themselves with no need for training. Therefore, preparation for work is the responsibility of individual students and schools. Second, in the employers' opinion, the best criterion for selecting employees is

their academic performance and the certificates they have. Third, the employers tend to select the top-ranking university's graduates, irrespective of their majors.

As for students' job-hunting practices, they are very similar to those in Western countries. Student in their last school year will prepare their CV, make copies of their various certificates, and mail the application kit to the companies, or enterprises where they wish to be employed.

At VCSJTU, there is an annual employment information workshop. VCSJTU will introduce the latest labor market information for the students. Besides this, VCSJTU students also go to other big employment workshops in Shanghai to find their chances. No matter what way they take, they make their own final decision of where to go.

8.2.9 Student Loans

Each year, there are economically disadvantaged students who have to overcome financial obstacles to do their studies. Since its establishment, VCSJTU introduced the approach of student loans to help those students. These students can obtain interest-free loans through application. The application is sent to Shanghai Jiaotong University; and no test is required. The loans will be issued to the students if they meet the requirements. Each year, each student can apply for 4,000 – 6,000 Chinese dollars, which is equivalent to $613.5 – 920.3 Cdn. The students are to repay the loans four years after their graduation as their education would enable them to obtain better incomes than they would have otherwise. According to the VCSSJTU administrators, their graduates have no trouble repaying their loans.

VCSJTU also has some part-time job opportunities on campus, e.g. doing some minor work in the cafeterias, and all the students are entitled to join this program. However, such work places always give priority to the economically disadvantaged students.

8.2.10 Why VCSJTU?

The initial decision to conduct my case study in VCSJTU was determined by two reasons. First, VCSJTU occupies a leading role in the HVE field in Shanghai and its significance is widely recognized. As a representative HVE school, VCSJTU is a good starting point. The case study in VCSJUT generates a significant amount of information and the related analysis is crucial from a practical, as well as from a theoretical viewpoint. Therefore, the case study at VCSJTU can be of direct relevance and provide suggestions for the HVE field in China.

Second, VCSJTU is the school I am familiar with and have kept a good relationship with since I left in 2001. My case study at VCSJTU is not likely to produce the biases that Cheng (1997) sees as belonging to the scholars from other culture backgrounds.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented the literature review of the case study method, the methodological framework of this case study, the researcher's role in VCSJTU, and the background information of VCSJTU.

In the literature review of the case study method, I introduced the definitions, characteristics, strengths and limitations of such a case study. The rationale of selecting the case study method was also indicated.

In discussing the methodological framework, methods used to collect data were also examined. I emphasized how I gained entrance to the field and what my first days in it were like. Methods I used – documents, observations, interviews and survey – were discussed respectively. The significance of the data generated from each method and the difficulties I met in the data collection process were also explained. Moreover, field notes and other forms of data were also examined. Lastly, my personal reflection on the data collection process was also included.

In the section addressing the researcher's roles at VCSJTU, I included descriptions of my dual role in the school – insider and outsider. Attention was given to my personal experience when I was performing the case study and my own understanding of the meaning and significance of the case study method, as derived from my experience at the school.

In the section on the school's background, I reviewed as many aspects of the school as possible, from its establishment to its field work practice. Lastly, I suggested why I selected VCSJTU to conduct my case study.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis and Emerging Themes

This chapter consists of three sections. In section 9.0, data are analyzed and in section 10.0, six themes that emerged are presented. In section 11.0, personal reflection on the definitions of globalization is discussed.

9.0 Data Analysis

This section has five subsections. Section 9.1 discusses the beginning of my data analysis. Sections 9.2 to 9.4 are the analysis of the interviews, field notes and student essays. Section 9.5 discusses the five themes that emerged from the data analysis.

9.1 Beginning Data Analysis

I find it is hard to indicate a precise point at which data collection ends and analysis begins. According to my field notes, some ideas about possible analysis had already occurred in the course of gathering the data. Constant theorizing and trying to make sense of my data was an ongoing process.

I did not perform my data analysis as soon as I left VCSJTU in January, 2004. Instead, I took a break. In February, 2004, I went back home to enjoy the Spring Festival with my family. I did not return to the research until mid-March of that year. During the break, I left the materials untouched and did things I had neglected because I was consumed by the data collection. In March, 2004, I came back to the data fresh and rested. Bogdan and Birlen (2003) suggest that in this way, we can distance ourselves from fieldwork details and get a chance to put the relationships between ourselves and our

subjects in perspective. This distancing can help us regain our enthusiasm for data that may have become boring.

Yin (2003) suggests there are few fixed formulas, or cookbook recipes, can help to guide the novice to do a case study analysis. Taylor and Bogdan (1998) suggest that: "The reason why so many people find qualitative data analysis so difficult is that it is not fundamentally a mechanical or technical process" (p. 140). Knowing all too well the difficulties that may arise, I tried to pay special attention to three things in my data analysis.

The research questions came first. I taped my four research questions on the table so I could read them whenever my eyes fell on them. This was a very useful strategy. It kept me merged with the sea of materials, and yet also helped me to maintain my sense of direction. I opened a research folder for each research question. All the related materials went into the corresponding folder.

The phenomenological framework came second. As Patton (1990) observes, "The analysis will be heavily shaped by the theoretical framework within which the study is conducted" (p. 373). When I did my data analysis, I often turned to my phenomenological framework and consulted related readings on phenomenology. I kept asking myself: "What is your own sense/feeling about the content?" "What questions were generated during the interview process?" "What personal insights/truths emerged?" "What kind of interpretation can you make?" "How does your knowledge compare with the original questions?" I find that analysis is a process of inductive reasoning, reflecting, searching, and theorizing. The purpose is to "interpret and explain human action and thought" (Schutz, as cited in Holstein & Gubrium, 1998, p. 140). Within the

phenomenological framework, pattern matching is another thing to keep in mind. The case study at VCSJTU is a descriptive case study, and it tries in every possible way to work within its phenomenological framework, so as to establish its internal validity.

Alternative interpretation came third. I carefully considered the alternative interpretations when I had read sufficient evidence. I particularly noticed, for example, the frequency of different events and any possible means and variances that Miles and Huberman (1994), as well as Yin (2003), suggest.

Yin (2003) and Taylor and Bogdan (1998) both maintain that the high-quality of a qualitative research report depends on the researcher's rigorous thinking and no researcher can obtain sensitive insights through training. My data analysis was a process by which I repeatedly felt and experienced this comment.

9.2 Analysis of Transcribed Interviews

I read through the entire interview transcriptions twice; first quickly, then slowly. The quick reading was meant to catch certain words, phrases, patterns of behavior, and the subject's way of thinking. I also looked for repeated events that stood out within the categories of the interview schedule – personal understanding of globalization, comments on the HVE program at VCSJTU, personal experience of globalization, school culture, etc. I used different colored maker pens to indicate different topics and codes and reorganized them into different files. This was a means of sorting the descriptive data so that the material bearing on a given topic could be separated physically from other data. Following the suggestion made by Taylor and Bogdan (1998), I tried to keep my coding scheme based on what I wanted to write about – the phenomenological framework that

was to shape my case study. In this way, I started coding data with a clear purpose of how I wanted to communicate in this study. Therefore, the coding scheme was clear and coherent, which tremendously eased the later analysis work.

After my first quick reading, I did a slow reading, looking for possible relationships between key words and school documents to find the materials that supported my analysis. The two readings were meant to help me to develop ideas about my findings and relate them to the literature. They also enabled me to elaborate on key concerns and concepts.

9.3 Analysis of Field Notes

My reading of the field notes helped me to clarify some aspects of the interview context, especially the details pertinent to the setting or other aspects of the respondent's life, my relationship with the researched, and so forth. All these have a bearing on how statements in the interviews are heard and interpreted. Analyses of the interviews and field notes were intertwined because alone, each one could not be the sole basis for a comprehensive understanding of the themes that emerged.

9.4 Analysis of Student Essays and Exams

I also analyzed student essays, which I asked my students to finish in my Intensive English Reading Exam of January, 2004. The topic was on their personal views of their freshman semester at VCSJTU. Any comments could be made on the pedagogy, curriculum, administration efficiency, school culture, etc. The 34 essays complemented the knowledge gained through student interviews.

To summarize, data analysis is time consuming. It involves organizing data, breaking it into manageable units, coding it, synthesizing it, and searching for themes. During this process, I kept on reading through my field notes and transcripts to develop concepts and propositions, as a way of tracking the emerging themes.

10.0 Emerged Themes from the Data Analysis

When I was trying to summarize the themes emerging from my data analysis, I recorded any idea that came to me. At first, I found some ideas came unexpectedly, and I wrote them down no matter how unedited and tentative they were. Later on, when I read though these scribbled notes, I found that some patterns already stood out in the data, while others were not so apparent and often turned out to be more subtle. My evolving feeling about the data analysis was: 1) try my best to be objective and 2) realize that nothing is accidental; why things occurred in their particular way could be a small sign pointing the way to a new world. Led by this feeling, I found that the mere description of how things happened was helping to explain the situation in VCSJTU. That is, description can be "more than" mere description.

Themes emerged through the process of triangulation as I used multiple sources of data. After being translated into English and being transcribed, the data was organized electronically and analyzed according to emerging themes and categories relevant to the purposes of the study. Often, the themes emerged from conflicting values, goals, or perceptions, and the ways in which these are lived out and resolved in the school setting. For example, should globalization be considered in school policy-making? I used analytic

induction and constant comparison to scan the data for categories and for relationships among these categories.

In section 10.0, I was able to identify the six themes that emerged as a result of the data analysis. They are the findings of my case study.

10.1 Theme #1: Globalization and Market: From External Force to Internal Initiative

This is the first theme that emerged from my data analysis. The analysis in Theme #1 follows Carnoy's frame of ideas about globalization and educational changes, which are presented in section 2.1.2. Additionally, a key feature of my Theme #1 analysis is an incorporation of multiple aspects of VCSJTU practices, while maintaining of focus upon the dynamic relationship between globalization and the corresponding VCSJTU changes over the years.

10.1.1 The School Curriculum

The VCSJTU curriculum changes each year. Liu, the vice president of VCSJTU, comments on the justification for the quick curriculum change:

> I think this kind of changing is also a kind of 'structural adjustment' to the
>
> changing economic environment of our country. You know, on the way to a
>
> market economy, there must be some sectors that die, while new sectors
>
> emerge. Therefore, there should be education for new industries and new
>
> occupations, and the streams leading nowhere should be closed down. Thus
>
> we follow this trend. (Liu, personal interview, December 9, 2003)

From my assessment (an analysis from both documents and interviews) of the overall effectiveness of the HVE curriculum in meeting its program aims as well as the school objectives, I found that the VCSJTU curriculum has four features. First, the curriculum is established to improve different "skills", which may be grouped into three categories: 1) Basic and fundamental skills – English and computer knowledge; 2) Specific vocational skills – the knowledge and abilities required to perform the various tasks associated with a job, for example, the Business Management Department needs to learn trade negotiation skills; and 3) Social skills – such as team spirit, the ability to understand and apply new concepts to practice, or to different contexts, and the ability to reflect and think critically.

Second, English has assumed an incomparably important position in Chinese education. Kellner (2000) notes: "The globalization of education might involve the privileging of Western, and particularly English-language, culture in the entire world, as English is emerging as the preferred language of the Internet" (p. 306). It is an irrefutable fact that, at VCSJTU, English already is the dominant language. English is a required course in every grade of every department. Each year, all second- and third-year VCSJTU students need to take the Level-4 English Proficiency Test. The only exception are the Business English majors because they need to pass a Professional English Level-4 English Proficiency Test. Those who fail these tests need to retake them the following year. Of those being interviewed at VCSJTU, almost everyone admitted that English is a world language and thus learning it well is important not only for daily communication, but also for future job-hunting.

Third, the labor market has been one of the elements influencing VCSJTU's curriculum. Liu, the vice president of the school, has said:

> In order to set the curriculum more reasonably and feasibly, we always keep an eye on the labor market in Shanghai and beyond Shanghai, not only in our country, but also the world market. For example, which kind of new foreign enterprises will be set up in Shanghai this year? Which kind of new personnel needs may possibly arise from it? (Liu, personal interview, December 9, 2003)

In addition, Li has commented on the constant need to reorganize the school curriculum because of the relationship between work and the labor market:

> You know, the workforce and labor market requirements are both very flexible. Therefore, the different sectors of the labor market make it very difficult to identify how many, or which kinds of skills are needed for one particular profession. Everything is moving and changing. That is why our curriculum covers so much. (Li, personal interview, August 26, 2003)

Fourth, the majors in VCSJTU are mainly focused on tertiary industry, for example, the "higher services level." A case in point is the "Business Conference" major in the Business English Department. Professor Liu, the dean of the Business English Department comments:

Obviously, this major is set for the Olympic Games in Beijing in 2008, the

International Exposition in Shanghai in 2010, and some other major

conferences to be held in Shanghai in the next decade. The students in this

major learn conference arrangement, business interpretation, and how to

manage big conferences. I believe they will make possible the extraordinary

splendor of 2008, 2010, and thereafter. (Liu, personal interview, December 1,

2003)

These four features are frequently mentioned topics in the interviews conducted

with administrators and faculty. Most administrators mentioned these four features, and

one school board member summarized them in this way:

In one word, our necessary curriculum changes and our rationale of setting up

majors is designed to meet market demands for both Shanghai and the global

market. You know, VCSJTU has also undertaken exchanges with other

institutions at home and abroad, in order to raise its academic standards. I

think cooperation with overseas institutions and our already to meet the

international standards are more important – you know, Shanghai is the best

education and economic model, so it has to look ahead to the world market.

10.1.2 The Quality Assurance Procedure

To ensure overall quality, VCSJTU uses several strategies involving:

1) *Faculty*. Each year, according to the school archives, VCSJTU sends its faculty to training class. Therefore, the faculty not only have access to updated information about theories and new developments in their fields, but also are exposed to alternative approaches, for example, the possibilities of their training program introducing overseas teaching pedagogy. Since the fall of 2003, when VCSJTU was entitled to deliver Bachelor's degrees, it has encouraged its faculty to pursue their own higher degrees. For example, President Kong has said:

> "We need at least 30% of professors with doctorate degrees…Because we are now offering Bachelor level education, the qualifications for our faculty need to increase accordingly. This is to meet the needs of our new Bachelor program…We can make possible arrangements for the teachers to do their Ph.D. For example, we try to meet their timetable, or solve their financial difficulties, etc. (Kong, personal interview, November 24, 2003).

Kong also commented: "Good personnel, good management and good teaching staff are three keys of our school" (Kong, personal interview, December 30, 2003).

Almost every faculty member I talked with was considering pursuing a higher degree, or already is preparing for the doctorate entrance examinations. When asked about their plans to purse a higher degree, the first three most frequently mentioned reasons were: we are "under great pressure both from society and school;" we will "get well-prepared for a future career;" and "the earlier to do a Ph.D., the better."

2) *The latest updated textbooks.* VCSJTU uses the latest editions of textbooks. In

the Electronics Department, 80% of the textbooks are the latest version. All the textbooks

are versions after 2000. As Li points out: "This kind of department especially needs the

latest versions. Latest versions mean the most recently updated technical knowledge.

Even so, the teachers still need to supplement some of the latest information in class" (Li,

personal interview, August 26, 2003).

3) *Certificates.* A great majority of VCSJTU students think about preparing

preparation for certificates, especially those who will graduate in one or two years. These

certificates cover a wide range from Oral English, English Interpretation, and Computer

Application to a Level-4 English Proficiency Test and a Marine Watercraft Electronics

Certificate. When students pass an examination designed by the central government,

certificates are issued accordingly from Beijing. VCSJTU encourages its students to do

these certificates and views the percentage of successes as a great achievement. Each year,

certificate successes are included in VCSJTU's enrollment description bulletin to attract

more students.

10.1.3 School Mission and Educational Goals

The SME emerged in 1992, when China's economic development evolved to a

new stage (Chai, 1997). The main characteristic of this new stage was that the global

expansion of markets and technical advance were fundamental sources of structural

development in contemporary Chinese economies. Therefore, education, especially HVE,

had to be responsive to this development by making appropriate changes (Yu & Zeng,

1994).

