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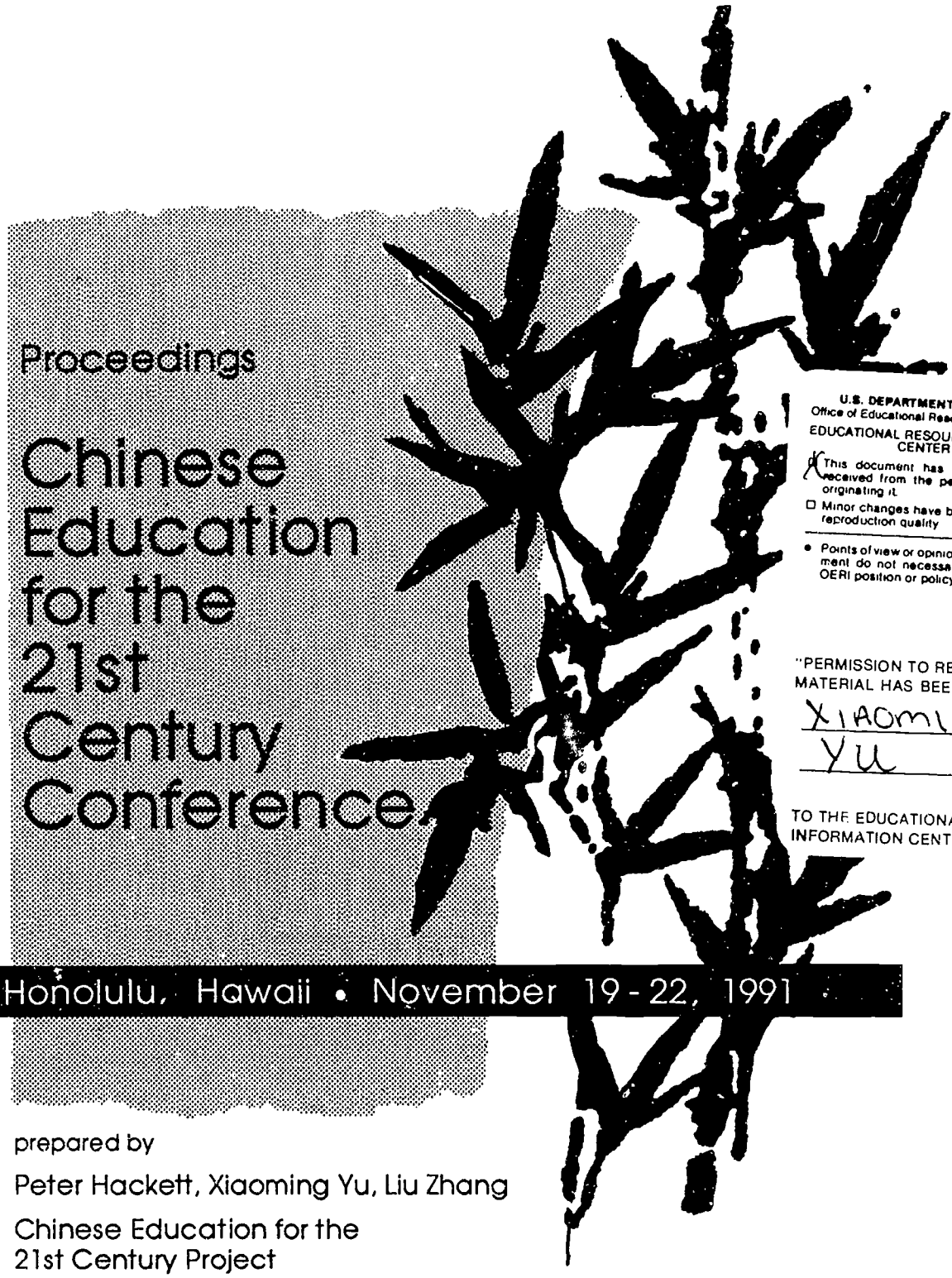
ABSTRACT

This document contains the proceedings of a conference on the future of Chinese education. The papers are grouped into four sections: (1) school, culture, and society; (2) teaching and learning; (3) educational reforms; and (4) John Dewey and Chinese education. The conference was designed to provide researchers, practitioners, and policy-makers with a forum to discuss various theoretical and practical issues. The conference focused on four themes: (1) basic and rural education; (2) literacy; (3) cultural education; and (4) learning experiences in formal, informal, and non-formal settings. Potential topics for future investigations are suggested in the 25 articles that are presented in entirety, and in abstracts of 25 other articles. Articles dealing with school, culture, and society include: (1) "International Exchange: Some Reflections on China and the West" (Ruth Hayhoe); (2) "China's Academic Relations with Canada: Past, Present, and Future" (Martin Singer); (3) "The Educational Role of Chinese Almanacs: Past, Present, and Future" (Richard J. Smith); (4) "Adopt a China Rural School/Community Library" (Dun-zhi Liu; Lungching Chiao); (5) "Reading Ability and Disability among Chinese Beginning Readers: Implications for Educators" (Ji-Mei Chang; Ovid J. L. Tzeng); and (6) "Technological Literacy for Chinese Youth" (James J. Kirkwood). The section on teaching and learning has 10 articles on subjects such as English language education and moral education. The section on reform contains seven articles. The section on John Dewey contains two articles. Appendices include working group reports, the remaining abstracts, and a conference program. (DK)



Proceedings

Chinese Education for the 21st Century Conference

Honolulu, Hawaii • November 19-22, 1991

prepared by

Peter Hackett, Xiaoming Yu, Liu Zhang

Chinese Education for the
21st Century Project
Curry School of Education
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Introduction

Chinese education presents a dynamic and enlightening example for the study of comparative education in terms of its reflection of as well as its participation in a fast-changing society. It has in recent decades made significant strides in providing educational opportunities to the world's largest school population, succeeded in varying degrees in securing cultural and social transformation, and helped maintain and transmit some of the most fascinating aspects of our human civilization, for instance, the Chinese language and its unique aesthetic form of calligraphy.

The 20th century has witnessed great changes taking place in Chinese education. From the establishment of modern schools in the wake of abolishing the traditional examination system at the beginning of this century to the nationwide reform movement in the 1980s, the evolution of Chinese education over the past ninety years can be characterized as a constant conflict between foreign influences and traditional identities. As we are in the last decade of the 20th century, it is important and necessary for us to look into the 21st century to try to explore and identify possible issues, challenges, and patterns that might emerge, so that well-informed decisions could be made, solutions sought, and practical pedagogy formulated. We scholars and practitioners all need to be better-prepared.

Like the two previous conferences held in Charlottesville, the Hawaii conference was designed to provide researchers, practitioners, and policy makers with a forum to discuss various theoretical and practical issues. The Hawaii conference focused on four themes: **basic and rural education; literacy; cultural education; and learning experiences in formal, informal, and non-formal settings**, and yielded potential topics for future investigations. The conference attracted over one hundred participants from China and other parts of the world, serving as an opportunity for them to share views and concerns, most of which are recorded in this volume.

The presentations included here show a diversity in participants' interests and research orientations. This, on the one hand, mirrors the complex nature of Chinese education, and on the other hand, reflects a large contingent of interested people and scholarship in this area. In putting together these proceedings, we have only applied routine editorial modifications where necessary. The views expressed in the enclosed proceedings are those of the individual authors and not necessarily those of the editors.

We hope that readers of these proceedings will take advantage of the opportunities afforded by our project to participate in our future activities, including plans for a conference in Shanghai for 1993 or 1994, and that the result will be a more exciting and productive project for all.

Peter Hackett
Project Director

Xiaoming Yu & Liu Zhang
Co-editors

July, 1992

International Exchanges: Some Reflections on China and the West

Ruth Hayhoe

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Abstract

This paper first deals with the issue of international exchanges on a general level by examining four distinct paradigms of world order, and then draws on some examples from personal experience in China to illustrate some of the challenges as well as benefits involved.

This paper was first presented as a keynote lecture at a special conference on Chinese Education for the 21st Century in Hawaii in November of 1991. I considered it a great privilege on that occasion to address a distinguished group of Chinese educationists from the Mainland, Taiwan and Hong Kong, as well as scholars of Chinese education from around the world. Though my own research and practical experience of exchange has focused on the Mainland, I lived and taught in Hong Kong from 1967 to 1978 and made one brief visit to Taiwan during that period. In my twenty four years of involvement with China it has been a Chinese culture shared by all of these societies that attracted me most deeply, and I have tried over the years to develop a cultural account of educational change in China in contradistinction to the political-economic accounts that tend to dominate research in the field. Thus hopefully the ideas in the paper are not limited to issues of Mainland China's international exchanges, even though they are its primary referent.

In the paper I first deal with the issue of international exchanges on a general level, then illustrate my thoughts on the subject with some examples from my two years as head of academic affairs at the Canadian Embassy in Beijing.

A Framework for Evaluation

In reflecting on international exchanges, it seems to me we need to begin with a vision of how they might contribute to the building of a preferred world order, so that we can place them within a framework that makes possible a fundamental evaluation of their role and effectiveness. I have developed a course on international academic relations, in which we examine carefully the role of culture and knowledge in four distinct paradigms of world order that are current: the realist, the liberal, the Marxist and the transformative paradigm developed by scholars associated with the World Order Models Project (WOMP).

The realist view of world order continues to dominate the discipline of international relations, with some interesting modifications such as regime theory, and explains much of the power and interest dimension of the behaviour of states in the international order. However, it gives only a limited role to culture, even in regime theory.

The liberal paradigm illuminates the economic dimension of an increasingly globalized capitalist system and in its moderate version suggests possibilities for reform by an extension of the values of welfare capitalism to the international arena. Much of Western "aid" can be understood within this framework, and knowledge and culture play an important role in the transfer of science and technology for development. However, Eurocentric conceptions of knowledge tend to dominate the discourse, with the assumption that this knowledge can be "adapted" to Third world contexts, but little expectation that it could in turn be transformed into a conduit for alternative views of development coming out of the Third World. Further more, its most recent manifestation in notions of a "new world order" and "globalization" has moved significantly away from the welfare ideal.

Marxist views of world order expose the patterns of domination and exploitation that are part of the capitalist world system. However, they tend to give inadequate importance to the potential for knowledge and culture to do more than reflect and reinforce these unjust economic patterns.[1]

The transformative view of world order put forward by scholars of the World Order Models Project emphasizes both a clear empirical understanding of the structures of domination that constitute imperialism in difference realms—political, economic, military, communications etc.—and a commitment to broad world goals of peace, economic well-being, social justice and ecological balance. Culture and knowledge play a very important role in the transformative process since a key task is the visioning of preferred futures, as well as the working out of more horizontal interaction relations and more symmetric interactive patterns.[2] It is assumed that this can be initiated within the realm of knowledge and culture even while vertical and asymmetric relations remain in place in the political or economic order. This is an important challenge for the development of policy on international academic and cultural relations.

At this point I'd like to make use of a simple matrix developed by Johann Galtung, a leading figure within WOMP, for reflecting on preferred futures, and see how it may help us to think about international exchanges between China and the West in the present period.[3] Galtung posits four basic kinds of society along two dimensions:

	Uniformity	Diversity
Inequity	I Conservative (Feudal)	II Liberal (Capitalist)
Equity	III Communal (Socialist)	IV Pluralist (Communist)

This matrix is highly simplified and leaves many points open to debate, but I think most of the Western nations now involved in exchange with China fit into Box II, while China is increasingly isolated within Box III, yet able to demonstrate more effectively than most other past and present socialist nations substantial achievements in the economic well-being of its huge population. For there to be symmetric interaction in the cultural sphere between China and the West a profound understanding of the basis of liberal thought, especially welfare liberalism,[4] is needed on the Chinese side, while a good understanding of Chinese Marxist and Maoist thought is needed on the Western side. In their international activity, both sides need to take into account one or other of the dimensions of Box IV, representing a pluralism that remains committed to equity yet celebrates diversity.

On the Western side, our challenge is to shape our international exchange activities in ways that contribute to the world goals outlined above and to create structures that embody principles of

equity, autonomy, solidarity and participation. This may be more possible in the multi-polar world of international politics that has emerged with the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet empire. However, there are real dangers in the new triumphalist liberalism and market philosophy that have become the stock and trade of Western journalists in the present period, and that give little serious space for the critical voices from within that have exposed some of the pathologies of our modernization process.

For the Chinese side, this is an extremely difficult period with the isolation imposed by the West after Tiananmen compounded by the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe leaving the Chinese leadership in a threatened and vulnerable position. It is unfortunate that they have not yet had the courage to admit their serious errors in dealing with the student movement and do not seem to be confident that China's remarkable economic and social development gives it a unique place within socialism. The result is a strangely contradictory situation. While within China there is an ongoing campaign in the political and cultural fields for absolute conformity and uniformity to a particular definition of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought that comes close to Cultural Revolution rhetoric at times,[5] in China's international stance there is a plea for pluralism and the recognition of diversity.

This spirit was manifest in a recent speech by Hu Sheng, president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, delivered to a seminar on the New International Order in Beijing in September of 1991. It contained no appeal for class struggle or proletarian solidarity in the international sphere, rather it called for "a new international order that is capable of reflecting the variation of the world while being conducive to peaceful coexistence and common progress, an order that is not forced upon others but a universally shared order under specific historical conditions."[6] For inspiration, Hu referred not to Marx, Lenin or Mao but to great Chinese thinkers of the past who suggested "pooling the wisdom of the masses" or "seeking common ground while reserving differences." He then proceeded to give a balanced overview of the emergence of world order in European history, and of the challenge to the post World War II Yalta system by the five principles of peaceful coexistence put forward by China, India and Burma in 1954, the ten principles of the 1955 Bandung Conference, and finally the 1975 declaration on a new international economic order put forward by the Group of 77.

I am not a specialist in international relations and do not intend to go any further with this subject, except to suggest that it may be a challenge for both the West and China to work together towards goals that both sides can agree to, also that it is possible for us as educators to take some initiative through the international exchanges we design and carry out. In doing this both sides face real difficulties.

On the Western side, our societies tend to tolerate a high level of internal diversity, with such policies as Canadian multi-culturalism encouraging the development of disparate voices, and with our universities supporting pluralistic approaches to scholarship, including Marxism and a range of critical theories under the rubric of academic freedom. However, once our universities take on an international role, they easily set aside the struggle for autonomy that marks their national role and willingly accept the function of being an "executing agency" in the development projects of national and international government agencies. In this role, they tend to operate uncritically within the intellectual framework of liberalism, seeking to ensure high standards in the technical transfer of knowledge for development purposes, and improved efficiency within the developing country at the receiving end of a project. They thus may miss the opportunity to develop a genuine critical dialogue with its scholars.

In a recent article in the journal *Alternatives*, Stephen Rosow critiques both neo-realist and neo-Marxist views of internationalization because they fail to see communications as part of the structure of international society and as a result the process of internationalization can be seen as "a discursive practice for constituting others in ways that effectively integrate them into the dominant European mode."[7] Rosow goes on to illustrate from European history a certain monolithic character in our knowledge culture that has treated outsiders at different periods as barbarians, heretics or primitives and that has not made genuine and symmetric cultural dialogue either easy or natural. The combination of this self-confidence in the European cultural tradition and the economic and political power of the West since the industrial revolution, and in new way since the end of the Cold War, has made Western dominance in the definition of legitimate knowledge a striking feature of the modern world. Philip Altbach's extensive research on knowledge networks in the international context illustrates this situation.[8]

Universities and scholars in the West thus need to strive for autonomy and academic freedom in the international arena, to become actors rather than passive agents of government bodies and to include colleagues of Third World countries in the diverse critical debates going on within their own scholarly community, rather than treating them as objects in need of "development." I have suggested elsewhere that Habermas' concept of "communicative action" as a process in which the rationality associated with instrumental science in the West can be broadened to include the moral-practical and aesthetic-practical realms, with the norms of rightness and authenticity added to the truth norms of science, may provide one framework for drawing upon other cultures in the project of "redeeming" Western modernity.[9] Many other frameworks for critical understanding exist, including those developed by feminist research, which could open up our scholarship to a richer diversity and to important contributions from other cultures. The challenge for our universities and for those of us responsible for international exchanges is how we develop programs that encourage mutual understanding at a deep level and make possible a mutually enriching cultural dialogue, rather than being complicit in a monologue of knowledge that reflects the dominance of the West in the economic and political spheres.

For the Chinese side, it seems to me the dilemma is an opposite one. Diversity in the international sphere is recognized and welcomed, and the Maoist project of redeeming the world through radical socialist revolution has been abandonned. Chinese universities and scholars, for their part, are open to and fascinated by a range of ideas coming from the outside and these are taken seriously in scholarly work. However, diversity within China is seen as a threat to the political leadership, who fear international hostile forces that are seen to be encouraging "peaceful evolution" towards capitalism and that are likely to use China's students and intellectuals as key players in their attempt to undermine Chinese socialism.[10] This has resulted in a suffocating campaign of political education, aimed at ensuring the domination of one orthodox definition of Marxism-Leninism for all teaching and research in the social sciences and humanities, also a doctrinaire defence of classical Chinese culture against criticisms raised by such innovative projects as the "River Elegy" television series.[11] If only a parallel diversity could be allowed within Chinese cultural and intellectual circles as that advocated by the leading Chinese social scientist, Hu Sheng, in the international arena, Chinese universities would have the conditions

to enter into more fruitful and symmetric exchange with the Western world.

The challenge is thus two-fold, on the one hand for Western universities and scholars to give serious thought to diversity in their international activities and create channels for real dialogue with non-Western cultures, and on the other hand for Chinese universities and scholars to struggle for and win the right to diversity within their own institutions, and thereby the possibility of wide-ranging cultural and social reflection that could make a serious contribution to world scholarship. I believe there is as much resistance to "peaceful evolution" in Chinese cultural circles as in political, although the reasons for it are less tied to short-term political power concerns. If the leadership could be persuaded to have greater confidence in the economic achievements of commodity socialism and could recognize the value of a critical social and cultural contribution from scholars and professionals in the social sciences, the conditions for diversity within China and for symmetric dialogue with the West could develop. This is probably also the only viable route for the redemption and self-transformation of Chinese socialism. There are some in the younger echelons of Chinese leadership who seem to recognize this, but unfortunately they are not yet in a position to act upon it.

In the second and last section of my paper I'll take some illustrations derived from my practical experience in Canada-China academic-cultural relations to show various aspects of the challenge for Chinese and Western universities in international exchange.

Canada-China Academic Relations: Some Practical Reflections

Most Western countries involved in exchange programs with China have two rather different types of program, one funded through their overseas develoment budget and focusing on very specific developmental objectives, and the other funded by cultural and academic organizations within government and aiming at the dissemination of cultural and linguistic knowledge of their own society within China. Thus the United States Information Agency (USIA), the British Council and the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) have extensive academic and cultural programs in China which provide a context for technical transfers of a developmental nature. Interesting comparisons can be made among OECD country programs in China in terms of the relative balance given to these two distinct dimensions of exchange. As far as I know the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) still has no China involvement, whereas by contrast Japanese exchanges with China tend to be dominated by developmental projects funded through the Japan International Cooperation Agency. Most European countries have a balance of programs in the two dimensions. It was interesting to note that in the wake of Tiananmen, most high-profile cultural programs were suspended as an expression of outrage at the violent means used to suppress the student movement, yet developmental programs and routine academic exchanges tended to remain in place.[12] Only in 1991 has there been a move to re-instate cultural agreements in the case of most European countries.

In a sense it seems mixed messages were conveyed in the protests made by Western governments over Tiananmen. They were largely symbolic and played out in the political-cultural sphere, while economic and development relations returned to normal within one or two years in most cases. The argument seems to have been that it was the Chinese people who would suffer most from economic and developmental sanctions, also that external pressure was not likely to have a significant impact on internal Chinese political processes. Also a clear economic self interest for Western nations was involved.

One might argue that conditions for cultural understanding were even more crucial during this period of serious dissonance between the governments of China and various OECD countries. In the case of Canada, political relations were highly restrained, with no ministerial level visits from Canada to China taking place until October of 1991, and active monitoring of human rights issues carried out by the political section of the Embassy over the two years after the Tiananmen incident. However, there was no disruption in cultural or development relations, except for the cancellation of a small number of CIDA projects that offered support to sensitive government or military interests, and a mandate for all activities to be carried out on the basis of "people-to-people" relations.

It was my privilege to be responsible for cultural and academic exchanges between Canada and China over the period from summer of 1989 to summer of 1991, also to work in very close cooperation with colleagues in the development section of the Embassy who were responsible for CIDA supported exchanges between Chinese and Canadian universities and colleges. It seemed to me that it was extremely important to provide conditions for mutual cultural and social understanding at the same time as offering various kinds of practical support for training and education in such fields as agriculture, energy, telecommunications, management etc. While CIDA projects focused on these practical areas, and sought to emphasize such social principles as equal participation for women in the exchange process, the projects of the cultural/academic affairs office gave support to Chinese academics in research and teaching on Canadian politics, society, education, history and literature. The initiative in this activity was taken by Canadian studies centres that had been established by Chinese academics who had returned from Canada in universities spread throughout all the major regions of China. Their research and teaching was aimed at a deeper understanding of all dimensions of Canadian society and should have shed light on Canadian views on human rights at one end of the spectrum and on the social and cultural context of such practical fields as Canadian management technology at the other. The coordination of cultural/academic and developmental exchanges had some potential, I believe, for more symmetric interaction between the two sides.

Two examples from interviews I had with Chinese scholars on CIDA-supported projects may serve to illustrate this point. One group of scholars had not only familiarized themselves with the teaching of management in their partner Canadian university and cooperated in the development of joint MBA and PHD programs in their own university, they had also introduced aspects of Chinese philosophy relevant to management thought to the Canadian side. One product of their project was a new English translation of the famous Chinese classic "On the Art of War" by Sun Zi.[13] These same scholars went beyond their responsibilities in the field of management education to establish a Canadian studies centre at their university which brought together colleagues in the fields of literature, history and economics to work on an integrated understanding of Canada. They thus created conditions for mutually transformative cultural dialogue.

The other case involved a group of middle-aged professors of People's University in China who had had important roles in the 1950s in setting up the whole socialist planning system, a mammoth management task that had resulted in remarkable achievements in industrialization. They spent a period of time as visiting scholars at

a well known Canadian university under a CIDA project and they explained to me how difficult it was for them to accept the fact that Canadian professors of management had no interest in their experience but simply treated them as junior students who needed to be initiated into the "real" field of management science at the most basic level. Here was an example of Western culture treating as "primitives" those whose wealth of knowledge and experience lay outside certain boundaries established on the Western side. This seemed to me to be a missed opportunity for one of our universities to develop a profound knowledge of the one university in China which played a crucial role in developing China's whole socialist system.

Cultural and academic exchange aimed at mutual understanding is of the greatest importance as a context for development cooperation. It need not reflect the state of political relations, especially if the principle of people-to-people relations is adhered to. The goal should be to embrace the diversity of academic life in a search for mutual understanding rather than to execute purely instrumental knowledge transfers. In the case of recent Canada-China academic relations I am glad to say that Chinese universities had visits not only from experts in management and applied scientific fields related to specific development needs, but also from a distinguished socialist philosopher, known from his work on the theory of democracy, and a social scientist doing a critical study of Canadian universities' links to the business world from a Marxist perspective. It seems to me that this kind of balance is of the greatest importance.

Chinese scholars need to be able to develop a wide-ranging critical assessment of such concepts as welfare liberalism and globalization through open-ended cooperation with Western scholars. They need also the freedom to critique their own cultural tradition and the access to data needed for a sound and balanced assessment of the changes taking place in their own society as a result of ongoing economic reforms. Greater freedom and diversity in their research and teaching would make possible a deeper level cultural response to the threat of "peaceful evolution" than the self-interested and superficial rhetoric of the leadership on this subject. For scholars in the West, the challenge is equally serious. We need to learn how to institute the principle of intellectual freedom at the international level and to open up dialogue with other cultures that allows for genuine diversity and mutual transformation, rather than merely serving the economic or political interests of our respective governments in our international exchanges.

Notes

1. K.J. Holsti, *The Dividing Discipline* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1985) gives a helpful overview of all four approaches.

2. Samuel Kim, *The Quest for a Just World Order* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984).

3. Johann Galtung, *The True Worlds: A Transnational Perspective* (New York: Free Press, 1990), chapter 3.

4. R. McKinley and R. Little, *Global Problems and World Order* (London: Francis Pinter, 1986), pp. 25ff.

5. Liu Keng, "Two Winds Stirred up in Beijing's Political Arena," Hong Kong *Min Bao* in Chinese, 12 July, 1991, *Foreign Broadcast Information Service Daily Report China* (hereafter FBIS-CHI), No. 140, 22 July 1991, pp. 34-36.

6. Hu Sheng, "For World Peace and Development: On Establishing a New International Order on the Basis of Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence," *Renmin Ribao* [People's Daily] (hereafter RMRB), 19 September, 1991, p. 7, in *FBIS-CHI* 91-188, 27 Sept., 1991, p. 4. See also Hu Sheng, "On the Establishment of a New International Order on the Basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence," *Social Sciences in China*. No. 1, January, 1992, pp. 5-12.

7. Stephen Rosow, "The Forces of Internationalization: Representation of Wesern Cultures on a Global Scale," *Alternatives*, XV, 1990, p. 293.

8. Philip Altbach, *The Knowledge Context* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987).

9. R. Hayhoe, "China's Intelloctuals in the World Community," *Higher Education*, Vol. 17, No. 2, Summer, 1988, pp. 121-138.

10. Li Tieying, "Make Efforts to Raise Party Building Work of Institutions of Higher Learning in Commending Outstanding Ideological and Political Workers," *RMRB* 28 June 1991, p. 3, *FBIS-CHI* 91-133, 4 July, 1991, p. 48.

11. Ren Qin and Shi Gexu, "Roundup of a Symposium on a 'Correct Approach to Chinese Traditional Culture' ", *RMRB* 6 March, 1991, p. 5, *FBIS-CHI* 91-050 14 March, 1991, P. 19.

12. Dru Gladney, "The Impact of Recent Events in China on International Professional and Academic Exchanges and Related Development Activities," unpublished paper commissioned by the Ford Foundation's Beijing Office, August 31, 1989.

13. M.W. Luke Chan and Chen Bingfu, *Sun Zi On the Art of War and Its General Application to Business* (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 1989).

China's Academic Relations with Canada: Past, Present and Future

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the past experience, present state and future direction of academic exchanges between China and Canada.[1] It first examines the history of their academic relationship between 1970 and 1989, providing both an overview and an assessment of a broad range of exchange activities between the two countries. It then describes and analyzes Chinese and Canadian perspectives on their academic relations since June 1989. Looking to the future, the paper identifies factors relevant to the reshaping of Canada-China academic exchanges and then proposes a new model for their academic cooperation in the 21st century.

The Past

Academic contacts between Canada and China date back to the late 19th century. During the first half of the 20th century several generations of Canadian missionaries established themselves in central and south China. Among other activities they operated what were probably the first Canadian schools in China, staffed in part by Canadian teachers.[2] It appears that contacts between Chinese and Canadian universities during this period were informal at best and resulted from the personal initiatives of Chinese who enrolled in a handful of Canadian universities and of a small number of Canadian academics who visited China. This early academic relationship was inhibited by the Sino-Japanese War (1937-45) and by the Civil War (1946-49) which followed. The proclamation of the People's Republic of China in 1949 signalled the departure of Canadian missionaries from China and the suspension of most academic contacts between Chinese and Canadians. A resumption of informal academic contacts in the early 1960s[3] was interrupted by the launching of the Cultural Revolution in China in 1966.

It was only after the establishment of formal diplomatic ties between China and Canada in 1970 that their "academic relations" began to develop the current shape. In this process, Chinese and Canadian academics were frequently motivated by their sense of a "special relationship" between the two countries. To the Chinese Canada was the home of Dr. Norman Bethune, a western country without a record of "imperialist" aggression in China, the first western government to recognize the legitimacy of the communist government and a window on the heretofore inaccessible high-tech world of North America. To Canadians, China was an exotic, faraway country with a rich cultural history and extraordinary development needs, which was linked to Canada's missionary past and to its economic destiny in the Pacific Rim and which held Canadians in astonishingly high regard because of the activities of a Montreal physican in China in the 1930s. The result was a remarkable tendency to try to work together to resolve differences and to minimize potential conflicts.

The two decades from 1970 to 1989 witnessed what can only be described as a spectactular proliferation of academic exchanges between the two countries in three distinct stages. Phase One (1970-1979) was characterized by a small official student exchange program which emphasized non-degree language study; by a somewhat irregular but official professorial exchange program; and by the exchange of a limited number of specialized academic delegations for familiarization and "friendship" visits. Phase Two (1979-1983) dates from the conclusion of a much broader China/Canada academic exchange agreement in June 1979 and was characterized by a widening range and increasing volume of exchange activities. These included an official program to send Chinese visiting scholars to Canada for non-degree advanced study and research; the enrollment of some younger Chinese students in graduate degree programs at Canadian universities; travel to China by an increasing number of Canadian professors, mostly to lecture in their areas of specialization; and particularly the conclusion of a number of linkage agreements twinning Canadian and Chinese universities. Phase Three (1983-89) was characterized by a dramatic increase in the level of China/Canada academic exchange activity (particularly the training of Chinese graduate students in Canada) and the further proliferation of institutional linkages, resulting primarily in response to the increasing availability of Canadian and international development assistance monies for China.[4]

Chinese Academics in Canada

It appears that as many as 10,000 Chinese academics came to Canada for study and/or research at Canadian universities during the period from 1970 to 1989.[5] From 1973 to 1979 the predominant group of Chinese academics in Canada were "special students" who came to Canada for undergraduate non-degree language training. From 1979 to 1984 the largest number came as official "visiting scholars" - typically mid-career professors or researchers specializing in engineering or science - for one or two years of Chinese-government supported non-degree advanced study or research under the supervision of individual Canadian professors in their fields. Beginning with the 1984/85 academic year the number of visiting scholars declined, but they were replaced by a larger number of younger Chinese graduate students who enrolled in Canadian degree programs. While statistics vary, it is clear that the number of Chinese graduate students in Canadian universities increased from fewer than 100 in 1980 to more than 3,000 by 1989; and that by 1986 China had displaced the United States as the single largest source of international graduate students in Canada.[6]

The professional experiences of Chinese academics in Canada appear to have improved considerably during the past two decades. In the early years some special students and visiting scholars from China were unhappy with their non-degree status and tried to transfer into degree programs. Many visiting scholars expressed dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the centralized placement procedures that were in use. Others encountered difficulties working with their assigned faculty supervisors. Similarly, Canadian professors frequently complained about the uneven language competence, inadequate professional preparation and vague research projects of some visiting scholars. Thus, both the Canadian and Chinese sides seemed to welcome the shift from visiting scholars to graduate students in the mid-1980s. In general, Chinese academics preferred to apply directly to institutions of their own choosing; to enroll in degree programs rather than engage in non-degree study; and to compete for financial assistance (including fellowships and assitantships) for which visiting scholars had been ineligible. Canadian university administrators and faculty supervi-

sors also much preferred graduate students who were subject to regular graduate admissions procedures (including TOEFL requirements); enrolled initially in graduate seminars rather than tutorials; engaged in advanced study or research where their performance could be measured against that of other students; and either paid tuition or were eligible for financial assistance.[7] In general, Chinese graduate students enrolled in Canadian degree programs - particularly in engineering, the sciences, medicine and management -appear to have performed remarkably well, reflecting language and professional competence far superior to that of the visiting scholars who preceeded them.[8] Upon their return to China, the experiences of Canadian-trained Chinese academics appear to have varied considerably, depending in part on their individual personalities and on the environment at their home institutions. Some returned scholars and students were promoted, assigned important administrative duties, given access to research monies and travel opportunities and expected to play a role in the development of further academic relations with universities in western countries; while others were ignored and even discriminated against because of their overseas experience! While some returnees were still in contact with their Canadian teachers and fellow students, many felt cut off from their host Canadian institutions.[9]

The non-professional experiences of Chinese academics in Canada were generally less satisfactory. In the first decade of exchanges some special students and visiting scholars were able to use their time in Canada to make Canadian friends, to become more familiar with Canadian culture and even to travel within Canada. Many others remained socially isolated from Canadians by the poor quality of their spoken English or French; by the pressures of their academic work; and by their unfamiliarity with western social customs. These problems were often exacerbated by their choice of housing in Canada: those who chose to live in off-campus housing with other Chinese visitors, were able to save money and create a homey environment, but they tended to lose out on the socialization that apparently went with residence in university housing or with taking a room in a Canadian home. The monetary difficulties faced by Chinese government-supported visiting scholars also inhibited their participation in socialization activities and their ability to travel within Canada. Finally, visiting scholars were typically married and two years of separation from their spouses (and in many cases young children) appears to have motivated many to work hard in Canada and to return to China as quickly as possible.[10] The phasing out of the special students and visiting scholars programs and the arrival of large numbers of graduate students appears to have dramatically changed the social experience of most Chinese academics. Graduate students tended to be younger and less mature. Their period of study in Canada was much longer, stretching at times to three years for masters students or four to five years for doctoral students. Their financial position, however difficult by Canadian standards, was much improved, particularly in the case of trainees funded by Canadian government agencies. Many were able to bring their spouses from China for visits. Some spouses remained in Canada and began families here. The commitment of some of these young people to return to China as soon as possible was inevitably tempered by their Canadianization. In some cases students prolonged their stay in Canada at the urging of their parents or their home institutions in China. The non-return of Canadian-trained Chinese students to China was already a concern to both Chinese and Canadian authorities by the 1987/88 academic year.[11]

Canadian Academics in China

Several thousand Canadian professors visited China for academic purposes between 1970 and 1989.[12] It appears that in most cases these visits were motivated by their intellectual curiosity, sense of professional responsibility, institutional loyalty, professional opportunity and/or personal background.[13] In the years prior to 1979 most Canadian professors who visited China stayed only briefly and traveled as members of large thematic delegations engaged in familiarization tours of selected Chinese institutions in selected Chinese cities. Canadian academic delegations continued to visit China in the 1980s, but they gradually became more focused - either on a specific discipline or on the mission of a specific Canadian institution. In addition, in the early 1980s a significant number of Canadian professors began to visit China on an individual basis, typically at the invitation of particular Chinese institutions that were familiar with their work, either through reports from returned visiting scholars or from scholarly literature that was becoming increasingly available on Chinese campuses. Other Canadians traveled to China in smaller numbers as language teachers or researchers.[14] By the mid-1980s the proliferation of institutional linkages between Canadian and Chinese universities was bringing an increasing number of Canadian professors to China, some for second or third visits, to teach intensive graduate courses and/or co-supervise the research of advanced Chinese students, within the framework of programs of institutional cooperation.