As a HVE college born at this time, VCSJTU was inevitably influenced by SME and globalization. Since its establishment, VCSJTU has tried every possible way to allow for such influence and has set out its own school mission: 1) To cultivate the skilled talents of those who are specialized in advanced technology applications and who are competent in production, construction, management, and service; 2) To foster cooperation between the college and industrial enterprises; 3) To emphasize the HVE curriculum development; and 4) To encourage the development of a faculty with two qualifications: one academic (such as professors, assistant professors) and the other practical (such as qualified engineers or accountants).

President Kong comments on the school mission:

> With the development of our national economy and the increasing corporation with other countries, the influence from advanced industrial countries will surely be greater and greater, especially in Shanghai, the forefront of the Chinese economy. Therefore, we are to cultivate HVE students according to international standards, i.e., to meet international criteria. (Kong, personal interview, November 24, 2003)

To achieve this objective, each specialty/major of each department has its own educational goals to accomplish. For example, the educational goal of the Business Management Major of the Business Management Department is:

To cultivate the students' fundamental knowledge of management, economics and international trade. They are to be capable of analyzing and solving the international trade issues and electrical business problems. They are to master one or several higher level capabilities, and thus will be able to work in the economic field and foreign trade enterprises, doing management administration, trade design work, etc. (School archives)

Both the school objectives and the department's educational goals act to "guide" the HVE program. Each year, VCSJTU states its HVE program aims in its program description bulletin. These aims are administered by the Shanghai Educational Committee, according to the terms of reference set down by the HVE policies of China. In the 2003 bulletin, VCSJTU summarizes its five aims:

1) Provide HVE students with a solid knowledge foundation and versatile practical skills, especially in foreign language and computer application skills, so to meet the social and economic requirement. By the time of graduation, each HVE student should try to gain the proficiency certificate related to his/her major.

2) Develop corporation between college and industrial enterprises. Enterprises are encouraged to engage in curriculum design and to provide a place for field work/internship.

3) Maintain a teaching body that is both theoretically knowledgeable and practically skillful.

4) Promote our HVE program level by cooperating with international universities and colleges, and by learning about the experiences of advanced HVE colleges overseas.

5) Enhance our understanding of the importance of our students finding employment and try to increase their employment rate each year.

These aims clearly show that the overall objective of the HVE program at VCSJTU is to promote the HVE level within the college (aims 3, 4, and 5), and this is definitely linked to a broad context of national economic development (aims 1 and 2).

10.1.4 Inter-institutional cooperation

VCSJTU is more connected to other places worldwide than to its own neighborhoods in Shanghai and China: "Because the fate of institutions of higher education is increasingly linked with the fate of for-profit corporations, the same argument could be made for them" (Shumar, 2004, p. 828).

Since its founding, VCSJTU actively has sought more diverse and international influences for school development from both educational and non-educational (e.g., business and industry) sources. Using extensive individualized networks across the globe, VCSJTU develops a flow of people and ideas between itself and the international arena. In 2001, actual negotiations occurred with Taiwan, Australia, and Singapore. However,

due to the small size of the school and the initial stage of HVE development in China, it was hard to find a suitable cooperative partner. As one chairperson observed:

> I believe it is because our HVE is still in the initial stage of development, but the intended cooperating partners in Germany are already very advanced. The two do not match...At the early stage of running our own HVE, there will be a time of 'neither fish nor fowl,' but it is becoming better and better. I believe our economical development and globalization are 'standardizing' the HVE in China. (B, personal interview, December 19, 2003)

In 2002, after rounds of negotiation, VCSJTU established a cooperation program with enterprises in Singapore. Third-year students in the Business Management Department were sent to Singapore for their internship. Then, by September 2003, VCSJTU signed an agreement to cooperate with Maastricht University in the Netherlands. The discussion with an Austria university is in process. All these successes are viewed as great accomplishments for a small HVE college at the initial stage of its development. Moreover, in September 2005, VCSJTU signed a cooperation contract with Dublin City University in Ireland, concerning the fields of business management and electronics.

VCSJTU people do not view inter-institutional cooperation as mere cooperation; they believe it is a chance for them to be introduced to the outer world, and also to introduce fresh ideas into their school.

10.1.5 Public System, the Administration and Organization

Today, private kindergartens, elementary schools, high schools and universities exist throughout all of China. However, the emergence of private schools is a new phenomenon, beginning in the late 1970s. The introduction of private education brought changes to the formerly rigid higher education system. Meanwhile, the strategies of privatization adopted by China were "highly instrumental, intended to improve administrative efficiency and effectiveness rather than to make a fundamental shift of value orientation" (Mok & Chan, 1998, p. 292). As a result, the private sector plays only a supplementary, limited, peripheral role in China's education. Mainstream schools are still run by the public sector. Also, the most famous universities are still public.

However, the development of the private sector brought some changes to China's education system, including its public sector. That is, the public sector is starting to run businesses, charge tuition fees, and orient courses for newly emerging work sectors. In this regard, public schools, in many ways, appear to be private, thus making the distinction between private and public rather unclear for many people. That is to say, bringing "market elements" into the public sector gives people more choices, and many believe that eventually, better-quality education will result (Mok & Chan, 1998).

Shanghai Jiaotong University, one of China's most celebrated universities, is a public school. VCSJTU, the subordinate college of this university, is also a public school.

In China, the administration of higher education institutions follows "vertical" and "horizontal" patterns of general public administration (Cheng, 1998). Institutions all over the country are administered vertically by the MOE. By 2003, some 30 major universities were controlled by the MOE, while the remaining universities were under the

control of the provinces, cities and townships (Chow, 2003). In Shanghai, the higher educational system includes some 50 institutions, and of these, 6 are under the direct authority of the MOE, including all the best universities in Shanghai – Fudan University, Shanghai Jiaotong University and Tongji University (Lee & Hook, 1998). Currently, a "vertical" pattern is more like the "sign" of a celebrated institution, rather than a mere administration system. Each year, the central government in Beijing allocates tremendous amounts, in terms of billions of Chinese yuan, to these universities. According to one of VCSJTU's administrators, in 2003, Shanghai Jiaotong University was granted a one billion Chinese yuan (equivalent to 150 million Cdn) research fund for one of its branches alone. The "vertical" administration pattern does not necessarily mean that Shanghai Jiaotong University lacks its own autonomy. Actually, Jiaotong University's development over the past decade is evidence of a shared responsibility between MOE and the local Shanghai government, which provide the University with educational services.

In the horizontal system, institutions within a locality are run by their local (mainly provincial) governments. VCSJTU, the subordinate school of Shanghai Jiaotong University, follows the horizontal pattern of administration. That is, VCSJTU is administered by the local Shanghai government.

In terms of organization, VCSJTU is similar to an American university. It is headed by a president, and divided into departments headed by chairpersons. Since VCSJTU is the subordinate school of Shanghai Jiaotong University, the University has the right to appoint and remove VCSJTU's president. Yet by-in-large, Shanghai Jiaotong University listens to the opinions of VCSJTU faculty members before it makes a decision.

Therefore, the VCSJTU faculty play an important role in the selection of their own

president.

10.1.6 The School Funding

As Zhang (1998) points out: "Before 1980, all university places were allocated

according to a government plan, and all students were exempt from tuition and

accommodation fees" (p. 243). Cheng (1998) also says: "Institutions were almost totally

supported by state appropriation. In 1978, for example, 96.4% of higher education

expenditures came from public coffers" (p. 17).

In 1980, Shanghai started a pilot project by allowing 24 institutions to admit

1000 students who needed to pay tuition and other sundry fees (Zhang, 1998). According

to Cheng (1998): "Education reforms have started with the decentralization of the

financing systems; with it comes reform in many aspects in education" (p. 11). Shanghai

was the first city to initiate such a pilot project in China. Since then, to cope with the

financing problem, while facing an increasing demand for education, the government

gradually decentralized the financing of education (Xiao, 1998). As a result, since the late

1980s, in big cities like Shanghai, educational institutions have drawn upon various

diversified resources, such as tuition fees, overseas donations, and local government taxes,

instead of relying on the state's financial support.

Since its establishment, VCSJTU has drawn on diverse forms of financial

support from government, as well as from private sources including tuition fees,

donations from enterprises, alumni contributions, commercialization of scientific research,

and extensive support from businesses and industries. In 2001, the School of Network

Education was set up at Shanghai Jiaotong University. The educational goal of this new

school is to cultivate network personnel, for instance, Internet work managers and

software programmers. The new school and VCSJTU are working together for each

other's benefit. VCSJTU professors offer courses at the School of Network Education

and the School of Network Education pays for them. "The cooperation increases income

by 30%," observed Mr. Wang, the secretary of Party at VCSJTU (Wang, personal

interview, October 8, 2003).

As of 2003, VCSJTU had 1,047 HVE students. Each student pays 7,500 Chinese

dollars, which is equivalent to $1,150 Cdn each semester. Some other fees also are

charged, for example, dormitory management fees and health exam fees. So, each student

must pay $1,300 Cdn each semester. Zhang explains:

> VCSJTU depends heavily upon tuition fees and support from trade unions and
>
> enterprises. You know, some big enterprises set up a money fund or
>
> scholarship in our school. There are also some other kinds of support which
>
> do not necessarily mean 'money'; I mean some enterprises provide the field
>
> study or internship places – that is also a kind of support. (Zhang, personal
>
> interview, July 2, 2002)

The collaboration between VCSJTU and enterprises and other sectors adds to the

vitality of the school's HVE program. Such collaboration shows the advantages of

undertaking education through multiple channels, at multiple levels and in multiple forms.

The real needs of the enterprises, schools, students and parents serve to dictate the role

and functions of the HVE program, and such interrelationships are viewed as advantageous to all at VCSJTU.

To summarize, in theme #1, I tried to analyze the influence of globalization on VCSJTU by setting VCSJTU's practices against the criteria suggested by Carnoy (2002). Therefore, I discussed how VCSJTU sets its curriculum, school mission and educational goals, how it assures its program quality, and how it attracts funding resources. The different aspects discussed in theme #1 add important dimensions to the understanding of the following themes.

10.2 Theme #2: School Culture and Values

Before the analysis of Theme #2, it is important to stress that my case study have sought to examine those factors that lead both to high levels of motivation and to actual engagement in educational pursuits. To understand VCSJTU more thoroughly, I recognized that I needed to explore broader cultural factors that impact upon people's motivation and behavior. It is worth noting that VCSJTU has quite a few obvious values which are related to its organization, management, and school culture. In Theme #2, I examine the various values one by one.

10.2.1 Openness and Democracy

In China, the term "openness" addresses a frame of mind, open to new ideas, being active, and not being isolated from the outer world. Over time, VCSJTU has shown an openness to new ideas beyond the school itself and to the democracy that it tries hard

to establish. Together, these two characteristics of openness have greatly contributed to the atmosphere of the school.

One professor, who was born in Shanghai and lived in that city for over 70 years, explained: "I believe the flexibility of the curriculum and the open air in the vocational schools of Shanghai contribute to their success." The "open air" he mentions also exists in VCSJTU. In my interviews and observations at VCSJTU, what impressed me most was the administrators' open-mindedness and their calm, confident attitude towards the challenges set by the market economy and globalization. For example, President Kong said:

> We are running a HVE school, thus, we must know the characteristics and nature of HVE and the latest situation of HVE in the world. We must update our information on both the current educational and economical development situation in China. We are learning the latest news from the statistics department; we are searching for information such as 'the most popular jobs in the next decade in China' on the Internet, etc. Moreover, we set this kind of information as our foundation. Therefore, keeping up-to-date is one of the first priorities, not only for the administrative body, but also for the faculty of our school. (Kong, personal interview, November 24, 2003)

VCSJTU has tried several ways to put this "open" idea into practice. One of the major concerns is to set up sufficient Internet sites for students. The students have their

computer lab, but "having access to the Internet in each dormitory" is one of the goals that the school needs to accomplish in the near future.

Additionally, VCSJTU tries very hard to create a high level of democracy, letting each member of the school participate in decision-making: "While the Chinese tradition does not necessarily contain functional equivalents of all the values needed for democracy, it contains strong versions of some of them" (Nathan, 1990, p. 309). "Democracy" in China means the breaking up of the bureaucratic, up-to-down decision making process and setting up the new "transparent" (meaning everybody can see it) decision making process. President Kong has been at the school for over 18 years. He and the other administrators have created several procedures to help them learn about the teachers' and students' concerns. For example, a students' meeting was created for student representatives to express their views on pedagogy, atmosphere in the classroom, curriculum, cafeteria food, and many other aspects of school life.

Besides this meeting, at the end of each semester, all VCSJTU students receive an evaluation questionnaire to rate and comment on each course. An evaluation, or comments report for assessing the efficiency of the administrative body is also used.

Kong notes:

> The emphasis of our reforms, which involve the restructuring of school
>
> management and policies, is on creating the spirit of team building,
>
> collaborative decision making, and flexibility when faced with changing
>
> circumstances, those within China and beyond. I believe these are more

conductive to HVE than the traditional, bureaucratic school structure with its

emphasis on hierarchy. (Kong, personal interview, November 24, 2003)

Decision making was once a "top-down" process, by which the top authorities or

stakeholders determined any new school policy. Now, student and faculty meetings are

both factors in breaking down the school's hierarchy. In this way, emphasis is placed on

values like academic capability and a cutting-edge intercultural understanding. These

changes will enable students to operate successfully not only in school, but also in the

larger contexts of China and the global arena.

One teacher at VCSJTU explained: "The heads of each department and the

school administrators sat together to participate in the decisions related to teaching,

majors, research and management... After rounds of discussion and consultation, we

made our development plans" (C, personal interview, November 12, 2003).

However, calls for more democracy still can be heard. Many VCSJTU people

realize that the responses to their suggestions are also part of democracy. Their

suggestions are not mere suggestions: they are factors that must be responded to, even if

the response is one of resistance. Shi, a female student, said:

I know that the people applying for teaching positions are required to give a

lecture and the recruitment committee members will attend and evaluate it. I

wondered why students cannot join in and also make our evaluation. I think

students should also be part of the teacher's recruitment process. You know, I

mean, it is a decision directly relevant to us. And, one more thing is the annual

student survey or questionnaire. Yes, they were all very good intentions, but where did our suggestions go? Seems that they just disappeared. Then, what's the significance of such activities? I mean even if we receive "No," that is ok; that is also a response! (Shi, personal interview, November 22, 2003)

Some faculty expressed that they wish to learn more. Professor G said:

Yes, it is pretty good for us to express our real concerns and then we can face the school's problems together. However, what are the solutions to these problems? And what are the effects? I hope we can learn more about the outcomes. (G, personal interview, November 13, 2003).

To summarize, if an HVE program is adopted in a school in a hierarchical way, the risk is that it will not be fully embraced by the staff and student body. Moreover, if the HVE program at VCSJTU is imposed on staff who then feel powerless, they may not wrestle with and solve the difficult issues that arise from school-wide changes in curriculum, staffing, assessment, and instructional practices. In section 10.2.3.3, I further discuss democracy as a separate value of the school.

Figure 14: Student Broadcasting Union Members

10.2.2 Collectivism and Individualism

As was described in section 3.1.2.1, the Confucian way of thinking emphasizes each person's role in his/her family, community, and society, rather than the more indeterminate, spontaneous ways of thinking and acting within society. In Confucianism, the individual does not directly relate to the nation; a "collective group" exists between the individual and the nation. This collective group could be a family, school, or company, etc. Everybody is recognized as part of this collective group and each individual is responsible for the prosperity and demise of the collective group first, and then the whole nation. The benefits of the collective community are much more honored than the individual and the common good is considered more important than it is in capitalist

countries. This is what the Chinese describe as "collectivism": "They value hard work and thrift, and achievement redounds not only on oneself, but on one's entire extended family, as does shame in the event of failure" (Hunter & Sexton, 1999, p. 151). Members in this kind of a society are encouraged and educated to serve the society for the society's sake. As described in sections 3.1.1.2 and 3.1.2.2, China's defeat in the Opium War brought humiliation and self-reflection to the Chinese people. Since then, collectivism has been raised up to a higher level as nationalism, and the "Chinese may consider the common good and the economic and political status of their country more important than certain elements of their individual freedom and individual rights" (Chow, 2002, p. 374).