The professional experiences of Canadian professors in China between 1970 and 1989 appear to have varied considerably, depending on the purpose of the visit, their personalities and those of their hosts and the political climate in China and in their host institutions. In the early 1980s visiting lecturers (particularly in engineering and the sciences) and language teachers frequently complained of heavy work schedules, but also remarked on their rewarding or even "exhilarating" pedagogical experiences. Delegation members typically described their tours as "exhausting" but worthwhile. Visiting researchers in the social sciences, on the other hand, were often frustrated by the lack of access to archival materials and the limitations on field research.[15] As the decade wore on a number of Canadian academics, particularly those in engineering, the sciences and management who were in China to teach graduate courses, also began to develop collaborative research projects with their Chinese colleagues. When funding was secured for such projects they became useful vehicles for the joint training of graduate students. On the other hand, the limited availability of collaborative research funding soon became a source of frustration to an increasing number of Canadian academics.[16]

The social experiences of most Canadian academics who visited China, particularly for short periods, were initially quite limited. Canadian academic delegations were typically housed in tourist hotels off-campus and spent only a day or two visiting any one Chinese university or research institute; except for a formal banquet there was little opportunity to socialize with their Chinese hosts. In the early and mid-1980s most visiting lecturers were also housed in off-campus hotels; while comfortable, they encouraged socialization with other foreign visitors rather than with Chinese academics.[17] Of course, as personal and institutional relations developed, as returned visiting scholars hosted visits from former Canadian faculty supervisors, and as Chinese institutions began to build on-campus guest houses for foreign professors, the social experiences of Canadian academic visitors to China improved.[18]

Academic Linkages

The development of institutional linkages between Chinese and Canadian universities was a natural outcome of the academic familiarization process which has been described above. Prior to 1979 there was only one formalized linkage between Chinese and Canadian universities.[19] Such linkages were encouraged by the June 1979 academic exchange agreement between the two countries. By 1984 Chinese and Canadian institutions had formalized 45 linkages (involving twenty-one Canadian universities) and eight other linkages were under discussion.[20] By 1989 forty-three linkages between Canadian and Chinese universities were receiving substantial external funding from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).[21]

Linkage agreements between Chinese and Canadian universities varied considerably. They typically provided for the exchange of professors "as resources permitted," with the home country of each visitor paying the cost of international airfare and the host country paying for in-country expenses after arrival. Most also called for the exchange of scientific material and some made provision for student exchanges. Some were open-ended, others required periodic renewal. Some focused on specific areas of mutual academic interest, others left such matters to be decided later. Some committed the signatories to specific start-up academic exchange activities, most did not. Most agreements were signed by the presidents or vice-presidents of the universities involved in well-publicized ceremonies that spoke of contributing to "friendship" between the Chinese and Canadian people.[22]

What motivated Chinese universities to push for the signing of linkage agreements with Canadian universities after 1979? From the Chinese perspective, such linkage agreements were tangible proof that their institutions were supporting the new national policy of building socialism through technology transfer from the west. Linkages with universities abroad also allowed Chinese universities to contribute to the realization of the international investment and technology transfer strategy of their provinces or cities. In addition, they enhanced the stature of Chinese institutions by confirming their international reputation. International linkages were expected to help Chinese universities to more rapidly develop their teaching and research potential in priority areas of science and technology. They positioned Chinese institutions to seek additional Chinese government funding (and later international development funding) to underwrite the costs associated with international exchanges. Finally, linkage agreements undoubtedly facilitated official procedures for sending Chinese professors and students abroad and for receiving Canadian professors in China.[23]

Many Canadian universities were at first reluctant to sign linkage agreements with Chinese institutions. Few Canadian institutions were well organized for international development activities in 1979 and even the umbrella Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) had only established an International Development Office (IDO) in 1978.[24] Under the circumstances those Canadian universities which moved first appear to have been spurred on by the presence on their campus of high-ranking Chinese academics;[25] or by the timely presence in China of respected Canadian faculty members who were approached directly about formal cooperation.[26] A few Canadian universities were encouraged by provincial government initiatives.[27] Perhaps the biggest push for linkages came from an IDO conference on "Canadian Universities and China" which was convened at the University of Regina in April 1982. This conference provided the first opportunity for Canadian universities to share information about their China initiatives; and to learn about CIDA's new commitment to development assistance for China.[28] In the years that followed, competition among Canadian universities, a push to internationalize, the prospect of external funding for linkages with Chinese universities and fear of being left out undoubtedly encouraged other Canadian universities to join the linkage bandwagon. Between 1983 and 1989 institutional linkages - a significant proportion of which did receive external funding -gradually became the framework within which a substantial part of Canada/China academic exchange activity - particularly at the faculty level - was to occur.

Prior to 1989 it had already become clear that some linkages between Chinese and Canadian universities were more effective than others; and that a few linkages were completely ineffective. It appears that among the relevant factors in determining which linkages worked were: sustained commitment by key university administrators on both sides; the existence of a core of professors at both the Chinese and Canadian universities who were committed to the project; a clear sense of mutual benefit; the probability of external funding; the promise of meaningful collaborative research; and a commitment to sustain the linkage even if external funding was not immediately available.[29]

External Funding

In the 1970s and early 1980s the most serious challenge facing advocates of stepped-up academic exchanges between China and Canada was how to finance such exchanges. On the Canadian side, there was little federal money available during the 1970s. The official Canada/China Student Exchange (which began in 1973) and Canada/China Professorial Exchange (which began in 1974) were critical initiatives of the Department of External Affairs at an early stage in Canada/China academic relations, but they were inadequate for the needs of an expanding exchange program. The official Visiting Scholars Program (which began in 1979) was administered by the Council of Ministers of Education of Canada (CMEC), was geared to the needs of mid-career non-degree Chinese academic visitors and could not be used to finance the academic linkages envisaged in the expanded academic exchange agreement concluded in 1979. The academic exchange agreement between the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) which began in 1981 was tailored to the needs of an important but narrowly defined group of academics. Thus, from the beginning of Canada/China exchanges in the 1970s and particularly after 1979, pressure was brought to bear on the Canadian government to help finance a much broader range of academic exchange activities with China. The federal response was the initiation of substantial China programs by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). For the 1988/89 academic year alone, the total disbursements of these two agencies for China totaled $50.31 million, ranking Canada third among bilateral donors (after Japan and Australia) to development assistance for China.[30] A significant proportion of this money was used to promote development work involving Canadian universities and colleges. The involvement of these two international development agencies in academic exchanges between China and Canada had a dramatic impact on Canada/China academic exchange activities prior to 1989.

IDRC, established in 1970 and based in Ottawa, is mandated

> ...to initiate, encourage, support and conduct research into the problems of the developing regions of the world and into the means for applying and adapting

scientific, technical and other knowledge to the economic and social advancement of those regions..."[31]

IDRC's China program began in 1980. Working with the State Science and Technology Commission (SSTC) of China, it has supported research activities in the areas of agriculture, food and nutrition sciences, health sciences, information sciences and social sciences. By mid-1984 IDRC was already funding twenty research projects in China, many of which involved individual Canadian academics and eight of which involved Canadian universities and other research institutions. IDRC's China expenditures have averaged above $2 million annually during most of the 1980s[32] and reached $3.79 million during the 1988/89 academic year.[33]

CIDA's China programs began in 1983 in cooperation with China's Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade (MFERT). The focus of its activities is primarily on human resource development, on "...building human and institutional linkages between Chinese and Canadians, strengthening institutions, and maximizing potential multiplier effects in areas where Canada has strong capabilities."[34] CIDA programs initially focused on the areas of human resource development, agriculture, forestry and energy and after 1986 included the areas of transportation and telecommunications.[35] The CIDA financial commitment to China was initially established at $80 million for the period 1982-87 and was subsequently inceased to $200 million for the period beginning in 1987.[36] Annual China expenditures increased from $2.59 million in 1982/83 to $38.71 million in 1988/89.[37]

The focal point of Canadian university and college participation in CIDA China projects has been the human resource development sector. It quickly became apparent that predominant vehicle for CIDA-funded human resource development projects in China would be the institutional linkage. When CIDA's China program began, its China Desk assumed responsibility for the overall management of these academic linkages, but beginning in 1987 began moving to create umbrella agreements with intermediary organizations. By 1989 there were at least forty-five academic linkages being funded by CIDA, most of which were administratively contained within three umbrella projects. The **Canada-China Management Education Program** (a total $38.4 million over two phases, extending from 1983-1994) aimed to strengthen management education programs at key Chinese universities and linked eight Chinese and ten Canadian universities in its initial phase and an additional twenty-four Chinese institutions on each side during its second phase under the auspices of the Canadian Federation of Deans of Management and Administrative Studies. The **Canada-China University Linkage program** ($14.85 million over the period 1988-95) was designed to provide modest grants to 31 China/Canada university and hospital linkages (in three cycles) with emphasis on training of graduate and post-graduate students under the auspices of AUCC; by 1989 twenty-one CCULP linkages had been funded and AUCC had also been asked to manage 14 previously approved ICDS and four bilateral projects outside the CCULP program. The **Canada-China Language and Cultural Programme** ($11.6 million over the period 1990 to 1993) had been operational since 1983 and included a language school in Beijing (in cooperation with Beijing Normal University) and a network of regional orientation centres in Canada under the direction of St. Mary's University. A **Canada/China College Linkage Program** was also planned but was not yet operational in 1989.[38]

What was the impact on Canadian universities of having significant external (particularly CIDA) funding available for academic exchange projects with China? Clearly, external funding played a critical role in encouraging Canadian universities to develop more academic linkages with China, with positive impact on China's human and institutional resources. On the other hand, it is also true that CIDA funding significantly influenced the size, duration and focus of many linkage projects. CIDA's commitment to human resource development led Canadian and Chinese universities to emphasize the training of graduate students over the short term, rather than collaborative research among professors (not a CIDA-fundable activity) which would normally sustain academic linkages over a longer term. CIDA application procedures for linkage funding required the development of new kinds of expertise and the expenditure of considerable time and money to develop full-blown proposals which, in some cases, stood little chance of being funded. This, in turn, led to considerable frustration on some Chinese and Canadian campuses and to competition rather than cooperation among Canadian universities. Finally, the decision to allow the International Division of AUCC to serve as a CIDA executing agency, served to undermine two of AUCC's important international functions: its role as "China liaison office" serving the information needs of all Canadian universities interested in China; and its role as voice of the Canadian university community in dealings with such Canadian government agencies as CIDA.[39]

Report Card

On the eve of the Tiananmen Incident Canada/China academic exchanges appeared to be "promising," "successful," "upbeat" and "headed in the right direction."[40] On the other hand, with the benefit of hindsight it is possible to identify six problems which were already present before June 1989. First, there was already a problem with young Chinese graduate students wishing to prolong their stay in Canada beyond receipt of their intended degree. Second, Some Canadian alumni among returned students and scholars in China were experiencing professional and personal reintegration difficulties and felt cut off from their Canadian *alma mater*. Third, there had already been some fall-off in Canadian faculty interest in China among those academics who were less interested in training graduate students and more interested in collaborative research. Fourth, linkage programs with China were being shaped to fit CIDA's requirements, rather than the unique development needs and opportunities of individual Chinese institutions. Fifth, those linkages which were unsuccessful in their bid for CIDA funding had few funding alternatives available to them - for example, a competitive scholarship program for which only graduate students from China who were not in CIDA-funded linkages would be eligible. Finally, the gathering and dissemination of information about Canadian universities and China had been allowed to lapse, with the result that most Canadian universities were poorly informed about the experiences and objectives of other Canadian universities in China.

The Present

The tragic events of June 4 in Tiananmen Square have had a very dramatic impact on Chinese academic relations with Canada. The reaction of the Government of Canada and the counter-reaction of the Government of China created a crisis that has already undermined and threatens to destroy the "special relationship" that has been at the heart of two decades of academic cooperation.

The China story was front-page news in major newspapers across Canada, as elsewhere in the world, in May and June 1989. In late May Chinese Canadians organized rallies in major Canadian cities

to demonstrate their support for the Beijing students and to urge a non-violent end to the confrontation with the Chinese government. Chinese scholars and students in Canada openly participated in many of these rallies[41] In the aftermath of the widely televised June 4 violence in Beijing, emotional protest marches were staged across Canada. The largest march occurred in Toronto, where 30,000 Chinese Canadians (accompanied by many Chinese students) marched on the Chinese consulate.[42] Canadian newspapers quickly focused on the plight of Chinese students in Canada, on the alleged harassment of their relatives back in China and on fears for the students' safety if they returned to China.[43] These stories were complemented by others which graphically described the difficulties encountered by Canadians caught in China.[44] The overall impact on Canadian public opinion toward the Chinese government was devastating.

The Canadian Government and China

The Canadian government responded swiftly and critically to events in Beijing. On June 4 External Affairs Minister Joe Clark demanded that China end "the aggressive and senseless killing by its armed forces" which "...can only shock and offend all Canadians."[45] On June 5 he advised Canadians to leave Beijing immediately, made preparations to evacuate Canadian citizens to nearby Asian cities and presented Canada's Parliament with a resolution condemning the "excessive and indiscriminate" violence that had occurred in a "tragedy of global proportions." He also assured Chinese students in Canada that Canada would "respond sympathetically" to requests to remain here during the upheaval.[46] The next day he announced the postponement of five CIDA projects which were about to be signed and the review of several other aspects of Canada's policy toward China.[47] Prime Minister Brian Mulroney described the students in Beijing as "young heroes" and urged them "Do not despair...Victory must eventually be yours because liberty can never be denied."[48] On June 12 Canada announced that it was recalling Ambassador Earl Drake from Beijing as a further indication of "...disapproval of the activities of authorities in China"[49] and several days later summoned Chinese Ambassador Zhang Wenpu to the Department of External Affairs to reiterate Canada's protest about the "brutal police-state tactics" being used against student activists in China.[50]

While persisting in its public condemnation of Chinese government actions against its students, the Canadian government was also moving during the month of June to redefine its post-Tiananmen China policy in light of an "extensive consultative process." Of particular note was a "National Round Table" which was convened in late June to bring together Canadian academics, industrialists, the Chinese Canadian community and non-governmental organizations. On June 30 Joe Clark announced a number of unilateral "adjustments" to Canada/China relations, emphasizing that China's opinion notwithstanding, relations between Canada and China were not going to be conducted on the basis of "business as usual" and that "like-minded" countries should coordinate their approach to China for maximum impact. Clark indicated that Canadian policy in China would emphasize preserving existing academic and other links; focus on "people-to-people" exchanges; and avoid giving support to the political and/or military hardliners. More specifically, he announced that "for the time being" Canada would continue to refuse high-level contacts with China; focus more on human rights there; withdraw from some CIDA-sponsored China programs and suspend some others; cut down on the promotion of Canada/China trade; and facilitate Canadian immigration, particularly for Chinese students and their families.[51]

The Clark announcement signalled the beginning of Canadian efforts to resume CIDA programming in China within the parameters outlined on June 30. All CIDA activities in China had been put "on hold" in early June in the wake of Tiananmen. CIDA-funded Canadians in China had been evacuated from June 4-15 and no new Chinese students or scholars had been sent to Canada during that period.[52] CIDA-sponsored Chinese trainees whose stay in Canada had been scheduled to end during the summer of 1989 had received a blanket extension of CIDA funding for up to three months. The China desk at CIDA anticipated in early July that the resumption of activities would run into difficulties because of changes in Chinese exit regulations, possible shifts in Chinese personnel and the disruptions of previous months. It urged Canadian executing agencies (CEAs) to "do what you can," but also restricted their start-up activities. CEAs were asked to revise their "workplans" to take into account the impact of the situation in China and, in particular, the extent and impact of non-returning students on their individual projects. One can clearly sense in CIDA documentation in early July a tension between Canada's special immigration procedures for Chinese students and CIDA's development objectives which required that "...Whenever possible we hope that they will decide to return to China."[53] This point also emerged at a July 14 meeting of CEAs for CIDA's China programs, at which it was made clear that CIDA "...should not be in the business of training better immigrants" and that therefore once Chinese students received permanent resident status they should lose their CIDA support.[54]

In fact, during the 1989/90 academic year most CIDA-funded Canada/China linkage programs - including the umbrella CCULP and CCMEP - had to be "adjusted" to the new academic exchange realities: many CIDA-funded Chinese students in Canada who had been expected to return to China and strengthen Chinese graduate education in fields of highest priority, were instead opting to stay in Canada; at the same time, the Chinese government was insisting on shifting the emphasis of CIDA-funded linkage programs to in-China graduate training for Chinese trainees; as a result, in most revised linkages more Canadian faculty were expected to visit China (despite declining Canadian faculty interest in China at some universities); and more mid-career visiting scholars from China were expected to come to Canada for shorter periods of non-degree study and research.[55]

Despite the approval of a third cycle of ten CCULP linkages, recommendations from both Chinese and Canadian participants that there should be a CCULP Phase II[56] and an October 1990 end to the destabilizing special immigration procedures for Chinese students,[57] CIDA's China programming is clearly entering a new phase. The recent decision of the CIDA China desk to undertake an extensive review of its human resource development strategy for China - and in particular the predominant linkage format -reflects a growing CIDA concern that, in a time of shrinking Canadian development resources, increasing demands and a changing political reality in China, a program of unfocused institutional linkages may not be the most effective method to further human and institutional development in China.[58]

Chinese Students in Canada

A major concern of the Canadian government in the days after June 4 was how best to deal with the nearly 5000 Chinese students and scholars who were already studying in Canada. It appears that the government was operating on the assumption that "...most PRC students had justifiable fears about their safety, were they to return

to China, and would therefore be staying in Canada in either the short or long term."[59] On June 5 Joe Clark had assured the students that Canada would "respond sympathetically" to requests to remain here for the duration of the upheaval in China;[60] and on the same day Barbara McDougall, federal Minister of Employment and Immigration, had extended all expiring visas of Chinese nationals in Canada for 60 days (subsequently extended to one year).[61] On June 16 McDougall issued a more comprehensive statement in which she assured all Chinese visitors that "...they need have no fear that they will be asked to leave Canada as long as the situation in China remains threatening for them." She outlined four options for Chinese students "...who do not wish to return to China": to retain their student status which would be extended as necessary; to apply for permanent residence in Canada on "compassionate" or "humanitarian" grounds; to apply for an immigrant visa from outside Canada; or to claim refugee status. She emphasized that Chinese students were "...not under the obligation to make an immediate and possibly irrevocable choice regarding their future" and also indicated that Chinese students in Canada who had lost their financial assistance from the Chinese government could apply for work permits. Finally, she promised to expedite the visa applications of relatives of Chinese Canadians and Chinese students in Canada.[62] At a meeting jointly organized by CIDA and the Department of External Affairs on the same day, and attended by representatives of federal and provincial government agencies, non-governmental organizations and the Chinese Canadian community, it was agreed that Chinese students in Canada needed to be provided with information and financial assistance on an emergency basis; and that the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE), working in cooperation with the Chinese Canadian National Council (CCNC), would be an appropriate agency to coordinate that task.[63] On June 30 Clark and Monique Landry, the Minister for External Relations and International Trade, announced the creation of the National Emergency Support for Chinese Students Program (NESCSP) to be coordinated by CBIE in cooperation with CCNC.[64]

The Chinese Student Secretariat (as NESCSP soon came to be known) began operation on June 22, 1989 and continued until March 31, 1990. The Secretariat was based in Ottawa and served as national manager of the program; in addition, it subcontracted CCNC to provide regional services in Vancouver, Edmonton, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal.[65] It appears to have operated on a budget of between $1.1 and $1.5 million, of which $300,000 was earmarked for emergency financial assistance for Chinese students.[66] The many activities of the Secretariat can best be described in six broad categories. A key task was to produce and distribute information packages which would assist those counselling Chinese students; more than 1100 copies of each of six packages were delivered by courier to "an exhaustive mailing list." Another major task of the Secretariat was counselling and referral of Chinese students across Canada which was accomplished by means of 24 hour toll-free hotlines which were established at both the national office and the five regional centres; by late December 1989 the project had received more than 12,000 telephone calls from Chinese students and counsellors, with 66.6% of the calls dealing with immigration questions. The Secretariat was also responsible for on-going liaison activities with governmental and non-governmental organizations; for mobilization of community resources (including the creation of more than twenty "local action committees" of volunteers); for the provision of emergency financial assistance; and for media relations.[67] The result of all this activity was that by January 1990 nearly 8,000 Chinese nationals in Canada (out of a pool of 9,700, including nearly 5,000 students) had applied for "permanent resident" status in Canada and in nearly 7,200 cases permanent resident status had already been granted "on humanitarian and compassionate grounds"; only 168 applications had been rejected.[68] By the time that the special immigration procedures for Chinese students in Canada were rescinded in October 1990, it appeared that the overwhelming majority of Chinese students who had been in Canada just prior to June 4, 1989 had applied for and then been granted "permanent resident" status.[69] In its final report to CIDA, the Secretariat observed that Canada had distinguished itself from other western host countries which had been more "... cautious with immigration policy and financial assistance for PRC students" and had relied instead on "visa extensions" as a response to Chinese students' fears of returning to China. The report concluded that:

> ...Canada can be proud of herself in her assistance of Chinese students since she has offered the most comprehensive program in the developed world in support of Chinese students affected by the tragedy of June 4...[70]

It could also be argued to the contrary that Canada's post-Tiananmen policy towards its Chinese students was ill-advised; and that it has done more to undermine academic relations between the two countries than any event except the Tiananmen tragedy itself. It simultaneously squandered a major Canadian investment in China's international development; further weakened the political position of those reformers in China who had favored sending students abroad; and jeopardized Canada's ability to effect change in China on the basis of its "special relationship." It is not at all clear why, having acknowledged "...the benefits of a certain amount of international unison...,"[71] Canada would deviate so far from the more "cautious" visa-extension approach of other western host countries. There are many other unanswered questions. How was it possible and why was it necessary to make such a major policy decision so quickly in June 1989? Given the age, language and cultural gap between most Chinese students in Canada and most Chinese Canadians, why were the latter assigned such a major role in the program? Given the highly emotional state of most Chinese students and scholars in Canada in June 1989, was it advisable to thrust them into a situation in which they had to quickly make a decision with life-long implications? Since most Chinese students and scholars were concentrated at universities in Canada's major cities, would it not have been less expensive and more efficient to use international student advisers on campus for this purpose? In short, the decision to provide Chinese students in Canada with a limited time offer of permanent residence status in Canada was just too good for most Chinese students to pass up, but it was not a decision which was in Canada's or China's best long-term interests.

Chinese Attitudes Towards Canada

Since June 1989 China's previously friendly relationship with Canada has been dominated by two problems. The first problem has been the unexpectedly vigorous response of the Canadian government to the violence in Tiananmen Square and the subsequent suppression of the student democracy movement. The second problem has been the decision of most Chinese students and scholars in Canada to take advantage of Canada's special post-Tiananmen immigration provisions to opt to remain in Canada as permanent residents. After more than two years of strained relations between China and Canada, it is not yet clear that the "special relationship" which formerly existed between the two countries can easily or quickly be restored.

The Chinese government has insisted that Western nations, Canada included, have misunderstood what happened at Tiananmen, and that in any case it was an internal matter which is not the business of other countries. China at first denied that a "massacre" had occurred;[72] then described what happened as "large-scale counter-revolutionary chaos" which was supported by "reactionary groups" in Canada, the United States, Hong Kong and Macao;[73] and then argued that the entire affair was "much ado about nothing."[74] It accused the foreign media of "sensationalizing the violence," thus prompting "hypocritical gestures" from western countries.[75] China responded to increasing western criticism of its post-Tiananmen crackdown by warning western countries that "It is unwise and foolish for some foreign countries to try and exert pressure on China through political and economic means."[76] In July the Chinese accused the world's seven leading industrialized countries (the G-7 which includes Canada) of "gross interference" in China's domestic affairs by calling on China "...to cease action against those who have done no more than claim their legitimate rights to democracy and liberty"; and by cutting off high level contact with China and freezing World Bank loans to China.[77] At a subsequent meeting of the G-7 in July 1990, there was considerable pressure from Japan to resume normal relations with China "...in response to recent developments." It was Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and French President Francois Mitterand who insisted on telling the Chinese that "We...believe that the prospects for closer cooperation will be enhanced by renewed political and economic reform, particularly in the field of human rights."[78] While China appeared to welcome Canada's apparently reluctant decision to resume high level contacts at the deputy minister (July 1990) and ministerial (September 1991) levels, it has thus far refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of Canada's concern with human rights in China.[79] It insisted that Canada's special immigration policy for Chinese students was "...an outright encouragement to students not to go home."[80] The response of Chinese authorities has been to refuse to allow officially-sponsored Chinese graduate students (including those funded by international agencies) to come to Canada for graduate degree studies.[81] Even after the special immigration provisions were rescinded by Canada in October 1990, China continued to demand that Canada do much more to ensure the return of Chinese students and scholars.[82]

In the aftermath of Tiananmen, China's approach to the problems of its students and scholars abroad has been three-pronged: "adjusting" its policy of sending students abroad; trying to reach a rapprochement with those students and scholars abroad who had been sympathetic to the pro-democracy movement; and acknowledging the need to improve its treatment of Chinese students and scholars upon their return to China. It appears that thus far these efforts have not been very successful in relation to Chinese students and scholars in Canada.

Within one month of Tiananmen the Chinese government was already reassessing its decade-long policy of sending students abroad.[83] It revealed that between 1978 and 1989 more than 80,000 Chinese students and scholars had gone abroad for advanced study and/or research, of whom 60,000 had been government-funded and 20,000 had been self-financed.[84] Premier Li Peng himself confirmed in late summer 1989 China's intention to continue to send its students abroad in order "...to learn advanced experiences and technologies from foreign nations and to make use of foreign funds and useful management skills."[85] However, it was also made clear that "adjustments" would have to be made to important aspects of the study abroad policy. First, selection of those to be sent abroad would no longer focus merely on professional preparation and foreign language skills, but more and more would emphasize "politically and professionally mature people" and the "needs of the state." Second, the number of graduate students being sent abroad by the Chinese government would be dramatically reduced and graduate training (even at the doctoral level) would be focused "mainly" in Chinese universities, particularly the so-called "key" universities. Third, those Chinese students whose university education had been state-supported, would no longer be allowed to go abroad for graduate study by their own arrangement, no matter what the source of their funding, until after they had had five years of relevant job experience; on the other hand, those graduates whose university education had been completed on a self-supporting basis, would be much less restricted from studying abroad, subject to financing. Fourth, visiting scholars and researchers would be sent abroad in increasing numbers, because they are "older and more mature politically," would typically stay away from China for much shorter periods than graduate students and would be able to achieve academic results more quickly. Finally, students and scholars would no longer be concentrated in a few advanced western countries, but would be distributed to both "developed" and "developing" countries in the "East" and in the "West."[86] In 1990, reflecting these changes, 3,000 Chinese students and scholars were sent abroad, of whom 1,500 were visiting scholars and only 400 were doctoral students.[87] The impact of this decline in the number of Chinese government-supported graduate students has not yet been felt in Canada, apparently in part because of an increase in the number of self-supporting students.[88]

China's leaders have clearly been concerned about the large numbers of Chinese students and scholars who have chosen to remain abroad rather than risk returning home to be harassed or even prosecuted for their pro-democracy political activities in spring and summer 1989. As early as June 19, 1989 a leading Chinese official was of the opinion that the "overwhelming majority" of Chinese students would return home.[89] Another official indicated in July 1989 that the government intended to be "lenient" with students abroad who had "...failed to understand the measures adopted by the government to quell the counter-revolutionary rebellion."[90] In October 1989 Chinese Communist Party (CCP) General Secretary Jiang Zemin himself excused Chinese students abroad who, "...influenced by distorted foreign accounts" had made some mistakes.[91] He reiterated this point more forcefully in June 1990, promising that the Chinese government would "not investigate or hold responsible" Chinese students abroad who had spoken or acted "rashly" in spring/summer 1989. He welcomed students and scholars to return to China to live (assuring them that "appropriate work, study and living arrangements" would be made for them) or even to visit.[92] Even students who had joined "reactionary organizations" which opposed the Chinese government, were welcome to return as long as they quit the organizations and admitted that they had made mistakes.[93] It appears that in 1990 most Chinese students and scholars in Canada still did not trust Chinese government assurances and were afraid to return to China, even to visit.[94]

China also tried to encourage its students and scholars who were abroad after Tiananmen to come home by promising that they would receive "preferential treatment" upon their return to China. In fact, concerns about the treatment of returned scholars and students predate Tiananmen. Many pre-1989 returnees, particularly younger students as opposed to mid-career scholars, indicated that they had encountered problems in such critical areas as job assignments, salaries, research funding, housing and international travel.[95] It was only beginning in June 1989, however, that some local governments

began to move to ensure better treatment and more effective use of returned academics.[96] By fall 1989 the new Ministry of Personnel was indicating that it was assuming overall responsibility for the "management of returned students."[97] More specifically, it announced the creation of a number of "short-term service centres" to deal with the "difficulties the returnees face in their work and daily life," including salaries, academic titles, separation from spouses and access to research monies.[98] Beginning in 1990 the Chinese press began to provide more frequent reports of the positive experiences of returnees,[99] but these reports also revealed the magnitude of the returnee problem. During the seven months after Tiananmen, for example, about 700 Chinese academics had returned from study or research abroad, of whom only 27 were graduate students and the remainder were all visiting scholars![100] It was presumably for this reason that throughout 1990 there was considerable emphasis on the 32,000 Chinese students and scholars who had returned from abroad since 1978;[101] on the 50,000 who had returned home since 1949;[102] and on the efforts of individual provinces,[103] institutions[104] and ministries[105] to deal with the returnee issue. Despite these efforts, it is clear from a remarkably candid 1991 speech by Hou Xianglin, Vice-Chairman of the CPPCC Science and Technology Committee on "The Brain Drain is Something to be Worried About," that the results have been unsatisfactory. Hou admits that the main difficulty has been that a significant proportion of Chinese academics who have been sent overseas for academic purposes have not returned home because they are not "attracted" to an environment which does not recognize the value of their "talent."[106] In 1990 many returnees were still demoralized by their personal and professional situations and some high priority departments were experiencing serious personnel shortages because of the large number of young professors and graduate students who had delayed their return.[107] Clearly, despite Chinese efforts to improve the treatment of returned students and scholars, the vast majority of Chinese academics in Canada, secure in their permanent resident status, are still not finding the current academic milieu in China to be very attractive.

Canada-China University Linkages After Tiananmen[108]

Perhaps the most discouraging aspect of post-Tiananmen academic relations between China and Canada is the impact that June 1989 events have had on linkages between Chinese and Canadian universities. As indicated earlier, most Canadian universities had some contact with Chinese institutions prior to 1989; some developed extensive ties, including formal linkages; and a few appear to have earmarked links with China, or even with an individual university in China, as an institutional priority. In the wake of Tiananmen most linkage agreements between Chinese and Canadian institutions have either been in a state of flux or in disarray. Few Chinese or Canadian linkage partners appear to have assessed the significance of the changing Canada/China relationship or shifting geopolitical realities for the academic linkages which they signed with such enthusiasm in the late 1970s and 1980s.

The impact of Tiananmen appears to have been greatest on those Chinese universities which had been most enthusiastic about academic exchanges with the West. More conservative elements in some institutions appear to have used the opportunity provided by June 1989 to try to seize the political initiative from those who have been in favor of reform. The anti-government protests of some of their own students abroad and the subsequent decisions of large numbers of their students (including those in Canada) not to return to China, at least at the present time, have been real political liabilities for reform-minded Chinese university administrators and professors. Mid-career Chinese academics whose education had been disrupted by the Cultural Revolution and who were subsequently allowed to go abroad as visiting scholars, appear to be particularly demoralized by the loss of their best graduate students (and future young teachers and research associates) to colleagues in Canadian partner institutions, who have sometimes seemed too willing to walk away from collaborative teaching and research projects. Canadian alumni who have returned to China frequently feel cut off both from their *alma mater* and from their former host country. The need to renegotiate CIDA-funded linkages into China-based training programs is regarded as a depressing step backwards by some Chinese professors, particularly those who have been abroad, even though one implication is that they themselves may travel abroad more frequently as visiting scholars. It appears that linkages without IDRC or CIDA funding, or the benefit of provincial twinning arrangements, must also but for the most part have not yet been "adjusted" if they are to become fully functional again.

The Tiananmen incident also appears to have had a tremendous impact on many Canadian universities. It has been characterized as "extremely disruptive," "disappointing" and "terribly powerful, terribly negative and terribly final." In particular, its impact on Canadian professors, whose enthusiastic participation is critical to the academic exchange process, has apparently been devastating; many professors are "turned off China," want to "put China on hold," feel "betrayed and angry" or conclude that "China came and went." Some Canadians who had formerly been active in exchanges with China have already been distracted by new academic opportunities in Eastern Europe or in other countries of the Pacific Rim. Others began to lose interest in China even before Tiananmen, either because they felt exploited as teachers or frustrated as research colleborators. Some of the largest Canadian universities report the sharpest drop in China interest on campus, reflecting professorial indifference; but also new institutional imperatives such as internationalization, in which China,no longer special, becomes one of many possible international partners. The enthusiasm of some Canadian universities for China-focused CIDA money has faded in light of the need to renegotiate such linkages on a "patchwork" basis and on terms which are much less attractive to Canadian institutions. On the other hand, there is also a small but vocal group ofCanadian university administrators and professors who are critical of what they regard as the "political opportunism" of the Canadian government with regard to China; who insist that "moral indignation" cannot be the basis of Canadian foreign policy; and who criticize the "human rights" focus of Canadian policy towards China as a form of Western cultural chauvinism. Finally, there are a number of professors, particularly in western Canada, who argue that Canada's destiny lies in the Pacific Rim region and that, given China's size and potential, Canada should realistically move to resolve conflicts between the two countries as quickly as possible.

There are a few bright spots. Encouraged by the Canadian Embassy in Beijing, Chinese social scientists have become increasingly interested in Canadian Studies during the past four years; in the aftermath of Tiananmen the number of Canadian Studies centers in China has continued to increase and so has the number of Chinese professors participating in the successful Faculty Enrichment Program. Provincial linkages between Alberta and Heilongjiang and between Ontario and Jiangsu have provided umbrellas under which academic exchanges have been able to continue relatively

uninterrupted. For the most part however, it appears that academic relations between Canada and China have lost their momentum and will require a jump start to get moving again.

The Future

In light of the experiences of the past two decades, one could with some justification approach the future of academic relations between China and Canada with trepidation or even anxiety. Given that we cannot change the past but only learn from it, one can also regard the future as an opportunity to redirect the course of academic relations between the two countries. The discussion that follows assumes that the basic building block of academic exchanges between China and Canada is collaboration between professors with similar academic interests; and that institutional linkages (however modified) remain the most effective method for facilitating and sustaining the development of such collaboration.

Institutional linkages have a vital role to play in the further development of academic relations between China andCanada, but existing linkages must first be vetted and in most cases reshaped to suit the new context in which they will have to operate. Although most CIDA-funded linkages have already been revised, linkage partners cannot assume that further funding of the same type will be available to them after their current CCULP, CCMEP or other funding has run out; they should instead begin now to determine whether their twinning arrangements could and should be sustained on a self-sufficiency basis (i.e. without CIDA funding) and if so, plan on further adjustments to their linkages. Linkages without CIDA funding will also have to be vetted sooner or later in light of changed circumstances, after the parties have determined whether their arrangements can and should continue.

The combination of past experience and present circumstances suggests that reshaped institutional linkages between Chinese and Canadian universities should be rooted in seven basic principles:

> **cooperation:** Chinese and Canadian universities should link as equal partners, rather than on an unequal developed country donor/developing country recipient basis;
>
> **mutual benefit:** they should ensure that their cooperation is of mutual benefit;
>
> **focus:** they should focus their cooperation on clearly defined areas of institutional strength;
>
> **research:** they should ensure that the starting point of their cooperation is collaborative research and that any joint teaching that is undertaken is supportive of that research;
>
> **commitment:** they should identify professors who are committed to collaboration in the selected areas and they should provide those professors with a commitment of institutional support;
>
> **continuity:** they should ensure continuity of administration of the linkage by designating specific individuals who will be responsible for liaison between their institutions;
>
> **review:** they should establish regular reviews of their cooperative activities to determine whether theirlinkages should be extended or terminated on pre-established expiration dates.

Historical circumstances have put CIDA in position to play a critical role in the further development of academic relations between China and Canada. It appears that CCULP should be retained as a CIDA program, but that it should be significantly modified to suit changed circumstances. A possible scenario is that in the next phase of their academic exchange relationship China and Canada could move the focus of Canadian human resource development assistance from individual institutional linkages in order to jointly establish a small number of thematically-focused joint research and training institutes in areas of mutual interest. These institutes would be located in China and involve specialists drawn from a large number of Chinese and Canadian institutions. Collaborative research could occur in both China and Canada, but joint training of graduate students would occur in China only. This new model, which links multiple Chinese and Canadian universities by specialization rather than by institution, offers many advantages in the current circumstances. It focuses and provides even greater visibility for Canadian development assistance in China. It accomodates a reduction in available Canadian government funding. It facilitates the involvement of a large number of Chinese and Canadian institutions. It compensates for waning Canadian faculty interest in post-Tiananmen post-Cold War China. It deals with increasingly critical awareness on both sides of the relative strengths and weaknesses of individual institutions. It addresses concerns expressed by both sides about non-returning students by continuing to locate graduate training in China and by providing teaching opportunities in China for Chinese students and scholars who have thus far been unwilling to return home. It reduces the proportion of development funds that might otherwise have to be spent on infrastructure costs of participating Canadian universities. It avoids the problem of having to weed through existing linkages by creating a new linkage model in which all institutions may participate.

Three other new initiatives deserve consideration. First, the creation of a Canadian Alumni Association for Canadian-educated returnees to China has been under discussion for a decade;[109] in light of our experience, such an association and the activities that it might sponsor, appear to be more important than ever. Second, the importance of developing a "corporate memory" for Canada/China academic exchanges has also been under discussion for a decade;[110] a China Liaison Office with a mandate to collect and disseminate information about academic exchanges between the two countries is essential. Third, a Canada/China Research Fellowship program would facilitate the transition from individual linkages to multiple-institution thematic linkages by providing seed money to Chinese and Canadian professors involved in linkages outside the designated theme areas.

The past two decades of academic relations between China and Canada have been anything but dull. There have been moments of exhilaration, moments of tragedy and now an opportunity for new beginnings. The choice presently before Chinese and Canadian universities is not whether to move in new directions, but only in which direction to move.

Notes

1. This paper is based in part on two non-traditional sources -interviews and personal observations. During the past decade I have conducted more than 700 interviews with both Chinese and Canadian participants in academic exchanges between the two countries. My two volume 1986 study *Canadian Academic Relations with the People's Republic of China Since 1970* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 1986) was based on 602 interviews in Canada with Chinese and Canadian academics between 1982 and 1985; I was subsequently able to conduct additional interviews in China and in Canada in 1986, 1990 and 1991. I also served as founding

Director of Concordia University's Council for International Cooperation (CIC) from 1986 to 1989 and in that capacity developed and administered eight formal linkages with Chinese universities and research institutes.

2. cf. Alvyn J. Austin, *Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1888-1959* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

3. For example, McGill University's academic exchanges with Beijing Medical College which began in 1960, as discussed in Singer, II, p. 43.

4. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 3-4.

5. It is almost impossible to accurately estimate how many Chinese academics have come to Canada for long-term study or research during the past two decades. My earlier study estimated thatthere had been 1,650 during the period between 1970 and 1983 (*Ibid.*, II, pp. 256-257). Subsequent statistics are confusing because those produced by Employment and Immigration Canada and those produced by Statistics Canada's University Student Information System disagree; another problem is that both sets of recent figures only count who is here and not who has left. See for example Mark Shabaga and Max von Zur-Muehlen, *People's Republic of China Students in Canada: A Statistical Documentation for the 1980s* (Ottawa: Canadian Federation of Deans of Management and Administrative Studies, 1988), pp. 27, 59-63 and *The National Report of International Students in Canada 1989* (Ottawa: Canadian Bureau for International Education, 1989), pp. 52-53.

6. *National Report*, p. 53.

7. Singer, I, pp. 13-19.

8. Based on my observations while serving as CIC Director and on discussions with many Canadian academics on this question.

9. Based on interviews conducted in China in 1986 and on discussions held in China in 1990.

10. Singer, I, pp. 19-24.

11. These conclusions are based on interviews conducted in China in 1986 and on discussions in China and Canada while I served as CIC Director.

12. This estimate is based on my figure of 609 Canadian faculty visits to China for academic purposes between 1970 and 1983 and takes into account both the proliferation of academic linkages and the availability of CIDA and IDRC financing (Singer, I, p. 30; II, pp. 323-333).

13. *Ibid.*, I, p. 33.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-35.

16. Based on my observations as CIC Director from 1986 to 1989.

17. Singer, I, pp. 35-36.

18. Based on my observations in Canada and in China while serving as CIC Director.

19. This refers to the academic exchange agreement between Beijing Medical College and McGill University; their exchange began informally in 1960 and was apparently formalized in the early 1970s (Singer, II, p. 143).

20. Singer, II, pp. 373-375.

21. "Canadian Development Cooperation in Asia: China" (Hull, Quebec: CIDA, 1991).

22. Based on an analysis of many pre-1986 Canada/China linkage agreements which I undertook at the beginning of my mandate as CIC Director.

23. These observations are based on comments made to me by Chinese university administrators and professors both in Canada and in China between 1986 and 1991.

24. *IDO Newsletter*, no. 1, 1978.

25. This was the experience of both the University of British Columbia and Universite de Montreal in the conclusion of linkages with Beijing University (Singer, II, pp. 93-94, 160).

26. This was the experience of both the University of British Columbia and Dalhousie University in their linkages with Zhongshan University and the Law Faculty of Beijing University respectively (Singer, II, pp. 95-96, 113).

27. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 65-66; II, p. 75.

28. "Canadian Universities and China," (Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1982).

29. These observations are based on numerous discussions which I have had with Canadian university administrators and professors during the past decade, as well as on my experience as CIC Director.

30. "Canadian Development Cooperation," p. 7 (unnumbered).

31. Quoted in Singer, I, p. 59.

32. "Canadian Development Cooperation," p. 6 (unnumbered).

33. Ibid.

34. *Ibi* p. 7 (unnumbered).

35. Singer, I, pp. 53-55; "Canadian Development Cooperation," p. 7 (unnumbered).

36. Singer, I, p. 53 and interviews at CIDA, October 1991.

37. "Canadian Development Cooperation," p. 6 (unnumbered).

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11 (unnumbered).

39. These observations are based primarily on my own experiences as CIC director.

40. Quotations taken from interviews in October 1991 with Canadian university administrators and professors.

41. See for example "Overseas Chinese march in support of student protest," *The Gazette*, May 21, 1989, p. B1; "Local students demonstrate at U of C," May 21, 1989, pp. A1-A2; "Don't use guns against students, Chinese Canadians tell Beijing," *The Globe and Mail*, May 22, 1989, p. A3; "Metro rally backs Beijing protesters," *The Toronto Star*, May 29, 1989, p. A4; "3,000 turn out for rally at City Hall in support of protests in Beijing," *The Globe and Mail*, May 29, 1989, p. A8; and "2,000 rally in Vancouver to back protesters," May 29, 1981, p. B1.

42. See for example "Emotional crowd of 30,000 marches on consulate," *The Globe and Mail*, June 5, 1989, p. A9; "Chinese Canadians mourn dead, plan protests," *The Globe and Mail*, June 6, 1989, p. A14; and "Marchers denounce China massacre," *The Gazette*, June 8, 1989, p. A3.

43. See for example "Chinese students make emotional calls home," *The Gazette*, June 6, 1989, p. A3; and "Relatives being harassed for protests, students say," *The Globe and Mail*, June 13, 1989, p. A4.

44. See for example "Canadian students flown out after night of fear," *The Gazette*, June 7, 1989, p. A1; "Seneca College students involved in confrontation with soldiers," *The Toronto Star*, June 7, 1989, p. A20; "Canadians tell of carnage in China," *The Toronto Star*, June 8, 1989, pp. A1, A36.

45. "Canada demands end to 'senseless killing,'" *The Globe and Mail*, June 5, 1989, p. A10.

46. "Canadians urged by Clark to leave Beijing immediately," *The Gazette*, June 6, 1989, p. A2.

47. "Canada to review links with China after slaughter by army troops," *The Toronto Star*, June 7, 1989, p. A19.

48. "'Don't despair,' Mulroney tells young Chinese," *The Toronto Star*, June 9, 1989, p. A1.

49. "Canada calls home China envoy," *The Toronto Star*, June 13, 1989, p. A4; and "Clark pledges help to fearful Chinese," *The Toronto Star*, June 17, 1989, p. A12.

50. "Clark calling in Chinese ambassador to protest repression," *The Toronto Star*, June 15, 1989, p. A23.

51. "China and Canada: The Months Ahead," Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa, June 30, 1989, p. 15.

52. Claude Lajeunesse, Executive Director, Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, letter to University Executive Heads, June 21, 1989, pp. 1-3.

53. Micheline Beaudry-Somcynsky, Acting Country Program Director, China Program, CIDA, letter to CEAs, July 5, 1989.

54. V. J. Nordin, Senior Coordinator, CCULP, International Division,

AUCC, letter to Directors, CCULP Linkage Projects and ICDS Projects, ILOs, June 17, 1989 and attached "File Report," pp. 1-8.

55. "CCULP Annual Report 1989/90," (Ottawa: International Division, AUCC, 1990).

56. "CCULP Annual Report 1990/91," (Ottawa: International Division, AUCC, 1991).

57. Elizabeth McAllister, Country Program Director, China Desk, CIDA, undated letter to all Canadian Project Directors, CCULP, ICDS, Bilateral and ILOs in CCULP universities, circulated by AUCC.

58. Interviews at CIDA, October 11, 1991 and October 16, 1991.

59. "Chinese Student Secretariat/National Emergency Support for Chinese Students Programme Final Narrative Report to CIDA," 2 volumes, Canadian Bureau for International Education, March 1990, I, p. 6.

60. "Canadians urged by Clark to leave Beijing immediately," *The Gazette*, June 6, 1989, p. A2.

61. "Chinese Student Secretariat," I, p. 5.

62. News release, Minister of Employment and Immigration, June 16, 1989, pp. 1-4; and "Joe Clark pledges help to fearful Chinese," *The Toronto Star*, June 17, 1989, p. A12.

63. Claude Lajeunesse, June 21, 1989, pp. 1-3; see also "Chinese Student Secretariat," I, pp. 5-6.

64. "Chinese Student Secretariat," I, p. 5.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 8-9.

66. "Much of Chinese students' fund being used to set up program," *The Toronto Star*, July 15, 1989, p. A3; and Monique Landry, "Letter to the Editor: Aid for Chinese students," *The Globe and Mail*, August 14, 1989, p. A6.

67. "Chinese Student Secretariat," I, pp. 9-29.

68. *Ibid.*, II, "Charts and Tables," pp. 32-33.

69. *Ibid.*, I, p. 46.

70. Ibid.

71. "China and Canada," p. 3.

72. "Government denies any massacre," *The Gazette*, June 7, 1989, p. A12.

73. "Groups in Canada and U.S. helped plot 'chaos,' China charges," *The Globe and Mail*, June 21, 1989, p. A9.

74. "Jiang Zemin: 'Incident' 'Much Ado About Nothing,'" *Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS)*, June 6, 1990, p. 7.

75. "Commentator Views Overseas Students Policy," *FBIS*, July 31, 1989, p. 29.

76. "Mind own business, West told as China executes seven," *The Globe and Mail*, June 23, 1989, p. A12.

77. "China Accuses G-7 of 'gross interference,'" *The Globe and Mail*, July 18, 1989, p. A14.

78. "Richest nations agree to allow aid for China," *The Toronto Star*, July 11, 1990, pp. A1, A4.

79. "Canada urges China to end repression," *The Toronto Star*, July 20, 1990, p. A14.

80. "Don't let students stay in Canada, Chinese envoy warns Ottawa," *The Globe and Mail*, June 8, 1990, p. A15.

81. Discussed in meetings at both the Canadian Embassy andthe State Education Commission in Beijing, August 1990.

82. Discussed in meeting at the Chinese Embassy in Ottawa, October 11, 1991.

83. "PRC To Adjust Policy on Sending Students Abroad," *FBIS*, July 3, 1989, p. 43.

84. "Students Dispatched to 76 Countries, Regions," *FBIS*, September 22, 1989, p. 2.

85. "Li Peng on Policy of Students Studying Abroad," *FBIS*, September 28, 1989, p. 29.

86. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30; and "Improved Policy on Sending Students Abroad Urged," *FBIS*, September 5, 1989, pp. 32-33.

87. "Government Scholarships for 3,000 to Study Abroad," *FBIS*, April 12, 1990, pp. 40-41.

88. This conclusion is based on my October 1991 interviews with administrators and professors from universities across Canada and from statistics provided by both the Department of External Affairs and the Canadian Bureau for International Education.

89. "Interview with Tom Brokaw," *FBIS*, June 19, 1989, p. 5.

90. "Reporters Question Official on Students Abroad," *FBIS*, July 28, 1989, p. 23.

91. "Jiang Zemin Addresses Returning Students," *FBIS*, March 14, 1990, p. 18.

92. "Students Abroad Connected With Turmoil Pardoned," *FBIS*, June 15, 1990, p. 8.

93. "Li Tieying Says Students Abroad Free To Come, Go," *FBIS*, October 1, 1990, p. 34.

94. "Students in Toronto unmoved by China's bid to woo them home," *The Globe and Mail*, January 22, 1990, p. A5; and "Students in Canada rebuff Beijing's offer," *The Globe and Mail*, June 2, 1990, p. D3.

95. These observations are based on numerous interviews and discussions with Canadian-trained returnees in China between 1986 and 1989.

96. "Shanghai Issues New Policies on Returned Students," *FBIS*, June 23, 1989, p. 18; "Shanghai Issues Regulations on Returning Students," *FBIS*, June 27, 1989, p. 59; and "Guangdong's Shenzhen Regulates Returning Students," *FBIS*, August 16, 1989, pp. 47-48.

97. "Returned Students To Receive More Guidance," *FBIS*, October 4, 1989, p. 14.

98. "Conditions for Returning Students To Improve," *FBIS*, November 3, 1989, pp. 31-32.

99. See for example "Report Views Contribution of Returned Experts," *FBIS*, December 8, 1989, pp. 17-18; "Xinhua Interviews Returned Students," *FBIS*, December 11, 1989, pp. 14-15; and "Shanghai Welcomes Student Returning from U.S.," *FBIS*, December 13, 1989, p. 14.

100. "700 Returning Students 'Warmly Welcomed,'" *FBIS*, January 12, 1990, pp. 8-9.

101. See for example "Ministry Reports on Service of Returned Students," *FBIS*, September 25, 1990, p. 24.

102. See for example "Achievements Praised," *FBIS*, November 20, 1990, p. 18.

103. See for example "Shanxi Assists Returned Students' Research," *FBIS*, March 28, 1990, p. 35.

104. See for example "Xian Teachers, Students Return from Overseas," *FBIS*, September 10, 1990, p. 54; and "Universities Assist Returning Students," *FBIS*, May 17, 1991, pp. 34-35.

105. See for example "Public Health Minister on Returned Student Care," *FBIS*, November 29, 1990, p. 23.

106. "Hou Xianglin Stresses Brain Drain Problem," *FBIS*, April 5, 1991, pp. 23-25; and "Hou Xianglin Calls for Brain Drain Solution," *FBIS*, April 1, 1991, p. 30.

107. Observations based on discussions in China in August 1990 and interviews in Canada in October 1991.

108. Ibid.

109. Singer, I, p. 29.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

The Educational Role of Chinese Almanacs: Past, Present, and Future

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Abstract

For hundreds of years almanacs (lishu, tongshu, tongsheng, huangli, etc.) have been among the most widely distributed publications in all of China. Even today, in environments such as Hong Kong and Taiwan, not to mention overseas Chinese communities and certain parts of the People's Republic, they continue to enjoy extraordinary popularity —despite the inroads of modern politics, the corrosive influence of modern science, and the attractiveness of certain Western intellectual fashions. As a widespread and enduring feature of the Chinese social landscape for several centuries, almanacs serve as a convenient index of Chinese hopes and fears, aesthetic preferences, ethical concerns, and forms of symbolic expression, as well as a measure of continuity and change. Perhaps no other single class of artifacts indicates more clearly and completely both the essence of China's inherited culture and the process of its evolution in late imperial and modern times.

Chinese almanacs stand at the meeting point of several major streams of cultural influence. One is, of course, China's ancient and highly sophisticated tradition of calendrical and astronomical science—itself a response to the universal need of complex societies to compartmentalize time and order space. Another is an equally long-standing interest on the part of the Chinese in various mantic arts, a topic I have treated at length in a recent book. A third is the dramatic expansion of woodblock printing (xylography) in the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1912) dynasties, a development which both contributed to and reflected an unprecedented expansion of popular literacy in premodern China.

In many respects, Chinese almanacs, past and present, resemble Western almanacs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In both types of publications we find an abiding concern with morality, the rhythms of daily life, periodic celebrations and seasonal affairs. Furthermore, Chinese almanacs, like their counterparts in early modern Europe and colonial America, offer all sorts of practical advice, from herbal remedies and agricultural tips to astrologically-based information on propitious and impropitious times for undertaking various everyday activities.

But the specific content of Chinese and Western almanacs differs markedly. In the realm of morality, for example, Chinese almanacs promoted orthodox Confucian values (though sometimes in Buddhist or Religious Daoist dress), while Western almanacs stressed what has been described as "ethical capitalism." Most significantly, whereas the scientific revolution and related developments in eighteenth century Europe dealt a mortal blow to the astrological and other divinatory elements in Western almanacs, they scarcely touched Chinese almanacs—even after new ideas from the West reached China's shores in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

From early Qing times to the present, the basic format of Chinese almanacs has remained substantially the same. All, for example, have a chart indicating where various good and evil spirits are located, how and when they should be propitiated, and which directions hold the most promise for the year in question. They also have one or two small boxes with pithy agricultural advice excerpted from a prognostic work entitled the *Dimu jing* (Earth Mother Classic). This information does not always agree, however, with that provided by the other major source of agricultural data in almanacs—the "spring ox" (*chunniu*) and its "herdsman" (*shentong* or *mangshen*). According to popular belief, the colors of the spring ox and the clothes of the herdsman indicates agricultural and other prospects for the coming year; but in fact the symbolism of color and attire has nothing to do with actual meterological observations. Rather, it is based on traditional cosmological calculations involving *yin* and *yang*, the five elements or "agents," and stem-branch correlations.

Most traditional-style almanacs have standard prognostic devices such as the "Emperor of the Four Seasons" (*Siji huangdi*) designed to predict the general fate of a person born in any particular two-hour time period. Almanacs also commonly depict the twenty-six dangerous "passes" (*guan*) encountered by Chinese children as they grow to adulthood—from relatively common dangers (deep water, burning broth, falling into a well, etc.) to more frightening encounters with generals, demons, tigers, and even the so-called King of Hell. For protection against these and other hazards, most almanacs contain charms—some for general use and others designed specifically for individuals born at different times of the year.

Almanacs also generally include information on divination techniques such as numerology, the use of divining blocks, the drawing of lots, the interpretation of omens, the analysis of dreams, physiognomy, and, of course, geomancy. Much of the divinatory information contained in almanacs revolves around the "eight characters" that define a person's time of birth, since in planning important events one has to make certain that the birthday of the person in question harmonizes with the five agents, stems and branches, constellations, "star spirits" and other cosmic variables that dominated a particular day, time, location and direction.

Under most circumstances, however, almanacs provided guidance for every day of the year by designating certain activities as auspicious or inauspicious. During the Qing period, sixty matters fell under the rubric "almanac selection" (*tongshu xuanze*) in the official statutes. These activities, most of which continue to appear in contemporary almanacs on Taiwan and Hong Kong, include: sacrificing, praying for good fortune, praying for a son, sending documents to superiors, being ennobled, sending a memorial to the throne, receiving an official appointment, inheriting noble rank, meeting with relatives or friends, starting school, "capping" (a mark of adulthood for young males), travelling, taking up an official post, going on a tour of inspection and mingling with the people, undertaking various marriage ceremonies (several separate categories are mentioned here), adopting a child, moving (as in changing residence), setting up a bed, getting rid of things, taking a bath, shaving the head, clipping fingernails and toenails, seeking medical treatment, caring for the eyes, sewing or embroidering, cutting out clothes, building a dam, breaking ground for a building, erecting pillars and setting up roof beams, building or repairing a storehouse, working metal, using a grass thatch, weaving silk, reopening a business, issuing bonds, doing business, opening a storehouse, selling goods, buying or repairing property, cutting a canal, digging a well, setting up a treadle-operated pestle (for grinding grain),

mending walls and repairing holes, sweeping the floor, decorating walls, leveling roads, pulling down a house, demolishing a wall, cutting lumber, catching animals, hunting game, fishing, crossing a river by boat, planting, herding or tending animals, breaking ground for burial, burying the dead, and beginning to save money.

Comparatively few activities are ever designated "inappropriate." By far the most common categories so considered are travelling, moving one's residence, beginning construction, planting crops, and sewing. As a rule, when the evil star Lunar Repression dominates a day, both travelling and moving one's residence become inadvisable, and often planting as well.

Despite such limitations, the Chinese found ways to get around the problem. One was, of course, to consult a professional fortune-teller, whose presumed knowledge of directional influences and other variables enabled him or her to give advice on how to avoid or overcome negative spirits at a particular place or time. Individuals might also consult divining manuals on their own. Such works provided concrete information on how to use cosmic variables such as the stem and branch correlations of the *nayin* system to "control" and "cultivate" certain situations or spirits. If, for instance, construction had to be undertaken in an unlucky direction, the person concerned might temporarily move to another location which, in relation to the place to be repaired or built, would then be auspicious.

Traditional-style almanacs often contain illustrated discussions of the life of Confucius and other moral exemplars, such as the mythical sage kings, Yao and Shun. In Qing times, by far the most common source of ethical inspiration in most almanacs was the set of stories called the "Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety" (*Ershisi xiao*). These anecdotes, usually reduced to a few lines of text accompanied by a woodcut picture, depict virtuous individuals, whose heroic, self-sacrificing acts of devotion to their parents circulated at all levels of Chinese society for hundreds of years. Among the twenty-four exemplars were individuals such as Wu Meng, who encouraged mosquitoes to feast on him instead of his parents; "Old Laizi," who at the age of seventy amused his parents by pretending to be a child; Huang Xiang, who dutifully fanned his father's pillow in summer and warmed his bed in winter; and Guo Qu—whose willingness to sacrifice his only son in order to have enough resources for his mother provided a Confucian rationale for infanticide in late imperial times.

After the Qing government fell in 1911, the new Republic abruptly abandoned the old-style cosmology, adopted the Western calendar, and condemned all forms of calendrical "superstition (*mixin*)," including depictions of the "spring ox" and the practice of designating lucky and unlucky activities for each day of the year. But traditional-style almanacs had remarkable staying power. In the late 1920s, the Nationalist (Guomindang) government in Nanjing attempted to ban such works as part of a systematic campaign to discourage "superstition" as an "obstacle to progress," but this effort failed miserably. Throughout the 1930s and 40s, most Chinese almanac-makers continued to produce close replicas of Qing dynasty models.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the state began publishing its own "new almanacs" (*xin tongshu*) as part of a systematic, nationwide campaign to discredit old-fashioned "superstitions." This effort was the logical extension of earlier but more limited attempts to transform the traditional world view of the Chinese peasants in newly "liberated" areas of China by publishing small "Farmers' Almanacs" (*nongcun lishu*)—works designed not only to convey basic agricultural information to the rural masses but also to propagandize on behalf of the Party.

A typical "new almanac" in the early years of the PRC included information on the new administrative divisions of China and a discussion of China's size, population, ethnic composition, products, and cultural achievements, emphasizing the PRC's uniqueness and superiority over other nations of the world. Other sections might highlight the history of foreign imperialism in China, the introduction of Marxism-Leninism, and, of course, the accomplishments of the Party under Chairman Mao's leadership. The section on agriculture would emphasize techniques of managing fields and orchards for maximum output and contain illustrated introductions to various new techniques and technologies, as well as concrete advice on how to protect crops from pests. The section on hygiene might show the many ways by which raw sewage, spitting, coughing, rats and flies can transmit disease. Such almanacs also discussed common afflictions, such as colds, and gave attention to matters such as menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth and postnatal care. They often concluded with instructions for dealing with emergencies such as drowning, serious bleeding, broken bones, heat prostration and the like.

During the tumultuous Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) state-sponsored almanacs assailed traditional beliefs with a vengeance. One such work, for the year 1966, contains, in addition to the usual practical information and propaganda, a two-page section entitled "Stress Science and Destroy Superstition." In it, deities such as the "King of Hell" and the "Stove God" receive blistering criticism as deceptive creations of the "feudal reactionary class." Similarly, the almanac castigates geomancy as a counter-revolutionary tool. Other forms of divination, from physiognomy and word analysis to various systems of coin-tossing and fate extrapolation, also fell under heavy attack.

Following the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, and the inauguration of the so-called "Open Policy" of Deng Xiaoping in 1978, officially-published almanacs have begun to loosen up. Although still bereft of divinatory elements, *xin tongshu* of the contemporary era evince the state's willingness to promote some traditional forms of cultural knowledge, such as simple, straightforward historical discussions of China's dynastic past, and information on ancient Chinese capitals from the Shang dynasty up to the Qing. Moreover, some of these "new almanacs" provide examples of traditional stories designed explicitly for use in "family education." These tales involve such well-known culture heros as Mencius, Zhuge Liang and Sima Guang. There is even a short account in one almanac of Zhu Bolu's hoary "Family Instructions," dating from the seventeenth century.

Personal family matters receive far more attention in almanacs of the 1980s than those of earlier periods in the PRC. We find, for example, detailed discussions concerning the management of household finances, the proper care of both young children and aged family members, useful cooking tips, domestic education, and even the particular problems involved in raising only-children. A *xin tongshu* published in Guangdong for the year 1985 addressed this last issue forthrightly—not only acknowledging a deep-seated and long-standing preference for males in Chinese society, but also offering fourteen specific "don't's" in the raising of only-children, all aimed at preventing them from becoming lazy, selfish, impolite and irresponsible.

One of the most striking features of contemporary almanacs is the degree to which they testify to China's new, free-wheeling economic environment in the countryside. In contrast to the earlier

cooperative or collective emphasis in most officially-published *tongshu*, works of the 1980s seem designed to assist entrepreneurs in maximizing the opportunities for individual gain provided by innovations such as the "production responsibility system" and the opening of "free markets." Thus we not only find tips on how to manage the "family economy," but also advice on how to get more eggs from a hen, or how to raise fish and ducks simultaneously for greater profit. Information on how to protect one's house from termites suggests a growing awareness of the importance of private property in the countryside.

What one still cannot discover in official *tongshu*, however, is what the future holds. For this reason, presumably, privately printed fortune-telling manuals and old-style almanacs have begun to appear on the Mainland in recent years. Like almanacs of both the Qing period and the Republic, these works reflect the inherited cosmology; but most are extremely superficial. One such book, published privately in Changsha, Hunan, in 1987, consists of only sixteen crudely-printed pages, with day charts that list only a few auspicious and inauspicious activities.

Although the private publication of traditional-style almanacs on the Mainland remains an extremely minor enterprise, it is big business on Taiwan and in Hong Kong. Since 1949, both non-communist Chinese environments have modernized successfully, but in neither case has the process fundamentally undermined Chinese tradition. Rather, Hong Kong and Taiwan highlight what appears to be the fallacy of Maoist thinking: that in order to achieve rapid economic growth, "superstitious" practices such as divination and popular religion have to be abandoned. (This fallacy also seems apparent in the matter of simplifying Chinese characters, but that is another story.)

Of course, it is true that the Chinese Communist approach to revolution involved much more than simply enhancing productivity; it aimed at a thorough-going social and political transformation as well. Considering these goals, and in light of the sheer magnitude of the physical and demographic challenges facing Mao and his associates, an effort to attack the cultural foundations of "feudal" authority in China was perhaps not entirely unreasonable. But now that the PRC has openly acknowledged the limitations of Marxist-Leninist ideology, and has opted for a developmental model that includes elements of a market economy and limited "private" enterprise, perhaps the experience of Taiwan and Hong Kong will point the way to a new cultural strategy on the Mainland.

The striking feature of contemporary Chinese almanacs in Hong Kong is their harmonious blend of traditional and more "modern" elements. Although they embrace the old cosmology, contain lucky and unlucky "day charts," and promote various time-honored systems of divination, they also provide practical information based on more "scientific" principles. Some include charts showing the numerical equivalents for characters to be used in telegraphic messages, as well as scientific explanations of natural phenomena, such as eclipses. Some even have tables of useful phrases in English.

Most almanacs in Hong Kong provide a great deal of self-consciously "cultural" material. They commonly include, for example, "The Family Regulations of Master Zhu [Bolu]," although they are far less likely than Qing period almanacs to display the "Twenty-Four Paragons of Filial Piety." Many also contain a fascinating little folktale entitled "The Child," which revolves around a verbal exchange between Confucius and a small boy whom the sage meets in the course of his travels. The boy, obviously intelligent and quick-witted, answers a series of questions posed by Confucius, and in so doing makes a number of points about proper behavior, often by means of word play. Other cultural material regularly found in Hong Kong almanacs are charts showing one hundred ways to write auspicious Chinese characters such as *fu* (blessings) and *shou* (longevity), and examples of four different calligraphic styles used to render the *Qianzi wen* (Thousand Character Classic).

Taiwan almanacs share the same basic cosmology, day columns, and divinatory elements, but they are infinitely more varied in content and tend to include less explicitly foreign material than their Hong Kong counterparts. Some "people's almanacs" (*minli*) have prefaces that celebrate almanacs as one of China's "ancient cultural artifacts"—works that have provided guidance for Chinese people everywhere, and at all times—north and south, past and present. On the other hand, and somewhat surprisingly, almanacs published on Taiwan seldom contain morality tales of the sort commonly found in Hong Kong almanacs—this, despite the self-conscious promotion of traditional values by the contemporary Nationalist government. Perhaps the reason is that these stories appear less necessary precisely because government support of the traditional value system is so substantial.

Judging from the content of most contemporary almanacs, it appears that the loss of cultural memory on Taiwan may be somewhat more acute than in Hong Kong, at least with respect to the old cosmology. Although in both places publishers find it increasingly necessary to explain the special terms used in day-columns, Taiwan almanacs seem to devote inordinate space to explanations of what contemporary almanacs in Hong Kong continue to take for granted—rudimentary information about stem-branch calculations, solar periods, various divination techniques, and so forth. Ironically, however, these concessions to the modern temper in Taiwan (if that is what they are), probably contribute to a more uniform understanding of the symbolism and substance of traditional Chinese almanacs than ever existed before.

How do we account for the remarkable staying power of Chinese almanacs? One obvious answer is their apparent utility, particularly in pre-modern times. Even contemporary *tongshu* serve an explicitly social and educational purpose; they are designed primarily for practical guidance and edification, not for amusement. Unlike their Western counterparts in the nineteenth century, they leave no room for humor or idle chatter. Furthermore, almanacs have long reflected pivotal Chinese cultural concerns. These include: (1) a consuming interest in social, temporal and spatial order; (2) a preoccupation with ethics; and (3) a deeply rooted belief that human beings can not only discern but also decipher patterns of cosmic change.

As ordering devices, almanacs have always contributed to social stability by regulating the rituals and rhythms of daily life in China. To this day they provide an inexpensive and reliable way of marking time, indicating seasonal changes, and identifying important dates for celebrations and other ritual observances. Few devices have been more powerful as mechanisms for structuring social behavior than the stipulations in *tongshu* regarding popular festivals, imperial death anniversaries, and lucky or unlucky days. Although in imperial times the day-columns of state calendars and unofficial almanacs did not always agree in particulars, there was enough overlap to sustain public faith in an ordered, predictable universe. Similarly today, discrepancies between different types of *tongshu* on Taiwan, or between these works and Hong Kong almanacs, are not so glaring as to undermine the foundations of popular belief.

The explicitly moral cast of traditional Chinese almanacs, past and present, resonates powerfully with the Middle Kingdom's long-standing self-image as "the land of ritual and right behavior" (*liyi zhi bang*). Quite apart from the overt ethical content of morality tales such as the "Family Regulations of Master Zhu," a great many divination texts in traditional-style almanacs conveyed Confucian moral messages—notably the poetic commentaries to the "spiritual sticks" of Guandi. Almanacs published by the state on the Mainland today, although naturally devoid of all religious elements and traditional cosmology, are still often full of moral admonitions. The socialist ethical message may not be the same as in pre-liberation times, but the didactic medium certainly is.

Perhaps the most common reason for possessing traditional-style almanacs in China—past and present—is that they provide divinatory guidance and a sense of security for those who believe in techniques such as day selection and magical devices such as charms. Believers of this sort remain quite numerous in contemporary Chinese environments, despite political repression in some places and "scientific" criticisms of divination in others. Although proportionally there are no doubt fewer Chinese in any one place today who take the predictions of almanacs as seriously as their forbears in the Qing dynasty, it would be easy to underestimate the appeal of the ancient cosmology reflected in traditional-style almanacs. Many Chinese at all levels of society in Taiwan and Hong Kong continue to find attractive the hoary notion of a spiritual resonance between Heaven and Man; and a large number also believe in an active spiritual world inhabited by gods, ghosts, and ancestors. These beliefs, it seems, are no more incompatible with modern science than the Western faith in a single, transcendant God.

Although a number of modern Chinese intellectuals feel the need to choose between what they view as two incompatible cosmologies, many do not. To them, the divinatory information and charms of popular almanacs are analogous to the revelations and power of prayer in the Christian tradition. From this perspective, no significant distinction exists between the Western habit of praying to God for advice and assistance, and Chinese recourse to almanacs, which provide similar services. The tendency to distinguish sharply between scientific "rationality" and primitive "superstition" may prevent us from appreciating the degree to which the two types of thought might be made to fit. For example, the discovery by modern astronomers of "new" stars and planets that have no place in traditional Chinese astrology does not negate the idea of celestial influences on fate, since the vast majority of Chinese star-spirits are unembodied, and their ultimate power is determined by an elaborate interplay of cosmic forces—notably *yinyang/wuxing*—that Western science does not recognize. Significantly, many of these forces seem operate with predictable and powerful effect in traditional Chinese medicine.

The complexity and "spiritual" assumptions of Chinese divination make it extremely difficult to falsify; but this still accounts for only part of its appeal. From a purely psychological standpoint, charms, geomantic manipulation of the environment, and the optimistic thrust of techniques such as "spiritual stick" divination and dream book interpretation, provide the Chinese with hope in times of uncertainty and fear—as do prayers to popular deities. *Tongshu* thus continue to serve as inspirational "self-help" books for individuals facing difficult situations.

One important reason almanacs have always enjoyed so much popularity in China is that they employ a colorful and universally resonant symbolism, which remains deeply imbedded in the consciousness of Chinese at all levels of society. Much of this symbolism is, of course, cosmological. Concepts such as *yin* and *yang*, the five agents or activities, the eight trigrams, the ten stems and twelve branches, the twenty-eight lunar lodges, and so forth appear in almanacs in many different contexts, and sometimes in several different forms. The five agents, for example, not only figure prominently in day-columns and various divination schemes, but they also appear in the correlative colors of the "spring ox" and the clothes of its herdsman. Likewise, the earthly branches take shape in the twelve animals of the traditional Chinese zodiac in addition to playing a role in most standard forms of divination. The lunar lodges, listed in day columns and depicted as specific constellations of stars, also find concrete expression as embodied culture heros. And, of course, the eight trigrams appear not only as characters indicating geomantic directions but also as lines surrounding the geometrical renderings of *yin* and *yang* in the *Taiji tu*.

For hundreds of years these and other symbols (including allusions to historical, classical and mythological figures, and references to particular plants and animals) appeared prominently in almanacs. These works found their way to all parts of China and even overseas, where they not only reflected but also reinforced the traditional culture, contributing to a powerful sense of unity among Chinese everywhere. They also perpetuated certain characteristic styles of Chinese discourse, such as the use of pithy aphorisms and balanced phrases—not to mention certain types of logic, notably numerological, relational and associational thinking. And although many of the fundamental concerns expressed in traditional-style almanacs may be considered universal—such as the desire for good health, longevity, wealth, family security, and so forth—even these aspirations have distinctively Chinese manifestations and meanings as conveyed in the morality tales and divination texts of these works.

From the late nineteenth century onward, almanacs provided a convenient means of becoming "modern" yet remaining "Chinese." When new ideas came to China at the end of the Qing period, almanac-makers were quick to incorporate them, especially in comparatively progressive treaty-port areas. But the traditional ethics, symbolism, and cosmology of old-style *tongshu* remained by and large intact. As the compiler of a 1905 Shanghai almanac noted, his publication contained only those arts and methods from the West that were clearly beneficial to China. "Those that are inappropriate for the Chinese people," he went on to say, "certainly cannot be tried out lightly, and this publishing house does not dare put them forward [for our readers]."