Since 1978, a rise of new market economy and liberty has intensified the ideology of individualism in China. It has been gradually recognized, and the individual person can relate to the nation directly. Thus, "the collective group had to contend with a newly individualistic consumerism" (Fairbank & Reischauer, 1989, p. 537). At VCSJTU, this "individualism" refers to students' increasing awareness of their participation in decision making concerning the many options in their life, whether residential, occupational, intellectual, political, or moral. Some VCSJTU students are beginning to make their choices themselves on the basis of their reflections and on norms acquired throughout their childhood socialization, education, and other personal experiences. Shi, a female graduate of VCSJTU, comments: "Individualism is no longer the synonym of 'selfishness.' It emphasizes that each person should think independently and not just echo what others have said. Isn't it good?" (Shi, personal interview, November 22, 2003).

According to my interviews and observation, the old sorting mechanisms such as age, class, and department are still operative. But these categories also demonstrate ways

in which the VCSJTU students are more individualized and more alienated than before.

Many students have stopped accepting an unequal status that regards them as inferior to a

more gifted minority considered morally qualified to lead them. Moreover, when this

minority is revealed to be morally and academically incompetent, respect is no longer

owed to the positions of authority they occupy. Some VCSJTU students expressed this

attitude in their teaching evaluation surveys.

  However, the VCSJTU administration views the phenomenon of rising

individualism in a different way. Some administrators complain that school management

is increasingly difficult due to the more individualized students. "School activity and

school management is more and more challenging," according to Z, an officer in the

student affairs office (Z, personal interview, July 1, 2002). Their concern does make

sense in terms of the fact that some students no longer take VCSJTU's issues as their own.

For example, Wang, a female student in the Business English Department, did her

cicerone courses at another university and spent many hours on the course work. So, she

appeared indifferent to her class activities and VCSJTU activities as well. Also, other

students did their German and interpretation courses at other colleges, and as a result, had

heavier workloads than VCSJTU students. When asked about their attitude towards

VCSJTU activities, the usual response from the students studying at other colleges was:

"I got no time to do that." The teachers knew that these students were doing their courses

at other colleges, and even though they were not satisfied with this, could not stop it.

Professor L admitted:

When you enter the classroom, and find some students are missing, you

cannot feel good. Yes, I understand that they are studying elsewhere, yet still I

don't feel good. This is a class. If everyone is doing his/her own business

elsewhere, what kind of class will it be? (L, personal interview, December 1,

2003)

For the students remaining at VCSJTU, when asked about their attitude toward

VCSJTU activities, the usual response was: "The school activities are really naïve."

According to Su:

They are doing a basketball match, a table-tennis match. Well, yeah, I mean, I

agree that they are all very good, but don't you think you cannot realize it is a

college activity or high school activity just by hearing the name? Do you

know what kind of activities the other colleges are doing? (Student group #3,

group interview, December 28, 2003)

Fang, a female student, spoke out:

I read from the newspaper that 111 Nanjing University students organized an

investigation group to investigate the Huai River after its environmental

protection plan had been in practice for a decade. I was so happy when I read

it. That was the kind of thing college students should do! Yes, this is a time

emphasizing "individualism" and "personality," but what is individualism? I

do not think that means the bizarre dress you wear, but what you do! I think

these 111 Nanjing University students are really smart and cool, and that is

"individualism"! A real college student must first be a real Chinese citizen;

and a real Chinese citizen must first be responsible for his/her own society!

(Fang, June 1, 2004)

Six months later, in December, 2004, Fang and three other students were doing

their program, "The Investigation of the Living Conditions of Mendicants in the Shanghai

downtown." This was their first attempt to investigate real social life, and they were very

excited: "We are writing the investigation proposal." Ro, one of the team members, said,

"The topic is very interesting, and we think it is of social importance."

Fang's comments and the students' investigation do not have a parallel in the

Confucian mind-set. However, to view this from another angle, the students' idea of

humanity does accord with the ultimate educational aim of Confucianism – to cultivate

virtue in the whole man. Therefore, this was the first time I strongly felt that it was

difficult to identify their cultural identity, and that "individualism" may not be the

appropriate word to describe their behavior. These students were aware of the need to

bring each individual's development in line with social issues and were more concerned

with personal development than the school's development, especially when this essential

development could not be provided by the school.

I have considered how the construction of individualism involves the shifting

terrains of HVE knowledge and VCSJTU administration power. These shifting terrains

produce different sets of internments and enclosures as the discursive patterns move from

collective social projects of the past to the cultural and individual metaphors of present-day HVE reforms. Also, individualism among VCSJTU people cannot be observed separately from the economic situation in China. Individualism is one of the effects of China's transnational economic practices and is related to the dislocating and disembedding of Chinese personal identity. Some administrators agreed with me (Z, personal interview, July 2, 2002; Li, personal interview, August 26, 2003). In some aspects, individualism resembles the effect of the market economy which has flourished so vigorously since the early 1990s. The freedom of consumer choice in a free market is the roots of the individualism of VCSJTU. Moreover, the individualism I have described in this section is its more positive side. However, at VCSJTU, a different kind of individualism also is apparent when some students view themselves as market place consumers and behave accordingly. These individualistic students are concerned with consumption and some unexpected, negative effects are generated. Section 10.3.2.2 discusses the more negative side of this aspect of individualism.

Figure 15: Students Visiting Museums

10.2.3 Civism, Rights, Democracy, and Consciousness

The interviews with the VCSJTU faculty and students helped to clarify their

understanding of individualism, which is beyond the idea of having no ties to social

groups and no collective needs or concerns. They emphasize the individual in contrast to

the demands of social group, and set individual achievements to a higher position. They

demonstrated a much broader understanding than what I interpreted at the beginning of

section 10.2.2 and showed reasonable and rational consideration about the topic. The

significance of the collectivism-individualism shift is obvious in terms of several new

values generated during this changing process.

10.2.3.1 Civism

"Civism" describes how common people can directly communicate with society, so that no intermediate media is required, and every individual is responsible for the issues of the whole society. This concept is in sharp contrast to the traditional Confucian way of thinking that emphasizes the individual's role in a hierarchical system in which each person is responsible for his/her own family or extended community, and the government is responsible for the big issues of the whole society. Wang (2004) observes: "The hierarchical system in Chinese tradition is the least possible to generate the sense of civism... The family and related community are far more important than the 'remote' society because each individual benefits from his/her own family directly" (p. 156). "Civism" leads to the disjointing of the individual and the intermediate media, and the jointing of the individual and society.

At VCSJTU, a growing awareness of civism exists. A typical example is the investigation in which Fang and her fellow classmates were engaged. The concerns of these students cover a wide range, including environmental pollution, law legality, AIDS in China, national institutional operation efficiency, and social security. Su said,

> Yes, they all are our concerns. Why not? What time is it now? As college students of the 21st century, for sure we should consider all these. Are they far away and have nothing to do with our lives? No, on the contrary, they are relevant to all of us. If college students do not care about these issues, then who is doomed to care about them? (Student group #3, group interview, December 28, 2003)

Based on observations and interviews, I argue that China's economic transformation has gradually destroyed the foundation of hierarchy. As well, the new power system of globalization has changed the realm of public policy so that now citizens cannot determine them through state political systems. Simultaneously, globalization has instilled the ideas and values of civism in people's minds. In the sense of assigning general social goals, politics defines itself, to an increasing degree, in relation to a transnational private sphere. In China, the revitalized powerful economic discourses and political reforms since the late 1970s, have reinforced the beliefs that poverty is the result of the lack of ability and motivation, or the erosion of these characteristics by a welfare state that has made individuals overly dependent on government dole rather than being productive, self-reliant citizens. At VCSJTU, people's expectations, desires, and aspirations are standardized by their responses to the cultural and political spheres of globalization, and this also is how a sense of civism, whose roots are not in China, was generated and began to flourish.

10.2.3.2 Rights

As it is used here, "rights" describes students' rights (as a college student), the teachers' rights, and administrators' rights, etc. Among these terms, "human rights" is the most frequently mentioned. I have to say that VCSJTU people's understanding of human rights may not be "appropriate" in the Western way of thinking, since "it lost its Western associations of uninfringeable, legally based individual claims against the state" (Nathan, 1990, p. 309). Even so, this idea obviously has been adapted into the Chinese framework. At VCSJTU, with the consent of many, and perhaps even a majority, restrictions –

essential to preserving order in the school – are imposed on certain freedoms. For example, though students can ride their bicycles on the campus grounds, yet they need to get off their bicycles at the school gate, walk through the school gate, and ride it again on the campus. This small custom actually has deep roots in Chinese culture: you should be mindful that this is the entrance to an academic school, and that respect is due. However, some students complained that this restriction trampled on their "human rights," and so, they sometimes ignored it. The school also asked the students to go to bed by 11:00 pm. Again, some complained that they "had no human rights." This kind of "human rights" complaint, however imperfectly understood, at least shows that the students have some idea of "human rights" and have recognized the importance of the concept. When asked the issue of human rights, Fang, a 19 year old female student, expressed her ideas in a strong way:

> I learned from my friends that in a university in Shandong province something happened with the students' allowance. My understanding is that what the school did was wrong. It was the abuse of the students' human rights and property rights! But those students did not say anything about that. I believe that in their minds, there had never been an idea like 'human rights,' not to mention the protection of them! (Fang, June 1, 2004).

10.2.3.3 Democracy

I mentioned democracy in section 10.2.1 in relation to the procedures and methods that VCSJTU used to try to set up a democratic way of management. In this

section, the "democracy" I am referring is originally a Western concept. Since the late

1970s, democracy has become a cherished value to almost all Chinese people throughout

the country, and they "have understood it to include such ideas as government

responsiveness, just government, and the right of ordinary citizens to be informed and

express opinions about politics" (Nathan, 1990, p. 309). In my view, the fact that

democracy is popular an idea in Shanghai is related to the city's economic status. That is,

democracy has become popular in terms of individualistic notions of democracy rather

than simply consumer choice. The understanding and appreciation of democracy of some

VCSJTU faculty and students may be more advanced than that of the administration. It

may be that the intellectuals of the faculty care more about the validity of ideas like

democracy, or that some of them have realized the importance of this idea from their

personal life experiences. For instance, Professor G spent a few years living in the US

and was working for an American company before he was hired by VCSJTU. Therefore,

his life experience contributed to his better understanding of democracy. Moreover, the

imagination of other faculty members seems to have been inspired by ideas like

democracy, and they have attempted to see things more critically.

10.2.3.4 Consciousness

The general sense of "consciousness" may not be an appropriate term. In the

context of the present study, "consciousness" refers to a calm attitude and clear

self-knowledge when facing and selecting Western culture. What has been discarded and

eliminated in the West is no longer attractive in China. The self-contempt that arose after

the Opium War defeat and the self-esteem that flourish before it no longer inspire the

main psychological reaction towards the impact of the West. On the contrary, a keen

perception has replaced these two polar extremes. Some VCSJTU people increasingly

focusing on the real spirit of Western civilization and ignore its superficial charm. A male

student that came to VCSJTU in 2003 commented:

> Some students think that speaking English is already a way of 'international
>
> communication.' But I think, so far, we have not totally understood the spirit
>
> of English and Western civilization. However, no matter whether we like it or
>
> not, we need to understand it. Why? Well, isn't it a way to better understand
>
> ourselves as well? (Group Interview, December 28, 2003).

It is clear that VCSJTU people are coming to realize that the Chinese tradition

and globalization are beginning to calmly communicate, and a real blending of the

essences of two kinds of culture is highly expected in the near future. The "third culture"

that Rizvi (2000) describes has somewhat taken a rudimentary form in some VCJSTU

people's minds. These people are usually very rational and wise, and do not follow trends

blindly or make rush judgments. In other words, they do not blindly admire the West; on

the contrary, their understanding of Western culture has taught them that it is valid to

judge themselves and their culture in a critical manner. They welcome discussions with a

colleague from another world, from another framework, and take the opportunity to

discover, and to transcend, themselves.

To summarize, individualism, civism, human rights, democracy, and consciousness were introduced to China in the early 20th century. Nevertheless, these values were not totally accepted by the Chinese people until only recently.

10.2.4 A Co-existent Value System

As described in section 3.1.2.2, China has been searching for a new set of values since its defeat in the Opium War of 1840. Various movements have rejected the old Confucianism traditions and set up new value systems. However, I believe that these furious movements are essentially the people's strong expression of a modernizing China, rather than a discarding of old traditions. These movements are largely an outlet for people's strong feelings, an expression to strengthen a weak country. The old traditions cannot be eliminated overnight. They still exist deep in the heart and soul of the Chinese people, even in the protesters who strongly proposed to reject the Confucianism and the other ancient traditions. The cultural self-reflection of these movements is closely aligned with the doubt and suspicion towards Chinese culture that flourished after 1840, after British gunpowder broke China's self-esteem (ironically, gunpowder was invented in China around 900, during the Tang Dynasty). After 1840, China was chaotic, and a crucial transition began in which Western liberal models and ideas gained influence, even though remaining minor elements in the broad stream of Chinese tradition.

However, since 1978, China's material growth and economic development has been accompanied by intellectual and cultural innovation, simulating, once again, a trend towards searching for new values and reflecting on Chinese traditions. In respect to the value searching of the earlier 20th century, China is more prepared to consider new values,

and its consistently developing economy makes it much more self-confident. So, China is facing the challenge of new values in a more rational and reasonable way. This time, in responding to the West, China has created a synthesis by absorbing selected, but numerous, elements from Western thought into its conceptual patterns already in existence, or in the process of coming into being.

As a matter of fact, ideologically, "as of the late 1990s, very few people maintained an active interest or belief in Marxism-Leninism" (Mackerras, Taneja & Young, 1998, p. 238). Also, "traditional ideas and culture have revived markedly, including Confucian values and classical arts" (Mackerras, Taneja & Young, 1998, p. 238). All these factors together are producing a richer variety of ideological values in China. For example, in 1994, patriotism, collectivism, and socialism were reemphasized in ideological education, and at the same time, fair competition and democracy were introduced (Kemenade, 2006).

At VCSJTU, the value system is a hybrid of different cultures and values. Confucianism remains; Western values exist; and the values of the post-industrialized nations, such as democracy, human rights, and individualism also are present.

When asked about this co-existent value system, people's answers varied, especially their emphasis on different values. These values also combine in different ways and have different strengths, depending on the specific location. Considering the students' development and the school's future, the VCSJTU administration points out that the school tries very hard to introduce all the values that benefit the students. For example, the students are taught to give up self-interest for the common good, which is patriotic in Chinese terms. The students also are taught to respect the teachers and the

teachers' work, which is a typical Confucian value. At the same time, believing in the

market values and practices also promote the believing in efficiency and the economy.

Especially in Shanghai, the belief in efficiency, effectiveness, and economy exists not

only in the economic sphere but also in the social and public domains. Li, who has

worked at VCSJTU for over 18 years, commented:

> When SME was established, definitely, the values accompanying it will came
>
> to our country. These values are becoming apparent not only in the economic
>
> field, but also in other aspects of our social life, e.g., education. You know
>
> that Shanghai has made serious attempts to demolish the old ideological
>
> bulwarks and to establish a 'competitive city' in response to the challenges
>
> generated by globalization and SME. There must be something lost, and new
>
> values have emerged in this process. (Li, personal interview, August 26,
>
> 2003).

The significance of this idea of the administrative body is obvious: their value

system is governed by market realities.

On the other hand, the VCSJTU students and some teachers expressed a kind of

hazy feeling which they felt only indistinctly and could not perceive thoroughly. One

teacher said:

> The combination of market values on one hand, and the emphasis of
>
> traditional values on the other, does not work that well, and it sounds odd too.

You know that we are to cultivate 'team work spirit' among our students. Isn't it wired? The 'team work spirit' has never been one of the goals of our education because it always exists in our life; it is our tradition, isn't it? Everybody has this idea when we were kids. Now we need to 'cultivate' it? And then what does it mean? It means the 'team work spirit' is no longer in our lives; that is why we are searching for it and trying to keep it! That is, don't let it go, you know. Then, what values do we have today? Efficiency and economy? I think if our education goes like this, the future of our country would be in doubt. (Z, Personal interview, October 8, 2003)

One student expressed this concern:

When I see there are so many English-related activities in our campus, e.g., an English play contest, etc., I often feel that is enough. Why do we not have activities about our own culture? Why is there no Chinese poem contest?