Paradoxically, nearly ninety years later, almanacs in Hong Kong and Taiwan are generally more conservative in content than the *tongshu* just cited. Perhaps one reason is that information about the West that was so startling to the Chinese in 1905 is no longer news, and can easily be found in any number of places. But another reason may be that traditional-style almanacs provide a way of linking individuals with a past that in some, if not many, ways seems to superior to modernity. These works represent, in other words, a conscious effort on the part of their sponsors and their audience to hold on to selected aspects of China's "great tradition"—features that are imperiled, but seem worthy of retention.

What does the future hold? From all appearances, traditional-style almanacs will continue to flourish on Taiwan, as well as in Hong Kong—at least until 1997 in the latter case. When Hong Kong reverts to Mainland rule, however, the question must naturally arise: Will the People's Republic allow private firms to continue publishing traditional-style almanacs? In the interest of cultural continuity I would hope so, although the history of almanacs in the

People's Republic is not particularly encouraging on this score. Clearly much depends how the Mainland government evolves over the next five years, and what its attitude will be toward traditional Chinese culture. My own view is that experience in Taiwan and Hong Kong demonstrates conclusively that a "modern" economy can co-exist with a "traditional" culture, and that Mao's concerted effort to attack the past indiscriminately in the name of socialist "progress" was wrong-headed. In short, traditional-style almanacs, as living relics of a glorious and still vital past, can play an important role in perpetuating certain elements of Chinese culture. They thus have a dual educational role to play in Chinese environments—as conduits of new information, and as recepticles of enduring symbols, spiritual beliefs, moral values and social attitudes. As in the past, Chinese almanac-makers should be allowed to let the market dictate the content of their works; and if the past has no value, old-style almanacs will die a natural death. So be it. The important point, I think, is that the option of holding on to traditional Chinese culture should remain alive.

Notes

For primary material, I have consulted a wide variety of Qing dynasty writings on astrology, astronomy, and calendrical science, as well as various relevant twentieth century Chinese works. Specialists can find most of these sources cited in my book, *Fortune-tellers and Philosophers: Divination in Traditional Chinese Society* (Westview Press, 1991), and my forthcoming work entitled *Chinese Almanacs* (Oxford University Press, 1992).

I have examined well over two hundred Chinese almanacs, and an equal number of official calendars, dating from the seventeeth century to the present. Some of these are part of my own private collection. The others are contained in the following major research centers: The Bibliotheque Nationale; the British Library (Oriental Manuscripts); the Cambridge University Library; the Harvard-Yenching Library; the Hoover Library (James Hayes Collection), Stanford University; the Library of Congress; the library of the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies; the East Asiatic Library of the University of California, Berkeley (David Graham Collection); and the East Asia Library of the University of Washington, Seattle. Ironically, collections of traditional-style Chinese almanacs in Western libraries are more substantial than those in Chinese libraries, since historically almanacs were not considered worthy of serious study by most Chinese scholars. See Richard J. Smith, "A Note on Qing Dynasty Calendars," *Late Imperial China*, 9.1 (June, 1988).

The best modern scholarly study of Chinese almanacs remains Carole Morgan's *Le tableau du boeuf du printemps: tude d'une page de l'almanach chinois* (Paris, 1980). Also useful is her article entitled "De l'authenticit des calendriers Qing," *Journal Asiatique*, 271.3-4. (1983). Martin Palmer's *T'ung Shu: The Ancient Chinese Almanac* (Boston, 1986) provides a partial translation of a recent Hong Kong almanac, as well as a general historical discussion of Chinese almanacs and calendars, but his translation is rather loose and his scholarship is flawed. Chang Hsueh-yen's "The Lunar Calendar as a Social Control Mechanism in Chinese Rural Life" (Ph.D. dissertation in Sociology, Cornell University, 1940) offers a detailed but somewhat dated analysis of twentieth century almanacs (*not* official calendars), viewed primarily from the standpoint of Northern Chinese (Shandong province) popular culture.

Among nineteenth and early twentieth century works on calendars and almanacs, the following deserve special mention: Pierre Hoang, *A Notice of the Chinese Calendar* (Zi-ka-wei [Shanghai], 1904); Franz Kuhnert, "Der chinesische Kalender," *T'oung-pao*, 2.1 (1891); Alfred Lister, "Chinese Almanacs," *China Review*, 1 (1872-1873); W. A. P. Martin, *A Cycle of Cathay* (Edinburgh and London, 1897); and A. P. Parker, "The Chinese Almanac," *Chinese Recorder*, 19.2 (1888).

Ethnographic accounts of China with useful descriptions of almanacs and/or calendars include: Juliet Bredon, and Igor Mitrophanow, *The Moon Year: A Record of Chinese Customs and Festivals* (Shanghai, 1927); V. R. Burkhardt, *Chinese Creeds and Customs* (Hong Kong, 1953-1958; esp. vol. 2 [1955]); N. B. Dennys, *The Folk-Lore of China* (London and Hong Kong, 1876); Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (New York, 1865); Henri Dor, *Researches into Chinese Superstitions* (Shanghai, 1914-1933); Robert K. Douglas, *China* (London, 1882); Adele Field, *Pagoda Shadows, Studies of Life in China* (Boston, 1884); Daniel Kulp, *Country Life in South China* (New York, 1925); William Milne, *Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China* (Malacca, 1820) and his *Life in China* (London, 1858); John Nevius, *China and the Chinese* (New York, 1869); W. G. Walshe, *Ways That Are Dark* (Shanghai, Hong Kong, etc., 1906); and Samuel W. Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1883).

Historical background on Chinese calendars and almanacs may be found in works such as Zhu Wenxin's *Lifa tongzhi* (Complete Account of Calendrical Methods; Shanghai, 1934). See also Joseph Needham's monumental *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge, England, 1956-present), esp. vol. 3, and the various volumes of Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank, general eds., *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge, England, 1978-present). A work by Hong Jixi, entitled *Chuanzhou Hongshi bainian li* (One Hundred Year Calendar of Mr. Hong of Quanzhou; Fujian, 1981) provides a fascinating discussion of the historical significance of the famous astrologer and almanac-maker, Hong Chaohe, together with a completely secularized version of his almanac for the period from 1875-2014.

For useful comparative perspectives on Chinese almanacs, consult Bernard Capp, *English Almanacs, 1500-1800: Astrology and the Popular Press* (Ithaca, New York, 1979) and Barbara Stowell, *Early American Almanacs* (New York, 1977).

A full discussion of the Chinese divinatory systems employed in almanacs, and the cosmology on which they were based, can be found in Richard J. Smith, *Fortune-tellers and Philosophers: Divination in Traditional Chinese Society* (Boulder, Co. and Oxford, England, 1991); see also John Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology* (New York, 1984); Peng-Yoke Ho, *The Astronomical Chapters of the Chin Shu* (Paris, 1966) and "The Astronomical Bureau in Ming China," *Journal of Asian History*, 3 (1969); Shigeru Nakayama, "Characteristics of Chinese Astrology," *Isis*, 57.4. (1966); Nathan Sivin, *Cosmos and Computation in Early Chinese Mathematical Astronomy* (Leiden, 1969). A dated but still useful reference is A. P. Parker "Review of the Imperial Guide to Astrology," *Chinese Recorder*, 19.1 (1888).

The best source on the broader social context in which Qing dynasty almanacs developed is David Johnson, *et al.*, eds. (1985), *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1985)—particularly the articles by Evelyn Rawski and James Hayes. A roughly analogous source for the twentieth century would be Marjorie Topley, ed., *Some Traditional Chinese Ideas and Conceptions in Hong Kong Social Life Today* (Hong Kong, 1967)—see especially the article by F. I. Tseung.

Adopt A China Rural School/Community Library

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Abstract

This paper explains the operation of Adopt A China's Rural School Library project, which is aimed at improving China's rural education by providing funds from overseas Chinese to rural school libraries. During the past three years, forty-seven schools in seven provinces received funds from the project and purchased thousands of books and other reading materials for their students.

According to the 1990 Chinese census, 80% of China's 1.1 billion population reside in rural areas and 91% of China's 770,000 elementary schools are located in rural China. There are 180 million of the Chinese population, ages 15 and older, are either illiterate or semi-literate and 420 million Chinese have only been educated to an elementary school level.

Human history is becoming more and more of a race between education and misfortune. A small number of well-educated elites can never offset the vast number of illiterate and under-educated.jThe census also reveals that there is a severe crisis in rural education due to limited funding, a lack of attention, and a scarcity of support resources. School facilities are as sparse as the reading materials are scarce. No one can learn beyond what his or her environment can offer.

Two programs, the **Adopt A China Rural School Library** program and the **Adopt A China Rural Community Library** program, are sponsored by the Education and Science Society (ESS), a non-profit, non-political organization in the United States. The purpose of these programs is to improve the basic education of millions of Chinese who reside in rural areas, by providing their schools and communities with books, magazines, and newspapers.

These two grassroots, people-to-people projects were initiated three years ago. In that time (1989-1991), 47 rural schools in eight provinces - Hunan, Yunnan, Guizhou, Hepei, Sandong, Sichuan, Jilin, and Qinghai - and 8 rural community libraries in Guizhou and Guanxi have been established. Thousands of books and other reading materials have been made available to the people in these rural communities.

After three years of effort, the ESS representatives in China and the administrators of adopted schools and communities confirm that these projects are necessary, cost effective, and easy to implement. They are greatly appreciated by teachers and villagers, and are warmly welcomed by local education administration agencies. Through these programs, economically disadvantaged and educationally deprived students, teachers, and villagers have benefited from the resources enormously.

The Education and Science Society invites you to join us and help millions in poverty with limited knowledge and skills to improve their lives. With your concern and assistance, you can make a difference.

How the Adoption Works

The "Adopt A China Rural School Library" and the "Adopt A China Rural Community Library" programs seek your financial support to promote literacy and enhance basic education of millions of children and adults in the remote, underdeveloped communities in rural China.

The programs are sponsored by the Education and Science Society (ESS), a non-political, non-profit organization registered in the U.S. with tax exempt status. The programs are coordinated and supervised by volunteers who serve as the ESS program coordinators and ESS representatives in China.

Types of Rural Libraries for Adoption

A. China Rural School Library

Under this program, adoption is sought for rural schools, which include regular junior and senior high schools, vocational high schools and elementary schools (K through 6th grades) each with an enrollment of 400 to 800 students. The adoption fee is $480 per school for one year with the option to continue. The amount will furnish the school with 700 to 1,000 books, magazines and newspapers, which are relevant to the needs, interests and grade level of students and teachers in the respective school.

B. China Rural Community Library

Under this program, financial support is sought for libraries in rural communities with populations of at least 10,000. If the adoption is achieved, the respective township education administration agency has agreed to provide rooms, furniture, book shelves and the personnel. The adoption fee is $6,000 per rural community library for a period of three years. The amount will provide the library with 10,000 to 15,000 books, magazines and newspapers published in China. Of the total $6,000, the initial donation is $3,000 for the first year, and $1,500 each for the following two years.

Who Can Be An Adopter?

The rural school or community library can be adopted by an individual, a group of friends, a school/a class, an office, or an organization.

The Adoption Procedure

A. The ESS Representatives in China

All adopted libraries are coordinated and supervisedjby the ESS representatives in China who are professionals from various fields, such as educators, researchers, professors, doctors, and engineers, with a deep commitment to education. They assist ESS in identifying suitable rural schools and rural communities for adoption, and send related information submitted by the recommended schools and communities to ESS for review. The documents include (1) background of the rural community, (2) an introduction to the school, and (3) an agreement including an

operation plan with rules and regulations for the library. They also assist in selecting and ordering reading materials, and monitor the operation of the library.

B. Selection of Reading Materials

The "Adopt A China Rural School Library" and "Adopt A China Rural Community Library" are genuinely grassroots programs. With the assistance of the ESS's representatives in China, school principals/teachers and local education administrators select and order reading materials published in China. The materials will have a direct practical application, relevant to the needs, interest and reading level of the readers.

C. Recognition of the Adoption

To recognize the person or group contribution, all the books, magazines and newspapers purchased are stamped with the name of the contributor. Adopters are encouraged to correspond with the school/community library staff, and visit their adopted library(ies).

By the end of the year, the adopter will receive the following documents from the Education and Science Society:

(1) invoices of the books, magazines and newspapers (purchased)
(2) lists of the reading materials
(3) a report on the library.

If the project results are satisfactory to both the adopting entity and the adopted library, extension of the adoption is encouraged.

D. Tax-deductible Contribution

Send your application with your check to the contact person of the respective program. All contributions will be acknowledged and the adopting entity will be given a receipt for tax purpose.

Contact Persons

For more information, please contact the program coordinators:

Adopt a China Rural School Library
Education and Science Society
c/o Lungching Chiao
7625 Huntmaster Lane
McLean, VA 22102
U.S.A.

Adopt a China Rural Community Library
Education and Science Society
c/o Chang-Chuan Wu
175 Juniper Road
Scarsdale, NY 10583
U.S.A.

Reading Ability and Disability among Chinese Beginning Readers: Implications for Educators

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Abstract

Reading is one of the fundamental skills for literacy development. Reading acquisition is a complex event, particularly for readers at the entry level, since it involves translating symbols of oral language into a new set of abstract written symbols to derive information in response to print. A host of interrelated factors have been shown to lead to low reading and literacy performance. This paper summarizes major findings from reading research conducted among beginning readers who resided in Taiwan and Singapore. Findings are presented for the following categories: (1) verbal ability and knowledge of oral language in reading, (2) memory ability and reading, and (3) phonological awareness and reading achievement. Implications are presented in the discussion for the educational issues related to reading acquisition and development among beginning readers, particularly for disabled and nonproficient readers in schools. The first implication relates to the commonality of reading behavior exhibited by children who read in traditional and simplified Chinese writing systems. It appears that reading is not limited to mastery of surface cues of shape or sound of either written language. Instead, reading development requires an optimal literacy environment and effective school literacy program in addition to children's general learning abilities. Second, there may be a need to examine the effect of instructional approaches categorized as academic "remediation" and "enrichment." Many poor readers employed in the studies had limited home literacy experiences; hence, the educational efforts for this group of children should emphasize interactive enrichment activity. Third, oral language proficiency is highly correlated with the acquisition of literacy, particularly in Chinese logographic writing systems. The importance of effects of integrating listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills to teach language arts in a meaningful context also is discussed.

One of the missions of formal education is to create a society in which their citizens are literate. Hence, "literacy" is not a privilege but a right for everyone in a modern society. Different interest groups, however, have proposed different definitions of literacy (see Bloom, 1987; Graff, 1987; McLane and McNamee, 1990; Street, 1984 for a review). In the current studies on Chinese children's reading ability and disability, the concept of literacy is viewed in relation to children's developing and use of literacy skills in specific school contexts, such as language arts performance required by school curriculum.

Reading is considered as one of the fundamental tools to acquire knowledge for literacy development. Hence, children's reading ability and disability in a modern school curriculum affect their overall school achievement. Studies on reading ability and disability among English-speaking children and adult have been the most prolific sources for the development of various theories (Adams, 1991; Brady & Shankweiler, 1991; Goodman, 1984; Singer and Ruddell, 1985; Shankweiler and Crain, 1986; Stanovich, 1985; Torgesen, 1989). These theories have been guided by diverse research paradigms, techniques, and theoretical frameworks. In comparison, there are relatively fewer reading theories and research predicated on Chinese logographic writing system. It is both theoretically and educationally important to investigate the extent to which reading theories generated from an alphabetic writing system could be applied to a Chinese logographic writing system. Hence, the common indices for reading ability and disability used in western elementary schools are adopted in our studies of Chinese reading among beginning readers.

The selection of research methodologies and proposed hypotheses being tested in the series of studies summarized in this paper was not intended to reconcile any opposing theoretical views on reading ability and disability. Rather, the insights gained from these specific studies, based on Chinese logographic symbols, may not only advance our thinking on reading and literacy development in general, but also generate hypotheses related to reading ability and disability among Chinese children in particular. The diversity of writing systems that exist among various language groups provides excellent opportunities for researchers of human cognition, reading, as well as literacy development to examine how children of different languages adjust themselves to meet various reading demands imposed by different orthographies.

In addition, the phenomenon in which children who have average or above average intelligence but fail to acquire and develop reading and literacy skills in any writing system is a particular concern to educators, parents as well as researchers. These children are at risk for problems in academic, social, and emotional development in the school context. Given the same educational opportunities, equipped with a general learning ability, and most of all, not because of the commonly perceived laziness, a group of children lag behind their classmates in skills and knowledge about reading. This particular group would also score lower than their comparable peers in school measures for reading performance and consequently, may exhibit uneven academic achievement across subject areas. Futhermore, because of the reading difficulties, these children are likely to shy away from activities involving reading and writing. Hence, they are deprived of a vital part of knowledge acquisition through print, such as newspaper, magazine, and tradebooks. The resulting adverse effect on their overall school achievement and emotional well being can be devastating if such a reading disability is not recognized by educators and if they are not provided with remedial support in their formal schooling. Hence, the purpose of this paper is to summarize relevant findings on the study of reading ability and disability among Chinese beginning readers and to draw implications for educational practices.

Since late 1980's, a group of multidisciplinary research team, consisted of experimental psychologists, educators, speech pathologist, pediatric neurologist, and school psychologist has carried out a series of comparative studies on issues related to Chinese reading among Chinese monolingual and Chinese-English bilingual children. Much of the effort has been focused on systematical comparisons of reading processes and psychological correlates of reading ability and disabilities. The systematic inquiries have been carefully planned and conducted both qualitatively and quantitatively to test and generate specific and interrelated reading

hypotheses using both experimental and children's reading materials and settings.

From a quantitative perspective, the psychological correlates of reading ability and disabilities were analyzed and compared (See Table 1). They were conducted in the areas of (1) the role of linguistic and nonlinguistic memory in Chinese reading ability and disabilities (Chang, Rueda, Tzeng, & Bos, 1992; Lee, Wee, Tzeng, & Cheng, 1989); (2) the role of phonological awareness in reading Chinese logographic and English alphabetic writing systems among Chinese-English bilingual children (Lee, Chang, Tzeng, Wee, & Hung, 1991); and (3) a comparative study of the predictors for Chinese and English reading abilities (Lee, Wee, and Wong, 1987; Lee, Chang, & Tzeng, 1992).

From a qualitative perspective, children's use of language cues in reading processes and ability for story retelling were analyzed and compared (See Table 1). These studies were conducted in the areas of (1) error analysis of oral reading between Chinese monolingual normal and disabled readers (Chang, Hung, and Tzeng, 1992); (2) multiple cue analysis of reading processes observed in reading Chinese and English passages among Chinese-English bilingual children (Chang, Cheng, and Lee, 1990; Chang, Lee, & Tzeng, 1992); and (3) the use of language cues in meaning construction between traditional and simplified Chinese writing systems (Chang, Lee, Tzeng, & Loo, 1990; Chang, Lee, and Tzeng, 1992).

Education and Language Background

Monolingual Chinese Children in Taiwan

The monolingual Chinese children were selected from two elementary schools in Taipei, Taiwan included both a high and a low socioeconomic environment. These elementary school children provided homogeneous samples, in terms of linguistic factors, for the study of oral reading processes, reading behaviors, and psychological correlates of reading disabilities for a traditional Chinese logographic writing system. In the first ten weeks of formal schooling, all first graders are introduced to a Chinese phonetic system (CHU-YIN-FU-HAO), in order to learn the accurate pronunciation of Mandarin, the national dialect. Both Chinese characters and their corresponding phonetic symbols are presented side-by-side in text and in popular tradebooks for primary graders. Therefore, most of children speak Mandarin, particularly, children attending schools in the capital city, Taipei.

In the final in-depth analysis of children's reading processes, the subject pool consisted of thirty-two Chinese third- and fourth-grade Mandarin-speaking children. Through a match-paired sampling procedure, normal achieving and disabled readers were equally represented from each school. Sixteen disabled readers, eight from third-and eight from fourth-grade levels had been identified as reading disabled at the end of their first year in school and had received one-year of remedial instruction at the second-grade level in a reading disabilities resource room. The term "reading disabled" was defined by schools as those students who showed a discrepancy between an estimated intellectual ability and reading achievement scores. In other words, these children obtained an IQ of 95 or higher from a Chinese version of Wechsler Intelligence Scales for Children-Revised (WISC-R) and scored two or more grades below a standardized Chinese Language Ability Tests. The identification process began at the end of the first grade year following referral from the classroom teacher. After the completion of the assessment, a multidisciplinary team of professionals made recommendations for remediation. The school-identified disabled readers participated in a one-year intensive remedial reading program at the second grade level. Hence, the basis of children's current reading level and performance is usually assessed as follows: (1) through the scores yielded from the reading components of a standardized Chinese Language Ability Tests (Wu and Chang, 1984), (2) and monthly language arts achievement test, a means to assess their learning from standardized textbooks on Chinese language, and (3) teacher judgment based on student's classroom work.

When compared with their normal achieving peers at the current grade level, the disabled readers employed in the studies were at the lowest percentile of an overall "Chinese language arts achievement score", particularly in the subsections of reading components. The normal achieving readers were selected to match the disabled readers by schools, age, IQ scores, language achievement scores, sex, and mother's education and occupation (Chang, Hung, & Tzeng, 1992). In Taiwan's public schools, English is not introduced as a second language until seventh grade.

Chinese-English Bilingual Children In Singapore

The formal school system in Singapore is patterned after the British educational system. However, based on a national policy on bilingualism, all children must learn both English and a home language. Hence, Chinese children in Singapore learn to read and write both Chinese and English starting in first grade. Mandarin is the dialect promoted by both government and schools. Most of these children speak Chinese at home so that when they enter first grade, they are far more proficient in Chinese than in English. By second and third grade, many children are approximately equally proficient in both languages, although there is a wide range of relative dominance in English versus Chinese.

In elementary school, English is taught as a first language as well as being the medium of instruction. Chinese is taught as a second language, and there is a set of standardized and graded Chinese textbooks used in all schools. In the English curriculum there is no formal instruction in phonics, and in the Chinese curriculum, Chinese spelling (Hanyu-Pinyin) is not taught until the fourth grade. Hence, children in second and third grade have had no formal training in phonological analysis of Chinese characters and English words. There are neither school based reading disabilities resource room programs nor special education in the public schools. However, educators are concerned about dyslexic issues and methods to identify children with reading disabilities.

The comparative studies were carried out in an educational environment where children with reading disabilities are not formally recognized. The terms "proficient and nonproficient readers" would more appropriately represent the two groups of bilingual readers employed in the Singapore studies. Because the reading proficiency levels in two distinctively different language systems needed to be considered, it was necessary to set criteria for subject selection in miscue analysis of reading across English and Chinese passages. In general, students are highly competitive in school settings; hence, teacher judgment and monthly achievement test scores are two of the common indicators of student's language proficiency and reading achievement in schools. Teacher judgment and students' average or above average math achievement scores also were used as indicators of normal learning ability in order to assure that no students who failed to read did so because of low general abilities.

On a scale of 100 points yielded from criterion-referenced language achievement tests, the proficient readers in either language were

those children who scored approximately 20-25 points higher in Chinese than English or vice versa. The balanced readers were those who scored within a relatively close range in both languages. Based on the working definition of proficient and nonproficient readers, there were three subgroups of readers who had average or above average math achievement scores, but showed either differential or balanced reading scores in two languages. The three subgroups of readers were: (1) Proficient Chinese readers, (2) Proficient English readers, and (3) Balanced Chinese and English readers.

Summaries of Findings

An integrated quantitative and qualitative analyses of the two sets of variables provided a unique opportunity for investigators to hypothesize and verify the role of each of the variables in Chinese children's reading development (See Table 1). The major findings are summarized, synthesized, and discussed in the following three categories: (1) verbal ability and knowledge of oral language in reading, (2) memory ability and reading, and (3) phonological awareness and reading achievement.

Verbal Ability and Knowledge of Oral language in Reading

Among a set of psychological correlates of reading ability, such as visuo-spatial ability, linguistic and nonlinguistic memory, receptive vocabulary, and phonological ability, the "receptive vocabulary" was the strongest predictor for both English and Chinese reading ability among bilingual readers in Singapore (Lee, Chang, Tzeng, Wee, & Hung, 1991; Lee, Wee, and Wong, 1987). In addition, when compared with their normal achieving peers, the disabled readers in Taiwan performed poorly on both types of verbal abilities: receptive vocabulary and general information, or the amount of knowledge children acquired through everyday experiences (Chang, Rueda, Tzeng, and Bos, 1992). In cross-language studies on reading disabilities, the findings suggest that the best predictor for reading ability across Chinese, English, and Japanese children was general information as measured through standardized cognitive tasks (Stevenson, Stigler, Lucker, Lee, Hsu, & Kitamura, 1982).

In general, normal achieving Chinese beginning readers in Taiwan, as well as proficient readers in Singapore, possessed receptive vocabulary, sight words, and general information necessary to score high in common measures used in schools and to benefit from school-related reading materials. One of the consistent characteristics across disabled readers in different language groups is their low verbal ability when measured by standardized test (Figueroa, 1989; Torgesen, 1989). In addition, the cognitive profiles among the disabled readers reflect a differential performance across two types of cogntitive tasks: verbal and performance intelligence quotients (IQs). In other words, disabled readers generally score in the comparable range as their normal achieving peers but significantly lower in the range of verbal IQs. The profile of a low verbal and high performance IQ indicates a possibility for learning disabilities in a school context. Task performance among the monolingual Chinese disabled readers, indeed, reflected such a profile. In order to examine the influence of verbal abilities and specific Chinese orthographic effects, if any, on Chinese readers' reading processes, a reading miscue analysis, using a procedure developed by Goodman and his colleagues (Goodman, 1984; Goodman, Watson, and Burke, 1987), were conducted (see Chang, Hung and Tzeng, 1992 for specifics of the subsections of the analysis).

From the analysis of oral reading miscues obtained from both monolingual and bilingual children, it was apparent that there are specific Chinese orthographic effects on children's reading performance (Chang, Hung, and Tzeng, 1992; Chang, Lee, Loo, and Tzeng, 1990). For example, the lack of "word boundaries" in graphically represented spoken words creates an additional challenge to beginning readers. In order to make sense from print when unknown words or characters are encountered, beginning readers need the support from their knowledge of oral language, vocabulary, sight words as well as relevant prior knowledge to predict the intended meaning. It is hypothesized that the disabled readers were unable to use speech sounds to hold the seemingly disjoined characters together to identify the intended words upon a string of equally spaced characters in print. They often omitted, inserted, and substituted characters in their oral reading performance. For example, in reading " ■影■ " (studio) in a sentence, they substituted this particular word with " ■影 " (shadow). Consequently, such an act of reading led to a major change in the intended meaning. This particular reading behavior occurred in any given sentence containing unknown words and resulted in a total disruption of reading comprehension. This phenomenon may also explain why disabled readers performed significantly lower, when compared with their normal achieving peers, in both comprehending measures (a process to make sense from print) and comprehension measures (a process to retell what they have just read) (Chang, Hung, and Tzeng, 1992). The reconstructed stories as re-told by the disabled readers often were idiosyncratic and deviated greatly from the intended meaning.

The nonproficient bilingual readers in Singapore and the monolingual disabled readers in Taiwan demonstrated their use of various language cues, such as semantic, syntactic, graphic, and sound cues, to make sense from print. However, the disabled readers and the nonproficient bilingual readers usually were unable to recover the intended meaning when they had more than two or three unknown characters in a sentence. Their act of guessing or character- or word-substitution in an attempt to get through the oral reading often was laborious and unproductive. Consequently, their reproduced sentences in oral reading, as transcribed from audiotapes, were not semantically related to a paragraph and the overall plot of the story. It was interesting to note, however, that in the story retelling process, the disabled readers actively engaged in reconstruction of the story as they tried to make sense of the story they just read. The stories retold by many of them, as transcribed from audiotapes, reflected a coherent, though unique plot with other sets of characters, objects and details.

Memory Ability and Reading

Studies in English have repeatedly demonstrated that reading ability is related to phonological memory and not to visuo-spatial memory (Baddeley, 1986; Liberman, Mann, Shankweiler, and Werfelman; Mann and Liberman, 1984; Shankweiler and Crain, 1986). Conventional wisdom says that in an logographic script such as Chinese characters (Hanji) the reverse should be expected because of the unique visuo-spatial arrangement in the printed symbols. But so far no direct evidence has been provided for or against such an expectation with respect to the reading processes of Chinese writing system. The only study which has somewhat addressed this issue was conducted by Mann (1986). She tested 100 Japanese second graders on visuo-spatial memory for nonsense figures as well as phonological memory for Japanese nonsense words using a recurring recognition paradigm. She found that good readers performed better on both tasks compared to the poor readers and that there was a low but significant correlation between reading ability and phonological memory for nonsense words. In addition,

the results showed that visuo-spatial memory for nonsense figures was significantly correlated with reading Kanji (adopted from Chinese Hanji) but not Kana (a sound-based script with each unit representing a syllable or mora).

Mann's (1986) data with the Japanese readers are intriguing, in particular the correlation between their visuo-spatial memory for nonsense figures and their reading performance with the Kanji characters. To explore these findings further, since 1988 two systematic studies were conducted among monolingual and bilingual Chinese children to examine the relationship among reading ability/disability and linguistic and nonlinguistic memory. One of the tasks for nonlinguistic memory was adopted from Mann's (1986) study in which the nonsense figures were formed by abstract and nonsense patterns of lines and curves presented in a recurring visual recognition research paradigm (Mann, 1986; Chang, Rueda, Tzeng, & Bos, 1992; Lee, Wee, Tzeng, & Cheng, 1990).

Among the monolingual readers, the results showed that the disabled readers performed equally well as their normal achieving peers in both nonlinguistic memory tasks, such as recognizing nonsense figures and reproducing geometric designs from memory. However, the disabled readers performed significantly lower than their peers in tasks requiring them to immediately recall in verbatim a sequence of digits and unrelated words. Literature shows that an inability to activate phonetic recoding, or representation, in order to maintain linguistic information in working memory is thought to be related to children with reading disabilities in English language (Brady and Shankweiler, 1991; Leong, 1991; Liberman, Mann, Shankweiler, and Werfelman, 1982; Shankweiler and Crain, 1986; Torgesen, 1988; Wagner and Torgesen, 1987). Based on the comparative study between two groups of Chinese beginning readers, the results show that Chinese disabled readers performed significantly lower, when compared with their normal achieving peers, in processing language related elements such as digits and unrelated words (Chang, Rueda, Tzeng, and Bos, 1992).

Regression analysis of the scores obtained from bilingual children in Singapore suggests that phonological memory, measured through recurring auditory recognition of nonsense syllables, contributed towards prediction of English reading scores but not Chinese reading scores. Visuo-spatial memory, on the other hands, was not a significant factor in predicting reading in either language. Rote memory for shapes did not appear to be important factors in reading Chinese logographs. Contrary to conventional wisdom, visuo-spatial memory ability could not explain the phenomenon of reading disability in both languages.

What is important for educators to note in this line of research is that disabled readers do have general memory ability. However, there is a correlation between poor reading performance in school and an inability to hold verbal information long enough to process language elements, such as unrelated words and digits. From an educational perspective, it is important to explore ways in which instructional strategies can be applied to compensate for such a specific memory deficit. A study was conducted to examine the interactive effect on the story retelling process to determine whether or not a minimum social mediation in the manner of restating children's responses and/or asking for additional details would enhance disabled reader's immediate recall of textual information. The results suggested that disabled reader indeed increased the quality of verbal responses through an aided story retelling procedure (Goodman, Watson, and Burke, 1987), even though they still performed significantly lower than their normal achieving peers (Chang, Rueda, Tzeng, and Bos, 1992).

Phonological Awareness and Reading Achievement

Phonological awareness is the ability to recognize the internal structure of spoken words. It is usually assessed by testing the subjects' ability to isolate and manipulate individual phonemic segments in words. Much evidence is now available to suggest that awareness of the phonological constituents of words is an important prerequisite to fluent reading. This evidence comes from studies in several different alphabetic scripts which have shown that this awareness is predictive of reading success in young children (Adams, 1991; Brady and Shankweiler, 1991). No similar studies have yet been conducted in children learning to read logographic scripts.

Metalinguistic deficiencies in the phonological domain also have been demonstrated in adults with difficulty attaining literacy in alphabetic scripts (Morais, Carry, Alegria, and Bettelson, 1979). However, a study in China found that adults literate only in traditional Chinese characters could not add or delete individual consonants in spoken Chinese words whereas adults literate in alphabetic Chinese as well as Chinese characters could (Read, Zhang, Nie, and Ding, 1986). This study suggested that phonological skills involved in "segmentation" develop in the process of learning an alphabetic script, but not in learning a logographic script.

While there has been much evidence for the requirement of phonological recoding in fluent reading of Chinese (Tzeng, Hung, and Wang, 1977), arguments against the idea that phonemic awareness may play a role in learning to read Chinese are still strong. This issue was examined in depth to compare the role of phonemic awareness in reading Chinese and English by studying two groups of Singaporean beginning readers who simultaneously learned to read and write both Chinese and English (Lee, Chang, Tzeng, Wee, and Hung, 1991). The findings of the first study showed that among the English-dominant bilingual children, their performance on a phonemic segmentation task correlated significantly with reading scores on both English and Chinese. It also was a significant predictor of reading ability in both languages.

The findings of the second study among a group of children who were not dominant in English provided an interesting contrast. The relationship between reading achievement in English and phonemic awareness remained strong, whereas the relationship between reading Chinese and phonemic awareness became marginal. Together, these results suggest that it is alphabetic instruction, rather than maturation per se, that is responsible for the improvement in phonemic awareness occurring around the age children learn to read (Lee, Chang, Tzeng, Wee, and Hung, 1991).

These two studies confirm the findings of other researchers who have studied children learning to read alphabetic scripts that phonemic awareness is important in reading English. However, the same issue is far more complex in the case of reading Chinese logographs. In our first study among the English dominant group, it is likely that these children gain the ability for analyzing the internal structure of speech sounds from learning to read English and in turn, use this ability to explore the phonological principles of Chinese logographs or characters.

It is well known that more than 85% of Chinese characters are phonograms. Each phonogram can be decomposed into two graphemic parts, a significate radical to indicate a general semantic category, and a phonetic component to give a clue to its pronunciation. Recent experiments by Tzeng and his associates have provided strong evidence that Chinese fluent adult readers take advantage of the generic properties of phonograms for decoding

newly encountered Chinese characters. If this is the basic skill underlying the proficient reading of Chinese text, then it is likely that children who get access to this orthographic knowledge will be better able to expand their character size. Such a phenomenon has indeed been observed among Chinese monolingual beginning readers. Particularly, the speed in "character" acquisition among the disabled readers was impressive as they progressed through primary to intermediate grade levels (Chang, Hung, and Tzeng, 1992). Hence, the unique formations of Chinese characters likely would not be the obstacle for reading and literacy development in Chinese logographic writing system. However, the Chinese "word" acquisition among the disabled readers lagged behind their normal achieving peers, as was evident in their reading miscue patterns.

In order to understand this line of research and the results obtained in the bilingual studies, the major issues are summarized as follows. First, the exploration of phonological clues from the Chinese characters is useful for reading. However, this presupposes that there is indeed phonological information available in the script, albeit some Chinese characters are more difficult to decipher. However, the connnection between orthography and phonology is very important to all beginning readers. Early on Chinese children would have been exposed to some of the commonly used reading strategies to sound out unknown words. For example, if two graphic components are side by side, the strategy is to read the one on either side. If the character is formed by layers, the strategy is to try the sound clue presented in the center.

Second, the exploration of the script-speech, or orthography-phonology, relationship, though useful, is not the required way to learn to read Chinese because of the morphological differences. However, this is not to deny the importance of the role of phonological memory in the syntactic parsing and comprehension processes in which verbal elements are required to be held long enough to process information. On the contrary, since there is little pre-lexical phonological information available for the Chinese beginning readers to decipher logographs as opposed to sound-based alphabets, beginning readers have to rely solely on the post-lexical phonology, such as a learned pronunciation for each logograph or character, in order to convert the printed symbols into their phonological representation in memory. In a review of literature, Adams (1991) concluded that such an automatic phonological processing ability is an important asset to all experienced readers. This may explain why the ability of phonological memory correlates with reading ability in Chinese.

Third and perhaps most importantly, the findings that the way a Chinese beginning reader acquires his/her reading skills can be influenced by the instructional environment may hold the key for the differentiation of alphabetic and non-alphabetic scripts. For students learning to read an alphabetic script, a pure graphic-based strategy, independent of phonology is not possible, whereas for students learning to read Chinese, which is morphosyllabic in nature, either the phonological or the orthographic strategy may predominate. Of course, as long as there is some phonological information embedded in the characters, there will be some overlap of these two options. It is suggested that for Chinese readers, the choice of either option depends a great deal upon the instructional enviornment, as revealed in two of these interrelated studies conducted in Singapore. Such a conceptualization may help to resolve much controversey on the necessity of "speech recoding" (e.g., converting the visual image of print into its phonological representation) in learning to read Chinese (cf., Tzeng and Hung, 1988; Leong, 1991).

Educational Implications

Chinese is one of the ancient languages recorded in human history. Currently, more than one billion people speak a wide range of Chinese dialects but with only one type of written symbols, the logographs, presented in official documents. While most of the individuals automatically acquire their spoken languages in order to communicate effectively, learning to read and write in their corresponding written languages has not been an effortless task for all individuals. The illiteracy rate is high in many parts of the world, including rural China, apparently due to a lack of adequate educational opportunity. Furthermore, some students have problems with learning to read even given an adequate educational environment and equipped with general learning abilities. Therefore, in order to promote literacy development, the educators and policy makers are faced with challenges to reduce the illiteracy rate in general populations and to properly provide remedial instruction and reading strategies for students with reading difficulties.

It is important to note that reading behaviors observed among fluent Chinese adult readers can not always be generalized to Chinese beginning readers (Chang, Hung, and Tzeng, 1992). In contrast to adult fluent readers, beginning readers may not yet have the support of essential factors to effectively construct meaning from print. These factors include: numbers of known sight words, orthographic knowledge of character formation, general information acquired from their daily experiences, the speed for visual word recognition, knowledge of a set of possible Chinese compound words that are formed by one identical character, knowledge of a variety of classifiers and functional words, and awareness of commonly used literary or book language in print. In addition, if they have not been read to on a regular basis prior to their entry into first grade, they may not have a solid concept of story (Applebee, 1978) and/or reading readiness (Adams, 1991; Chall, 1983). Futhermore, they may not know the differences in the use of syntax and literary words between spoken and written languages.

Reading acquisition and development are complex events, particularly for readers at the entry level. Reading involves translating symbols of oral language into a new set of abstract written symbols to derive information in response to print. In the following section, a few implications will be presented to discuss the educational issues related to reading acquisition and development among beginning readers, particularly for the disabled and nonproficient readers in our schools.

Reading in a Traditional and Simplified Chinese Writing System

Oral reading error patterns observed between traditional and simplified Chinese writing systems reveal a consistent reliance on graphic cues among the beginning readers. An analysis of word-for-word substitution miscues indicates that these two groups of readers in Taiwan and Singapore were influenced by at least four types of graphic cues: (1) a character within a character component; (2) specific graphic features within characters (e.g., types of strokes); (3) overall configuration of the characters; and (4) lack of word boundaries in print. Bilingual readers reading a simplified Chinese writing system that included surface cues tended to produce reading miscues that were high in graphic and low in sound similarity when compared to the text items. This increase of reading error due to graphic resemblance is consistent with the position taken by Tzeng, Hung, and Garro (1978) that the simplification of traditional characters may make the writing easier. It also accidentally reduces the discriminability among characters, making

reading more confusing, particularly for beginning readers as observed in Singapore. Many phonetic cues or phonograms used in the simplified characters also share a high graphic similarity with other phonograms that do not share any semantic relationship. Perhaps, these bilingual readers had not yet acquired the pronunciation of many "phonograms" in order to use them adequately to decipher more complex characters which include these phonograms. Hence, the substitution of one phonogram for another within a character that shares a high graphic resemblance disrupted their meaning construction from print. For example, when encountered the character " 進 " /zin/ (come in), many beginning readers substituted " 開 " /kai/ (open) for the phongram " 井 " /zing/ (well) in the character " 進 " /zin/ (come in).

However, the major factors leading to poor performance in reading were not limited to poor mastery of surface cues of shape or sound of any written language. Basically, reading development in either the traditional or simplified Chinese writing system required an optimal literacy environment and effective school literacy program in addition to children's general learning abilities. A detailed discussion will be presented in the following sections.

Academic remediation versus enrichment

A host of possible and interrelated factors could lead to low reading and literacy performance, as well as the causes of many school children with reading disabilities. However, many of these external factors have not always been taken into consideration for diagnosis and remedial instruction for the reading disabled. Diagnosis of reading and literacy skills for some children is based on common school measures, such as test scores, or written products. Reading performance is usually analyzed against a set of criteria or a norm. Academic "remediation" traditionally has applied direct instructional techniques to improve a student's educational achievement. Traditional direct instruction without careful planning and understanding of the unique characteristics of readers, however, could result in providing fragmented instruction to further alienate our children from a normal act of reading for meaning. For example, some teachers use workbooks or worksheets for drill and practice on a subset of reading skills patterned after the manner in which reading has traditionaly been measured in schools. Yet the disabled and nonproficient readers, who come from a home environment with little literacy support, seldom have the experience of reading words in a meaningful text, and have, literally, few chances to practice real reading.

Reading interviews conducted with children in Taiwan and Singapore were incorporated in the reading miscue studies. Children's responses to questions regarding the differences between Chinese school textbooks and trade books indicated that school textbooks were for learning Chinese characters and words and were mostly useful for school examinations. The trade books, on the other hand, had "real" and interesting stories and required no examination. Many of the beginning readers who were either disabled or nonproficient readers had their very first and only experience with Chinese print through school textbooks. As early as beginning first grade, many of them associated books with school examinations. For example, Wu (1987) studied Taiwanese children's concepts about Chinese print and found that upon entry to first-grade, students had the concept of the conventions of print, but not the function of print or books. Many children revealed no understanding of how print was related to knowledge acquisition.

The concept of enrichment is a commonsensical one. Enrichment offers a natural and meaningful learning environment to elaborate and expand upon children's own language and experiences with questions/answers, stories and print. In other words, teachers adopt meaningful reading materials and rearrange the classroom environment to maximize positive interactions among teacher and students as well as among students themselves. In essence, the teachers recreate a natural and desirable home environment where parents, guardians, or siblings share the storybooks with the child as a communicative event and provide literacy support for reading development. The purpose is to model language and reading acquisition through a natural and pleasurable experience. As Boyle and Peregoy (1990) stated

> learning is embedded within natural social interactions aimed at sharing communication and negotiating meaning. Through such collaboration, the story reader facilitates the child's movement to the next level of development (Vygotsky, 1962) by engaging the child in a literacy event that exceeds the child's current capability if unassisted (p. 195).

For Chinese language, reading to children on a regular basis will enhance their understanding of the differences between written and oral languages, particular between literary or book language and spoken language. While being read to, Chinese children will experience the pleasurable function of literacy skills as contrasted with their experience of literacy as a testing function (a nonpleasurable one for some). The oral reading miscues reflect the difficulty faced among the disabled and nonproficient beginning readers in the manner of recognizing the literary language, classifiers, and functional words in print whether Chinese was taught as a first or second language. The use of particular vocabulary and syntax in the decontextualized written and literary language differs significantly from the oral language children have acquired. The typical vocabulary or expressive language items presented in standardized tests are unlikely in the repertoire of the disabled or nonproficient readers. One way that educators can assist students in overcoming such obstacles in literacy and reading development is to provide sufficient opportunities for children to engage in literacy events. Some of these activities can be created both at home and at school, for example, listening to stories, directed reading-thinking activities that make use of discourse patterns (Boyle and Peregoy, 1990), interactive reading to activate prior knowledge and develop reading strategies to comprehend text (Bos and Anders, 1987), and teaching integrated language arts through thematic units and/or children's literature (California English and Language Arts Framework, 1987; DeFord, 1991; Edelsky, Altwerger, and Flores, 1991; Goodman, 1986; Rhodes and Dudley-Marling, 1988). These literacy events enhance children's associations among abstract written symbols, major concepts, general information, and their existing knowledge of oral language to ultimately acquire or learn specific features of formal language. The study showed that disabled readers increased their recall of textual information once they had a chance to interact with the researcher. In other words, the social support provided in interactive teaching and learning procedures activates and faciltates poor readers' ability to process information mediated through language.

In addition, through a communicative and socially mediated interactive approach, the disabled and nonproficient readers would likely overcome their acquired knowledge deficit (Torgesen, 1989). In schools, most on-going conceptual and informational development rely heavily on written materials; however, poor readers are unlikely to engage in reading such text. Without mediation or remediation that provides enriched experiences with print and

guided practices in processing verbal information, the disabled/ nonproficient readers may inadvertently suffer deficiencies in cognitive development and further lag behind their normal achieving peers through their formal schooling. For many of them, the original causes of reading difficulties as manifested in low reading achievement scores and low verbal IQs simply were not due to insufficient general learning or cognitive abilities. Rather, the low verbal IQs could be interpreted as an indicator that the children did not benefit from a formal school experience nor develop necessary school-related receptive and expressive language skills measured in these cognitive tests. In summary, many of the disabled and nonproficient readers had limited home literacy experiences and knowledge of school vocabulary, acquired fewer general information and academic concepts, and demonstrated ineffective reading strategies. Mostly, in schools, they likely were instructed through traditional rote learning procedures and materials to focus on subskills of reading or language arts; hence they had a few chances to read for pleasure. In addition, unlike many of their normal achieving peers, they might not have engaged in incidental learning to acquire information. Hence, essential skills required for reading and literacy development need to be explicitly taught through modeling in an intertacive, enriched, and child-centered learning environment and through meaninful literacy materials (Adams, 1991; Chall, 1983; Clay, 1982; DeFord, 1991; Goodman, 1986; Henry, 1991; Rhodes and Dudley-Marling, 1988). Given that the disabled reader's low performance on tasks required them to process language related elements, such as digits or words, it is important for them to have ample opportunities to interact with teachers or adults whenever they are required to process or acquire information mediated through their own language systems.

Oral Language Proficiency and Literacy Acquisition

Presently, reading and literacy instructional approaches provided in school do not always facilitate the development of syntactic and semantic strategies for reading. Oral reading miscues seen in the aforementioned studies demonstrated that Chinese beginning readers do make use of these strategies, probably due to their experience with oral language. Such evidence suggests that the reading instructional emphasis, particularly for the disabled and nonproficient readers, may need to be placed on holistic learning activities, such as oral language skills, to capitalize readers' strengths. The holistic view of reading and literacy instruction provide beginning readers with multiple cues from which to apply oral language knowledge, such as syntactic, semantic, and graphophonic clues to draw meaning from print (Boyle and Peregoy, 1990; Clay, 1982; Goodman, 1986). However, there is often a mismatch between the intent of the centralized curriculum development committee and the actual practices in schools with respect to the manner in which language arts are taught. For example, even though the framework that guided the development of Chinese language curriculum and textbooks indeed emphasizes the integration of listening, speaking, reading, and writing in teaching language arts to elementary students. In addition, the language lessons are organized in meaningful units to help elementary students relate classroom experiences to their daily life. However, the manner in which language arts or reading skills are traditionally assessed in the competitative school environments ultimately influences the instructional emphases and teaching practices. The standard fragmented forms of school examinations underscore the drill and practice approach for rote learning on pieces of subskills as observed in schools in both regions. It is a norm rather than an exception for elementary schools to be victims of a ripple effect, i.e., a traditional "examination leading the instruction phenomenon." Hence, the intent of teaching language arts in meaningful context through an integration of oral and written languages to enhance an optimal literacy development could not be fully realized, particularly for the disabled and nonproficient elementary readers. Through field observation, it is possible for elementary students to master the skills in taking the standard school examinations and eventually to advance in grades throughout their formal schooling. However, the proficient levels of their literacy skills outside of the contexts of school examinations need to be the main concern of the educators. In summary, the role of oral language proficiency is highly correlated with the success of the acquisition of literacy, particularly in Chinese logographic writing system. Among the bilingual readers, those who have higher oral language proficiency in either Chinese or English construct the overall meaning in reading more readily than those readers whose oral proficiency is lower. Oral language proficiency, as reflected in receptive vocabulary, also serves a special function in a Chinese logographic writing system, that is, to parse between seemingly disjoined Chinese characters in print in deciphering Chinese spoken words. Particularly, for beginning bilingual readers, they need to develop an ability to recognize or substitute literary and functional words as well as classifiers in order to get through reading processes. Finally, the success of any instructional approach that adapts a holistic learning environment and integrates oral and written language for literacy development depends largely on the manner in which language and reading achievements is measured by school officials.

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Table 1:

Variables studied in Reading Ability and Disability among Chinese Beginning Readers

Quantitative Analysis of Experimental Studies	Qualitative and Linguistic Analysis of Reading Processes
Verbal Ability	**Comprehending Process:**
Receptive Vocabulary	The use of language cues
General Information	Syntactic Cues
Sight Words	Semantic Cues
	Sound Cues
Memory Ability	Graphic Cues
Nonlinguistic Memory	
Visuo-spatial	**Reading Miscue Patterns**
Design reproduction	Word-for-word substitution
	Omission
Linguistic Memory	Addition
Digit span	Parsing
Unrelated words	
Nonsense words	**Comprehension**
	Aided Story Retelling
Phonological Awareness	Unaided Story Retelling
Initial and ending phonemes	

Technological Literacy for Chinese Youth

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Abstract

China's rapidly developing technology education leads to technological literacy. Recently developed models of technology education which are being successfully implemented in many U.S. school can be adapted to China. Technology education should be implemented in the advanced "key schools" in major cities and special economic zones, which can serve as points of dissemination to other schools. Teacher education programs which train teachers to implement technology education will also be discussed with the goal of finding direction for Chinese technology education.

China's rapidly developing technology creates both opportunities and problems for Chinese citizens. China's technical growth and the increasing level of technological sophistication call for an educated citizenry cognizant of technology from a number of perspectives.

The future direction of China and the rest of the world leads to ever-increasing change, especially technological change. Technological changes always result in social adaptations. Understanding of one's surroundings is the process of culturization. The three basic purposes of education are transmission, development and adaptation. The purposes of education are not fully served unless technology is part of the educational process for all citizens of all ages.[1] The world has changed more in the past 200 years than it has throughout all previous history. That world is changing rapidly for China and her people, and education must enable all to successfully cope with their physical, social and cultural environment. The International Technology Education Association (ITEA) says "we are living in a unique age, one of unprecedented technological change that is bringing with it an avalanche of social implications and consequences. A society in such an era with no educational base in technological literacy risks social confusion and economic depression."[2]

All citizens must become literate about the technology of their culture. Levels of technological development differ from culture to culture. Technology, therefore, has different meanings in different cultures. Technology education has developed with different paradigms in many countries. England and the United States, for example, have developed systems of creating literacy about technology among their citizens. These paradigms are useful in providing direction for technology education in Chinese schools. Given the rich tradition of technological developments and the new awareness and implications of technological development in China it is not too soon to begin a systematic introduction of technology education into China's schools, particularly in the elementary grades.

Technology is a term used by many people and it has different meanings depending upon the speaker and upon the context in which it is used. It has generally and unscientifically come to mean a knowledge about doing things with materials. Kozak and Robb (1991)[3] suggest the following: "Technology can be defined as the systems and objects or artifacts that are created using knowledge from the physical and social spheres of activity." It isn't necessary to limit the term to its narrowest interpretation because that might make the term too exclusive for rational discussion. It is necessary to incorporate many different shades of meaning into the word so as to allow for colorful and meaningful discussion—as long as the meanings employed by the speakers and listeners are not so disparate as to eliminate understanding. Kozak and Robb simplify the definition of technology to: "part of a process which we do to modify the environment in response to human needs" (1991).[4]

Technology education leads to technological literacy. Recently developed models of technology education for general education are being successfully implemented in thousands of schools throughout the U.S. These models can be adapted to Chinese culture, technological realities, and sociological necessities. Technology education should be implemented in the advanced Key Schools in major cities and Special Economic Zones, which can serve as points of dissemination to other schools and help speed China's socialist modernization.

"Technological literacy," as discussed in the context of this meeting, necessitates a definition of the term. It is not enough to simply define the two words, technology and literacy, nor to give a hardfast definition of technological literacy because the term must be understood in relation to the culture to which it is applied. The word literacy as used in the term technological literacy or technical literacy simply means a facile understanding. It can relate to the study of language in the sense that when one is conversant with a language—with its historical, sociological, spiritual, and psychological referents, with word and action definitions and with their application in communication—one is literate. When one has a command of words and can handle them with ease, one is literate.

Content and methodology must both be modified to complement the structure of education. Technological literacy differs from culture to culture. Technology education, as noted above, must also be implemented with regard for the technological history and development of the culture. This is due not only to differences in technological history and development, but to differences in political and social participation, and to differences in the educational processes within each culture. Perhaps, given the probable unfamiliarity of the term technological literacy to the readers of this paper, it might be better to start with the concept of technical literacy. When one understands things technical and can manipulate and put to use the technical artifacts of a culture, one is technically literate. It is not necessary to be a mechanic to be technically literate just as one need not be a linguist to be linguistically literate. When one understands the knowledge related to things technical—with its tools and processes; technical, historical and social implications; and has the ability to apply technology in real-life situations and—one is technologically literate. If there truly is a technological literacy that is parallel to linguistic literacy, then there are degrees of literacy and ways of learning and understanding it. As Harald Mante, the renowned photographer said recently in an interview for Techniques of the Masters, "if there are rules to an activity, then one can learn it."[5] Technology education is built on that premise.

A goal of technology education is getting the students to develop problem solving capabilities and critical thinking. This is accomplished through hands-on participation in activities which stimulate problem solving and critical and analytical thinking. Learning is best reinforced by doing.

According to the ITEA, "to be a technology education program the content must meet certain criteria. The program or activities should

address technological systems such as production, communication or transportation. The program should be knowledge based, not just tools and processes. It must look at the social-cultural impact of technology, on people cultures and environment. Finally, the program must be activity-based using tools and materials to solve problems. Technology education serves to provide genuine interdisciplinary connections to other school subjects, the world of work and to life's experiences."[6]

Technology is basic to all education. It can serve not only as a foundation for building skills necessary for living in a technological world, it can provide conceptual frameworks for integrating content and skills learned in other subjects and it can provide a guiding theme to provide organizers for what is already included in the school curriculum. Hands-on activities are basic to all technology education. The ITEA says, "The technological world is a product of human thought and action. Despite this fact students seldom have the opportunity to study technology other than in a passive way. Technology is in their minds simply objects such as computers and television rather than a human endeavor to adapt to or change the natural world. Technology encourages children to investigate their world and contribute to it. By analyzing problems, issues and trends and by engaging in technology problem solving, students will deal with the issues and demands of the 21st Century."[7]

Technology education is interdisciplinary. It is not another subject to be added to the curriculum but is instead an excellent method of teaching the current curriculum. It can be applied in almost any school setting. Children want to know how things work, how to take things apart and reassemble them. Technology education brings the real world into the classroom. In doing so it supports many subject areas, including math, science, social studies, language arts and art. Hands-on activities promote better understanding, retention and creativity. Many of the activities promote group work and peer interaction. Group work improves students' self-confidence and improves their academic performance. Cooperation is imperative in a technological society. Understanding technology helps children see why many other things they learn in school are so important. When children are interested in what they are learning, they learn more.

Technology activities can be designed to be flexible and not require great expenditures of money nor special equipment. This is especially true at the elementary school level where activities must change focus often and which do not require great depth of investigation.

The ITEA concludes its 1991 video presentation about technology education by saying, "teachers have a responsibility to prepare their students for the challenges and opportunities of the 21st Century, the century in which these children will spend their adult lives...Technology education does not seek to toss traditional methods aside. It neither requires computers on every desk nor expensive equipment and facilities. It does, however, offer students the opportunity to develop and enhance the skills of using knowledge to gain greater knowledge of analyzing and developing questions to find answers and of extending human capabilities to improve our way of life."[8]

Technology education holds promise for China's youth. As all societies enter an ever-increasing complexity of technological growth, it is imperative that all people have the opportunity to understand technology, to participate in the benefits of technology, and help to guide the growth of their country's technological progress.

Notes

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An Examination for Entrance to Tertiary Institutions in Hong Kong

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Abstract

This paper describes the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination and analyzes various components in it. It also compares the HK practice with those in China and Taiwan.

Introduction

In Hong Kong children normally enter primary schools at age six. As more than 90% of the Hong Kong population are Chinese, teaching in most primary schools is taught through the medium of Chinese. Upon completion of the six-year primary education, children transfer to secondary schools which fall into two categories according to the language of instruction: viz. Chinese middle schools (CM) teaching through the medium of Chinese and Anglo-Chinese (A/C) of English. Basically the secondary education is of 5-year duration. In a secondary school students follow a three-year junior secondary course. (Forms 1-3 in A/C schools and M1-M3 in CM schools.) At the end of this course, a student will have completed the 9-year compulsory education provided free by the government. A very high percentage of the Form 3/Middle 3 students will proceed to taking a two-year course in the senior secondary. (Forms 4 & 5/Middle 4 & 5) at the end of which all secondary 5 students will take their terminal examination known as the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE).

HKCEE

The Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination are normally taken by students at age 17. It is a subject based examination. Altogether there are over 40 subjects available, most of which are offered in English and Chinese. Candidates can choose to take any of the bilingual subjects in English or Chinese and allowed to enter from one to ten subjects within the same examination. HKCEE results are expressed in terms of six grades A to F of which grade A is the hignest and grade F the lowest. With effect from 1991 within each course grade there are 2 sub-grades e.g. A(01), A902), B(03) ..... F(12).

Achievements at a level below grade F(12) are designated as unclassified.

Based on the results of HKCEE, secondary school principals select the form 5/middle 5 graduates to fill their sixth form places. Students who do not proceed to sixth form studies will use the HKCEE results to seek employment. Grade C and above of HKCEE are recognised by most UK universities as equivalent to O-level passes. Although the annual candidature of this examination is in the region of 130,000, yet the number of the first attempters is about 70,000. The remaining 60,000 are either private candidates or repeaters in schools.

Sixth Form Education

Before and up to 1992 there are two Sixth Form Courses of different durations.

Chinese Middle Schools run a one-year course for the middle 6 students who will take the Hong Kong Higher Level Examination at the end of the course. The average of the students is 18. Middle 6 graduates normally can use the Higher Level results to seek admissions to The Chinese University of Hong Kong whose degree programmes normally last 4 years. Anglo Chinese Schools normally run a two-year course for their Sixth Form students who will take the Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination at the end of the course. The average age of these students is 19. The Advanced Level candidates can use the examination results to seek admission to all tertiary institutions in Hong Kong as well as colleges or universities overseas. The HKAL results are recognised by UK universities as equivalent to UK GCE AL results grade for grade.

About 2 years ago, on the advice of the Education Commission, the Hong Kong Government requested the HKEA to

(1) make its Advanced Level Examination become bilingual with effect from 1992;

(2) conduct the Higher Level Examination for the last time in 1992; and

(3) introduce a bilingual Advanced Supplementary Level subjects in 1994.

As the Higher Level will be conducted for the last time in 1992, I, therefore, concentrate my presentation on the Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination which will include a number of subject at Advanced Supplementary Level by 1994.

Tertiary Institutions

In Hong Kong there are altogether seven tertiary institutions which offer degree programmes viz. University of Hong Kong, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Polytechnic, City Polytechnic of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Baptist College, Hong Kong University of Science & Technology, Lingnan College. All of them are Government funded through the University & Polytechnic Grants Committee (UPGC). In 1991 the total provision of first year first degree places in these institutions among to just over 10,000. By 1995, the Hong Kong Government's provision for Sixth Form places will be 22,500 whereas the UPGC is aiming to provide 15,000 first year first degree places among the tertiary institutions. In gaining admissions to these institutions students will have to take the Hong Kong Advanced Level Examinations with reasonably good results.

Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination

This examination has its origins in the Hong Kong University Advanced Level Examination. The HKEA assumed responsibility for the conduct of this examination in 1980 which was renamed the Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination. This examination is conducted annually in the months of April and May and its results are published in the middle of July. A candidate normally takes three or four subjects in addition to the subject of Use of English which although not an advanced level subject is required by all tertiary institutions as the medium of instruction used in these institutions is mainly English. As this examination is a qualification examination, its functions not only cover admissions to tertiary institutions but also play an important benchmark role in recruit-

ment to the Hong Kong Government Civil Service at middle management level. For example a person with 3 Advanced Level passes (i.e. Grade E & above) is eligible to apply for the post of Executive Officer.

Examination Subjects

In 1992 there are altogether 21 subjects offered in the HKAL Examination. Before 1992 most AL subjects are examined in the medium of English Language only. With effect from 1992, for the following 14 subjects, candidates can choose to answer them in Chinese or in English: viz. Applied Mathematics, Art, Biology, Business Studies, Chemistry, Economics, Geography, Government & Public Affairs, History, Music, Physics, Principles of Accounts, Pure Mathematics & Sociology. For the remaining subjects whose examining media are as follows:

Chinese Language & Literature Chinese History	)	Chinese
Use of English English Literature Psychology	)	English
French		French & English
German		German & English

The subject matter to be examined is specified in published syllabuses. For most subjects, there are two or three traditional-type papers of between two and three hours duration containing free-response and/or structured questions. Practical tests are included in the Physics, Chemistry and Biology examinations.

Sixth Form Subject Committee

For each of the AL subjects there is a Sixth Form Committee whose members are responsible for the draft, if it is first introduced, or the annual review of the syllabus, and nomination of examination personnel for appointment by the Authority.

As school teachers prepare their own students for the AL examination and the tertiary institutions admit students based on the AL results, it was felt that both teachers from secondary and tertiary sectors should have a claim on the membership of the Sixth Form Committee. Therefore by constitution, on each Sixth Form Committee each tertiary institution and the Education Department are invited to send one representative to serve and to counter balance the influence from the tertiary sector, the same number of secondary school teachers selected from among the participating schools are appointed to serve.

When making nominations for appointment as chief examiners, setters and moderators, the committee can nominate university/ college lecturers without restriction but in the case of teacher nomination, for security reasons, the committee is advised not to nominate any teacher who is preparing a class for AL Examination to serve on the moderation committee.

Marking and Addition of Scores

The marking of papers is carried out by persons appointed for this purpose under the direction of a chief examiner. The chief examiner is expected to assess individual markers' performance by means of check-marking a sample of scripts. There is provision for adjustment of markers' scores to compensate for strict or lenient marking. Within the computer system there are facilities for direct addition of paper scores between 2 papers as well as conversion of a paper mean and standard deviation to a specified mean and standard deviation before addition.

With effect from 1992, the results of the HKALE will be expressed in terms of grades A-F which grade A is the highest and grade F the lowest. Each of these six grades will also be divided into two sub-grades with A(01) being the highest and F(12) the lowest. Achievement below F(12) will designated as unclassified and grades E(10) or above are recognised by the University of London and other British universities as equivalent to a pass at Advanced Level in the examination for the GCE. Sample scripts in selected subjects are sent to London University each year for marking and grading by London examiners for comparison purposes.

As the AL examination results are not only used for admission to tertiary institutions but also for employment and other purposes, therefore for this examination the Authority, in addition to maintaining comparable standards between subjects, has also to find a means to maintain comparable standards between years.

In order to achieve this, the Authority has established a group of schools which have maintained a prescribed level of achievement consistently over a number of years. This is defined as a control group. An annual review of the grading policy for each subject is carried out. The outcome of this review is that certain percentages are set as references in terms of the control group candidature for the award of grades A, C & E. When the actual grading is carried out, these percentages are translated into cutting scores for the award of the three critical grades across the entire candidature. By so doing the pass percentages of the control group for the same subject between years should be very similar, whereas the pass percentages between years of the same subject for the whole group can vary.

Future Development

At present a typical Sixth Form student will take the Use of English plus 3 AL subjects. It has always been complained about the Sixth Form curriculum being too narrow. In 1989 on the advice of the Education Commission, the Government requested the HKEA to introduce Advanced Supplementary Level subjects in 1994. The syllabus design for the AS subjects would be that

(a) The AS and AL examinations should use a comparable grading system.

(b) AS syllabuses should be intellectually demanding and coherent to ensure recognition by tertiary institutions and employers.

(c) AS syllabuses should be planned as self-contained units of study each of which should occupy half of the teaching time of an AL course.

(d) AS syllabuses should provide a worthwhile course for the majority of students who do not proceed to higher education, as well as a matriculation stream for tertiary institutions.

(e) AS syllabuses may be derived from related AL syllabuses. However, some may be specially designed as an AS in its own right. AS syllabuses could cover more restricted ground than AL's but in similar depth or the same ground as AL's but in less depth.

In the initial stage the following 12 AS subjects will be introduced in 1994 Advanced Level Examination.

1. Chinese Language & Culture
2. Liberal Studies

3. Applied Mathematics
4. Biology
5. Chemistry
6. Chinese History
7. Computer Applications
8. Design & Technology
9. General Mathematics & Statistics
10. History
11. Music
12. Use of English

By September 1992, a typical Sixth Form class whose subject pattern should be as follows:

2 Language AS i.e. Use of English and Chinese Language & Culture

2 ALs and 2 other AS subjects.

So a Sixth Form students should take 6 instead of 4 subjects as at present. Thus the curriculum hopefully can be broadened bearing in mind that the above pattern is not mandatory. In other words some principals may still prepare to organise Sixth Form Classes to study 2 Language AS plus 3 ALs.

Comparison between Hong Kong Advanced Level and University Entrance Examination in China or Taiwan

In China or Taiwan practically all Senior Middle III students prepare for their university entrance examination. Their choice of subjects for the examination is rather limited. All of them have to do Chinese, English and Mathematics. Then in the arts stream students will take History and Geography whereas the science students will do Chemistry and Physics. Those who wish to seek admission to the medical or other related courses have to take Biology. So far they have not provided commercial subjects such as Economics, Business Studies or Principles of Accounts for students who wish to study in the commercial courses within the universities. Their entrance examination, unlike HKAL Examination, serves only one purpose i.e. for admissions only. The standard of the examination between years are not as important. Afterall their universities tend to consider admitting students who have sat the examination in the same year when admission is sought. Therefore as long as the examination authorities can arrange candidates' order of merit by aggerate of 5 or 6 subjects, correctly within the same examination, people would regard it as being fair. Those who fail to get admission to any university will receive nothing from the examination authorities to certify their performance in the examination. Therefore if they wish to seek employment, they have to use the graduation certificate issued by their own schools. In Hong Kong, all AL candidates will receive a certificate listing their performance in the subjects taken during the examination. Schools also issue graduation certificates to all their graduates so far employers and school princials only recognise the results of the public examinations.

Reflections on the Development of Graduate Education in Mainland China in the 21st Century

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Abstract

This paper reflects on some strategic priorities of developing graduate education in China in the 21st century proceeding from both its current expansion and the predicted future needs. It first reviews the development of graduate education since 1978, then predicts the needs of the country in the early 21st century for high-level professionals according the data available, and finally focuses on several strategies of developing graduate education in the future.

Graduate education was restored in Mainland China in 1977, and the actual training of graduate students started in 1978. The function of graduate education is to train high-level specialized personnel for the State in order to meet the needs of the modernization program. Graduate education has been acknowledged as "an important measure to accelerate the training of scientific and technical talent ... and to quickly realize the four modernizations"[1]. In the last decade, graduate education witnessed a substantial expansion which has contributed greatly to replenishing and improving in quality the backbone of faculty of colleges and universities and scientific and technological contingents and to alleviating the temporary shortage of such people with professional skill as one of the evil consequences of the Cultural Revolution for as long as ten years (1966-1976).

However, it has been emphasized continuously in China that education should develop in coordination with the progress of economy and society, and naturally, the development of graduate education should be without any exception. If we take developing in coordination with the progress of economy and society as a criterion for judging a certain type of educational development, we would find that there are a few of problems with the development of graduate education which deserve to be inquired into. It seems even more indispensable to address these problems in consideration of the predicted needs of China in the early 21th century for high-level professionals.

In the following pages, I would like to discuss the shift in priorities of developing graduate education in Mainland China in the early 21th century proceeding from both its current expansion and the predicted needs for high-level professionals who are mainly trained through graduate education at that time.

1. The Excessive Development of Graduate Education in the Past Decade

It is not deniable that graduate education did experience a dramatic development without precedent in the history of education in China. Table I-1 illustrates its dramatic increase in the enrollment of graduate student from 1978 to 1989.

However, this development has been excessively fast. We may consider its too fast development in several aspects:

A. Its high annual growth rate.

From Table I-1, we can see the surprising rapidity of annual growth, especially in the years by 1986, among which the growth rate was over 50% in 1984 and 1985 (though the annual growth rate in 1979 was 72.22%, it is not considered far off the beam because it took place in the early years after the resumption of graduate education which was suspended for more than a decade due to the Cultural Revolution). From 1978 to 1989, the enrollment of graduate students increased from 10,933 to 101,339, and it increased by 826.88%. During this period, the average annual growth rate was 25.08%. This average annual growth rate was obviously higher than that of some industrialized countries from yearly 1970s to early 1980s (see Table I-2).

Table I-1,
The Enrollment of Graduate Students 1978-1989

Year	Enrollment	Annual growth rate
1978	10,934	
1979	18,830	+72.22%
1980	21,604	+14.73%
1981	18,848	-12.76%
1982	25,847	+37.13%
1983	37,166	+43.79%
1984	57,566	+54.89%
1985	87,331	+51.71%
1986	115,000	+31.68%
1987	120,191	+4.51%
1988	112,776	-1.93%
1989	101,339	-10.14%

Source: Adapted partially from Hao Ke-ming and Wang Yong-quan ed. *A Study on the Structure of Higher Education in China*, (Beijing: People's Education Press, 1987), p.51. and Department of Planning and Construction, State Education Commission, the People's Republic of China, *Educational Statistics Yearbook of China (1989)*, (Beijing: People's Education Press, 1990), p.6.

B. Its annual growth rate exceeded disproportionately that of undergraduates.

Table I-3 shows the grow in enrollment of undergraduates from 1978 to 1989.

From Table I-3, we can see that the fastest growth in the enrollment of undergraduates took place in 1985, but the growth rate was just 22.03%. From 1978 to 1989, the enrollment of undergraduates increased from 856,332 to 2,082,100, and it increased by 143.14% (in the same period, the enrollment of graduate students increased by 826.88%, and the increase rate was 5.78 times of that in the case of undergraduates). The average annual growth rate of the enrollment of undergraduates in this period was 9.66% (in the same period, the average annual growth rate of the enrollment of graduates was 25.08%, and it was more than 2.5 times of that in the case of undergraduates).

Table I-2
Enrollments in Graduate Education in OECD Countries

	73-74	74-75	75-76	76-77	77-78	78-79	79-80	80-81	81-82	%*
Australia					19139		20538		23500	4.1
Finland	5041			5029			5737			2.1
France		68931				78841	86076			4.4
Sweden			11609		12193			12147		0.9
U.K.										
University			73128		74184			76971	75724	0.4
Advanced F.E.			11781		11924			15784		1.0
Total			84909		86108			92755		0.6
U.S.		1086334		1076980				1102374		0.3

* Average annual growth rate.
Source: Adapted from OECD *Post-Graduate Education in the 1980s*, (Paris: OECD, 1987), p.12.