Figure 16: English Motto in the Campus

Figure 17: English Activity Advertisement

Some VCSJTU people admit that the school value system is already beyond

their understanding. I would use the term "vacuum" to describe this kind of "everything

exists, but nothing essential" situation. Shi, a female graduate of VCSJTU, commented:

You want to learn the value system of our school? I think you can see it from

the student union members or student leaders. Can you tell they are Chinese

students if you don't know their identities? Are they diligent, smart, wise,

quiet Chinese young people? Or are they restless, aggressive, know nothing,

but think they have understood the whole world? When they claim that 'We

have English mottos in campus.' I really don't want to argue with them. Well,

good, I mean, if that is all to learn a foreign language, then learning a foreign language is really easy! (Shi, personal interview, November 22, 2003)

Shi's classmates echoed her comments. These VCSJTU students' observations of the school culture demonstrate their rising awareness and appreciation of the importance of a more complete understanding of globalization and other cultures, and their rejection of being a "passive vessel" that accepts the values of globalization and the effects it produces.

These findings lead me to conclude that at VCSJTU, the school culture is no longer Eastern, nor is it Western; it is not modern, nor is it very traditional. It is everything, including contradictions. This is not a surprise because the roots of culture/values are not like mechanical accessories which can be easily assembled together to produce the best result. For example, Confucianism emphasizes the harmony of individual self-interest and the welfare of society, but this is contradictory to the idea of a free market system in which everyone can pursue their own self-interest. Even though some VCSJTU people are beginning to recognize the real essence of Western civilization, many still have a long way to go towards understanding. Therefore, to a large extent, the new value hybridity at VCSJTU is merely superficial, and would disappear when broad concepts such as democracy and national development are analyzed more closely for their specific meanings. This is understandable, because many apparently universalistic values such as equity or justice are not understood or ranked the same way in different societies, and the preferences between different cultures are too obvious and too complex to summarize within only one short paragraph. Therefore, although all these values joined

together at VCSJTU, may give the impression of a co-working system which is co-supervised and co-restricted to benefit most people, a lack of harmony and a value vacuum are inherent in its ideology and culture. For instance, authoritarianism is eliminated, but sadly, respect for authority needs to be recultivated. Such subtleties, however, are integral to a healthy academic school life, and, presumably, dealing with them is mainly a matter of value orientation. Positive examples also exist. For example, Confucianism emphasizes harmonious human relationships, which sometimes means that a superficial peace prevail rather than an authentic harmony. Nowadays, this kind of harmony is replaced by a kind of ambitious and co-operational harmonious relationship, mutually beneficial to both sides.

The implication of VCSJTU's value synthesis – transversing the boundaries of different cultures – is a new kind of value system that applies as much within as between cultures, and as much to scientific as to moral reactions. This conclusion was unavoidable because the problems China faces as a practitioner of many kinds of cultures are, after all at bottom, the same as those faced by every HVE college and every person in this country. Perhaps it is precisely at the level of each person's case where both the obstacles to, and the achievements of, understanding are so conspicuous. However, when considering a HVE college, things are far more complex.

Is the co-existent value system of VCSJTU an expression of a natural flow: from a firm planned economy to a free market economy; from a deeply rooted political central control to liberal politics (for example, of Shanghai); from a configuration of social forces insufficiently modernized to the support for a central government, or from Confucianism roots to other ever more accidental or exogenous factors in such a

historical transformation moment in China? I have attempted to answer these questions,

but much more examination is needed.

As described in section 4.2, the culture of Shanghai is a hybrid. It is a product of

hundreds of years of complex cultural change and exchange. Many VCSJTU people, as

the natives of Shanghai, understand this point well. Some argue that Shanghai's capacity

to absorb, hybridize, and appropriate has enabled it to become prosperous in only one

short decade. This facility also may give Shanghai a particular slant on globalization.

Rizvi (2000) comments:

> But the global movement of people also raises complex issues about identity
>
> and authenticity, not only for those who go abroad but also for those who
>
> remain behind…With cultures becoming less bounded, those who do not
>
> move across national boundaries have to address nonetheless the task of
>
> cultural maintenance and renewal. (pp. 209-210)

10.3 Theme #3: Dominant School Culture: Market-driven Values

As pointed out in section 2.1.2, Rizvi (2000) observes that globalization "has a

commercial dimension that makes it sensitive to the needs of both markets and clients" (p.

222). Therefore, a growing trend exists that schools are often considered to be economic

engines for potential unrealized profits (Darder, 2002; Shumar, 2004). Darder (2002)

suggests that: "Unfortunately, the school generally functions in the interest of the

marketplace rather than serving as a democratizing influence upon local economies" (p.

11). At VCSJTU, market-driven values have taken the leading place in the school value system. In Theme #3, I examine market-driven values in terms of how they come to be the initiative for school reforms, and in what ways VCSJTU people's perceptions and behaviors are shaped by these values.

10.3.1 Market-driven Value as the Initiative for School Reforms

A distinct market driven ideology is evident in the school management and school culture of VCSJTU. This value is deeply embedded and is consistent with the local education policy priorities in Shanghai. This ideology is in sharp contrast to the standards that held more strongly to traditional, non-market, educational discourses that had existed in China for decades before the emergence of SME in 1992.

Take the school's major as one example. The respondents at VCSJTU were aware of the need to bring the school's development in line with the changing global economy. They claimed that they were more concerned with educational than economic change, especially with what they perceived as global trends towards an outcomes-based curriculum driven by the market. Besides, business executives also were involved in the design of the major/specialty, and the new skills they needed for doing business became the courses at VCSJTU. As Yang – the administrator in charge of student admissions – indicated: "If the graduates of some majors cannot survive in the labor market for two successive years, that is, if their employment percentage are lower than 80%, we will immediately cut down old and set up new majors" (Yang, personal interview, July 1, 2002).

This kind of market-driven approach goes well beyond the majors alone. Li and Yang, two administration officers, both observed that the market economy, school management and policy, and especially the quality of their HVE program are all subject to the strict regulations set by market outcomes. Li said, "We run our school to meet social needs – needs set by the employment and labor market" (Li, personal interview, August 26, 2003). Yang added, "Whether or not our program is successful is not determined by us, rather, by whether or not our graduates can survive in the labor market and do a good job in the future" (Yang, personal interview, July 1, 2002).

Li and Yang's descriptions clearly demonstrate their understanding of the relationship between the SME and their HVE program. Their understanding is very much the fruit of the school's open-minded atmosphere. Moreover, at VCSJTU, this understanding is not unique to Li and Yang. In China, higher education is open to all segments of the population, but some VCSJTU people see their students more as paying customers than students. Through documents, interviews, and observations, it is clear that this market-driven approach is very popular in the school, especially with its administrators. It also is clear that the market economy controls the path and pace of HVE's development, and whether or not HVE meets the market's requirements has become the criterion by which to measure its efficiency and quality. VCSJTU has responded to the pressures from SME and globalization by choosing this market-driven value; it is a careful, and perhaps the only choice it could make. This accepted value certainly directs school development and influences its culture in a fundamental way, even well beyond VCSJTU's expectations. That is why even VCSJTU staff and students

cannot explain some of the changes, or why they happen in a particular way. Section

10.3.2 further examines the results of such market-driven values.

10.3.2 Outcomes Generated from Market-driven Values

10.3.2.1 Two Groups of People

Overall, administrative staff and some faculty were positive about the benefits of

changes made according to market-driven values, especially the new orientation set by

SME and the impact of economic globalization. For example, one professor said, "We are

considering establishing our own independent university, so as to no longer be the

subordinate college of Shanghai Jiaotong University." When being asked what "good"

the independent university will bring them, he summarized:

> An independent university means we will enjoy flexibility in recruiting
>
> students. We will recruit as many students as possible. Well... now we have to
>
> consider the annual quota Shanghai Jiaotong University gives. In 2003, the
>
> quota of our Bachelor program students is only 181. If we are an independent
>
> university, there can be 2,000 students in our Bachelor program alone. More
>
> students means more money, and then our equipment and facilities will all be
>
> improved. (W, personal interview, September 1, 2003)

However, some strong negative voices also spoke against market-driven values.

Shen, a student who came to VCSJTU in 2000, said:

I think our curriculum is 'too much' closely related to the market. Everything must meet the market's standards. Our exam marks, or number of certificates, are like the 'sign' of a successful HVE program. Colleges are for cultivating 'people', not 'certificates' or a 'passing test rate.' Well, I understand this is a HVE college so the market requirement is very important; but anyway, this is still a college first, isn't it? It is not a training center for distributing diplomas. (Student group #1, group interview, December 6, 2003)

Some faculty also expressed their concerns from another angle. They worried about the effect of "overly fast" major changes, which not only caused a substantial increase in their work load, but also led them to doubt the quality of the new majors. One professor, who had been at VCSJTU since its establishment said:

We cannot only focus on our 'success' in terms of money gained. The teaching quality and well-rounded, well-educated students are always the most important thing in a school…Also, I think our school board and administration body should learn some educational theory; this is school administration, not the administration of other settings. Educational theory can also enable more efficient communication between the administration body and our faculty. (G, personal interview, November 13, 2003)

Market-driven values, instead of encouraging VCSJTU to consider its students' requests to reorient curriculum and enhance administration efficiency, create pressures

towards curriculum conformity, especially when the requests of business and the labor market are involved. Increasingly, VCSJTU is in a more competitive external environment, and thus has to improve performance to secure adequate funding and gain a favorable standing in the HVE field. The school policy development and new major design are increasingly guided and shaped by the perceived needs of consumers and the markets. Under such a value regime, the "unsuccessful" curriculum, or "poor" performance of the school mainly refers to a failure to meet market needs, or to a lower employment percentage. Shi, a female graduate, commented: "The all-around education is not only faded in our school, but in other HVE colleges as well. When the whole atmosphere changes, the education will no doubt be influenced no matter whether you like it or not" (Shi, personal interview, November 22, 2003). A professor in the Business Management department also said:

> What kind of values are running our majors set-up? What kind of values are being promoted, market and efficiency? With this direction, I dare say that the future of our education is in really dangerous waters. You can see such values even in the popular songs. I mean, if we enjoy it only as an entertainment, then that is OK. But, if everyone is pursuing that and ignores the real valuable culture of our own tradition, don't you think it is dangerous? (Z, personal interview, October 8, 2003)

Under this market-driven value atmosphere, the people at VCSJTU gradually separated into two groups. Each group includes not only students, but also faculty and

representatives of the administration body. One group feels very positive about this value whereas, the other group may not mean to oppose it, but they feel anxious, uneasy, deeply concerned, and kind of "lost." According to the interview data, they are afraid, not of the Westernization accompanying the spread of globalization, but of the possible precipitate retreat of the native culture beat down by globalization. Besides these two distinct groups, some hesitant people exist "in the middle." Various conflicts between these two groups create the school's deeply rooted conflicts, those between market-driven and non-market-driven values.

10.3.2.2 Students or Consumers?

Before I begin the in-depth discussion, I would like to more fully describe the VCSJTU students. The best high school graduates throughout China always keep an eye on the best universities like Shanghai Jiaotong and Fudan University. These students apply to these universities after their National Entrance Examination, and these universities, unlike their own subordinate colleges or other second-class universities, pick the cream of the crop. Students who fail to enter the best universities, and who are eligible to attend second-class universities, prefer going to a subordinate college of these best universities, rather than to a second-class university. "That is what we call the 'famous brand effect'," more than four administrators admitted (H, personal interview, December 1, 2003; Liu, personal interview, December 1, 2003; Li, personal interview, August 26, 2003; Zhang, personal interview, July 2, 2002). When increasingly more scholastically advanced high school students apply for VCSJTU, this, undoubtedly, leads to a decreasing number of less advanced secondary vocational school graduates from

being admitted. This ensures a higher quality of students. One administrator commented: "We want the best possible students for our program. I mean the best exam records in the National Entrance Examination, etc." A professor in the Business Management Department added: "The best students make efficient class teaching possible and ensure the accomplishment of educational goals." That is true because the best VCSJTU students are usually the more scholastically advanced high school graduates, and they demonstrate keen perception, reasonable thinking, and diverse capabilities.

The scholarly advanced students coming to VCSJTU are not usually highly competent in "vocational education." In fact, most students have no specific desire to be "vocationally educated," despite finding a place after failing to go to first-level universities. Furthermore, their inability to produce a place at first-level universities leaves some of them with a sense of failure, an opinion generally shared by their parents and society. Furthermore, the Bachelor program and the three year HVE program offered by the subordinate college program effectively prevents the vast majority of the VCSJTU students from complaining too much about the kind of Bachelor-level education they are to receive.

Another group of students who have adopted the market-driven value behave in a different way. Classroom observation, interviews, and my own experience have demonstrated that several serious problems have occur among these students. The most distinguished feature of Chinese students that Chow (2003) points to is: "Chinese students by and large tend to take their studies seriously" (p. 134). This characteristic has faded away very quickly, and diligent students are becoming more scarce. Some students have a very strong sense of so called "individualism." I would rather call it being

"self-centered," rather than "individualistic" because it is not individualism in the generally understood sense. Nor was it the sense that I examined in section 10.2.2. Such students show no respect for the faculty, or their teachers' work. According to my data, such students come to VCSJTU for the sake of the Bachelor degree, or HVE diploma issued by Shanghai Jiaotong University, which is a credential to enhance their job prospects after graduation. As some students admitted: "Anyway, it is a Bachelor's degree from Shanghai Jiaotong University, isn't it? It looks better than other second-level universities" (Student group #2, group interview, October 26, 2003; Student group #3, group interview, December 28, 2003). These students do not view themselves as "students" but as "paying customers" who deserve everything because they have paid their fees. They are not pursuing a further education; rather, they are consuming a subject called "education." This sense of being a paying customer "penetrates" their words, behaviors, and thoughts. This kind of student, representing a growing trend, usually are economically advantaged and do not cherish their college opportunity. Gu, a third-year female student in the Electronics Department said: "They do not care about their studies; they only care if they will have fun every day... If you ask them something about our national economy, or globalization, they will laugh at you and take you for a jerk" (Gu, personal interview, December 16, 2003).

Professor Zhao in the Electronics Department adds:

They don't care about their academic records; they care for nothing. Even if they fail to graduate, they won't care at all. You want to see the hard-working

students like you and me in our college life from decades ago? I'm afraid you

can only find a few. (Zhao, personal interview, September 29, 2003)

Zhao believes that these students' lack of commitment to academic study is the

result of both individualism and the failure of their family upbringing. From my own

observations, I believe that these students see college as a marketplace, and themselves as

its consumers. Naturally, from this perspective, they will ask VCSJTU to reward them

fairly, like the business behavior in a market. For the first group of faculty and students

who hold a positive view towards market-driven values, the relationship between teachers

and students is more like a "cooperative partnership" than that of "a mentor and a

learner". These "cooperative partners" together face the labor market challenges and the

issues like employment rate, gaining more capability certificates, etc. Consequently, this

new relationship has created new forms of interaction within VCSJTU. It also has

influenced people to construct new kinds of identities, and among them the

transformation of the nature of the teacher's identity is the most obvious.

Figure 18: Welcome Freshman Party

10.3.2.3 The New Identities of Teachers

For hundreds of years, in traditional Chinese education, a "teacher" held a most

noble position and was much respected. Only decent people with high moral characters

could be really "good" teachers. Those who are dishonest and lack a good reputation,

even though they may be incredibly knowledgeable, were not be viewed as good teachers.

Students were expected not only to learn knowledge from a teacher but, more importantly,

to be affected by their teacher's personality. Thus, they received a moral education

simultaneously and subconsciously. However, at VCSJTU, some faculty are more like

businessmen than teachers.