C. The high proportion of new entrants of graduate students to graduates of undergraduates.

Generally, graduates of undergraduates are the major source of new entrants of graduate students the same year. Table I-4 illustrates the proportion of new entrants of graduate students to graduates of undergraduates in several years.

Obviously, the proportion of new entrants of graduate students to graduates of undergraduates the same year rose sharply, and what is incredible is that the annual growth rate of this proportion was doubled in successive 4 years. It is really surprising that among 9 graduates of undergraduates there was one admitted into graduate schools in 1984, while among 4 graduates of undergraduates there was one entering graduate schools in 1985. Such high proportion of entrants of graduate students to graduates of undergraduates is really an exceptional phenomenon in the history of education on the whole world.

Table I-3
The Enrollment of Undergraduates 1978-1989*

Year	Enrollment	Annual Increase Rate
1978	856,332	
1979	1,019,950	+19.11%
1980	1,143,712	+12.13%
1981	1,279,472	+11.87%
1982	1,153,954	-9.81%
1983	1,206,823	+4.58%
1984	1,395,656	+15.65%
1985	1,703,115	+22.03%
1986	1,878,300	+10.29%
1988	2,065,900	+9.99%
1989	2,082,100	+0.78%

* The enrollment of 1987 is not available.
Source: See Table I-2.

D. The predicted needs in the year of 2,000 for high-level professionals.

According to the number of personnel with professional skill needed in the year of 2,000 which has been provided by the government department concerned, 66,000 graduate students will be enrolled at that time. The average annual growth rate of new entrants of graduate students from 1981 to 1985 was as high as 51.77%. As illustrated in Table I-4, the number of the entrants of graduate students was 46,871 in 1985. The entrants of graduate students would have been more than 66,000 in 1986 If the annual growth rate had been retained. Fortunately, the annual growth rate of entrants has been reduced remarkably, for example, 35,645 graduate students were enrolled in 1988, and their number decreased to 28,569 in 1989[2]. Consequently, the total enrollment of graduate students decreased in 1988 and 1989 (see Table I-1).

This kind of excessively fast expansion, if not being under control, would produce at least two harmful consequences:

First, overproduction of graduate students. It would lead to overproduction of high-level professions which economic departments and educational and scientific undertakings could not absorb

Table I-4
The Entrants of Graduate Students 1982-1985

Year	Entrants of G. S.(1)	Graduates of U.(2)	(1):(2)
1982	11,080	368,217	3.01%
1983	15,642	252,571	6.19%
1984	23,181	204,248	11.35%
1985	46,871	201,885	23.22%

Source: Adapted from Hao Ke-ming and Wang Yong-quan ed. *A Study on the Structure of Higher Education in China*, (Beijing: People's Education Press, 1987), p.59.

completely due to the relatively low level of China's economic development. Therefore, it would be an extremely serious waste of human resources.

Second, deteriorated quality of entrants of graduate students. This would lead to the erosion of quality in graduate education.

2. The Change of the Priorities in Developing Graduate Education

In view of its excessively fast expansion in the 1980s, China's graduate education has to shift its priorities from the growth in number to the rationalization of its internal structure and the enhancement of its social effectiveness in the 1990s and early 2000s.

2.1 To strengthen and improve the training of candidates for doctors

Table II-1 shows the number of doctoral and master's degrees awarded from 1981 to 1989 in China.

From Table II-1, we can see that the number of doctoral degrees increased sharply in the past decade, and consequently, the proportion of doctoral degrees awarded to that of master's degrees increased by nearly 22 times. However, this proportion is still fairly low (the highest was 4.99% in 1989), therefor, great efforts should be made to strengthen and improve the training of doctoral degrees.

From the information concerning the development of graduate education in 1988 and 1989 available so far, we can see that new entrants of candidates for master's degrees decreased by 15.71% while the entrants of candidates for doctoral degrees decreased by 14.90%[3]. It is obvious that the entrants of these two groups decreased by a very similar rate. If things go this way, it would be very difficult (if not impossible) for the too small proportion of doctoral degrees awarded to that of master's degrees to be changed. In 1989, the number of new entrants of candidates for doctoral degrees was 2,776. If its annual growth rate could be retained at 5%, then, the entrants of this group will reach 5,000 by the year 2,000 when the predicted entrants of candidates for both doctoral and master's degrees will be 66,000, consequently, the proportion of doctoral degrees awarded to master's degrees awarded will be increased to about 8% in the early years of the 21th century. Therefore, in contrast to the case of candidates for master's degrees, the entrants of candidates for doctoral degrees should be increased by a proper annual rate in the coming years.

What is the optimum proportion of doctoral degrees awarded to master's degrees awarded in a year? There has been no final conclusion reached so far. The fundamental criterion is weather or not it fits in with the needs of the society which vary greatly from country to country. Anyhow, information concerning this proportion in some countries may be used as reference (see Table II-2).

When expanding the enrollment of doctoral students, improving quality of training should not be regarded as unimportant. At least, special attention should be paid to the following two aspects:

A. The study of advanced courses for doctoral students should be intensified.

According to the Regulations of Academic Degrees of the People's Republic of China which went into effect on January 1, 1981, the required courses in the study program for doctoral candidates include political science, basic theories and specialized courses and foreign languages, and the examinations for both basic theories and specialized courses are set and administered by an examination committee, but to offer basic theories and specialized courses is not required. Meanwhile, this document also provides that those students may be excused from part or even all of the examinations of basic theories and specialized courses if they submit the certificates showing that they have accomplished major research projects, are recommended by two professors, and are approved by the Degree Evaluation Committee of the university or research institution to which they are attached.[4]

The requirements for basic and specialized courses don't seem to have been considered as a focal point of the study program for doctoral students, and the Plan for Training of Graduate Students drawn up by the Ministry of Education (the predecessor of the State Education Commission) makes it very clear that "The doctoral

Table II-1
Number of Doctoral and Master's Degrees Awarded 1981-1989

Year	No. of Doctoral Degrees(1)	No. of Master's Degrees(2)	(1):(2)
1981		8,665	
1982	13	5,773	0.23%
1983	19	3,548	0.54%
1984	91	7,789	1.17%
1985	234	12,618	1.85%
1986	307	14,938	2.06%
1987	622	20,831	2.99%
1988	1,682	36,501	4.61%
1989	1,859	37,285	4.99%

Source: Adapted partially from Department of Planning and Construction, State Education Commission, the People's Republic of China, *Educational Statistics Yearbook of China (1989)*, (Beijing: People's Education Press, 1990), p.16.

Table II-2
The Proportion of Doctoral Degrees Awarded to Master's and Professional Degrees Awarded in Some Countries

	Doctoral Degrees Awarded(1)	M. & P. Degrees Awarded(2)	(1):(2)
Australia	866 (1979)	1,383 (1979-80)	62.62%
Finland	302 (1981)	340 (1980-81)	88.82%
France	7,473 (1981)	19,558 (1980-81)	38.21%
Japan	1,457 (1981)	13,534 (1980-81)	10.74%
U.K.	5,214 (1977)	11,532 (1976-77)	45.21%
U.S.	32,958 (1980)	295,739 (1980-81)	11.14%

Source: Adapted partially from OECD, *Post-Graduate Education in the 1980s*, (Paris: OECD, 1987), pp.14-17.

students should spend all of study time on their research and on writing their dissertations''.[5]

As a matter of fact, at least until present, most doctoral students have been excused from part or all of the examinations for basic theories and specialized courses.[6]

Undoubtedly, the training of research should be the focus point in the study program for doctoral students, however, this does not means that the study of certain advanced courses should be ruled out. Therefore, to replace major courses with research is not recommendable.

Great importance should be attached to the core course requirements in the coming years. The courses of this kind should reflect the latest scientific research findings and the frontier of scholarship all over the world. How to study these courses? Study independently is certainly the major means, but guidance lectures given by scholars or specialists and discussion among professors and students are all absolutely necessary. To lay a solid foundation of advanced knowledge is becoming more and more important for a high-level scholars or professionals in the world of today where scientific and technological revolution is forging ahead at a tremendous pace.

B. Post-doctoral education should be spread with restriction.

The notion of postdoctoral education was introduced to China and has been experimented in the Institute of Theoretical Physics attached to China's Academy of Science in the early 1980s[7]. And now it is the time to make it extended to more universities and research institutions.

The major purpose of post-doctoral education at its earlier stage is ''to accelerate the development of an independent investigator capable to training others in research'', and at its later stage ''it serves as a means for concentrated pursuit of research and scholarship goals and of renewal for those whose regular responsibilities do not permit them to pursue these goals''.[8] It is very clear that postdoctoral education is a desirable means of training senior scholars. In view of the fact that China is short of supervisors for doctoral students (their number is 3,406 in 1989[9]), to speed up the spread of postdoctoral education seems especially necessary.

In the United States, postdoctoral education arose first in the fields like physics, chemistry, modern biology (including biochemistry) and medicine because these fields ''are so rich in subtleties of techniques and sophisticated ideas that the single research project required for the doctoral thesis does not provide the student with a sufficient grasp of his field to permit him to become an independent faculty member[10]. Therefore, postdoctoral education should be, at first, introduced in a few well developed fields in China, such as mathematics and theoretical physics.

Fortunately, a number of key points of developed fields have been selected among those key universities (there are 86 key points of science, 163 key points of engineering, 53 key points of medicine and 38 key points of agriculture[11]), and as the first step, postdoctoral training programs should be established in a few of these key points of advanced disciplines where there are outstanding scholars or specialists who are qualified as mentors of postdoctors and there are updated laboratory facilities. And then, post doctoral education should be further spread with restriction. By with restriction, it means that the first importance has to be attached to the quality of training, and only those outstanding scholars or specialists in those first-class departments or institutes in key universities are eligible for training postdoctors. Egalitarian democracy cannot be the model for postdoctoral education. Only the best doctors should be encouraged to pursue it and only the best scholars or specialists should supervise it. The criterion of judging the quality of postdoctoral training should be whether the experience gained will enhance the postdoctors' progress toward independence and excellence in research and supervision of graduate students.

Postdoctors are not assumed to be a new type of academic degrees. Postdoctoral education is just a kind of training which could make the people to be a better researcher than they were before and to be better prepared and more likely to succeed as a teachers of graduate students.

2.2 The structure of graduate degrees should be adapted to the changing conditions

Graduate education in China was entrusted to train faculty members of colleges and universities and research workers of scientific research institutions in the early years after its resumption in later 1970s, and the idea of graduate education has been based upon the notion of training scholars, which means that graduate training is a preparation for a life of scholarship. As the result, the emphasis of training has been put on the successful completion of training in scholarship. It is not deniable that this emphasis is critically necessary for bringing up scholars.

However, more and more economic departments, administrative organs and large enterprises have started to need high-level professionals in recent years along with the economic and social development, and it could be predicted that this type of high-level practitioners will be in even greater and more urgent demand.

This is really not only a challenge posed by the society as a whole to graduate education but also provides a new opportunity for it to perform more social functions in the coming years. Moreover, in recent years, a new trend has appeared that a few of graduates from graduate schools have been employed by those setups rather than universities and research institutions, which happened to be the similar to what has been predicted to be taken place in some foreign countries, that is ''careers for graduates of advanced study in the arts and sciences will lie increasingly outside of academe''[12].

China's graduate education has, first of all, to smash the bonds of the conventional idea which believes that to produce scholars is the only sacred mission and to provide an apprenticeship in scholarship is the only noble duty for this highest level of education. Of course, to train scholars should remain one of its major missions of graduate education, but it is not the only mission any more.

To take producing high-level practitioners as one of its missions, a few of new degrees have to be introduced.

At first, graduate degrees should awarded in more disciplines.

Currently, advanced degrees have been awarded in 10 disciplines, namely, philosophy, economics, law, education, literature, history, sciences, engineering, agriculture and medicine. Some important disciplines, such as business management and administration, is unfortunately excluded. But in the last decade, the most dramatic changes took place in the number of graduate degrees in business management and administration in quite a few industrialized countries. In the United States, the number of master's degrees in business administration grew on average by 7.2% per year from 1975/76 to 1980/81; in Great Britain, the number of graduate degrees in business administration and accounting increased by 10.6% per year from 1975 to 1982, and in France, the number of diploma in management and economics rose by 11.5% from 1978 to 1982.[13] In consideration of both the actual need of China and the major trend in certain industrialized countries, to extend disciplines

in the light of which graduate degrees are awarded is imperative and it has to be developed in response to pressures of the times.

Then, to change the unitary degree structure (all degrees are research degrees), both doctoral degrees and master's degrees should be divided into two types respectively, namely, research degrees and professional degrees.

The purpose of the study programs for professional degrees is to train practitioners while the programs for research degrees aim at bringing up scholars. Different type of degrees should receive different training. In professional training programs, the study of some knowledge on research methods should be undoubtedly taken seriously, but special emphasis should be put on providing graduate students with advanced training in specialization courses focusing on the development of abilities to analyze and solve practical problems, and correspondingly, the major criterion of judging students' achievements should be shifted from their contribution to scholarship to the development of their professional skills. For the study programs for research degrees, the emphasis of training should remain on scholarship.

In the case of doctoral degrees, most of them should be research degrees while there should be a certain number of professional degrees, for instance, doctor of clinical medicine. As for master's degrees, most of them should be professional degrees. Therefore, in the case of master's degrees, its annual growth rate has to be under strict control on one hand, and its emphasis of study programs has to be, step by step, shifted from scholarship to professional training in the coming years.

3. To Build Up a Graduate Education System Full of Vitality and Flexibility

To meet the new challenges posed by the 21th century and to make a noteworthy contribution to the country's economic and social development in the new century, an innovation has to be initiated in China's graduate education system. Here, innovation is characterized as a departure from convention or tradition. The innovation of graduate education system should focus on changing its closed and rigid situation and to bring it in new vitality and flexibility. The final purpose of so doing is to improve its adaptability in response to the new pressures of the 21th century.

A. The inclination to laying particular stress on basic research should be checked.

In China's universities, there has long been a conventional idea that basic research is superior to applied research. It seems to many people that the more theoretical inquiry done in a research the more valuable it is. On the contrary, applied research, more often than not, is belittled by quite a few faculty members as literary skill of no high order. In such atmosphere, many graduate students show no interest in practical issues but dig into theory wholeheartedly. They prefer theoretical studies rather than applied research as their degree theses, too. The value of basic research should not be depreciated, but now the point is applied research should not be belittled either. For a particular research, its scholastic value, if it has, deserves being treasured, and its use value, if it has, deserves being treasured, too.

Losing, to a certain extent, contact with reality and divorcing itself from practical issues or social concerns have been, fortunately, acknowledged as one of the weak points of graduate education in China. As the result of this kind of practice, graduate education system has, to a certain degree, become a closed preserve, in which people busy themselves in the classics and ignore what is going on beyond their immediate surroundings. If universities could change their style of study and turn to stressing practical results of research conducted by both faculty and graduate students, they will surely make more down-to-earth contributions to the society as the whole.

Eric Ashby once offered sincere advice to universities, when he said that "our universities need faculty members who are willing to reconcile, somehow, the intellectual detachment essential for good scholarship with the social concern essential for the good life[15]". What he said 17 years ago is still instructive to Chinese universities which are facing the task of meeting the new challenges posed by the new century.

B. The enrollment of part-time graduate students should be expanded.

In China, graduate students on part-time basis are named "on-the-job" or "in-service" students. Though part-time graduate students began to be enrolled as early as 1979, their number has been tiny. Besides, they come mainly from junior faculty members in the institutions of higher learning, and few of people rather than faculty members are fortunate enough to be enrolled as part-time graduate students. As the result, full-time students constitute the overwhelming majority of the graduate students body. This is another indication of its closed and rigid condition which has to be changed in the coming years.

In quite a few industrialized countries, part-time graduate students have been increased rapidly in recent years, and in a number of countries and especially in some fields, graduate studies is predominately a part-time activity. Table III-1 shows the proportion of part-timers to the whole graduate students body in some OECD countries.

In addition, the data of Britain shows the share of part-time students among each major fields in 1982/83: 37% in social science and business studies; 44% in health-related fields; 45% in education; 49% in arts and humanities and 30% in science, agriculture and engineering. The situation in other OECD countries is not likely to be greatly different from that in Britain. Relatively speaking, the proportion of part-time students in Japan is small, however, this

Table III-1
Part-Time Students in Graduate Study
Percentage Share of Part-Time in Total Enrollment

	1976	1978	1980	1981	1983
Australia		64	60		58
Sweden*					
a)	45	45		46	
b)	68	67		68	
United Kingdom					
Universities	31	33		37	39
Advanced F.E.	67	67		66	68
United States	63	64	60		

* Sweden is given on a different basis: not by enrollment status but financial status. Thus a) is share of graduate students financing their studies with a job outside the university; b) is a) + share having a teaching assistantship.

Source: Adapted from OECD, *Post-Graduate Education in the 1980s* (Paris: OECD, 1987), p.19.

figure was even as high as 29% in 1982. In recent years, Part-time study for a master's degree has been legally possible.[16]

Now, there are a great number of professionals, teachers, administrators who need to update their professional knowledge and skill but are not willing to leave their posts due to their various concerns. Meanwhile, at the same time, those graduate students in such fields as social sciences, humanities and education have come up against some difficulties in their studies due to lack of social experience and practical working experience because they have been full-time students from childhood and they have never joined in working world. Under such circumstances, to extend the enrollment of part-time students is imperative.

Of course, the organization of training programs for part-time students should be more flexible and if necessary, they should be released from work for study for a half to one year, so that the problem of non-completion which has been taken place frequently among part-time students in some foreign countries will be avoided in China's setting.

Part-time study provides a new means of integrating work experience and professional practice with research and study. In China, it will be a challenge to the conventional arrangements in the study programs for graduate students, while at same time, it will add vitality and flexibility to graduate education system.

C. The training geared to the needs of the job should be encouraged.

It should be greatly emphasized that the training of graduate students will be carried out in accordance with the practical needs of those departments which would employ them. The goal and methods of training graduate students will further be adapted to the demands of their would-be employers upon their knowledge and skill structure, so that the training would have a definite object in view. Enrollment by commission from those departments that need graduate student will be further expanded in the same vein.

D. A new channel should be opened up through which senior qualified personnel may have chances to pursue advanced degrees.

To change the closed and rigid condition of graduate education system, it also should open the door to those senior qualified personnel in the applied and practical fields of study that the modernization construction needs. A new system has to be initiated under which those presently employed are allowed to apply for advanced degrees. In view of their educational background and career status, a few of new degrees, for instance, doctors earned by successfully completing dissertation, doctors earned by outstandingly accomplishing projects or designs, should be established specially for this group of senior professionals. Here, the crux of the matter is how to guarantee the quality of the advanced degrees while encouraging this group of people to pursue them.

In 1983, the National Commission on Student Financial Association (NCSFA) prepared a comprehensive report on graduate education in the United States. Its report concludes that a strong national security program, a healthy, growing economy, and prospects for improvement in the quality of life all depend on a system of vigorous, high-quality graduate education.[17]

It is similarly logical to predict that whether China's graduate education will develop into a vigorous and high-quality training system in the near future does have an important bearing on the Chinese nation in the 21th century.

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China's Search for A Relevant School Curriculum for Basic Education: Provincial Attempts versus Central Control

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Abstract

This paper briefly describes the forces of curriculum continuity and changes that caused the highly centralized and monolithic school curriculum in the PRC. Then it compares the curriculum plans proposed by Shanghai Municipal City and Jiejiang Province, the direction of which have obviously deviated from the central framework. Finally the paper will discuss the arising problems resulting from the conflict of centralization and decenrtalization of curriculum development in Mainland China.

The Context of Curriculum Development in China

Chinese education is widely recognised as 'existing in one of the more highly charged political environments among the nations of the world' (Fraser and Hawkins, 1973). Since 1949 China's political leadership had been embroiled in bitter political struggles between the so-called two party lines. The impact of this leadership contradiction on education is a zero-sum pattern of educational development which is manifested by a perpetual swing between two 'revolutionary' and 'academic models' of education succinctly described by Chen (1974).

Prior to 1987, curriculum development in the People's Republic of China (PRC) operated within a highly centralised political system. From an international perspective, China's 'national style' of curriculum development has the characteristics of a 'confined system' as described by Rudduck and Kelly (1976) and exemplified by Morris (1986). The role of curriculum development is strictly confined to the central authority which possesses the legal and administrative instruments of curriculum control. Curriculum development is taken as an integral part of central planning and consequently is directly linked to overall national development plans. The functions of curriculum development are narrowly vested in the central agency with only minimal scope for local initiatives. This has led to curriculum uniformity (one syllabus for the whole country) and the adoption of nationally unified textbooks. The execution of policy changes is nationally uniform in conception and application, allowing little variation to meet local conditions or for adaptation in response to changing circumstances.

A national curriculum framework known as the General Teaching Outline (Jiaoxue Dagang) had been strictly followed by all schools in China. It lists the main school subjects to be taught as well as the suggested allocation of teaching time (in lessons per week) for each subject. Since 1949 the national curriculum for primary and secondary schools in the PRC has undergone major revisions in 1950, 1954, 1961, 1977, 1981 and 1987. Nevertheless, with the exception of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) during which the national curriculum was completely overhauled, the organizational framework of the national curriculum has changed little since 1950, although the time allocated to different subjects and the content emphasis of subjects has shifted.

The Quest for Modernization and Educational Excellence in Post-1976

The 'academic model' of education and curriculum returned and developed into extremes between 1976 and 1985. After the death of Mao Zedong and the downfall of the 'Gang of Four', the new Chinese leadership gradually abandoned the ultra-leftist policy of 'permanent revolution' and shifted its attention to achieve the four modernizations of China under a growth-oriented national development goal put forward by Deng Xiaoping. The leadership conceived of China as being still in the stage of 'underdeveloped socialism' and falling twenty years behind the world's most advanced countries in science and technology. Obsessed by the serious crisis of economic backwardness, Deng called for vigorous modernization programmes to rejuvenate the country. Science and education were hailed as the key factors for achieving modernization (Deng 1978 a and b). In August 1977 Deng instructed the People's Education Press, which is the central curriculum development agency, to organise a team of two hundred scholars to update primary and secondary textbooks with reference to imported textbooks from the advanced western countries. Deng justified his action by saying that, "teaching materials must reflect the advanced level of modern technology" (Deng quoted in Pu, 1985). To cope with the critical problem of manpower shortage, the highly competitive examination system and the keypoint school system were restored to select the most capable students and to accelerate their development.

Nevertheless, the 1981 national curriculum which emerged from the well-intentioned curriculum modernization initiative in post 1976 China was over-concerned with stressing advanced scientific knowledge and too narrowly focused on the selection of university candidates. The quest for academic excellence had outshadowed the relevance to China's realities. Once implemented, the curriculum created many practical problems dissatisfactions. Officials and scholars in the PRC had to acknowledge that the 1981 national curriculum suffered from major flaws including (a) being "divorced from realities in the majority of regions and schools in the country. Haste makes waste — neither can teachers teach well nor pupils follow" (Yang, 1986); (b) restricting the all round development of pupils because the school curriculum focused narrowly on a small number of academic subjects (Jiang, 1988); (c) being irrelevant to the vast majority of rural school children by neglecting the fundamental skills needed for rural growth, such as agricultural knowledge and soil science (Hu quoted in Wang, 1986); (d) being examination oriented and monolithic, overburdening learners with only a small number of academic subjects and neglecting comprehensive and extracurricular activities (Jiang, 1988; Yun et al, 1991); (e) being over-rigid and monolithic, requiring all schools to follow a unitary pattern and allowing little diversity to meet local needs (Yun et al 1991); (f) lacking overall articulation of curriculum content, resulting in repetitions and discrepancies between different subjects, and with some contents outdated (He quoted in Wang, 1990).

The Quest for Relevance and the Emergence of a Profuse System of Curriculum Development

Revision of the 1981 national curriculum began in 1985 when a major restructuring of the educational system was initiated. The proclamation of the law on compulsory education in 1986 reinforced the quest for a relevant curriculum in the provision of nine year basic education to 200 million school children (one fifth of China's population) the task of which is unmatchable by any other country in the world. Basic education was perceived as "a matter of vital importance for the improvement of the quality of the nation and for the prosperity of the country' (CCP, 1985).

Since then a number of measures have been taken to make the school curriculum more effective and relevant to China's development needs. First, the newly established State Education Commission (SEdC) formally announced in 1987 a national curriculum framework which treated nine-year compulsory education as an integrated whole (Fig. 1). It was decreed in 1988 that curriculum development must be oriented to the 80 percent of the pupils whalive in the countryside (He, 1988).

The main focus of attention was to make the core curriculum for nine-year basic education more balanced and relevant. Major revisions in the 1987 national curriculum framework included an overall reduction of content to lower the burden on students; updating of knowledge; relating theory and practice; emphasis fundamental concepts and basic learning skills; diversification of the school curriculum to allow more optional subjects, extracurricular activities and vocational skills (Jiang, 1988; Shi, 1988). Second, the top down and mandatory approach to curriculum development was relaxed and replaced by a 'profuse' system in which the SEdC sets out nationally standardized curriculum framework including guides to the underlying aims and instructional objectives. The People's Education Press, which in the past monopolised the production of standardised textbooks, has to compete with other designated publishers. Six major versions of textbooks are to be produced, namely, the Central (People's Educational Press); Coastal (Guangdong & Fujian), Northeast, Northwest, Southwest and Shanghai. A National Evaluation Committee for Primary and Secondary textbooks, which is composed of officials, scholars, teacher trainers, experienced teachers and psychologists, has been set up to scrutinise and approve textbooks produced by various publishers. The devolution of curriculum control is intended to encourage greater local initiatives and to overcome the lack of flexibility imposed by the previous unitary practive. Third, a research-development-dissemination approach to curriculum change is encouraged. The Central Institute of Educational Research has been assigned to undertake any experimental projects in curriculum diversification and integration in different sites in China (Shi, 1988). Fourth, the public examination system and the methods of assessment have been reformed to reduce their negative backwash effects. It has been proposed that the national public examination should only test pupils' basic numerical and language skills, leaving the other subjects to be examined at the provincial level by local examination agencies. These would then award school leaving certificates to secondary school graduates. The new practice has been piloted in Shanghai, Nanjing and Guangzhou since 1987 (Leung 1991).

Once devolution of curriculum control is granted by the Central authority no matter how limited it is, competition between the Central and the periphery is inevitable. Between 1987 and 1990 the six major centres of textbook production worked to produce different versions of textbooks. New textbooks were published in 1990 and field-tested in selected schools. From what is available to the writer it can be noted that the quality of textbooks produced by the coastal region, Zhejiang and Shanghai in terms of approach and printing superseded that of the Central version in some subjects. What is more, Zhejiang and Shanghai proposed their own curriculum framework which is claimed to be more relevant to their development needs. In the remaining sections of this paper the cases of Shanghai and Zhejiang will be used to illustrate how peripheral curriculum development efforts have challenged the legitimate status of the official national curriculum framework. In particular, while the SEdC has tried to tighten political and ideological control over the curriculum after the June 4th Incident many of the peripheral practices represent obvious depoliticization. Will the Central exercise its authority and axe those practices which are considered undesirable?

Curriculum Reforms in Shanghai

In Shanghai, a Committee for the reform of primary and secondary school curriculum (hereafter called Reform Committee) was set up in May 1987 to orchestrate curriculum reform. With the support of Jiang Zemin, who was by then the mayor, Shanghai was authorised by the SEdC to make more radical changes for the curriculum framework. Shanghai was given the task of producing textbooks suited for representing the "developed areas" of China. As a result, Shanghai perceives herself as

> "being a centre city with a developed economy, advanced technology, rational industrial structure and a high degree of socialist civilization"

and she has a special role of

> "leadership, pioneer and a window case of opening to the outside world"
> (Wang, 1990)

According to the director of the Shanghai Education Bureau (Yuan, 1990), the Shanghai curriculum reform will be based on three basic points (meeting social needs, in line with the structure of disciplines and promoting development of pupils) and one core (raising overall quality and developing individual personality).

The overall aims of primary and secondary education for Shanghai are to

> "develop pupils in the moral, intellectual, physical, aesthetic and vocational aspects; preparing them as citizens with good thinking quality, cultural quality, psychological quality and vocational quality; with healthy development of individual character and fulfilling the needs of socialist development" (Yuan, 1991)

Of these aims, the development of individual character displays a new emphasis when compared with the aims decreed by the SEdC.

As for the specific curriculum reform measures taken at the stage of nine-year compulsory education, several changes are to be deliberately made, namely (a) strengthening the teaching of foreign languages in schools by including more varieties (English, French and Japanese), improving listening and speaking abilities and starting earlier in primary years; (b) reducing the weighting of compulsory subjects but increasing optional subjects; (c) promoting subject integration by introducing the subject of 'science' and social science; (d) increasing pupils' knowledge of the outside world so as to meet Shanghai's export-oriented economy; (e) reducing the depth

and level of difficulty in mathematics; (f) popularising computer literacy; (g) introducing basic life skills and vocational skills.

The overall curriculum timetabling arrangement for Shanghai schools differs from the SEdC. As shown in figure 2, there is reduction in time allocation for Chinese and mathematics but increase in time allocation for foreign languages; yet the three 'learning tools' still occupy about 51% of the total curriculum time. A reduction of curriculum time also applies to social studies and science. More time is devoted to arts, sports and skills.

The proportion devoted to compulsory subjects, optional subjects and extra-curricular activities also differs between Shanghai and the SEdc. As shown in Fig. 3, Shanghai slightly reduces the total number of lesson hours in the compulsory subjects but greatly increases that of extra-curricular activities, through which Shanghai educators hope to cope with the diversity of interest and ability of the pupils.

Curriculum Reform in Zhejiang Province

A 'Trial Teaching Outline for Basic Education' (as Trial Outline) was put forward by the Zhejiang Education Commission (SEdC) in 1990, to be approved by the SEdC. Though located in the coastal area Zhejiang adopts a low profile and perceives herself as a developing region. Due attention is paid to the agricultural context of educational development. As stated in the Trial Outline,

> "Our country is a socialist country in which 800 million inhabitants live in the countryside: this is the fundamental reality of the country. The construction of the new socialist countryside is developing rapidly, this poses new demands on basic education"
>
> (Zhejiang Education Commission, 1991)

The overall education aims for Zhejiang are

> "to enable pupils to build up a strong physique, good moral virtues and habits; with a certain cultural knowledge and vocational skills; become socialist citizens whose body and mind are developed"
> (Zhejiang Education Commission, 1991)

The 'Trial Outline' calls for following the fundamental principles of Marx-Leninism and Mao Zedong so as to assure the political direction of the development of curriculum materials. Whether this is lip-service or not, such a political emphasis is absent in the Shanghai Curriculum Reform proposal.

The curriculum prescribes eight compulsory subjects for primary pupils (moral education, physical and health education, Chinese langauge, mathematics, general knowledge, music, arts, life and vocational skills). For the junior secondary years there are twelve subjects (civics, physical education, Chinese language, foreign language, natural science, social studies, music, arts, fundamental agricultural skills or labour skills, family life and career guidance. The proportion of time allocated to different subjects is shown in Fig. 4.

There are several noteworthy features in the Zhejiang curriculum framework. The first is the relative importance attached to physical and health education which occupies 11% of the total curriculum time and rank third in the overall timetable. A new textbook has been produced for this subject. The second is the widespread adoption of integrated or comprehensive subjects, such as general knowledge at primary level and general science. The third is a greater emphasis on optional subjects which account for 390 curriculum hours compared with 164 hours in the SEdC Outline and 168 hours in the Shanghai Outline. Indeed the Zhejiang Trial Outline lists 79 optional subjects to be offered, covering 9 areas.

The Zhejiang Trail Outline seems to follow a strategy of achieving minimal competencies in the core subjects, while allowing more room for the acquisition of basic vocational skills relevant to the rural needs. This can be seen in the list of optional subjects which includes practical subjects such as growing flowers, wood carving, hair cutting and Chinese type-setting.

Emerging Research Agenda

What has been attempted here is a preliminary comparison of the curriculum development strategies for basic education adopted by SEdC, representing the centre, Shanghai, representing the most developed industrial region of China, and Zhejian province, representing a developing coastal agricultural province. It can be clearly seen that Shanghai and Zhejiang perceive themselves differently and thus follow rather different directions in their curriculum proposals. In the quest for a relevant curriculum for basic education the Centre has set up a model framework which now seems very conservative, compared with the Shanghai and Zhejiang proposals, in terms of encouragement for extra-curricular activities, optional subjects and subject integration. it will be of great interest to observe how the other provinces propose their curriculum frameworks and to determine to what extent their proposals conform to or deviate from the SEdC model. Will distinctive patterns of curriculum emerge such as the so-called 'coastal pattern' and 'open' pattern?

The second emerging research agenda is to examine the relationship between the Centre and the periphery over the issue of curriculum control. The Centre holds the legitimacy of approving provincial proposals and textbooks. After the crackdown on the pro-democracy movement in 1989 the SEdC has called for a stronger emphasis on political education to combat the tide of 'bourgeois liberalization' and to counteract 'peaceful evolution'. Primary and secondary teachers have been required to teach about class struggle and imperialist subversion. English language teachers have been asked to pay greater attention to ideological education by introducing to pupils reading materials designed to promote patriotism and collectivism (Wen Po, 1990). Under such a political climate, if there are obvious deviations from the political orthodoxy, such as the move towards individualism and depoliticization illustrated by the Shanghai example, will the Centre take measures to disapprove the proposals and take arbitrary actions of correction?

The third agenda is to conduct in depth intrinsic analysis of the textbooks produced by different publishing agents to set out their features and to make comparisons. This can reveal the difference in quality between textbooks and provide evidence for judging relevance. For example, the physical and health education textbook produced by Zhejiang is quite unique but it contains detailed information about the rules and tricks of different games. Is this the proper way to promote physical education? The Zhejiang textbooks are printed on paper of excellent quality but are quite expensive. Will the rural children be able to afford to buy the textbooks and what measures will be taken to ensure the availability of textbooks to all the school children?

A long term research agenda is to monitor the implementation of various proposals after they have been approved by the SEdC and put into classroom practice. Will the implementation of the different versions of curriculum reinforce or even intensify the socio-economic differences between different regions in China? If this is

the case how can one evaluate the role of basic education in China's development? Will there be huge gaps between intentions and implementation? A separate but related issue is whether existing means for teacher education will be capable of developing enough teachers equipped to implement the curriculum changes.

Fig. 1
Curriculum Outline for Basic Education, SEdC

Subject	lessons/week in primary years						lessons/week in secondary		
junior									
Moral Education	1	1	1	1	1	1			
Political Studies							1	2	3
Chinese	10	10	10	9	9	9			
Foreign Language					3	3	5	5	5
Mathematics	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	6	6
Science			2	2	1	1			
Agriculture (for rural)						2			
Physics								2	3
Chemistry								3	3
Biology							2	2	
History						2		3	2
Geography					2		3	2	
P.E.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Music	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Arts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Work Experience				1	1	1			
Vocational Skills						2 weeks			
electives						164 hours			

Fig. 4
Arrangement of the nine-year basic education curriculum in the Zhejiang Proposal

Subjects	Time allocation as % of total curriculum time	Subjects	Time allocation as % of total curriculum time
Core subjects		Social Studies	6.9
moral education/Civics	4.6	Music	6.9
physical education & health	11.0	Arts	5.9
Chinese language	29.2	Vocational Skills	
Foreign Language	2.3	Family Life	
Mathematics	18.7	Career Education	5.9
General Science	6.4	Optional Subjects	3.8
Natural Science	4.6	Extracurricular Activities	23.5

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English Language Education in China's Window to the West*

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Abstract

This paper examines eight areas of change influencing English language education in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone (SEZ), China's window to the West. The author's point of reference is the English majors program of the Foreign Language Department (FLD) of Shenzhen University (SZU), but many of the comments may apply to other English departments within SZU and to other programs both in and outside the University and the Shenzhen SEZ.
This analysis does not purport to cover a complete discussion of the subject. Rather, its purpose is to examine the present situation in brief and to raise some issues for further study.