One female student comments:

The value of knowledge is expressed by teachers. If the 'knowledge' is taught

by a questionable teacher, how can you expect its 'value' will come out? Even

if we have the courses we want, say, world economics or political economics,

but still the teachers do not change, then these new courses will do no good at

all. (Student group #3, group interview, December 28, 2003)

Yao, another female student, said,

Some professors are not focused on their teaching. Their minds are some place

else, say, doing their higher degrees for promotion or publishing their papers,

etc. Some other professors are thinking of doing lectures in other universities

to earn money. (Student group #3, group interview, December 28, 2003)

On the other hand, some faculty feel uneasy and concerned. They find that it is

difficult to adapt to the new paradigm shaped by SME and globalization. Moreover, this

difficulty does not arise because they are conservative and want to prevent change, but

because they find it problematical to adopt the new market approach to today's education.

Different interviews indicate that these faculty members usually love their education

career, and have devoted a great deal of energy and time to their teaching. They believe

VCSJTU should allow its hard-working students to acquire the knowledge they need and

that their hard work should be recognized. As one teacher expressed:

I think learning a way of thinking is more important than learning to acquire

some pieces of knowledge. How, then, can students learn how to think? They

can learn it from their teacher's way of offering lectures, evaluating their

assignments, etc. I think this is the real value of our courses. If teachers only

teach students to achieve high efficiency, to pass the exam, (sigh...), what

kind of education is this, and for whose sake? (Z, personal interview, October

8, 2003)

HVE colleges are often considered to be economic engines in terms of their

close relationship with the economy (Lu, 2002). VCSJTU generally functions in the

interest of the marketplace, rather than serving as a democratizing influence upon local

economies. As a consequence, different opinions towards market-driven values reside at

the roots of various conflicts. The following theme in section 10.4 is the "derived

outcome" or "side-effect" arising from the debate over market-driven values.

10.4 Theme #4: Conflicts between Market-driven Values and Other Values

10.4.1 Conflicts between Knowledge and Its Value

The cultural adjustments and innovations experienced by China during the past

quarter century were, to a great extent, driven by the pursuit of modernizing the country.

Although VCSJTU was established in 1999, its former experience as a supplementary

training base for Shanghai Jiaotong University since 1983 undoubtedly influenced its

current school culture. Furthermore, since the early 1990s, in reference to the structural

adjustment or transition from SPE to SME, the school culture at VCSJTU has become

very complex. Constrains, tensions, and conflicts are evident in the school, even though it enjoys considerable positional advantage in the HVE field of Shanghai.

Conflict first arose from a different understanding of "knowledge" and its "value." As examined in earlier themes (e.g., 10.1.1 "School Curriculum" and 10.1.3 "School Mission and Educational Goals of VCSJTU"), it is evident that the knowledge in VCSJTU focuses on diverse skills for the purpose of providing qualified personnel for Shanghai's economic market. Therefore, the rationale of setting up, and possibly changing, its majors and curriculum is to meet market requirements. When administration and the school board talk about knowledge value and ask questions about research and teaching, their most frequently used terms are "market," "Shanghai economy," "employment rate," and "labor market." Their motivations are driven not only by the need to "cultivate personnel for the country" but also by "benefits" concerns and the desire to gain a favorable position in Shanghai, in China, and maybe in the global market. It is not wrong to consider these motives, since "one of the primary traditional goals of education is preparation for work" (Burbules & Torres, 2000, p. 20). However, such a basic view has a penetrative influence on both the teaching body and the student body, maybe more far-reaching than the school administration expected.

Nearly half of my student respondents expressed their wishes to learn more "useful" knowledge. I assumed that by saying "useful," they meant the latest technological skills in high demand on the labor market. Only when I conducted the student interviews did I have a chance to learn what they meant by "useful" knowledge. They were not necessarily referring to the knowledge that VCSJTU provides through its

latest curriculum, latest textbooks, and qualified faculty staff. Shi, a student who came to VCSJTU in 2000, commented on this topic very critically and rationally:

> Given the fact that Shanghai is growing at an 'explosive' speed, our HVE program needs to catch up with this trend; however, I still believe we students need to learn 'basic' knowledge. I mean the beautiful, permanent, life-long, 'essentially' practical, but not 'superficially' practical knowledge. For example, Chinese poems and oriental literature because there were so many wonderful things in our five-thousand year old civilization! I don't believe they are out-of-date or should be discarded. I don't think they are only for the humanities students. They are far more powerful than the latest technological knowledge; they form the spirit of the Chinese people and should always be taught. (Shi, personal interview, November, 22, 2003)

Shi's comments raise a very serious research issue: the relationship between local culture and globalization. Her comments echo those of other students who also feel that what the school provides them and what they really need are not perfectly matched. As some students put it, "We need to learn something beautiful though learning practical stuff is also important" (Student group #3, group interview, December 28, 2003). In these instances, the students are expressing their frustration or suspicions concerning the degree to which an institution functions like a true meritocracy.

Some other students, however, observed the knowledge and value issue from the angle of the quality of teaching. Ding, one of the most outstanding students in VCSJTU

said, "The curriculum is ok. I only hope its 'content' does justice to its 'name.' I mean it

is not a matter of 'setting up new courses,' but a matter of 'quality improvement'"

(Student group #3, group interview, December 28, 2003).

VCSJTU has made great efforts to improve its facilities over the past decade.

Now that teaching is no longer carried out only by lectures with a blackboard-and-chalk,

but also through the Internet, PowerPoint, and other technologies, students raised

concerns about the quality of teaching. For example, Shao, a female graduate from

VCSJTU, offered this opinion:

> It is not a matter of a blackboard-and-chalk lecture, or PowerPoint. All these
>
> are just aids. It is a matter of whether the teaching has 'real content.' My
>
> favorite professor at VCSJTU never uses these kinds of things, not because
>
> she isn't able to, but because she doesn't want to. Why? Everything is in her
>
> mind. Her blackboard-and-chalk lecture is so vivid and interesting. It inspires
>
> you to think, encourages you to read, and urges you to be a decent
>
> person....When the teachers enter the classroom, we can almost immediately
>
> recognize whether he/she is well-prepared. It is really easy! But some
>
> professors think they can escape us; well, actually, students all have keen eyes.
>
> (Shao, personal interview, November 19, 2003)

Classroom observation has validated these students' words. Some lectures did

not attract students at all. The professors were delivering something to an imaginary

group of listeners, and the students were doing their own things. Students did not even

pretend to listen, and this did not offend the teacher. I tried to figure out where the faculty put their energy and realized that they are pressured to produce research that fits the applied research goals of business and of VCSJTU's administration. They are increasingly encouraged to teach courses that can either serve these applied research interests, or draw more students into their class and department. Consequently, both faculty and students were concerned with knowledge and its value. However, they were both driven by something inevitable, the high performance standards of the competitive labor market. When VCSJTU introduced the best possible things, from a new curriculum to a management system, it did not assume that the expectations of both students and faculty would be for something else.

An emphasis on knowledge and values is rapidly growing, such as the need for a greater intercultural understanding that will enable VCSJTU graduates to operate successfully in the global arena. For example, in November, 2003, a workshop introducing technical universities in Germany was set up on campus. Their program bulletins were delivered, and the students' questions were answered. From my student interviews, it seems evident that many students recognize the value of studying abroad, and they understand the importance of this international exchange. Having worked internationally is regarded as a significant plus on one's curriculum vitae. Moreover, the VCSTU students want to have more access to world events and other cultures, peoples, and countries through different means, including the Internet. However, school facilities still need much more development if they are to meet these needs.
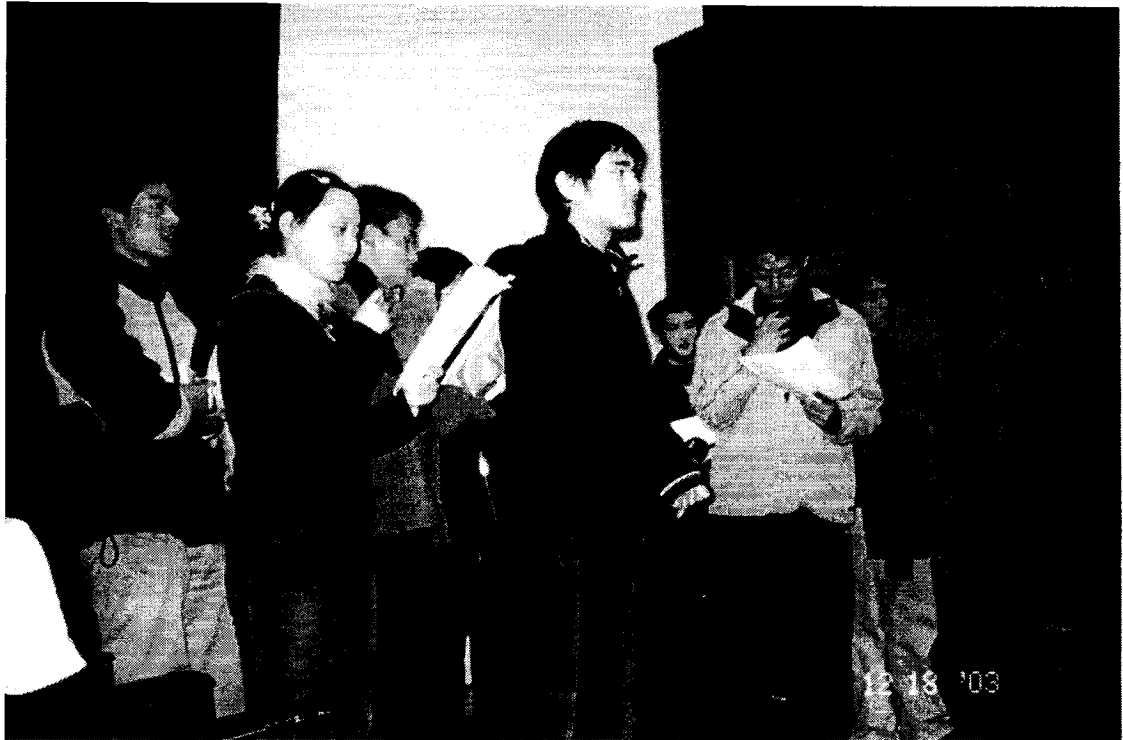
Figure 19: Students Dubbing a Play

10.4.2 Conflicts between "University Spirit" and "Performance"

10.4.2.1 "University Spirit"

At VCSJTU, the conflict between "university spirit" and "performance" is another obvious phenomenon. This conflict not only reflects the contradictory positions of the students, faculty, and administrators in the school, but more importantly, shows a concern with what higher education and HVE are now, and what they can be.

In China, the Confucian cultural tradition is imbedded in a "university spirit" that signifies an independent academic freedom and respect for knowledge. Furthermore, this tradition not only emphasizes the importance of higher education as an honorable activity, but also its close relationship with the moral standards of the Chinese people.

"University spirit" implies that the success of a college program cannot be ascertained only by "measurable results." No matter what the major students enroll in, their moral achievement will help them in the long run after graduation, and may be more significant than merely what they gained from their academic performance. For Chinese students, both inside and outside higher education, the conceptualization of the role of higher education and the reason for seeking it beyond the secondary level are linked with an understanding of "university spirit," which includes the campus atmosphere in which they are involved and the value system they are emerged in, both of which are more than the knowledge received in University lectures.

10.4.2.2 "Performance"

Almost all respondents at VCSJTU noted the importance of university spirit. Shi put it this way: "No spirit, no university/college" (Student group #1, group interview, December 6, 2003). However, evidence from my VCSJTU case study supports the view that the market mechanism and the quest for "results" or "performance" is distorting a more holistic approach to quality that is favored by most faculty and students. Specifically, a "business culture" has taken over the VCSJTU administration, pitting administrators against faculty in new ways. This "business culture" resembles the practice of attracting more consumers by satisfying their needs.

Various kinds of performances exist at VCSJTU, including the constant pursuit of certificates, higher rates of passing state-administered exams like the Level-4 English Test, higher employment rates, and higher faculty achievements in relation to more published theses, more grants, and more corporation projects. All of these pursuits have

become the measure of "quality" for the VCSJTU HVE program. I would argue that these "performances" are like trying to conceptualize a poem by measuring its parts – once you perceive a poem exclusively by way of this kind of concrete explanation, the poetry is gone. Some of my colleagues agreed with me. Some of them also argue that this kind of education is planting the seeds of mediocrity in the educational system. Such education is not only like "fast-food," but it also damages the very nature of education. As one professor in the Business English Department said, "It takes time to understand the value of one curriculum. If you change it every six months, how can students understand it?"

Another professor spoke up saying:

> I really hate the certificates. You know, no matter how much energy you devoted to preparing your lectures, some students only care about when we will have the tutor class for the Level-4 English Test. I have repeatedly told them that we need to build a solid foundation of listening, speaking, reading, and writing in the first two years, then they will find it is much easier to prepare for the Level-4 English Test in the third year. Well, some of them accept it. Some, sigh. They won't listen at all. (Z, personal interview, November 28, 2003)

Some students do not perceive the purpose of a college education to be the means to become a well-educated, well-rounded person; rather, they come to VCSJTU to find "tutors" who can help them prepare for exams. This phenomenon has replaced the close working relationship of the teacher and student who were involved with a fixed

body of knowledge in a specific field. These changes also create a new context for new learning initiatives. As one professor said, "One of the best students in my class passed the Level 4 and even Level-6 English Test. Then she said she found she could no longer concentrate in the English classroom no matter how hard she tried" (Liu, personal interview, December 1, 2003).

For the VCSJTU administration, the high employment rate and high passing rate of those taking the English proficiency test, Level-4 and Cambridge International Business English Test, etc, are great achievements. Each year, the new percentage is published in the school bulletin and draws many new students to the school.

Moreover, evidence exists that the work of the faculty is changing because of the increased pressure for "good performance." The feeling of helplessness in the face of continuing pressure from government directives to raise students' test performance was expressed by Professor L in this way:

> VCSJTU is not going to deliver Bachelor degrees to the students who failed their Level-4 English Proficiency Tests. You know, many HVE colleges and universities are doing that. What can we do? Students want the Level-4 certificates. The school asks us to improve the test passing rate. You've got to this step, and cannot stop it. It is really too utilitarian, too utilitarian. (L, personal interview, December 1, 2003)

Besides this, "performance" at VCSJTU also included "counting" the number of internationally, or nationally refereed journal articles and assessments from international

or national experts, and even the number of teachers with Ph.D. degrees. How well the school performed and the new performance target for the next few years are the repeated topics at administrative and monthly faculty conferences. Also, a performance report is included in the annual report sent to Shanghai Jiaotong University for their records. However, in the annual questionnaire survey given to the students, the teacher who received the highest evaluation was not successful in urging students to be "high achievers," to reach "high standards." Paradoxically, her main idea was always to focus on "university spirit." She inspired the students to place personal success and self-cultivation in a broader context. She said:

> University spirit sounds very 'abstract.' Well, actually, it is not abstract at all, and students need it. It is particularly important in this global era. I mean this spirit makes students more confident and feel their own roots in a time of reforms and transition. We cannot expect students to understand everything automatically. If teachers do not do that, then who else are we expecting to do that?

The evidence cited above shows different and contradictory voices speaking out regarding the status of "university spirit" and "performance" at VCSJTU. Besides, they also expressed a lot of doubt about what it means to be "successful" in China in this time of economic transformation and globalization, in a time when traditional and socialist values, e.g., about the relationship between society and the individual, have been replaced by a pattern of increasing consumerism and materialism.

Explaining why so many conflicts and different voices exist is a complex

undertaking. The experience of the faculty and students suggests that VCSJTU did not set

up its HVE program to combine the features of Confucian values and a global (maybe

American) structuring of knowledge. On the contrary, VCSJTU, at least its administrative

body, tried very hard to introduce everything from the West. Due to the introduction of

all the new Western content, with its emphasis on modernization, the traditional Chinese

educational structure has been challenged. I would call this new program process in

education a "conformity" with international standards. However, to support its success,

this "conformity" needs the "transformation" of more traditional approaches. This is

especially true for the HVE in China, whose purpose is to deliver technological

knowledge. Shenkar (2005) suggests that: "Technology, in its codified, narrow definition,

could not deliver more than routine, ongoing performance, and sustained progress

required fundamental mental transformation and reorganization of the production system"

(p. 34). That is to say, neither knowledge nor technology are free from their cultural roots

because a kind of very complex relationship exists between knowledge and culture.

However, at VCSJTU, by ignoring differences in contextual capacity and culture at the

national and regional levels, globalization has produced some unexpected consequences,

which have contributed to the deterioration of the school's quality even when its

educational objective has been achieved.

For example, the faculty's Confucian mind-set did not go away by itself. For

centuries, China's social and philosophical context favored Confucian values, and most

of the faculty received their education in a more traditional setting. Although unexpected

by the VCSJTU administration, "every new thing" reinforces the Chinese educational

proclivity for preserving and using Confucian patterns, instead of promoting the more uniform results occurring in other countries. Upon observation, the call for "university spirit" is more like a call for high moral standards and a renewed confidence in local culture. It is also a call for the self-reflection of local culture in the global era. Both faculty and students expressed their concern about the unanticipated cultural adjustment they are undergoing, which can threaten traditional values and patterns of cultural interaction. This concern is of particular significance in Shanghai, since the city has never been short of foreign cultures, which, in turn, has become one of the essential elements of local Shanghai culture.

10.5 Theme #5: Technology and HVE: Recognized or Unrecognized?

The understanding of technology and HVE at VCSJTU are helpful to learn their practices more thoroughly. Theme #5 discusses whether technology and HVE has been recognized at VCSJTU.

10.5.1 Technology: Recognized or Unrecognized?

As described in section 3.1.2.1, Confucianism emphasizes classical works rather than technical and scientific knowledge. Max Weber and Joseph Needham (1900-1995) both observe that the Chinese tradition does not favor the development of technology (Wang, 2004). However, for hundreds of years, technological knowledge was not lacking even though it was not considered part of the venerable Confucian legitimacy (Seeberg, 2000). For example, the market economy in the Song dynasty (960-1126) was already very advanced, even though it lacked, in a modern sense, a modern technology based on

"modern science" (Chow, 2002). Chow (2002) believes that one deeply-rooted reason

exists in Chinese culture which can explain this phenomenon of the Song Dynasty:

> The intellectuals in traditional Chinese society devoted themselves mainly to
> the study of Chinese classics in order to pass examinations to become
> government officials who had a higher social and economic status than the
> rest of the population, and this was considered more important than what
> money alone could offer. (p. 14)

This also partly explains why technological education is not widely recognized

in China, in spite of its potential profits. Seeberg (2000) writes that Confucianism values

classical works, rather than technological knowledge because it believes the goal of

education is to improve moral and ethical awareness, rather than to learn technical skills.

Since the 1970s, technology has become a powerful and prominent force in

China. To cope with intensifying globalization pressures and to maintain national

competitiveness and a high GDP and GNP, China has called upon new technologies.

According to Kellner (2000): "Globalization involves the dissemination of new

technologies that have tremendous impact on the economy, polity, society, culture,

education, and individual experience" (p. 306). In China, new technologies not only have

created new industries including those involving the computer and information, but also

the new educational forms and the new majors in education.

Technological ideas, together with efficiency and economy, have led Chinese

leaders to proclaim publicly in the 13th Party Congress in 1987 that further economic

growth in China would hinge on the progress of science and technology (Seeberg, 1998).

Also, fundamental changes have emerged in the ideology of the common Chinese people.

They admire not only technology, but also the efficiency and economy, which have

become prevailing ideologies. Openly acknowledging that the traditional social model is

inappropriate and increasingly less efficient and competitive in the global market place,

China has begun to enter a new era which admires nothing more than efficiency and tries

every possible way to achieve it. A growing shared recognition exists among people that

nothing is truer than the real effect (Wang, 2004). Therefore, success is coming to be

measured in "real numbers" or other "visible effects," such as the money earned and the

students admitted. Aiming at better efficiency, reforms along the line of efficiency gains

and value for money, ideas and practices central to the new ideology, are adopted to

transform education in new ways.

It is against such a wide context that China is constrained and reshaped by

market values, especially in its education sphere (Wang, 2004). Many possible causes

have been highlighted, including ideological changes such as the discrediting of "classic

works" and the overemphasis on "technological skills," and the growth of a seriously

unbalanced income distribution between the humanities and the science streams.

10.5.2 HVE: Recognized or Unrecognized?

Under the pressure of globalization and the pursuit of efficiency, HVE has been

pushed to a "cannot-be-higher" status in China. As Kong, the president of VCSJTU, says:

The establishment of VCSJTU shows that our country is concerned with

HVE...You know, Shanghai Jiaotong University is a top university in China.

Now even this university has established a HVE school, so the general public

can imagine how important HVE is. (Kong, personal interview, November 24,

2003)

But this status has not been "properly" recognized at VCSJTU. As a

consequence of the series of educational reforms that have occurred since 1978, the

upgrading of vocational studies in general, and HVE programs in particular, has never

before been so high on China's educational priority list. However, students coming to

VCSJTU know little about HVE and its essential role in contributing to national

prosperity. On the contrary, nearly half the students come to VCSJTU because they and

their families are increasingly concerned about how "employable" they will be after

graduation.

Due to the traditions of China, the notion that the vocational aspect of education

would eventually have a second-rate status, subordinate to general, academic studies,

seems most surprising if not counter-intuitive. However, even those students who

understand this tradition can persuade themselves to accept HVE, even if they do not

recognize it as the most appropriate education for themselves. Moreover, their "how

employable" concerns have pushed admission offices to operate more like corporate

marketing departments. Consequently, VCSJTU students and their parents choose

universities increasingly on the basis of "value of money," i.e., what long-term economic

value will an education at a particular institution potentially offer? I would not attribute

this phenomenon to be mainly a characteristic of Shanghai, the city that has a "cultural tradition favorable for economic development" (Chow, 2003, p. 184). In other words, even though this new trend has something to do with this Shanghai characteristic, it has a great deal more to do with the "money terms" that VCSJTU can bring in.

On the other hand, in relation to these shifting school policies, some staff are more likely to feel threatened by the rapid and radical changes, to the extent that some got "lost" in updating their knowledge and especially their way of thinking. Evidence indicates that their fear is not caused by the economic transformations that China has undergone, but by the doubt they feel towards the value of HVE knowledge, "which is motivated by short-term economic goals" (G, personal interview, November 13, 2003). Many feel that such knowledge may not survive well in the educational settings of China, due to the fact that the very spirit that lies behind the successful HVE program in other countries may not be a good match with the traditional Confucian pattern in China. According to a Confucian mind-set, vocational education is considered unworthy of the elite and more suited to the unprivileged. This does not mean Confucianism believes that "the more biologically frivolous and vain the activity, the more people exalt it. Art, literature, music, wit, religion and philosophy are thought to be not just pleasurable but noble" (Pinker, 1998, as cited in Hyland, 2002, p. 292). Rather, Confucianism emphasizes practical problems in real life (Li, 2004). It is evident that at VCSJTU, some people are struggling between to respond to the impact of globalization in a more rational way, while still remaining true to Confucianism.

I would suggest that many VCSJTU people have accepted the ideology of technology and efficiency due to what is happening in China in the wider context.

However, the notion that HVE holds a second-rate status in the educational system, a status that is subordinate to general, academic studies, seems to be still in their minds.

Figure 20: The Girl's Dormitory

10.6 Theme #6: The Relationship between Globalization, SME, and HVE

This last theme emerging from my data analysis is also one of the most important themes generated from my case study. In this theme, first, I interpret the relationship between globalization, SME, and HVE. The VCSJTU case study and the literature review for this case study both contribute to my understanding of this relationship. Second, I examine the origin of the value conflicts in VCSJTU in relation to the differences between Chinese culture and globalization.

10.6.1 SME: A Chinese Response to Globalization

In an era of rapid globalization characterized by technological advance and an information revolution, China, as most other countries, has accepted this reality and has developed unique responses to it at political, economic, and cultural levels. SME is a response to and expression of the globalization of China's economy, which has three characteristics unique to China.

First, the distinctiveness of SME indicates that it is a market economy on "Chinese soil" with "Chinese characteristics." It is distinctly different from the market economy in developed countries, which explains why some Western researchers find it hard to understand the nature and roots of SME. For example, Rady (2001) summarizes the characteristics of SME as a "neither this nor that economy" (p. 19). Sachs and Woo (2001) comment on the economic reforms since 1978: "They were not conceived as an integrated strategy to create a market economy, much less a capitalist economy" (p. 480). On this issue, Chow (2002) presents his keen perception of SME by comparing it with the economy in Western countries. He suggests that:

> A main distinction between capitalism and socialism is that the former accepts private ownership of the means of production as a basic principle, whereas the latter favors public ownership. China is an interesting experiment station for both public and private enterprises. (p. 369)

Chow's comment echoes Deng's theory of "socialism with Chinese characteristics." Deng put it this way: "The combination of public ownership, with individual, private, and

foreign-invested sectors make up the core of SME" (Jin, 1998, p. 2). SME allows for the violation of socialistic ideology, which can be explained away by the phrase "Chinese characteristics" (Chow, 2002). SME is an experimental economic form that exists only in China.

Second, early economic reformers in China only knew the general direction of reform, but did not have a detailed blueprint. Deng Xiaoping put it figuratively: "Touch the stone when you walk across the river." This means searching for the truth from real experience, reorienting your direction when the need arises, and changing whenever required by the real situation. Reformers in China admitted that they did not know the answers as to what the final system would be. Story (2003) observes: "Step-by-step conservative reforms are a constant of China's reform style" (p. 104). Murray (1998) comments: "Nobody knows where the great experiment in Chinese-style socialism will end up" (p. 217). SME is a pragmatic economy, and China adjusts to changing circumstances accordingly, and immediately: "New objectives emerged as old ones were achieved" (World Bank, 1997, p. 8). Chow (1994) argues that one notable feature of SME is "the flexible form of state and collective enterprises whose managers seek profits as in private enterprises" (p. 37). He also writes that "what will become the SME in China remains to be seen" (2002, p. 277). It is hard to imagine China practicing such a great experiment in such a large, geographically, and ethnically disparate country without a blueprint. SME, the core of Chinese socialism, is unique in the economic history of the world.

Third, previous economic reforms and the emergence of SME are the outcome of both "outside and inside," and "below and above." *Outside and Inside*: As explained in

section 3.2.2, the emergence of SME did not occur overnight; rather, it was an evolving process that lasted over a decade. Parallel with the economic reforms within China since 1970s were the "patterns of global economic restructuring, which emerged in the late 1970s" (Burbules & Torres, 2000, p. 5) outside of China. China grasped this opportunity. If China was still in the Cultural Revolution and isolated from the rest of the world, globalization would not be an impetus to adapt economic reform measures, not to mention implementing SME afterwards. In the late 1970s, the Chinese government was so unpopular after the ten year Cultural Revolution that both the government and the people wanted a change (Chow, 1994; World Bank, 1997). Therefore, "Chinese economic reforms in 1978 were triggered by neither economic crisis nor ideological epiphany" (World Bank, 1997, p. 8). Rather, "China was simply ready for reform" (World Bank, 1997, p. 12).

Below and Above: In the late 1970s, individual regions began to move the locus of responsibility closer to the household level and to increase reliance on private plots. According to Zweig (1989): "The impetus of the reform came both from below and from above" (as cited in Sachs & Woo, 2001, p. 480). That is, both the reformers and the common people were eager to push economic reforms forward, and they joined together to move the rigid SPE to a more market-oriented economy. The economic reforms since 1978 and SME are both pragmatic reforms by nature. These reforms "were well suited to China's unusual circumstances and enjoyed broad support" (World Bank, 1997, p. 4).

China responded to the outside world by building up SME, by tremendously intensifying economic efforts continuously over the past quarter century. Considering SME from another angle, the successful economic reform process since 1978 can be

viewed as a process to theorize the role of the market mechanism in a socialist economy (Fewsmith, 1997). In the 1980s, the "economic evolution and structural transformation were mostly driven by domestic factors; now however, they are increasingly influenced by economic globalization and worldwide industrial progress" (Cao, 2001, p. 25).

Globalization, as an external force, did introduce new ideas to the field of Chinese economics, and afterwards, came to be a key issue in SME. For example, stock markets, bond markets, investments, bonds, securities, contracts, and business executives were non-existent in the Chinese economy from 1949 to 1978. However, in the 1990s they came into being and gradually began to play a key role in the national economy. When China put these new ideas into practice, corresponding adjustments took place in the fiscal system, monetary system, banking system, state-owned enterprises, and export and regional policies. If it was not for globalization, these new ideas, "which are basically the same as capitalist market economy" (Ma et al. eds., 1993, as cited in Gore, 1998, p. 76), would not have easily played such an essential role in the Chinese economy within only one short decade.

10.6.2 Globalization and HVE

10.6.2.1 China's Education: From the Ivory Tower to the Economic Component

As described in section 2.2.2, China's educational system has experienced fundamental changes over the past quarter century. However, another important force has touched the core of education. For centuries, education in China was viewed as "pure" research, i.e., the "ivory towers" were responsible to each other and themselves alone. Hayhoe's (1989) close examination of Confucian traditional education in China suggests

that the educational system of China "represents a fascinating combination of features of

the Confucian and European traditional structure of knowledge. For all new content

introduced, with its value for modernization tasks, the traditional structure remained

unchallenged" (p. 34). However, in the past quarter century, both the role that education

plays and its "unchallenged" structure has changed (Hayhoe, 1989). Education has

become the driving force that is more tightly tied to State initiatives to increase industrial

competitiveness. In November 1995, Kaixuan Zhu, Director of the State Education

Commission (later on the MOE), offered the government's assessment of the state of

Chinese education. He concludes that:

> Education is no longer dissociated from the economy and disposed of by
>
> setting up a separate item for it. Education is closely linked with the economy,
>
> and has become an organic component and key content of the plans for
>
> economic and social development; elements of education permeate the main
>
> clauses concerning the economy, including its guiding policies, construction
>
> tasks, strategic deployment, and foci of investment. (as cited in Rosen, 1997, p.
>
> 259)

This assessment differs markedly from the standard view of education that is

often held by the Chinese people. Furthermore, it also highlights the idea that education is

production, but not consumption. Many researchers believe this is the trend of China's

education. As Cheng (1994) observes: "From a positive perspective, the opening of

Chinese culture to the world and the applications and spread of Western science and

technology have given the Chinese people a clearer picture of the future trends of culture

and education" (as cited in Lin, 1999, p. 30). Since Zhu's assessment was made, China's

education has been gradually, but specifically, reconstructed as both a site and a tool of

micro-economic reform to enhance China's competitive advantage in the world market

place (Market Research Center, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade of

Canada, 2001).

10.6.2.2 HVE: China's Response to Globalization in Educational Terms

Reorienting the educational system means training for new purposes and

recognizing new priorities, and it is likely to be seen in the new educational forms being

offered, and the new educational goals for achievement. Agelasto and Adamson (1998)

observe:

> The adoption of a new economic model, which involved a change from
>
> planned economy to socialist market economy, had important implications for
>
> higher education...This latter type of economy is characterized by volatility,
>
> competitiveness, openness and information network. It requires a large supply
>
> of trained professionals and technical personnel who are practical, flexible,
>
> versatile, international and innovative. Since the market fluctuates quickly
>
> according to the principle of supply and demand, the society constantly needs
>
> people who are well-trained in a certain speciality or a combination of
>
> specialities quickly. A market economy not only requires trained personnel
>
> speedily, it also needs a large number of them. (p. 4)

Agelasto and Adamson's comments describe China's situation perfectly. In the

transformation from SPE to SME, HVE emerged as a new form of education and can be

viewed as a Chinese response to economic transformation for two reasons.

First, the emergence of HVE was a response to the call of economic

development. HVE emerged in the mid 1980s to meet the demands created by the

development of science and technology. Before 1985, vocational education in China was

mainly at the secondary level (Yu, 1998; Zhou, Zhen, & Liu, 2000). However, in the late

1980s, an acute shortage of scientific and technical personnel occurred, brought about by

the rapid rise of economic development. Consequently, graduates from secondary

vocational schools fell far short of the demand, both in quality and quantity. In 1987, the

Party Congress of China proclaimed that further economic growth "hinged" on the

progress of science and technology, and increasingly on the quality of education received

by personnel (Seeberg, 1998). In response, HVE was enlarged to satisfy social and

economic demands for labor, and it was expanded to produce personnel skilled in

processing technology and information (Seeberg, 1998). As a result, from the mid 1980s,

enrollment in HVE more than doubled to almost 3 million in 1994 (World Bank Report,

2003).