Change #1: English study gets more emphasis

As more and more western firms set up joint ventures in the Economic Zone, English language becomes more pervasive. Not only is English becoming fashionable in the local media and in public advertising, but its instruction is also being taken quite seriously. A plethora of private learning centers have sprouted up; primary and secondary schools hold special English instruction classes, some of which are taught by FLD students. The establishment of a Shenzhen Foreign Languages Society is further evidence of the seriousness English now receives.

It is not, therefore, unreasonable to expect that primary and secondary schools will continue to place more emphasis on English. Similarly, the federal college entrance exams are expected to be revamped to include English as one of three major subjects tested (along with Chinese and math), and one can expect secondary schools to adjust their curricula and place greater emphasis on English and to improve the quality of English instruction. Given this scenario, the books university freshmen now use may one day be used in middle schools.

In response to demand, the FLD has established a Junior College for students who score high in English but fare less well in other subjects tested by the university entrance exams. The English levels of these students are often better than those of the 4-year undergraduates. If the best of these students are permitted to transfer to the 4-year program as juniors, everyone in the language program will benefit.

Change #2: The high schools provide better students

As the economic zone develops and its schools improve, the quality of students entering SZU seems to rise. Data for admissions tests for the 1987-1991 FLD classes don't address this point. Tests are not standardized like the U.S.'s SAT or the U.K. A-Levels, and they appear to vary in difficulty from year to year. Thus, scores cannot be compared over time. Many teachers, however, share my perception that the English levels of entering students are in fact rising.

Change #3: More respect for students' abilities

When I arrived at the FLD in 1988, I surveyed students and found they were bored and unchallenged by their courses.[1] Extensive reading was using simplified versions of novels, derogatorily referred to as "picture books." Conversation class was little more than free talk. The book used for writing was better suited for U.S. primary students. Fortunately, now we use real novels, conversation class employs some methodology, and writing classes use U.S. college textbooks. We're taking the students more seriously. As a result the students are more challenged.

In the last several years SZU's policy has focused on upgrading the quality of ex-pat teachers. At one point the main selection criteria for foreign teachers was one's being a Caucasian native English speaker. The more classroom hours taught by "foreign teachers," the better. Now, however, the basic conversation courses are being taught by volunteer British high school graduates; the ex-pats are freed to teach English medium courses in their fields of expertise, better challenging the students. This emphasis away from quantity and toward quality results in not only better teachers, but also better students.

Change #4: A more practical education

In the survey, the 1986 and '87 students said they wanted more practical courses that could give them usable skills for after graduation. Many of our graduates want to work for state enterprises and joint ventures that use English daily. Additionally, the Hong Kong English-language media offers students a way to maintain their reading and listening skills after graduation.

Several changes in the curriculum have addressed the students' concerns. CECL, Communicative English for Chinese Learners, is now the core of freshman and sophomore English.[2] Translation and oral interpretation courses are now part of the permanent curriculum; a TOEFL course has been added.

Related to this — taking a more practical approach to education —students seem to be more active in class. Perhaps the courses challenge them more and better bring out their intellectual curiosity.

Change #5: From ESL to English medium education

Shenzhen University is a general purpose university and, as such, provides Chinese-medium education. All courses, except for language instruction, are conducted in common Chinese (pu tong hua).

Currently, a number of the Western instructors at SZU teach classes in English. They are not ESL (English as second language) teachers. Rather, they teach economics, accounting, anthropology, literature or journalism, not ESL per se. Of course, special attention is given to the students' needs and to the fact they are not native English speakers.

At the same time, classes are moving from lecture-orientation to discussion or, in other words, from teacher-centered to a student focus. Among the ESL courses, CECL, which is modeled on Western education techniques, especially reflects this trend. Shenzhen University is the only general purpose university in China to use CECL.

Change #6: Technology as teacher replacement

The Shenzhen SEZ is one of China's most technologically advanced areas. SZU boasts a computer center of 150 PCs. Language labs can sit hundreds of students. Video classrooms hold several hundred more. The library catalog is computer indexed; students have access to publications on microfilm.

Yet, exploring below the surface, one finds that fewer than half of the computers fully function, that students listen to language tapes whose quality is often poor, and that students watch movies with no teacher to guide them. The library's computer system—state of the art when the building was opened in 1986—is now stone-age technology, replaced elsewhere by CD-Rom. In addition, all three microfilm readers are broken; there's no periodical index; and the microfilm collection has not been supplemented since the initial 1984 donation.

In fact, technology improves only the appearance, not the quality, of education at SZU. A major problem is that technology at the university is dysfunctional. No maintenance supports the abundant hardware. Another problem is that technology's role is misunderstood. Instead of utilizing technology as a teaching tool, faculty have been replaced by it. Students watch movies, their numerous questions unasked, because no teacher is present. Likewise, confused students are unsupervised in the computer center; librarians lack expertise and offer little assistance.

Change #7: Evaluation — In its infancy

Evaluation at SZU takes several forms. Students, of course, are evaluated by grades and test scores. Teachers are now evaluated by students, as mandated by the Ministry of Education.

Although individual teachers' lesson plans are collated by the administrators of each academic department, nowhere is the content of courses coordinated or evaluated; teachers are often assigned texts, but generally, course content and teaching methodology are not examined.

Although academic evaluation at SZU is only in its infancy, it creates much debate and controversy. Put simply, most teachers fight evaluation. Remembering the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, they fear that evaluation is merely an excuse for criticism, not a step toward self-improvement. In addition, traditional Confucian teaching methodology opposes feedback. Teachers impart knowledge to students, who may respond by asking questions. But students are not expected to dispute or argue with the teacher. The feedback so fundamental to Western education—from student to teacher, from student and teacher to administrator—is not an integral part of the Chinese system.

Western education has advanced partly because it continually undergoes self-examination. It evaluates its methodology, and it defines and redefines its goals. In such a way, the curriculum meets the needs of ever improving and demanding students. Evaluation begets change. Changes are often unsettling. Chinese educational reformers should expect to confront inflexible institutional bureaucracies. But without this confrontation, China's educational system can only remain the same.

Change #8: Toward western education?

Both students and teachers generally acknowledge that the quality of Western tertiary education is superior to China's. Many faculty at SZU have received post-graduate training in the West. Students are aware that their ex-pat faculty teach very differently from the Chinese professors. No one I meet, for example, was surprised by a recent article in *Newsweek* entitled "The 10 Best Schools in the World" that identified U.S. graduate schools as the best on earth. [3]

Despite this realization that occidental education has much to offer, few native Chinese teachers use Western techniques. Even those who have studied in the U.K. or U.S. are reluctant to replace Confucius with Socrates. Few Chinese teachers are willing to teach CECL, which encourages student participation, group activities, analysis and creativity. Other courses, moreover, are still taught in the traditional lecture format: students memorize, then regurgitate on a final exam.

SZU's educational structure prevents most Chinese teachers from employing Western methods. Most teachers let the final exam account for all of a course's grade. Participation is not marked; thus, many students say little in class. Most classes are large lectures (except those in the FLD where average size is twenty). There are few seminars or tutorials.

A second roadblock to Westernizing methodology is the fact that few teachers are trained in ESL. They are experts in their individual specialties, whether linguistics, literature, or translation, but they have never been instructed on how to teach English to non-native speakers. To remedy this, the Foreign Language Department received a grant from Esso to send a professor to a British Council ESL course in Hong Kong. This solution, however, is not a practical way to train an entire faculty. The Guangzhou Institute of Foreign Languages holds a similar British Council teacher training program in Guangzhou. Since this course lasts a year, it too is not practical.

Time constraint proves to be a third barrier that prevents Chinese teachers from using Western methods. Much instruction in the West occurs outside the classroom. Individual contact between student and teacher transpires during office hours as faculty guide students in their research projects and papers, and they often give students special attention in their weak areas. In fact, much of a Western professor's time is spent reading student papers.

At Shenzhen University, however, almost all teaching is done in the classroom. Writing assignments are few, thus making teacher-student consultations unnecessary. Faculty don't hold office hours. They spend almost no time with students outside class. Part of the reason for this phenomenon relates to the school's location in the high cost economic zone. Living costs in the SEZ are the highest in China. In addition, faculty are expected to buy their own housing, something that requires a Y10,000 (RMB) downpayment. (Teachers are paid about Y500/month). Faculty usually teach extra hours (the average lecturer has about twenty contact hours a week in class, almost half of which is overtime). Most faculty moonlight.

Implications For the Future

Many of the changes identified above are positive trends. The increased emphasis placed on English, especially practical English, coupled with the steadily improving English levels of entering students, suggests SZU is moving toward becoming China's first English-medium general purpose university. Instruction based on Western methodology is beginning to challenge the students.

Some of the flaws in English language education at SZU relate to Confucian tradition: students acquire knowledge, but are not given analytical skills or encouraged to be intellectually curious. Grades are based on exams, not original research papers. Other major problems are connected with China's modernization and the university's location in the economic zone. The high cost of living

in China's most modern city forces teachers to moonlight. They have little time to spend on individualized instruction. Finally, SZU is clothed in a sheet of technology which, in fact, serves to conceal many broken body parts.

Many exogenous factors, positive and negative ones outside the university's control, are likely to influence the quality of English education. These include the improving language level of high school students, the prevalence of English-language media and technology, the demands of the job market, and low faculty pay. Such elements are largely beyond the school's influence. SZU, however, has control over certain factors, especially how it deals with both the Confucian tradition of education and with modern technology. These are where the debate should be focused.

Arguably, China excels in two areas not listed in the Newsweek article. First, Chinese students probably have the most developed memories on earth—a skill, in part, that derives from the rigor of learning a character-based language. The second outstanding attribute of higher education in China is the sheer intelligence level of the students. Because of the fiercely competitive examination system and due to the sad fact there are so many qualified applicants for so few university places, those admitted to tertiary institutions surely rank among the world's smartest, as measured by raw intelligence, and most diligent. Creativity, imagination, participation, intellectual curiosity and inter-personal and analytical skills must all be taught.

An area in which students languish is confidence. The students themselves often fail to realize their own potential. They remain unchallenged by their teachers; they never experience the defeat/success/defeat/success struggle that comes with Western style education. Often students complain to me they can't do my assignments. But, when they try, they invariably do the assignments quite well.

What will educators of the 21 century see when they look through China's window to the West? Will they observe an educational system that continues to underestimate both the intelligence levels and abilities of students? If so, then the epitaph for China's educators can reflect the words of the comic character Pogo: We've met the enemy and he is us.

Notes

* An earlier version of this paper was presented to the December 8, 1991, meeting of the Shenzhen Foreign Languages Society.

1. See M. Agelasto, "Cultural Elements that Indirectly Affect English Language Education in China," in Chen et al., Proceedings of the Second Guangdong Symposium of English Teaching of Foreign Experts and Teachers (Guangzhou: n.p., 1990) p. 98-105.

2. Under a British Council grant, CECL was developed for the use of Chinese teachers and students by the Guangzhou Institute of Foreign Languages, which is the only university, other than SZU, to use it. For a discussion of CECL, see Li Xiao Ju, "The Communicative Approach," in *English Language Teaching in China* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1986).

3. *Newsweek*, December 2, 1991. p. 38-50.

Conflicts with Beliefs, Pedagogy, and Structure: Foreign Involvement in Pedagogical Change of English as a Foreign Language in the PRC

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Abstract

This paper examines how the beliefs, pedagogy, and structures, which have developed in the English language classroom culture in China, restrict pedagogical change advocated by foreign teacher trainers. The issues raised serve to acquaint the reader with some of the complexities of pedagogical change. This paper concludes with an examination of topics which require further research.

English is presently viewed as an essential tool in China's modernization thrust. As an international language, English plays an important role as a means of communication in developing and changing spheres such as technology, science, diplomacy, trade, and tourism. At the request of government and increasingly through foreign initiatives (educational and non-governmental organizations), foreigners have been acting as curriculum consultants and developers, researchers, English teachers and teacher trainers at both tertiary and secondary levels. This paper offers a descriptive synthesis of the literature concerning the conflicts that foreign and Chinese educators are experiencing as pedagogical change is introduced in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teacher training programs in China. Most of the literature concerns EFL teacher training at the tertiary level; however, these issues are also pertinent to the teacher training programs with middle school teachers. A brief analysis follows the discussion of each conflict. North American literature on curriculum change and implementation will inform the brief analysis. It is not assumed that the research findings of the North American curriculum specialists can be directly applied to the Chinese education context; however, the concepts are useful tools for inquiry.

The conflicts between the Chinese traditional and foreign Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)[1] approaches can be classified using a culture of the classroom framework. Each classroom culture is manifested through at least three basic elements: beliefs, pedagogy and structure. Beliefs are based on shared values and expectations of all the participants: the teachers, students, administrators and those outside the school environment. The beliefs discussed in this paper include the role of the teacher, role of the students and their educational philosophy, in this case, the beliefs about language learning. Pedagogy involves what is done in the classroom: methods, use of materials, objectives and evaluation. Some educators may argue that objectives and evaluation policies are not "done in the classroom." However, in the Chinese context, these two elements are an integral part of classroom pedagogy decisions. Structure includes the organization of time, space, people and resources. These structural elements are established in order to facilitate learning and to exercise control over the behavior of the students.

These three elements are not mutually exclusive. For example, if it is expected that the teachers' role is to transmit knowledge (belief), then the methods in the class will be teacher centered with the teacher lecturing and imparting information (pedagogy). With this teaching role, the number of students (structure) can range from 10 to 70 in a class without challenging or affecting the beliefs or pedagogy. We will see from this study that the changes inherent in introducing the more communicative approach in a language classroom usually focus on pedagogy but also have significant change implications for the beliefs and structures in the classroom.

Often taken for granted in the process of educational reform is the fact that reforms mean change. It is assumed that change is natural, even inevitable, yet for teachers, "learning a new skill and entertaining new conceptions create doubts and feelings of awkwardness or incompetence...."[2] The impact of change on the principal players (the Chinese teachers and students) is not adequately addressed in the literature describing language teacher training programs in China. Michael Fullan, a leading Canadian education sociologist explains that "change" is an important dynamic.

> Neglect of the phenomenology of change - that is, how people actually experience change as distinct from how it might have been intended - is at the heart of the spectacular lack of success of most social reforms.[3]

The teacher trainers must do more than just introduce innovations; they must also analyze the impact these innovations have on the teachers and students.

A question that must be asked is, do the Chinese teachers perceive the innovation (the CLT approach) as a need for themselves and their students? Most pedagogical change agents (foreign and Chinese educators) admit that Chinese teachers are resistant to changing the methods they use in class. Does their resistance just stem from "natural resistance to change in the teaching profession?"[4] Apparently some, though not all, of the resistance comes from the belief that the system has been able to "produce" fluent speakers, effective translators and scholars who have successfully completed graduate work abroad.[5] Liu reminds us that

> Since most Chinese teachers still believe that the record of the traditional method should be assessed as 70 percent merits and 30 percent demerits, they won't discard it easily and completely.[6]

However, these stellar students are exceptions,[7] and "success" is a relative term. Most of the students "produced" by the Chinese system have adequate reading and translation skills but limited listening, speaking and writing skills.

Because of the drastic increase in contact with foreign enterprises and the need to have personnel with effective English communication skills, the government has decided to place more attention on English instruction. Since 1979 the Ministry of Education has launched several EFL teacher training projects. Initially, the focus was on the teachers practicing at the college level.[8] (Since then, ambitious plans have been made to train or retrain all TEFL teachers,[9] e.g. the Australian middle school inservice program.) These programs were mainly staffed by foreigners who anticipated conducting programs which incorporated methodology, linguistics, classroom observation, materials testing and development.[10] "They assumed (subconsciously or otherwise) ... that the Chinese would want to learn about current Western ideas on the teaching of

languages."[11] Even though the Chinese teachers were generally unaware of current developments in applied linguistics,[12] Grabe and Mahon and the other foreign trainers found "the response of our Chinese students and other Chinese teachers to lectures on methodology and linguistics has been one of scepticism, reluctance, and at times lack of comprehension."[13] They were not aware that the Chinese perceive teacher training to be content centered, and in this case, that language improvement and methods are considered secondary. Liu explains that "the study of methods for teaching English to speakers of other languages has never been highly valued, even in teacher training programs."[14] The Chinese believe, "if their teachers 'know' more English, they will teach better."[15] The distinction is that the foreign teacher trainers are preoccupied with the technically oriented HOW (methods), whereas the Chinese are focused on the WHAT (knowledge of the language). It is no surprise then that since the expectations of the foreign teacher trainers differed from the felt needs (for language improvement) of the Chinese teachers, the result was (and still is) resistance.

In a 1990 report, the State Education Commission criticized the focus on linguistic rather than pedagogical development in methodology courses.

> In the previous period [i.e. prior to 1989], there had been a tendency, in teacher education at the college level, of neglecting the purpose of training for college education and seeking to parallel that of university education; the curriculum and contents of teaching had tended to be hard-going and difficult, failing to establish a close connection with the related courses taught in junior secondary schools; the links in the teaching practice had been weak and not enough importance had been attached to the training of the students' basic skills of instruction.[16]

Officially then, there seems to be a desire to shift from the WHAT to the HOW of teaching in teacher training programs. Whether this will actually filter down through to the various training sites remains to be seen.

In the foreign ELT teacher training programs, Chinese and foreign educators are divided on whether the concentration should be on methodology training,[17] language proficiency,[18] or properly designed materials.[19] Even though foreign experts have been involved with EFL teacher training since 1979, there is still no common agreement between Chinese and foreign educators on an effective and appropriate teacher training model nor on how EFL should be taught in China.

Throughout this paper the terms "the Chinese approach" and "CLT approach" are used in a general sense. The two approaches will be contrasted; however, this juxtaposition is not meant to foster stereotypical images or over generalizations. A very brief and general description of the two approaches follows. Both the Chinese traditional approach and the foreign communication based approach are eclectic. The Chinese approach has

> focused on academic study of grammar, literature, and in-depth analysis of literary texts, following traditional Chinese scholarly practice and American and Soviet influences on the structure and content of Chinese education ... various traditional Chinese educational strategies, which were inclined toward memorization, discussion, and grammar-translation, have combined with Western influences on Chinese education in this century, such as missionary use of total immersion in the foreign language, American focus on the study of literature, phonetic study of English pronunciation, the Direct Method, Soviet traditions of intensive and extensive reading (from French origins), and the audiolingual method. The result of these influences have tended toward grammar-translation, intensive reading and the study of literature.[20]

The more communicative approach is also an evolution of various methods and approaches which reflect more recent applied linguistic research and educational theory.[21] Yen Ren Ting has highlighted their common denominators.

> they all emphasize (i) independent, inquisitive work by the learner, (ii) target language communication in the course of learning, (iii) the development of skills in understanding, speaking, reading and writing as the goal of teaching.[22]

The focus in the Chinese approach on teacher, textbook and grammar is in almost direct contrast to the CLT focus on learner, practice and skill development.[23] Both of these approaches evolved to serve specific historical conditions and reflect applied linguistic and learning theory claims.

Since "a program plan or a curriculum is more than a list of teaching strategies and materials, but is also a set of assumptions and implied roles which do have implications for the teacher,"[24] it is necessary to look at the conflicts that arise when educators attempt to implement the CLT approach into a traditional Chinese language classroom.

Belief: Language Learning

The essential characteristics of the Chinese view of language learning are memorization, repetition, habit formation and the quantitative accumulation of knowledge.[25] Repetition, memorization and habit formation are conditions for the mastery of form, which leads to the creative use of the language. "It is believed that once a process becomes mastered through precise, repeated practice of praiseworthy models, then originality can emerge within the bounds of discipline."[26] This Chinese saying captures the idea of learning and creative use, "When one can memorize 300 Tang poems, he is sure to be able to compose poems of his own even though he is not a poet."[27] Since language is viewed as knowledge (an end) and learning is mastery of that quantifiable data, then errors are viewed as inadequate study, inadequate memorization or bad habits.[28]

The CLT approach views learning as a skill development rather than a knowledge-receiving process. It is believed that students learn through using and experimenting with English, which is viewed as a tool for communication (a means). Vocabulary and grammar are not to be learned by rote, but to be assimilated and internalized.[29] Errors are tolerated because they are viewed as indicators of development that will decrease with more practice. In other words, the CLT approach tends to assume that the knowledge (English) is "knowledge how to" (i.e., skills, proficiency, functions), while the Chinese are focused on the "knowledge of" (grammar, lexicon, rules).[30] The Chinese teachers and students then are required to make a conceptual shift as to what English (the knowledge) means and how to study/learn it.

Since the conception of learning permeates the entire Chinese education system, is it realistic to have teachers and students change

their teaching/learning style in only one subject area? Will they be willing or able to change to a constructionist view of knowledge knowing that the rest of the Chinese culture still operates in the positivist mode?

Belief: Role of the Teacher

There are at least four broadly defined groups of English teachers involved in teacher re-training programs in China:

> the Russian 'retreads' (teachers of Russian hastily retrained, or simply redeployed, as English teachers), pre-1966 English teachers (trained when audio-lingualism was prevalent) and post-1978 English teachers, with some exposure to the Communicative Approach. (Non-English teachers, conscripted from other subjects make up a fourth group, which is probably the largest...)[31]

Even though they are classified in these four groups, the role of the teacher is generally consistent.

In the Chinese approach, the role of the teacher, whose authority comes from holding all the knowledge, is to pass on that knowledge to the students. Influenced by the Confucian tradition, "the language teacher has the sole authority in the classroom and therefore should not be questioned, interrupted or challenged."[32] If the teacher errs, it is assumed that the teacher has not prepared adequately and therefore has not fulfilled his/her duty.[33] It is expected that all the activities in the class are initiated and controlled by the teacher.

On the other hand, in the more communicative approach, the teacher takes on a "helper" rather than "knower" role.[34] Since the focus is on the students' development, "the teacher's job is only to provide the conditions for this process, set it going, observe it, try to understand it, give guidance, help it along, analyze and evaluate it."[35] This new "job" implies a completely different set of skills and change agents must recognize that it will take time and experience for teachers to understand and effectively take on their new role.

This radical change has been difficult for the Chinese teachers to accept for several reasons. Many teachers are teaching to the limits of their knowledge of English,[36] so it is very threatening to use methods that allow for unpredictability (e.g. student questions). While trying to use the new methods, some teachers have expressed that they feel uprooted and guilty because they are not doing their duty.[37] These are significant concerns that should not be treated lightly. The teachers are challenged to change their beliefs and values about their understanding of their duty - their identity.

If the teachers do not believe in or accept the new role, it will be very difficult for them to perform accordingly. "Beliefs guide and are informed by teaching strategies and activities: the effective use of materials depends on their articulation with beliefs and teaching approaches and so on."[38] The task of the teacher training programs is onerous if CLT is to be implemented; not only must they change the actions of the Chinese teachers, but they must also change the attitude as well. One could argue that foreign language teachers in other settings (e.g. Canada) once taught in the "traditional" way and have changed their role, so teachers do change and are able to change roles. That is true; however, the Chinese teachers have no context in which to place this new approach in. "They've been isolated from learning theory and know little of the developments in thought that have spawned these changes in classroom approach."[39] The implication here might be that an additional level of knowledge of learning theory might effect a change in teachers' attitudes. This is why Patrie and Daum propose that pedagogical change agents "should contribute to evolution, not revolution, in EFL methodology in China."[40]

Student-Teacher relationship dynamics are also important to consider. If the students are supportive and willing to change their own role, perhaps implementing change will be easier for the teacher. "The intricate web of reciprocal role beliefs"[41] will have to shift in the EFL classroom. Implementing the new CLT approach assumes the teachers and students are willing to change their established and comfortable roles.

Belief: Role of the Student

In CLT, the role of the student dramatically changes from a passive receiver to an active participant. Much more responsibility is given to the student for his or her own learning and development. Within the Chinese approach the students are required to be able to memorize and answer discrete point grammatical questions. With the CLT approach, the students must be able to actively and appropriately "use" English because often progress is determined by performance (participation).

The Chinese teachers and many foreign teachers recognize that the students would find the abrupt change to learner-centered methods difficult to adjust to. Oatey, for example, found that some of the trainees were confused regarding expectations and how to study within the new method.[42] Wu suggests that a gradual and sensitive introduction of the new approach is necessary.[43] Because their learning experiences will change, students will need to learn (or be exposed to) different learning strategies which are more conducive to the activities.

Some Chinese teachers predict that some students would reject their new student role.[44] It seems rather ironic that students would reject a "student-centered" approach. This irony exemplifies the conflict in the different perceptions of "student role." Li, Allen and Spada claim that the students' resistance was not as unyielding as the teachers'.[45] However, they did not specify exactly who was teaching the students and teachers. Because most foreign teachers have few problems with students responding to their foreign teaching style, they literally can not understand the Chinese teachers' frustration. From my own observation, I found that Chinese students accept the different role and methods from foreign teachers but not from Chinese teachers. It appears that within the classroom, Chinese should act Chinese and foreigners should act foreign.

Pedagogy: Objectives and Evaluation

Both the Chinese and the CLT approach aim to meet the needs of the students. In the Chinese context, the focus is on providing the grammatical and vocabulary knowledge so the students can successfully pass the many exams they must take in their academic career. These examination and other curriculum decisions are not in the teacher's domain. The Ministry of Education clearly defines the aims, objectives and linguistic criteria for each level of schooling,[46] prescribes or recommends the textbooks,[47] determines the time allocation and teaching methodology (in secondary schools)[48] and tightly controls the secondary and university entrance exams.[49] These exams, which are basically gatekeepers in the system, focus on grammatical analysis and vocabulary knowledge. Because of the restrictive relationship between the curriculum and examination criteria, teachers believe that their established grammar-translation

approach will successfully prepare their students for the exams. Students also feel this contextual constraint, and thus pressure their teachers to teach for the examinations.[50]

The CLT approach aims to help students gain communicative competence, which includes four kinds of competence: grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic competence[51] (see footnote for explanation). These goals are consistent with the perceived needs of the Modernization thrust- to produce workers to effectively communicate with English speakers through oral and written means.

Chinese teachers have experience evaluating grammatical competence; however, because of their own limitations, they feel they can not properly evaluate the sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic elements. This communicative approach "requires holistic evaluation by people with native-speaker or near native-speaker competence."[52] Acceptable qualitative evaluation instruments have not yet been designed. Furthermore, even within the North American context, CLT language testing is fraught with controversy and "many a curricular innovation have been undone by failure to make corresponding changes in evaluation."[53]

The Chinese teachers interviewed by Burnaby and Sun felt the Chinese approach is suitable for examination and translation preparation, whereas the communicative approach is only useful for preparation of students going abroad (since most Chinese students have no real communicative needs in English inside of China.)[54] The problem with meeting the objectives of ELT in China is the existence of two vastly different learner needs: discrete-point examination preparation and "real-life" communication skills. To complicate matters, there are four distinct groups (contexts) of EFL students in China: university students majoring in English, university students with other majors, students preparing to go abroad, and all the others (mostly secondary).[55] Is it then necessary to implement the communicative approach in all EFL classrooms?

It is unlikely the teachers will wholeheartedly change their methods if the examination remains the same. T. Scovel, assuming that teachers will be using foreign proposed methods, advocates that more power and authority be given to the teachers.

> Until some control over the construction and interpretation of these neo-Confucian examinations is allocated to people who are in direct, daily contact with students and who are hopefully trained in test design and administration, the testing and placing of students will have little continuity with the activities of the classroom.[56]

Scovel's argument is valid for a North American context; however, because giving power to the people at the grassroots level is not typical in the hierarchical Chinese social system, this is not likely to occur. Since foreign teacher trainers do not have any direct influence on changing the curriculum nor the national examination system, they have chosen to concentrate on changes in pedagogy.

Pedagogy: Methods and Use of Materials

The use of the textbook, classroom procedures and preparation of lessons are significantly influenced by Confucian principles and Russian educational practice.[57] It appears the Russian pedagogical practice reinforced the Chinese philosophical principles, making the adoption or assimilation quite smooth and thorough. The textbook, held in the highest place of authority,[58] is used for intensive reading. Literature texts, which have replaced the Four Books and Five Classics (attributed to Confucius), are used for grammatical and syntax analysis. Even though intensive reading is an *ad hoc* examination of the language,[59] the teachers believe the students learn the analytical skills that are needed for passing exams, reading technical articles and translating documents.[60] Yu, Shen and J. Scovel posit that the thorough adoption of the Russian 5-Step teaching methodology has inhibited language teaching reforms in China (see endnote for explanation of the 5-Step Method).[61] The collective preparation of materials and exercises provides security for the teachers[62] although it does not foster individual confidence and increased language competence.[63]

Near native-speaker language proficiency and confidence are essential for teachers using the CLT approach. Teachers are encouraged to utilize authentic English language materials (radio broadcasts, newspaper articles, real-life dialogues, etc.) rather than a prescribed textbook. Some of the activities which encourage language use and learner autonomy involve group discussions, roleplays, creative writing, peer correction of errors, extensive reading skills (skimming, scanning, etc.), guessing vocabulary meanings from context, playing games and singing songs. The foreign teacher trainers advocate that a variety of materials and activities is valuable. The Chinese teachers, however, are not convinced of the value of these authentic, interesting and student centered materials since they claim "the Chinese (have) a much longer attention span, that it (is) difficult to bore them, and that they would prefer not shifting from activity to activity."[64]

Each of the activities in the CLT approach is based on assumptions about learning. For example, the assumption behind playing guessing and other communication games is that the students will learn more effectively if they take risks and lower their inhibitions.[65] Based on their beliefs about learning and student and teacher roles, Chinese teachers (and students) consider these less directive teaching activities a waste of time.[66] These assumptions behind the approach must be clear to the Chinese teachers since it will facilitate their understanding of the CLT approach and methods; however, it can not be assumed that understanding will lead to acceptance and implementation. Many of the assumptions in the CLT approach may be based on values that are antithetical to Chinese society and may not fit within the socio-political climate of China (e.g. taking risks).

The Chinese teachers have many other reservations about implementing the CLT approach in their classroom. Their other reservations include (perceived) inadequate language proficiency and target language cultural knowledge, inexperience with creating materials and exercises, lack of resources, and criticism from peers and superiors for deviating from the government approved curriculum.[67] Sampson reports that the Chinese teachers

> complained that there are just too many new and different methods for teaching English and no criteria for choosing among them, except perhaps one's emotional proclivity towards one or the other. And in a country such as China with an intellectual tradition stemming from ancient times, emotional proclivity is not seen as an appropriate way of dealing with major educational decisions.[68]

Teacher trainers must empower the Chinese teachers with analytical tools for assessing the application of an activity/method in a particular context.

> Unless a teacher comprehends the various viewpoints and methods which have been and are being proposed

> and tried, he will be unable to select intelligently those most applicable to his own teaching situation.[69]
>
> Because of these discrepancies in education theory, roles, expectations, methods and material use, Chinese educators advocate that a new "Chinese way" be developed.[70] This is appropriate since the context is Chinese, and the present analysis of the conflicts reveals that foreign ideas are not easily "imported" into this context. Many educators agree that "the English language is foreign, but the teaching of it should be Chinese."[71] In 1989 the State Education Commission proposed
>
> We should make further researches into all the pedagogic schools [i.e. grammar-translation, audio-lingualism, the 'communicative Approach', etc.] rejecting the dross and assimilating the essence, and make them serve us according to our national conditions.[72]

The question is, which criteria defines "the dross?" Who will make those decisions?

Structure: People, space, time and resources

The CLT approach has implications for the structures in the language classroom. Most North American ESL classes have a maximum of 20 students, so values inherent in the CLT approach (such as attention to individual student needs) are more manageable. In contrast, a Chinese teacher with 50 or more students in a class is understandably overwhelmed with the duty of providing individual attention and allowing for individual participation.[73] To promote student interaction, small group activities are recommended by communicative approach advocates; however, Chinese teachers view this as a threat to their control and status.[74] They feel they will not be able to correct student errors, which is an important responsibility (to prevent bad habits from forming). Moreover, school principals and colleagues in neighboring classrooms have been known to complain of the noise, implying the teacher's lack of control.[75] Physical limitations also exist, for example, Chinese teachers claim it is difficult to arrange the students in groups of four when the desks are bolted to the floor in long rows facing the teacher.

The CLT approach also has implications for the teachers use of time outside and inside the classroom. In the middle schools, the EFL teachers are required to teach more hours because there are fewer EFL teachers in the schools. They are therefore very concerned with the time required to create a variety of authentic student (interest) centered materials[76] (which, as mentioned earlier, are not considered necessary anyway). Teachers believe that learning in the traditional Chinese way (memorization, etc.) is a more efficient use of time than learning with the indirect communicative approach. Accordingly, teachers fear that using the communicative techniques for three hours with a large class is not sufficient time to cover the prescribed curriculum/examination content effectively.[77]

The quality of instruction and the distribution of resources is dependent on where the school fits in the national hierarchy. The hierarchical and elitist system of schools determines how equipment is distributed. At the tertiary level, national institutions are favored over local provincial or municipal ones. The secondary schools are ranked in descending order from municipal key schools to technical and specialized secondary and vocational institutions, to regular academic schools on down to the rural *minban* schools.[78] Most schools do not have the audio-visual equipment such as overhead projectors, video recorders and players, and language labs that are used to support the communicative techniques. Access to the photocopier, for making class sets of teacher-created exercises, is usually unavailable. "Intensive instruction with the best qualified teachers [and up to date audio-visual equipment] is reserved for that tiny minority who will be expected to put the language skills to use in a lifetime career,"[79] whereas the textbook is the sole source of English for most rural schools.[80] It will prove very difficult to implement the CLT approach in all schools because of this imbalance of resources.

Changes in pedagogy naturally place demands on corresponding structural concerns. It is unlikely that foreign teacher trainers will be able to influence these factors, yet they must recognize their existence and empower the teachers to discern possibilities of adapting the CLT approach to work within these externally established boundaries. Furthermore, pedagogical change will need to address the conflicts within the whole context rather than one factor in isolation.

From this analysis, it is evident that the CLT innovation introduced in the Chinese EFL classroom encompasses second-order rather than first-order changes. According to Larry Cuban, first-order changes "try to make what already exists more efficient and more effective, without disturbing the basic organizational features."[81] Some examples of first-order changes in the Chinese context include revisions of EFL textbooks, raising salaries, and changes in resource allocation. Second-order changes on the other hand

> seek to alter the fundamental ways in which organizations are put together. ... introduce new goals, structure, and roles that transform familiar ways of doing things into new ways of solving persistent problems.[82]

This paper has already highlighted some of the fundamental problems in the way of the second-order changes that are implied in adopting the CLT approach into the Chinese context. Within the North American context, Cuban observed that second-order changes met with very limited success. Will this also be the case in Chinese EFL classrooms? The answer to this question lies in the important research that is yet to be done on the process of pedagogical change and implementation in China.

Questions for Further Research

This literature review attempted to explain the conflicts between the Chinese traditional and the foreign Communicative Language Teaching approach. Bridging the pedagogical gap between the two approaches has been the goal of the foreign influenced teacher training programs in the PRC. Questions, however remain, as does the potential for research in these areas.

1. Is it ethical for foreign and reform-minded Chinese educators to expect so many changes to be made in the EFL classroom? Are the values of the teachers and students respected and completely understood? We have seen that pedagogical reform is complex and multidimensional. Some of the implied changes might be considered insignificant, but second-order changes which involve educational theory and roles are not.

2. Rather than framing a teacher training program with the question "How should Chinese teachers teach EFL?" it is more crucial to ask, "How do they teach EFL?" What is happening in the EFL classroom? Before change is introduced, it is important to thoroughly understand the basic principles and assumptions already

in operation. The change agents should know the "is" before they propose the "ought".

3. How are Chinese teachers and students affected by the changes? Since the most important person in implementing pedagogical change is the teacher, it is paramount that the teacher's role and the teacher's understanding of the change be explored. Ethnographic and phenomenological research needs to be done to understand the process of change from the perspective of the teachers and students. After the teachers begin using the new materials and approach, it is essential to observe if and how the changes are implemented. What has remained constant? Why? Understanding these dynamics will help future educators discern how teachers can be prepared for pedagogical change.