Second, HVE is designed to meet the requirements set by SME. In the 1990s,

China's economic reform expanded into the areas of education (Lin, 1999). Also at that

time, a series of administration and curriculum reforms led to the restructuring of the

HVE system (Yu & Zeng, 1994). Since then, China's economy and international

cooperation between China and the rest of the world is like the "wind," and HVE is like a

"weather vane." Any small ripples of directional change in the "wind" will be detected by the "vane" (Xu, 2001). This vivid description reveals the close relationship between the global economy and HVE in China. In the 1990s, HVE was the educational component most directly concerned with the acquisition of the knowledge and skills required by society (Power, 1999).

How the emergence of the SME shaped the development of HVE is obvious both in theory and in practice. At the theoretical level, in various ways, policies, official documents, and laws confirm the close relationship between SME and HVE. For example, Yu (1998) makes a clear statement of the goal of vocational education reform:

The comprehensive goal of our reform is: guided and planned by the government, on the basis of a multi-sponsored school-managing system contributed to by different trades, enterprises and institutions, oriented by the demand of labor market and vocational education training market, while supported by a comprehensive vocational education service system, and supported by the policies of the governments of all levels, a new vocational education system should be developed to respond to the developing socialist market economy. (p. 23)

This statement demonstrates that the SME controls the path and pace of the development of HVE. Whether or not the HVE met the requirements of the SME became the criteria by which to measure the efficiency and quality of HVE. For example, take the structural changes in the SME and their impact on the changes in HVE majors. The

World Bank claims that "there is no better way of intensifying competition and

encouraging the spread of technology than open trade and services" (1997, p. 101). In the

past quarter century, China opened its trade and services to gain a more favorable

position in the global market. Lu (2002) observes:

> China is following the trends in the world economy; especially those that
>
> happen in the highly advanced industrialized countries. Then, what is the new
>
> trend? Industrial re-structure, that is, the increase in tertiary industry and the
>
> decline or slowing down of primary and secondary industries. (p. 191)

As indicated in Table 4.1, the employment share in Chinese industry has

undergone huge changes. This structural change brings corresponding changes in the

HVE majors. In the earlier 1990s, the majors related to services, such as those provided

by hotel managers, engineers, food production specialists, account executives, or

pharmacists, and nurses. These are still the "hot" majors due to increasing demands from

these fields, and they still hold the promise of profitable employment opportunities in the

future. Therefore, HVE was not only shaped by SME but also by a Chinese response to

an economic transformation in the educational field.

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Table 4.1 Employment Share by Sector, 1978 and 2000

	1978	2000
Agriculture	70.5%	45.0%
Industry	17.4	26.0
Tertiary	12.1	29.0

Source: World Bank (2000), *China's development strategy: The knowledge and innovation perspective*, Washing D. C.

10.6.3 Globalization and Chinese Culture

Morrow and Torres (2000) suggest that: "The most visible impact of globalization on education in developing societies stems from the imposition of structural adjustment policies" (p. 43). HVE is viewed as the most obvious outcome of the adjustment in Chinese education reform since 1978 (Xu, 2001). Consequently, as a HVE college born during this era, VCSJTU operates within the local (Shanghai), national (China), and international (globalization) hierarchies of prestige. It has its own educational mission, which is designed to attract students from Shanghai of high academic standing, and its own disparate financial resources. In reviewing the practices of VCSJTU, it becomes clear that it has tried every possible way to adopt the new philosophies introduced by the favorable economic status of Shanghai and globalization. It has done so to encourage its HVE program to be recognized according to the same principles that apparently operate in the global marketplace.

According to the Carnoy's criterion introduced in section 2.1.2, globalization is having major impacts on higher education. This can been seen in the changes and practices at VCSJTU, its financial sources, its close relationship with the global labor market, and its emphasis on a science and technology curriculum, all indications of the

tremendous impact of globalization. However, VCSJTU does not believe that the impact of globalization is a one-way, top-down process in which global influences are brought to bear on passively receptive colleges, their educational goals and practices. Rather, evidence from this case study indicates that VCSJTU tries to be actively involved in constructing global patterns, and modifying global trends so that the process is an interactive one. Furthermore, "globalization" is well understood among the VCSJTU people. Most people accept this fact calmly. Also, "globalization" is considered before making any new policies at VCSJTU, since the school first places itself in a broader national, even global, context and then focuses on the ways it will shape its own development, as a way to meet the challenges of both SME and globalization.

Consequently, the HVE program at VCSJTU is becoming "market oriented". Then the question arises: As the most closely market-related educational form, is the HVE in VCSJTU inevitably market oriented? Evidence from the case study suggests that the origins of various conflicts, to a very large extent, are rooted in this concern. Based on my observations, the tensions at VCSJTU cannot be simply read off on the basis of analyzing globalization and its impact on education. Rather, a whole range of factors specific to Shanghai and to VCSJTU combine to explain the origins of these conflicts. At a more profound level, the disagreements at VCSJTU are rooted in the conflict between Chinese culture and globalization. Consequently, "deep" concerns arise about globalization and its impact on HVE, given the "superficial" success VCSJTU has gained in the past decade. Evidence from the case study suggests the origin for such conflicts, which I try to summarize here.

Globalization has brought with it many values which are contradictory to traditional Chinese culture. Consequently, various conflicts are rooted in the differences between cultures. As a latecomer to China, HVE needs to strive for world-class levels, which requires learning from, and conformity to, international practices. This is what VCSJTU has tried to do since its establishment. Facing the external pressures of globalization, VCSJTU did not ignore the imperatives for change that were internal to HVE. In fact, VCSJTU understood the necessity of putting HVE on Chinese soil and of using China's contemporary context and real needs as the starting point from which to determine whether HVE can be carried out successfully. These "internal initiatives" can turn almost automatically into "internal pressures" if they do not mesh well with "external pressures." Unfortunately, VCSJTU was successful in introducing the values of globalization into its school. However, it was not successful in that it failed to realize that the values inherent in globalization are not in accord with traditional Chinese values. The gap between these two value systems is too great for VCSJTU to have reconciled them within only a few years. Therefore, the more advanced the VCSJTU curriculum becomes, the more internal pressure the school suffers, especially because VCSJTU is not closely linked with the central government, but is on its own.

Based on my observations and the evidence from my VCSJTU case study is a summary of the three contradictory values that exist between globalization and Confucianism.

1) *The role that education should play in the national development.* All sorts of arguments at VCSJTU, e.g., the arguments about knowledge and its value, may seem abstract, but they speak to significant and concrete changes in people's daily lives in and

out of the school setting. For more than two decades, VCSJTU has witnessed coordinated and determined efforts to reconstruct not only a liberal market economy in Shanghai, but a liberal market society and culture as well. This has touched the core of Chinese Confucianism for the first time, especially as concerns the role education should play in national development. The role VCSJTU has set for itself, or even HVE's role in Chinese education, is no longer determined by the traditional Chinese way. Rather, VCSJTU now must compete in the marketplace with corporate training departments and for-profit learning centers. This kind of position and the resultant mind-set are not generally recognized or shared by most Chinese. The pressure from VCSJTU administrators on staff and students to accept its "interests and market frame" for "global positioning" in the future may not allow for good decisions about course practice and content. The VCSJTU administration may not realize that they are opposing an educational tenet of Confucianism. Moreover, Confucianism has never used such terms as "interest" or "materialism" to describe education. Education has never been viewed as a tool for earning money. On the contrary, it was responsible for itself. That is where education's other name, "the ivory tower," came from.

2) *Different understandings of "measurable results."* VCSJTU focuses on measurable results and views everything that can be measured as a sign of great accomplishment. This encourages the acquirement of various certificates and the accompanied decrease in student interest for normal classroom teaching. However, with Confucian values, measurable results have never been the major criteria for judging a successful educational program, nor have they been the major criteria for defining a well-educated person. Can benevolence and moral-rightness be examined by proficiency

tests? Also, when the spontaneous and difficult-to-control forms of teacher collaboration, or classroom teaching are replaced by the more managed, superficially harmonious forms, the nature and uniqueness of education are both damaged. I see this as the difference in two kinds of cultures. The technological, scientific West emphasizes "correct" or "wrong" answers, and thus measurable results are reliable. Their standard is very clear-cut. Chinese culture, on the other hand, believes that many things are beyond the boundary of "correct" or "wrong" (Ren, 1998) and that many things exist that are hard to measure in-between these opposites.

3) *The goal of education*. This aspect is more like a supplement to the second point made above. Chinese Confucian culture always places "mind enrichment" higher than "materialism pursuit." Education in China also sought to cultivate peace of mind, rather than the restless, turbulent pursuit of materialism. No matter what kind of education, its potential had not been related so closely to the employability of its graduates. Rather, peace and richness of mind were more prized than materialism alone. This also can explain why China set such high standards for teachers; students were to learn from their teachers' evolved personality. Teachers were role models for their students. However, in Shanghai, the recent fast economic development has meant that new educational goals have turned traditional Confucian values upside down. However, this change did not happen overnight; rather, it occurred during the past two decades, when the masses rushed to set up businesses, to speculate on stocks and investments, and to chase after whatever was fashionable. Consequently, society has experienced a sharp decline in moral beliefs, especially those associated with collectivism, altruism, patriotism, and Confucianism. For the first time, education is related more closely to

"money-making" than with "mind-building." This is obvious from the arguments taking place at VCSJTU about "university spirit" versus "performance." In Confucianism, "Education as a path of improvement was primarily understood in humanistic and ethical rather than economic terms" (Seeberg, 2000, p. 55). For the first time, the honorable place education enjoyed in Confucianism has been brought into question.

The evidence pointing to these three kinds of value conflicts may seem trivial, but at VCSJTU, when each "trivial" instance is added together, it is striking to see how much the school has taken on a consumer mind-set. For such a transition to be successful, the common sense of those at VCSJTU must have been undermined, so that they see the world only as individual consumers and themselves as surrounded by everything that is potentially but a commodity for sale.

To summarize, evidence from my VCSJTU case study suggests that the school has tried to be sensitive and selective in its development over the past few years, yet no knowledge is completely free of the culture from which it came, and rarely is knowledge applicable at a global level. China has eagerly seized the opportunities presented by globalization, but the process of globalization itself has brought harmful effects and "these harmful results are regarded as a kind of unavoidable cost and despite the prestige of economic calculations, the costs of the systems are rarely systematically compared with its benefits" (Comeliau, 1997, p. 31). When globalization impacted Chinese culture, it was accompanied by a new way of thinking and new values that may not be suitable for the Chinese people because "the differences between China and the United States in traditions as well as in ecological-demographic circumstances are so great that our two cultures will not be homogenized" (Fairbank & Reischauer, 1989, p. 537).

How VCSJTU people responded to my questions demonstrated their thinking about the role that Chinese culture should play in the era of globalization. An awareness is growing that the pure oriental Chinese culture needs to update itself and its real essence needs to be exploited. However, that does not mean that embracing globalization whole-heartedly and changing everything according to its needs is a feasible way of solving the problems in China. VCSJTU's experience and practices since its establishment is a good starting point to rethink our education and reconsider the road we are going to take, not only for the HVE in China; but for the education in other countries as well.

11.0 Personal Reflection: Definition of Globalization

My VCSJTU case study and my life experiences in China both have contributed to my understanding of globalization. In this section, I present my reflections on the definition of globalization.

First, I believe the process of globalization is irreversible, and it will inevitably bring about both positive and negative effects. So, how to minimize the negative effects is a major issue. Second, it is my observation that the definition of globalization as "the complex interplay of various factors with different weights and in different relations" (Burbules & Torres, 2000, p. 2) has been formulated mainly from the perspective of industrialized countries or developed nations. In relation to the definitions provided by researchers in section 2.1.1, what globalization means to developing countries or less developed countries has not yet been considered. Current definitions of globalization relate neither to the distinctive economic and political systems of developing countries,

nor to their ideology and culture. These definitions may not be able to explain the specific phenomena of economic and educational developments in a developing country, especially in terms of the actual changes in these two areas of the context of China.

Ignorance of the differences between industrialized countries and developing countries, ranging from their economic and political systems to their ideology and culture, leads to a superficial interpretation. Without a proper definition of globalization, it is difficult to reveal the real and deep relationship between globalization and economic and educational developments in China. In China, which is "as a whole is regarded as a poor country in terms of per capita production" (Lofstedt & Zhao, 2002, p. 182), globalization is an external force that embodies changes and transformation in many social aspects, such as the economy, culture, and education. Originally, globalization is economy-driven; yet its impact extends well beyond the economy. I believe that globalization also affects the ideology, culture, and education of a country. Yet, overall, globalization is viewed more as an "opportunity" than a "threat," especially in terms of education.

Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the main three sources of my analysis: the transcribed interviews, field notes, and analysis of student essays. As well, I put an emphasis on the six themes that emerged in my data analysis. In each theme, I tried not to only describe the phenomena, but also to "exploit" the roots of each, why a thing happened in it own way. Origins of the themes also were presented in this section. Lastly, I presented my personal reflection on the definition of globalization.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

12.0 Conclusion

This chapter has four subsections. Section 12.1 is a review of the whole thesis.

Section 12.2 presents the main findings from the VCSJTU case study in response to the

research questions. Section 12.3 presents the recommendations. Section 12.4 makes

suggestions for future research.

12.1 Overview of the Thesis

"Science and technology especially are seen to constitute the basis for the

development of the twenty-first century" (Jordan & Yeomans, 2003, p. 66). This is the

most distinguished feature in this era of globalization. "The belief that national

competitiveness and prosperity are inextricably connected with the capacity to foster the

development of new knowledge-based industries has generated major reforms in science

and technology across the globe" (Black & Atkin, 1999, as cited in Jordan & Yeomans,

2003, p. 66). This major technical reform has profoundly changed the practices, functions,

and culture of HVE in China over the past of a quarter century.

The impact of globalization on the Chinese economy and educational system has

not been a one-way, top-down process in which global influences were brought to bear on

passively receptive China. Rather, China responded to globalization in an active way. The

development of HVE is one of the most significant examples. The history of HVE in

China suggests that HVE is important not only because of its scale, but also because it

reflects a change in value orientation in the country's perspective on education and

national development. Since the late 1970s, and especially in the 1980s, China saw HVE as an important contributor to its economic development by providing qualified high-class technicians for the workforce. In particular, HVE now prepares personnel for complicated jobs that require advanced knowledge and skills such as computer applications. The increasing technical requirement is believed to contribute to an increase in productivity, and thus HVE programs must be reconstructed to follow this trend.

As indicated in my introduction, my VCSJTU case study reveals the relationship between globalization and HVE in China as represented at VCSJTU over the past quarter century. The practice of VCSJTU reveals that this relationship is more than complex. Many complex connections between globalization and HVE, and many stable and unstable elements contribute to the school's current situation. In this study, as the researcher, both as an insider and outsider, I found that the reforms at VCSJTU were all well thought-out and well-intentioned and appear to have served the anticipated purposes. Yet, the main findings also suggest a number of other issues that arose, which I summarize in the following section.

12.2 Response to This Study's Questions and the Main Findings It Generated

I now turn back to the research questions that guided my case study and present my main findings by responding to these questions.

My four research questions are:

1. In what respects has VCSJTU's school mission, educational goals, inter-institutional cooperations, and curriculum development evolved in relation to globalization?

2. What are the main cultural and core values of the school; how have these values been determined; and what other factors have contributed to the building of the institution's culture?

3. What is the relationship between globalization and HVE in China in terms of the VCSJTU experience and practices?

4. What does VCSJTU's experience reveal about local-global interactions in relation to the literature on China's culture, educational system, and globalization?

In response to the first question, the evidence from my VCSJTU case study suggests that globalization has been a major element influencing the school mission, educational goals, inter-institutional cooperations, and curriculum development since VCSJTU's establishment. Including globalization as part of its reform plan and school development has been a careful choice. Moreover, globalization has influenced various aspects of the school agenda in fundamental ways. For example, when VCSJTU at first tried to meet the requirements set by SME and the global market, it accepted the idea of openness and democracy to break away from its former hierarchy management frame. This break still contributes to many of the positive outcomes in school reform and to the school's open and democratic atmosphere.

The second main finding is in response to the second question. The VCSJTU case study evidence shows a co-existence value system. However, the implementation of global market standards and the attempts to meet the SME requirements have caused a

fundamental shift of value orientation at VCSJTU. That is, market-driven values not only

led to new majors, but tend to dominate school culture. These market-driven values have

generated many outcomes at VCSJTU. The changes in students and teachers' identities

are the most obvious ones. Some students are becoming more like marketplace

consumers, and some teachers are more like business people in terms of their new

responsibilities. These new identities have replaced the once close working relationship

of teacher and student within a fixed body of knowledge in a specific field. In terms of

the outcomes generated from different values, VCSJTU evidence revealed that different

and contradictory voices were the expression of two kinds of conflicts between

knowledge and value, and between university spirit and performance. The conflicts are

more than mere conflicts, since they throw light on how VCSTJU people have

experienced and perceived globalization. Different groups of people at VCSJTU are

trying to assess the HVE program from different angles. Their different voices are not

merely engaged in the argument of whether HVE students should act as "consumers" or

whether HVE education should be run like a market. Rather, the conflicts concerned not

only the status of HVE in general, but also showed the need for some serious

consideration of the place of local culture, given the superficial success that the VCSJTU/

HVE program has gained over the past decade. And such conflicts are deeply rooted in

the staff's and students' doubts about what it means to be "successful" in China in a time

of economic transformation and globalization, when the traditional and socialist notions

of value, e.g., the relationship between society and the individual, have been replaced by

a pattern of increasing consumerism and materialism.

In response to the third question, although I am aware that caution is needed in interpreting data which are limited in scope and methodology, and that China is representative of only a small portion of developing countries—a part of the world that is constantly and rapidly changing—a number of insights into the relationship between globalization, SME, and HVE in China still can be provided. Although generalizations about the relationship between globalization, SME, and HVE cannot be made, nor a particular portrait or model of the future of this relationship in China determined, several common features of this relationship can be drawn from the evidence of this case study. That is, my VCSJTU evidence suggests that SME is a Chinese response to globalization, and HVE is a Chinese response to globalization in educational terms. SME and HVE are both the expressions and reflections of China's responses to the impact of globalization due to various reasons unique to China.

In response to the fourth question, the origin of the value conflicts was examined. I believe that understanding the origin of these conflicts at VCSJTU can throw light on the relationship between globalization and HVE. It also can help to explain the many contradictory views, and thus deserves careful examination. This is the most striking finding of my case study. The origin of the conflicts suggests that when globalization and SME raised HVE to a high status because of the demand for high-class technical personnel, this status had not been properly recognized at VCSJTU due to its traditional views toward technology. This conflict arose because some VCSJTU people were more concerned with educational rather than economic changes, especially those changes they perceived as global trends towards an outcomes-based program driven by the market. Some doubt exists as to whether HVE can survive in China. Furthermore, by ignoring the

differences in contextual capacity and culture at the national and regional levels,

globalization has resulted in some unexpected consequences at VCSJTU. Moreover,

these consequences have contributed to the deterioration of its quality of education even

when its educational objective has been achieved. Although unexpected by the VCSJTU

administration, "every possible new thing" has reinforced the Chinese educational

proclivity for preserving and using Confucian patterns at the school, rather than promoted

the uniform results that have occurred in other countries.

12.3 Reflections

Based on the history of China, it is my personal understanding that in China, a

market economy is working well and will be working even better in future decades. As

introduced in section 3.1.1.2, the Chinese economic system was essentially a market

economy from the Han dynasty (206 BC – 220 AD) until 1949. So in 1978, China's

introduction of a market economy mechanism is more like a "coming back" to its original

economic system, and thus it is not surprising that a market economy has showed a huge

potential. As for the negative consequences that have occurred since the emergence of

SME in 1992 – such as an increasing unemployment rate and the problems associated

with enterprises originally owned by the state – my personal understanding is that they

are normal considering the short time period of only 14 years. Considering the economic

achievements of the market economy, it is irrefutable that no matter how imperfect, it

works well and is better than SPE. I would argue that the negative consequences are more

like the conflicts that arise from the nature of the market economy and some people's

ideology. To put it another way: China's economy is already a 90% market economy

(Cooper, 2005). In this environment, if 30% of people still believe in the SPE ideology and are waiting for the government to take care of them rather than adjusting to new conditions and improving themselves, some problems surly exist. The acceptance of new values (even if these values originated in China rather than in the West) is much more complicated and slower than economic transformation, and people need time to cope with the new economic system and to adjust their motivations and behaviors accordingly.

Given the general tendency of the development of VCSJTU to yield positive results, its market-driven values have resulted in many outcomes that are beyond the scope of "positive" or "negative" values, and thus they deserve careful examination. As I suggested in section 12.2, the most striking finding at VCSJTU is that HVE needs to cope with the Chinese setting in a more rational way, and thus work to reorient itself, given the close relationship between HVE and the economy. As long as HVE wants to develop in a rational and healthy way in the long run, the tradition out of which it grew cannot be ignored. Therefore, the following suggestions have as much to do with promoting a more supportive background for HVE to develop, as they do to make it more widely recognized and to function properly in China.

First, VCSJTU needs to understand that HVE in China is not a duplicate of foreign educational systems. Rather, despite all the foreign influences brought into the educational system, the first consideration was always that the system remain "Chinese." This implies that Western culture and learning are just for the head, while the heart remains resolutely native.

Second, VCSJTU needs to embrace both technology and basic traditional Chinese knowledge. Ignoring local culture in an era of globalization can result in the loss of personal identity.

Third, VCSJTU needs to develop an understanding of the importance of reflecting on its own Chinese culture at this time, given its achievements in the past decade. Such reflection will help VCSJTU to gain a more insightful perspective of various problems that arise in the school, and to find a more rational, suitable orientation for the future.

Some researchers (Ding, 2006) have observed that the HVE in China is growing, and its future development is positive. However, the evidence from my VCSJTU case study suggested two points.

First, the growth of HVE colleges across China is not due to people's increasing awareness of the significance of HVE in higher education. Rather, it is due to people's awareness of how "employable" HVE graduates are and what an economic potential they will enjoy in the labor market.

Second, the introduction of HVE also requires the necessary Chinese "soil" to grow well. Moreover, no educational form exists so that a society can only employ its "form" and ignore its "soul." A mismatch between an educational form and a local educational setting leads to a distortion of the nature of education and a loss of HVE identify itself. Introducing a new educational form is more like introducing a collection of new ideas and values. In essence, recognizing a new educational form is to recognize the values behind the educational form.

12.4 Questions for Future Research

After presenting my results by answering my research questions and summarizing the themes that emerged from my evidence, I found more questions facing me as my thesis comes to an end. I believe few studies can bring an end to a research field, and the questions that have arisen at the end of my study are more like "road signs" for future HVE research in China. My hope is that my case study will spark further research and conversation about the local response to higher education within the processes of globalization. One thing that still lingers in my mind is why VCSJTU students expressed their strong wish to learn about the Chinese humanities? Is this only a coincidence, is it a call to reorient their program, or is it a desire to go back to their native culture? Some students expressed a lot more concern for the traditional culture than for how employable they will be in the labor market, although they certainly understood that they are HVE students and knew the purpose of their program. Many questions deserve further exploitation. For example: Does a balance exist between "market knowledge" and "cultural knowledge" in HVE colleges? How does one reconstruct the orientation of HVE programs? How can the "success" of HVE programs be evaluated? In the era of globalization, is the ultimate goal of China to slowly become merely to generate profit for its cooperate shareholders, rather than to create a democracy? Are "outcomes" and "performance" already part of our educational goals? This list of question has no end!

In China, all kinds of education essentially support two interrelated dimensions: personal development and the individual's contribution to society. The first dimension has been assuming greater importance in a growing private enterprise economy, while the second has been traditionally emphasized in a socialistic economy. Globalization has

been bringing about a shift in ideology within China since the 1990s. My case study

suggests that HVE is inseparably connected with the development of China as a whole,

and the prevailing development tendencies and values of social and economic life in

China and beyond have had a profound impact on the system of vocational and technical

education. Actually, my study is only the beginning of understanding the deep,

interrelated, intricate relationship between the two, and further research and study are

certainly expected. I would like to suggest two feasible kinds of future research:

comparative studies, and case studies in some of the less developed cities of China.

A comparative study could investigate the ways in which China's approach to

HVE compares with approaches used by other developing countries, especially when

these countries are also undergoing the impact of economic globalization. In particular,

studies which compared the urban communities similar to Shanghai would be of

particular value in understanding the range of approaches that would be needed to bridge

the gap between cultural and educational diversity and social context. Furthermore, in

comparative studies, different understandings of "cultural and educational diversity" and

"social context" can also generate significant outcomes in terms of different conceptual

assumptions. As Yang (2003) points out, as the "world is increasingly globalizing,

solutions to local problems require sophisticated understanding of the external world" (p.

292).

Other case studies also are highly recommended, especially in HVE colleges

located in less developed cities across China. Since the reforms situated in a prospering

region and in a less developed region can generate different outcomes, these outcomes

also have important implications for HVE in China. Such future studies will potentially

contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of HVE in China.

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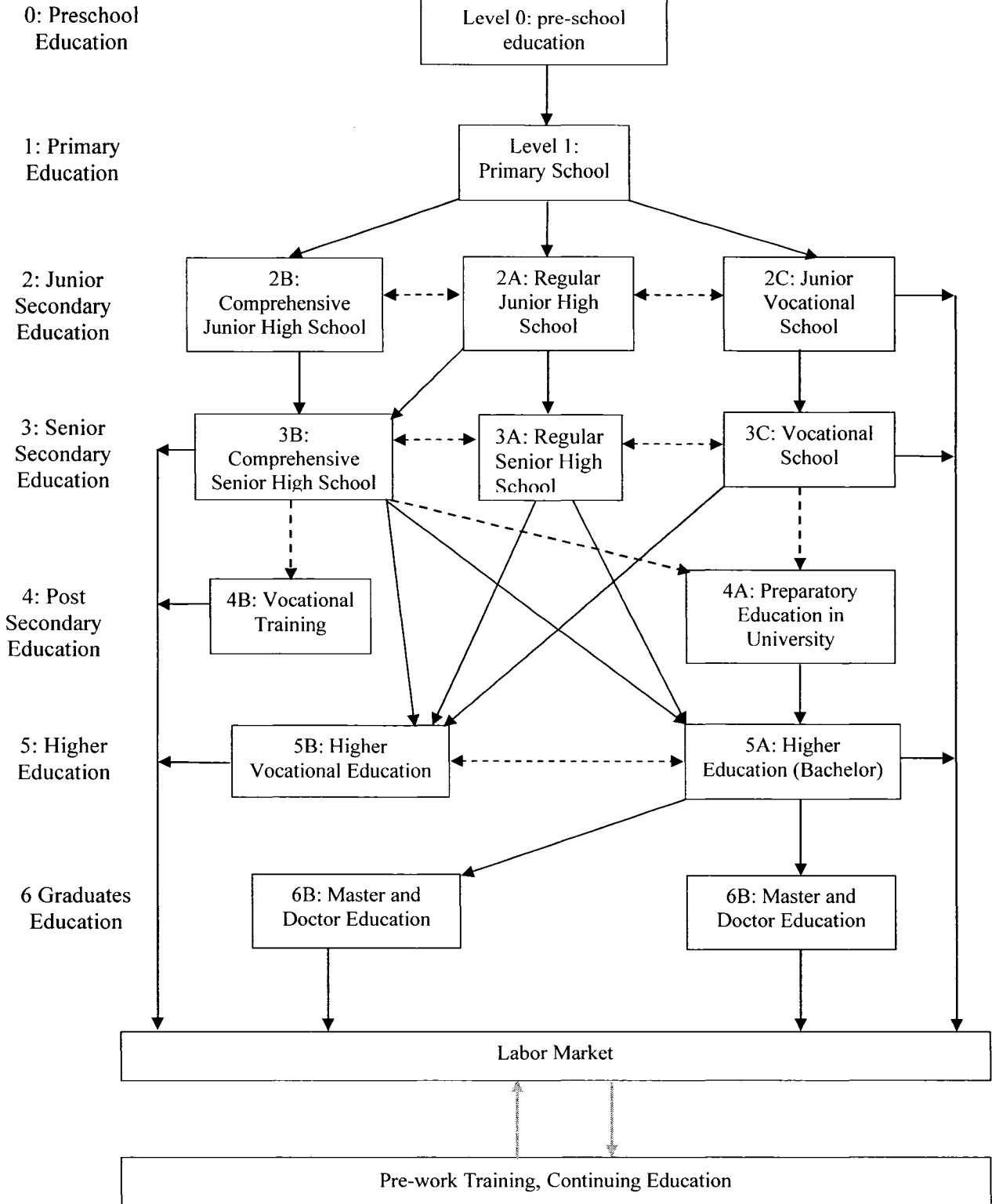
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Appendix 1: Educational System in China

0: Preschool
   Education

1: Primary
   Education

2: Junior
   Secondary
   Education

3: Senior
   Secondary
   Education

4: Post
   Secondary
   Education

5: Higher
   Education

6 Graduates
   Education

Level 0: pre-school education

Level 1: Primary School

2B: Comprehensive Junior High School

2A: Regular Junior High School

2C: Junior Vocational School

3B: Comprehensive Senior High School

3A: Regular Senior High School

3C: Vocational School

4B: Vocational Training

4A: Preparatory Education in University

5B: Higher Vocational Education

5A: Higher Education (Bachelor)

6B: Master and Doctor Education

6B: Master and Doctor Education

Labor Market
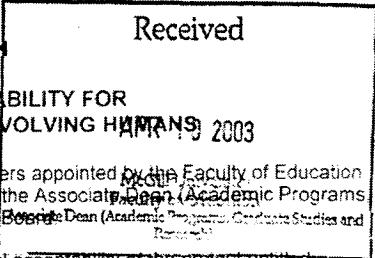
Pre-work Training, Continuing Education

The real line means the connection between different levels of education.
Broken line means connection between different kinds of education.

Source: Hao, 2001

MCGILL UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION

CERTIFICATE OF ETHICAL ACCEPTABILITY FOR
FUNDED AND NON FUNDED RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMANS

The Faculty of Education Ethics Review Committee consists of 6 members appointed by the Faculty of Education Nominating Committee, an appointed member from the community and the Associate Dean (Academic Programs Graduate Studies and Research) who is the Chair of this Ethics Review Board.

The undersigned considered the application for certification of the ethical acceptability of the project entitled:
The Impact of Globalization on Advanced Vocational Education in China: A Case Study
as proposed by:

Applicant's Name __Molin Wang__   Supervisor's Name _Steven Jordan___

Applicant's Signature/Date_Molin Wang_ 03/30/03 Supervisor's Signature _____

Degree / Program / Course __Ph.D. Culture and Values in Education__   Granting Agency _____

Grant Title (s)_____

The application is considered to be:
A Full Review _____   An Expedited Review _____

A Renewal for an Approved Project _____   A Departmental Level Review _____
Signature of Chair / Designate

The review committee considers the research procedures and practices as explained by the applicant in this application, to be acceptable on ethical grounds.

1. Prof. René Turcotte
   Department of Kinesiology and Physical Education

Signature / date

2. Prof. Ron Morris
   Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Signature / date

3. Prof. Ron Stringer
   Department of Educational and Counselling Psychology

Signature / date

7. Member of the Community

Signature / date

4. Prof. Kevin McDonough
   Department of Integrated Studies in Education
   _____ Apr 22/03

Signature / date

5. Prof. Brian Alters
   Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Signature / date

6. Prof. Ada Sinacore
   Department of Educational and Counselling Psychology

Signature / date

Mary H. Maguire Ph. D.
Chair of the Faculty of Education Ethics Review Committee
Associate Dean (Academic Programs, Graduate Studies and Research)
Faculty of Education, Room 230
Tels: (514) 398-7039/398-2183 Fax: (514) 398-1527
Mary Maguire May 12, 2003
Signature / date

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REB #: _283-0403_   APPROVAL PERIOD: MAY 12, 2003 to MAY 12, 2004
(Updated January 2003)