4. What are the costs and benefits of pedagogical change for the teachers and students? This is a question teachers will naturally ask themselves and the answers will determine the extent of implementation.[83] Determining the costs and benefits of the CLT approach in the Chinese context will help educators clarify which aspects, if any, to implement.

5. To what extent are the Chinese teachers expected to implement (use) the communicative approach? There are two possibilities: fidelity or mutual adaptation.

> The fidelity approach ... is based on the assumption that an already developed innovation exists and the task is to get individuals and groups of individuals to implement it faithfully in practice. ... The mutual adaptation or evolutionary perspective stresses that change often is (and should be) a result of adaptations and decisions made by users as they work with the particular new policies and programs ...[84]

Are the teacher trainers assuming fidelity to or mutual adaption of the communicative approach?

It appears from the foreign authors that fidelity is assumed. Their attempts to change the context rather than change the CLT approach to fit the context, imply that fidelity to the foreign based innovation is desired. The Chinese, on the other hand, are working towards a mutual adaptation model. Two well known maxims express this goal: "Let the past serve the present; make foreign things serve China" (Mao: *Gu wei jin yong; Yang wei zhong yong*) and "Chinese essence, Western practice" (*zhongti xiyong*).[85] Historically, China has managed to adapt rather than adopt. Hayhoe explains, "Something in the strength of Chinese culture - also the fundamental independence and dynamic awareness of the Chinese psyche - has made it possible for these massive transfers of knowledge and technology to be turned to different ends than those intended by the donor countries."[86] The Chinese educators have the right to decide what changes will be made to the CLT approach and the change agents (foreign and Chinese) must respect that decision. [It is interesting to note the Chinese desire "mutual adaptation" of practices from the outside; however, within China, conformity to a decision (fidelity) is required.]

6. What could Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Applied Linguistics research do? Effects of Instruction Research, which determines what the positive and negative aspects of the traditional Chinese approach are, can be a basis for decisions regarding pedagogical change.

> The greatest gap now confronting foreign language educators in China appears to be the absence of applied research to inform program decision-making.... The result is that there is virtually no empirical data now available to assess which innovations have been effective or ineffective, to guide future developments with confidence, or even to support theorizing which might justify current practices.[87]

The CLT approach is a result of research and theory development in various fields (e.g. psychology, sociology, philosophy, education research, applied linguistics). It was developed in a "Western" setting and reflects the current Western philosophical and social context. The CLT approach research was conducted by Western researchers who had an experiential understanding of that context. Can research from one context be applied to another? Sampson challenges educators to develop a conceptual framework for adopting a method developed in one context to the other.[88]

7. What other factors account for the resistance to pedagogical change? This paper has only outlined the major conflicts in the EFL classroom, while the broader social, political, cultural, and economic contexts have not been explored.

One factor may be the "foreignness" of the CLT approach. For example, ethnocentrism may influence the goal of determining a "Chinese way" to teach English. Porter's historical analysis of the role of foreign teachers reveals that even as early as the 1800's, Western educational practices were rejected. After the defeat in the Opium War in 1840, some Chinese educators advocated changes (which included Western ideas) in the education system; however, Chinese authorities rejected ideas tainted with Western thought.

> These early advocates of change according to Biggerstaff (1961) were motivated solely by a desire to strengthen China against the West. All regarded China as morally superior to all Western nations. ... The goal of China, the authorities said, was to destroy Western arms and strengthen moral character, not to copy the inferior West.[89]

Today, similar anti-foreign sentiments are evident and impede international cooperative ventures with China, so it is unlikely that education is exempt from these dynamics. A "Chinese way" to teach EFL in China is an appropriate goal; however, it would be very unfortunate if the Chinese rejected the CLT approach solely on its "foreignness" rather than from the critical application of educational principles. Furthermore, Maley perceptively indicates that "there is an inconsistency in proclaiming the policy of the Four Modernizations, while at the same time claiming that China is so different that nothing foreign can possibly work there."[90]

This "foreign" factor is important to consider since foreign experts and teachers are currently playing a major role in EFL teacher training projects in China.

8. What can EFL change agents learn from the history of changes in TEFL in China? Because of political factors, English has been banned from the school curriculum and reintroduced twice within the past 100 years. Tang claims

> This accounts for the unsurprising phenomenon that the constant changing of the policy and programs of TEFL has led to the little improvement in teaching methodology. It also accounts in part for the comparatively backward state of TEFL in China.[91]

The content in the EFL texts has certainly changed over the years (e.g., the Cultural Revolution propaganda), but have the methods changed? What first-order and second-order changes have occurred in the past? How can those experiences inform the decisions regarding change today?

Conclusion

Thousands of foreign TESOL experts and teachers have been invited to China to participate in the country's thrust for modernization. Along with reform minded Chinese educators, they have proposed a more communicative approach to language teaching. This approach has met resistance and has been difficult for the Chinese teachers to implement in their own classrooms. From this study, we have seen how the CLT approach differs from the Chinese traditional approach in three basic, yet essential, areas: beliefs, pedagogy and structure. The assumptions underlying both approaches may or may not be mutually exclusive. Further research must be done in the area of curriculum change and implementation in order for Chinese and foreign educators to determine which aspects of the CLT approach are suitable to the Chinese EFL classroom.

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1. Sandra J. Savignon, "Communicative Language Teaching: State of the Art," *TESOL Quarterly* 25.2 (1991):261-277.

2. Michael Fullan, *The New Meaning of Educational Chance* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1991) 46.

3. Fullan 4.

4. Oren E. Moffett, "State of the Art of Foreign Language Education in the People,s Republic of China," *Foreion Language Annals* 16.1 (1983): 14.

5. see Thomas Scovel, "The Impact of Foreign Experts, Methodology and Materials on English Language Study in China," *Language Learning and Communication* 2.1 (1983): 84. Liu Xiyan, "An Analysis of Factors that Hinder TESOL Innovations in China," *TESL Reporter* 21.4 (1988): 74. William Grabe and Denise Mahon, "Comments on Methodology-Oriented Teacher Training Programs in China," *TESOL Quarterly* 15.2 (1981): 207.

6. Liu 74.

7. See T. Scovel (p. 84) for an analysis of who these stellar students represent. They are by far a minority.

8. Wu Jing-Yu, "QUCHANG BUDUAN - A Chinese View of Foreign Participation in Teaching English in China," *Language Learning and Communication* 2.1 (1983): 112.

9. Wang Keqiang, "Teaching English as a Foreign Language in China," *TESL Canada Journal* November 1986: 158.

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11. Oatey 358.

12. See Wu Jing-Yu, "Eclecticism: A Chinese Viewpoint," *Language Learning and Communication* 2.3 (1983): 287-293. See also Li-Xing Tang, *TEFL in China: Methods and Techniques* (Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press, 1983): 265.

13. Grabe and Mahon, "Comments" 207.

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17. See Yu Chen-chung, "Cultural Principles Underlying English Teaching in China," *Language Learning and Communication* 3.1 (1984): 29-39; and Wang 153-160.

18. See Grabe and Mahon, "Comments" 207-209; Barbara Burnaby and Sun Yilin, "Chinese Teachers, Views of Western Language Teaching: Context Informs Paradigms," *TESOL Quarterly* 23.2 (1989) 219-238.

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20. Burnaby and Sun 222.

21. This "evolution" includes traces of the following "methods" -grammar-translation approach, Direct Method, Structural Linguistics Approach, audio-lingual method, Monitor method, Community Language Learning, Silent Way, Suggestopedia, notionalfunctional syllabus and communicative approach (focus on communicative competence).

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23. Ting 52-55.

24. Walter Werner, "Understanding School Programs," (First Draft), 1988:8.

25. See Yu 29-39; Li Xiaoju, "In defense of the Communicative Approach," *English Language Teaching Journal* 38.1 (1984): 2-13.; Wendy Allen and Nina Spada, "A Materials Writing Project in China," *Language Learning and Communication* 1.2 (1982): 187-195; Janene Scovel, "English Teaching in China: A Historical Perspective," *Language Learning and Communication* 2.1 (1983): 105-109; Wu, "Eclecticism" 287-293; and Alan Maley, "On Chalk and Cheese, Babies and Bathwater and Squared Circles: Can Traditional and Communicative Approaches be Reconciled?" *On TESOL ‚84, a brave new world for TESOL*. Eds. Penny Larson, Elliot L. Judd, and Dorothy S. Messerschmitt (Washington: TESOL, 1985) 159-169.

26. Janene Scovel 107.

27. Quoted in Yu 36.

28. See Allen and Spada 192 and also Zhang Zhen-bang, "TEFL at the Shanghai Foreign Language Institute," *Language Learning and Communication* 1.3 (1982): 291.

29. See Li 6.

30. Dr. Scott McGinnis, Department of East Asian Languages and

Literatures, University of Oregon, personal communication, November 1991.

31. Adamson 4.

32. Ting 53.

33. Allen and Spada 191.

34. See Oatey 353-363.

35. Li 9.

36. Patrie and Daum 393.

37. Li 9.

38. Fullan 41.

39. Grabe and Mahon, "Comments" 208.

40. Patrie and Daum 394.

41. Werner "Understanding" 7.

42. Oatey 357.

43. Wu, "QUCHANG" 113.

44. Yu 29. See also Grabe and Mahon, "Comments" 208. 45. Li 6; Allen and Spada 194. 46. Wang 155.

47. Burnaby and Sun 228.

48. Tang 46.

49. Thomas Scovel 88.

50. Burnaby and Sun 228.

51. Maley, "Chalk" 160-162. Grammatical competence includes mastery of the language code. Sociolinguistic competence requires language used in the appropriate social context. Discourse competence implies the ability to combine meanings with unified and acceptable spoken or written texts in different genres (e.g. not using passive speech in general conversations). Strategic competence includes the verbal and non-verbal strategies which are used for more effective communication, especially when breakdowns occur.

52. Burnaby and Sun 235.

53. Savignon 266.

54. Burnaby and Sun 222-229.

55. Burnaby and Sun 225.

56. T. Scovel 88.

57. See Shen Baoqing, "An Investigation into some questions concerning the Current Teaching of Foreign Languages in Institutions of Higher Education," *Chinese Education: A Journal of Translations* 19.1 (1984): 117-125; Janene Scovel; R.F. Price, "Convergence or Copying: China and the Soviet Union," *China's Education and the Industrialized World* ed. Ruth Hayhoe and Marianne Bastid (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1987) 158-193; and Edgar A. Porter, *Foreign Teachers in China: Old Problems for a New Generation. 1979-1989* (New York: Greenwood, 1990).

58. Ting 53.

59. Maley, "XANADU" 104.

60. Burnaby and Sun 227.

61. Yu 31; Shen 120; and Janene Scovel 108. The 5-Step teaching methodology, according to Kairov, consists of: (a) reviewing the old material; (b) orienting the new material; (c) explaining the new material; (d) consolidating the newly-learned material; and (e) giving assignments. Each step should be carefully scheduled and written out in great detail. (Yu, p. 32). 74.

63. See Grabe and Mahon, "Comments" 208 and Janene Scovel.

64. Allen and Cooke 26.

65. H. Douglas Brown, "TESOL at Twenty-Five: What are the Issues?" *TESOL Quarterly* 25.2 (1991):257. Brown includes an excellent chart outlining the assumptions behind six teacher activities.

66. Maley, "XANADU" 105; Oatey 357; and Burnaby and Sun 229.

67. Burnaby and Sun 118-223.

68. Gloria Paulik Sampson, "Exporting Language Teaching Methods from Canada to China." *TESL Canada Journal* 1.1 (1984): 21.

69. Tang 36.

70. see Yu 34; Wang 158; Shen 124; Liu 76; and Burnaby & Sun 229.

71. Liu 76.

72. State Education Commission, Peoples, Republic of China, *Guidelines on the English Syllabus for Compulsory Education in Full-Time Junior Secondary Schools: "Junior English for China"* project document. (1989) cited in Adamson 5.

73. Wang 157; Burnaby and Sun 232; Shen 122. 74. Allen and Spada 192.

75. Personal communication with Middle School teachers. Beijing, Summer 1987.

76. Personal communication with Middle school EFL teachers, summer 1987.

77. Burnaby and Sun 229.

78. See Heidi Ross, "The 'Crisis' in Chinese Secondary Schooling," *Chinese Education: Problems, Policies and Prospects* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991).

79. Timothy Light, "Foreign Language Teaching in the People's Republic of China," *ON TESOL 78: EFL Policies, Programs, Practices*. Eds. Charles H. Blatchford and Jacquelyn Schacter (Washington: TESOL, 1978) 96-97.

80. Wang 158.

81. Larry Cuban, "A Fundamental Puzzle of School Reform." *Phi Delta Kappan* January, 1988:342.

82. Cuban 342.

83. Walter Werner and Roland Case, "Factors affecting implementation of issues-related innovations," *EDGE - Explorations in Development/Global Education* Occasional Paper 15 (1988): 1.

84. Fullan 38.

85. See Porter for a perceptive analysis of how Chinese view foreign involvement.

86. Ruth Hayhoe, "Penetration or Mutuality? China's Educational Cooperation with Europe, Japan, and North America." *Comparative Education Review* 30.4 (1986): 539.

87. Cumming 216.

88. see Sampson.

89. Porter 9.

90. Maley "XANADU" 109.

91. Tang 37.

Promises and Limitations of English Language Training in Taiwan

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Abstract

In the time allotted to me for this presentation, I wish to present a case to the educational decision-makers in Taiwan, and perhaps all of China for that matter, for the reassessment of the present general pattern of teaching and testing English as a foreign language. I refer specifically to Taiwan because two colleagues and I had the opportunity to conduct a one-month teacher-training workshop in the city of Taichung this past summer. Rest assured that I am speaking for a large number of EFL teachers in the region at all educational grade levels who expressed concern about the great amount of energy put forth in English instruction by teachers and students alike but the results of which have been disappointing at most.

At present English language assessment is built around a number of standardized tests which fail dramatically to get anywhere close to the actual needs of students, especially later on in their professional lives. In many schools, teaching to the tests has become a significant part of the curriculum. Thus even rising test scores should be looked at with skepticism since they fail to assure any kind of real competence in English. In most cases the language testing is part of a wasteful process that determines a limited education for too many students. This situation, of course, is not limited to Taiwan. Consider a place as far away as New York where, as Vito Perrone notes, "Test scores in New York City have been rising for a decade, and averages are now above national norms. But the popular view is that NYC schools are in a state of collapse, offering students too little substantial eduation."

What I am proposing here is a possible mandate for the 21st century by which policymakers, after careful analysis of the role of English in the future professional lives of their young provide an opening for teachers and administrators to develop student evaluation processes that are also rooted in communicative language instructional programs, not separated from them.

English in Taiwan—and all of China for that matter—might better be officially viewed as "English as an International Language." This means that English is now, and probably for some time to come, the lingua franca of world-wide communication.

It should be noted that the upsurge in EIL has not resulted from any kind of missionary zeal on the part of native speakers from North America, England, etc. It is the language of international commerce, international conferences, international research and education, international travel, and international pop culture. It differs from English as a Foreign Language in that in an EFL situation, a native speaker is in someway involved.

The slides which accompany this paper represent what could be going on in a number of junior high and middle and secondary school classrooms. The participants are not regular students but middle school teachers who with a little reluctance designed to play the role of students. As we progress through the pictures of our recent workshop held in Taichung this past summer, notice what current methodologists regard as communicative. The role of the teachers, by the way, is not lessened; their energies are, however, given to the task of second language interaction among homogenious speakers of Chinese.

The general methodological features reflected in the classroom procedures of the University of Arizona instructors were the following:

1. Maximize the students' exposure to natural language.
2. Incorporate a listening phase in the instructional program.
3. Apply interactive techniques to relax students.
4. Spend some time on formal grammar lessons.
5. Consider the motivations of the students and use this knowledge in planning lessons.
6. Create an atmosphere in which students are not embarrassed by their errors.
7. Make sure that dialogues and scenarios contain current and socially useful phrases.
8. Remember that certain grammatical structures tend to be acquired before others. Don't attempt to alter this process.
9. Avoid the native language as much as possible when teaching the foreign language.
10. Always treat the textbook as a script.
11. Make use of concrete referents at all levels of proficiency as much as possible.
12. Be aware daily of a desired Student-Teacher Performance Ratio (STPR).

If a choice is to be made and if some genuine second language proficiency is to be acquired, these demonstrated techniques—in contrast to prevalent methodology which amounts to little more than preparation for a series of traditional types of examinations—would need little promoting among foreign language faculty.

The workshop activities as demonstrated had a three-fold purpose:

1. Most of the activities involved meaningful communication.
2. Most activities required group interaction.
3. All activities, created by both instructors and students, were designed to increase the participants' fluency in English.

A first step in reassessing the role of English language learning should probably be a self-study process which involves teachers, administrators, students and parents. (I don't believe the participation of students to be unlikely, considering the leadership responsibilites a number of them are given in the everyday activities of their schools.)

If significant changes are to occur, the following should be observed:

1. The process must be internally motivated. In other words, those involved must recognize a need for change.
2. The administration must be committed to the process of review, reassessment, and changes as needed.
3. The process must be led by competent practitioners.
4. The ability of the English teaching staff to function effectively should be analyzed and enhanced.

In a self-study process for the purpose of revision in the English training program, the teachers should first assess their own English

language proficiency. To give them the confidence and ability to carry out a more communicative language program, opportunities for English practice per se and updates on methodology must be provided as needed through in-service and summer workshops.

It is unlikely that anyone's academic integrity would be threatened by the realization that student evaluation should nurture student growth, and that the present system of standardized testing of English does not really help to foster student learning, nor does it provide teachers with much information of consequence. In many settings it is without question a wasteful effort that contributes to sentencing too many students to a limited education. In spite of a small sample of personal interviews, I would still venture to add that because of the rote system of examination preparation required within the Taiwan educational system, in a great number of cases, the teachers of English, especially in the middle school, are beset with academic boredom.

Instead of a summary, let me add several more questions to contemplate:

1. What are the actual needs for English language today and what will they be in five years or so?

2. What kind of feedback are the schools receiving from business and industry concerning English proficiency?

3. What kind of assistance for improving English training might be possible from the above?

4. How can the teacher-training institutions cooperate in improving English language training and pedagogy?

5. How can the educational testing programs be improved?

I hope this brief presentation will be helpful for further discussion about English assessment and concrete directions for change.

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Proceedings of "Practical Classroom Realities" Roundtable Panel Session

Recorded by: Steven Thorpe
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Panel Members

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Procedure

The purpose of this roundtable panel session was to discuss some of the practical realities that confront educators as they prepare students for life in the 21st century. Panelists from the PRC and Hong Kong dealt with education in Chinese contexts. Educators from the United States discussed teaching about other countries (e.g., China) in the USA. Each panel member made opening remarks in response to the focus questions listed below.

The transcript below represents notes rather than a verbatim report. Panelists and audience members agreed that the discussion could have continued for a much longer period. The topics and issues should be addressed again in future sessions.

Focus Questions

1) How is your educational system preparing young people in your country for the 21st century?

2) Do the curricula and instructional strategies in your schools support your system's goals for educating young people for the 21st century?

3) What factors enhance the work of teachers in your country today?

4) What factors inhibit the work of teachers in your country today?

Proceedings

Julian Leung

(Regarding Question #1) There is an identity crisis for students in Hong Kong as Hong Kong heads toward 1997.

There has been a restructuring of educational goals and objectives to prepare for this transition. This effort has not been very specific.

1) Preparation for useful citizen.

2) Positive attitudes toward life.

3) Understanding of China.

There has also been a program to promote political literacy.

There have been efforts to promote a bi-lingual abilities. The effort has been to develop Hong Kong's students' abilities to speak *Putonghua*, the standard national language in the PRC.

Finally, the Hong Kong educational authorities have attempted to enhance the human capital of Hong Kong's young people in an effort to boost Hong Kong's economic capabilities.

(Regarding Questions #3 and #4) Hong Kong has more resources to support its teachers than the PRC has. But the PRC, based on the *jiaoyanzu* system, has a better teacher support network than Hong Kong. Hong Kong teachers tend to be isolated and more on their own.

The PRC has the additional problem that a significant proportion of its teachers come from lower SES levels and they tend to lack strong academic preparation. Moreover, recently in the PRC, the attitudes towards teachers and the teaching profession is not as positive as it once was.

Winnie Lai

(Regarding Question #1) The Hong Kong educational authorities have developed an advanced supplementary exam, that is a post Form 5 exam.

As Julian mentioned, there has been an emphasis on enhanced bi-lingualism in Chinese as Hong Kong prepares for transition to PRC sovereignty.

Additionally, there has been an effort to encourage Hong Kong students to learn more about China. Hence, a new Chinese language and culture course has been created. One difficulty with this course has been the challenge to define what is Chinese culture. The time span for this course development has been too short because it is to be implemented in 1992.

In order to attain the goal of developing useful and responsible citizens, the Hong Kong system has mandated a course on liberal studies.

(Regarding Question #2) On the positive side, teacher in-service training is needed in order to ensure proper implementation of these goals and courses. The University of Hong Kong has taken up this task of providing in-service programs.

Yet, there have been drawbacks to the curriculum development work. 1) The decision making has been at a higher level where people are not aware of the realities at the classroom delivery level. Pilot testing and surveying have not been done. 2) The products tend to be too ambitious. 3) The curriculum tends to be monolithic. 4) The changes tend to limit student choice in major and/or electives.

There have also been barriers in the realm of instructional strategies. Planners in Hong Kong are not aware of teachers' problems at the classroom level. Therefore, teachers do not find it easy to meet the requirements of the new programs. For example, teachers have concerns about what is the meaning of "culture" in the new requirement for the course, "Chinese Language and Culture." In addition, these teachers tend to be conservative in their approaches. As the course was formerly listed and taught as "Chinese Language and Literature," the teachers tend to ignore the change to "culture" and they retain the classical literature component that they have

always taught. Moreover, the teachers appear to be disregarding the system's effort to emphasize oral communication. They note that the system's exam for the course is exclusively written, therefore, they focus solely on written work.

Teng Xing

(Regarding Question #1) The People's Republic of China has no plan for the education of national minorities in the PRC looking toward the 21st century. The situation is so backward in the national minorities' regions that the immediate situation is more important. For example, in Tibet a survey of one hundred students revealed that only six will graduate from high school.

Schools for national minorities in the PRC and other schools in the PRC are part of a unified system. Therefore, they are basically the same.

Nevertheless, there are some differences. For example, there is an emerging debate of bi-lingual education in the PRC. The students in bi-lingual schools may not be as efficient in learning because the bi-lingual process takes more time. Therefore, there is a possibility that the bi-lingual schools may extend their programs a year or two to cover the same amount of material as a regular school.

There is a dual administrative system for schools in national minorities areas. One line runs from the Education Commission in Beijing to each region. Another line runs from the Central National Minority Committee in Beijing to each region.

(Regarding Question #2) The curriculum is unified. Nevertheless, there are some borderland regions which have specific needs. For instance, transportation is a major problem in some areas because they have no cars.

In some regions, educators have challenges because some parents have no expectations for the benefits of formal education, hence, they do not encourage or insist that their children stay in school.

There is a perceived need for curricula to be adapted to local conditions in the various regions. Unfortunately, there are too few people prepared to handle this task.

The paramount goal for the education of national minorities is to attain five years of compulsory education for the entire population. The most basic level of education is needed. In particular, the most important need is a vocational-technical education component. This can be accomplished in a 5 + 1 (years) system or a 6 + 1 system.

(Regarding Questions #3 and #4) In the PRC there is an unbalanced approach to teaching work today. On the one hand, the official position is to give praise, respect, and attention to teachers. On the other hand, the unofficial status of teachers is low. Wages, for example, are so low that some lower middle-school graduates make more than teachers who have graduated from college. Now, the population at large refers to teachers as *dian shao er*, a service person. Wages are so low for teachers that they all do extra work.

Peggy Hirata

In Hawaii, we also have educational challenges. Some resemble the ones mentioned earlier. For example, students and teachers have been confronted with textbooks published in the U.S. mainland which focus on a Western perspective and tend not to take into account an Asian perspective. Beyond that, the students in Hawaii had very little knowledge about Hawaii. Additionally, students here are at a disadvantage concerning aspects that relate to certain subject areas such as geography. For instance, they live in a climate that has only subtle changes in the seasons. When a teacher, textbook, or test talks about something they have never experience, they are at a disadvantage. Another point

As a result, the Consortium for Teaching Asia and Pacific in the Schools (CTAPS) was developed to address these curriculum deficiencies. CTAPS uses an approach which develop teacher teams in schools to promote teaching about Asia and the Pacific. Teams can be in elementary or secondary schools. They usually consist of seven members. Efforts are made to include school administrators because they are gatekeepers who have an impact on the implementation of projects in schools.

Each year CTAPS conducts an intensive two-week summer institute for teacher teams, largely from Hawaii but also from the U.S. mainland. In the institute the focus is on Asia-Pacific content. CTAPS also emphasizes experiential approaches to teaching because they produce more effective learning. And, there are team-building components to each summer institute.

For teacher teams in Hawaii, there are four follow-up session over academic year following the summer institute. The goal is to train the teams to become leaders in their own schools for promoting the teaching about Asia and the Pacific among their colleagues.

CTAPS serves as a clearinghouse and resource center for Asia-Pacific resources to be made available to schools in Hawaii.

Finally, a challenge for the Hawaii educational system is to find a sufficient number of teachers to staff local schools. Currently, each year 800 positions for teachers open up but Hawaii's higher education institutions only train 400 teachers per year. So, teachers are hired from places like the U.S. mainland to teach in Hawaii's public schools. Since Hawaii's school population is ethnically diverse and most mainland teachers who come over are Caucasian, there is the need to provide cross-cultural training for these teachers. CTAPS seeks to serve that purpose.

Fang Bihui

In the PRC, teacher incentives and motivation are problems. No so many young people want to become a teacher. Many graduates are trying to get jobs in a business company so that they can improve their living conditions. This is a tragedy and a realm for research and exploration.

There is a problem for teachers because there are students who dislike learning in school. Yet, many parents seek to encourage their children. Parents, who lost so much time during the Cultural Revolution, especially urge their children to study.

Another problem is that the students' academic work loads are too much. There is a problem of one narrow model of teaching and learning. Students are expected to memorize so much to perform well in a heavy exam and quiz load. There is heavy administrative pressure to raise school marks to perform well in competition with other schools.

One of the issues leading to a lack of student motivation is that the curriculum content is out-of-date and needs to be improved. Some, including me, are in the process of writing new textbooks.

The education departments in higher education institutions should pay attention to research work and the recognition of teachers with practical support.

Winnie Lai

The frequent curriculum changes in the PRC, which have been due to political changes, are a problem which has inhibited the work of

teachers in China. Teachers are vulnerable because they have to support the prevailing ideology.

Moreover, there are institutional problems in China. For instance, resources such as a set of new textbooks were delivered to teachers on the last day of August which is far too late for teacher preparation for the new school year.

Audience Member

If we are talking about education for the 21st century, then we need to focus on the students. We need to look at what they will need to be able to function effectively in the 21st century.

For planned change, we need to determine whether there is participation from all segments of society. If not, then the likelihood that it will be implemented and be institutionalized is remote.

Cheng Kai-ming

When we look at planned change in any society, context is important. If we fail to analyze the context, then we will not be able to understand adequately why the planned change succeeded or failed.

In the Chinese context, the science-math curriculum has been more static than any other.

There is some evidence that there is a diversity of textbooks among the various regions of China. And, it appears that the curriculum throughout the country has become more diversified than ever before in the PRC period.

Materials for Political Socialization and Moral Education in the People's Republic of China

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Abstract

In the wake of June 4 there was a revival of the "learn from Lei Feng campaigns" which had been a part of the political/moral education landscape since 1963 when Chairman Mao exhorted the country to learn from the People's Liberation Army soldier who died in the line of duty in 1962. The Lei Feng revival produced an extensive body of printed material which appeared in bookstores for use in schools, in work units and at home. This paper takes a look at some of this material and examines the processes by which publishers print and disseminate political/moral education material to the Chinese public. Finally, it draws upon the responses of Chinese informants in an attempt to understand why the Lei Feng model continues to maintain a grain of credibility amidst general disillusionment with the political culture. The research for this paper was conducted in the PRC in the fall of 1990.

Introduction

During the years that the People's Republic of China was closed to researchers from the United States, scholars who wrote studies of Chinese education in the PRC had to rely on official publications and school textbooks to determine what was being taught in Chinese schools. Although texts could tells us little about what was actually happening in classroom situations and what students internalized from their school experiences, analyses of school textbooks provided an essential piece of the educational puzzle because they presented the official view of acceptable moral and political behavior and introduced us to the catalogue of socialist virtues which were the goal of political/moral education in the PRC.

It is important to note that political socialization was not limited to in-school experiences and formal textbooks; it was woven into every aspect of life. This is equally true today. In the realm of printed material, besides textbooks, magazines and newspapers, Chinese people have access to an astonishing array of locally produced story books, song books, picture books, copybooks, and essay collections which are distributed by work units or bought by parents to promote proper moral behavior and introduce children to heroes and role models whose socialist virtues they are encouraged to emulate.

This paper discusses a variety of printed political/moral education materials which were produced by Chinese publishing houses in the aftermath of June 4, 1989. Sometimes these materials are used in schools, in work units, or at Communist Youth League meetings but in many cases they are bought with the intention that they will be read for enjoyment, blurring the line between official and popular culture.

More specifically, this paper focuses on the publishing and dissemination of materials related to the socialist role model, Lei Feng, (1940-1962) a People's Liberation Army soldier who selflessly served the people, diligently studied the works of Chairman Mao, loyally adhered to the Party line, and served as a "little cog in the great socialist machine".

For three decades Lei Feng has been an underlying theme in political/moral education on the mainland. "Learn from Comrade Lei Feng" campaigns have waxed and waned with the political tides but, over the years, Lei Feng has been woven into the culture and language of the PRC. Certain actions are described as "Lei Feng-like acts" and people who emulate the role model are often designated "living Lei Fengs", not only in the official media but in the everyday language of people on the street. The phrases "Lei Feng shushu si le" (Uncle Lei Feng is dead.) or "Lei Feng shushu bu jian le" (Uncle Lei Feng has disappeared.) means that times have changed and people no longer demonstrate selfless behavior but are more concerned with their own needs and advancement. These phrases, which were part of the common parlance of the 1980s, revealed positive responses to the model. As times change and excessive frugality appears foolish and public displays of virtue are perceived as insincere or inappropriate in the new atmosphere of "commodity socialism", "Lei Feng" is sometimes used as a derisive term to refer to someone who is out of touch with the realities of the present political agenda. Whether he is referred to as a model of socialist virtue or as a hopelessly anachronistic poltical tool, Lei Feng is woven into the popular discourse.

The Revival

In the aftermath of June 4, 1989, the propaganda department of the People's Liberation Army initiated a revival of Lei Feng. In response, publishing houses in China generated new publications to supply the demand from schools and work units for fresh material on a subject that some people felt had already outlived its usefulness. They responded to the political call by producing an amazing variety of new materials which are the focus of this paper.

The research for this paper was conducted in the People's Republic of China in the fall of 1990. Lei Feng materials were gathered in the cities of Shenyang (where Lei Feng served in the army), Fushun (the city where Lei Feng died), Yanji (the capital of the Korean Autonomous Region), Beijing, Nanjing, and Changsha (the capital of Hunan Province and only a few miles from the village where Lei Feng was born). Although numerous attempts were made to collect materials in Shanghai, these attempts were largely unsuccessful. The explanation offered by a bookstore employee for the lack of Lei Feng material in that city was that they were "all sold out." Given the fact that the smaller *Xinhua Shudian* (New China Bookstore) in Changsha, where Lei Feng is not only a native son but a local institution, carried more than a dozen titles, this explanation is not very plausible.

The collection of printed materials represents one aspect of the research for this paper. Much of the following material is based on two interviews, one with officials at the Jiang-su People's Publishing Company, and another with the manager of the main branch of the Nanjing *Xinhua Shudian*. These interviews were conducted in an attempt to understand how publishing houses generate material for publication, what types of material are in demand, how they make decisions about how many volumes to print, and the channels through which they distribute their materials to the general public. Both of these interviews provided a wealth of information which greatly enhances our understanding of the political socialization process as seen from the perspective of the publishers and distributers of the material.

Publishing and Distribution of Lei Feng Materials

Over the last three decades publishers and distributors of Lei Feng materials have become increasingly sophisticated in their approach to producing and disseminating materials. In the early campaigns in 1963-64, most of the material for study came directly from the *People's Daily*, the *Liberation Daily* and the *China Youth* newspaper, supplemented by articles in magazines. The China Youth Publishing House and the Army Publishing House supplied regional publishers with material for their own publications. Material was freely borrowed, reprinted, and disseminated throughout the country in a concerted effort to respond to Chairman Mao's call to the nation to emulate Comrade Lei Feng.

In the late 70s, Deng Xiaoping instituted the "responsibility system" in agriculture. Reforms soon spread into the industrial sector and brought substantive changes to the publishing industry as well. A case in point is the Jiangsu People's Publishing Company. Established on January 1, 1953 when publishing houses from the north and south merged to become a single entity, the Jiangsu People's Publishing Company has eight of the fourteen publishing houses in the province under its wing. In 1990 alone the provincial press published about 200 titles with total output at a staggering 20,000,000 volumes. About half of these are "educational" in nature, that is they have something to do with political theory, "thought education" or are for use in schools. Before the Cultural Revolution, all of their books were distributed through the *Xinhua Shudian*, now only half are distributed through that route; the other half are sold directly to work units and schools. Until 1977 their distribution was limited to Jiangsu Province, now they distribute their books throughout the country, including the remote provinces like Xinjiang in the far west.

The preparation of new Lei Feng material is initiated through a variety of means. Sometimes the publishing company seeks out writers and sometimes the writers come to them. In the case of one of their recent volumes, the writer was a member of the Lei Feng *Ban* (military unit) in Shenyang who wrote a letter to the publishing house to see if they were interested in printing the results of his research. The publishers invited him to their headquarters in Nanjing where he stayed for a month finalizing the manuscript for publication.

Sometimes the material is generated through other means. In 1990 the Jiang-su Press released the first four of a six-volume series related to Lei Feng. One book in their six-volume "model-series", was produced by collecting and editing short compositions written by school children. This volume includes fifty-one essays and letters about Lei Feng and Lai Ning,[1] written by primary and middle school children. All of these works had been entered in a country-wide contest.

The "Lei Feng spirit" can be discussed by writing about one of the many "living-Lei Feng's" who are seen as modern conduits for his message of self-sacrifice and service to the people. This is the case of another volume in the six-volume "model series" produced by the Jiangsu Press dealing with Zhang Zixiang, a soldier who "learned from Lei Feng" and in turn was held up as a model for emulation. This re-interpretation and expansion of the Lei Feng spirit to suit the needs of a changing political agenda and suggest ways in which Lei Feng can be applied to situations in the 90s provides another approach to keeping his message alive.

The *Lei Feng Diary* which has been standard reading material for young people since it first appeared in 1962 has gone through countless editions produced by most major publishing houses in the country. Chairman Mao's calligraphy is on the first page of every edition, followed by the calligraphy of those who are in political favor at the time. Without observing the date of publication it is possible to calculate the date by reading the preface which reveals the current political agenda or noting whose calligraphy has been included or excluded from those first few pages. An analysis of the different editions of the *Lei Feng Diary* dating from 1962 to the present produces a relatively accurate picture of the shifting political winds over the last three decades. The original version of the diary was chronological but some newer versions re-structure the material in the diary according to categories. While this alters the flavor of the original, it thematizes the material in such a way that it can be more readily used by political study groups.

Updated collections of Lei Feng stories with new art work are available in most bookstores. Some of the watercolors produced for these volumes are excellent and the color reproductions are remarkably good considering the fact that these paperback books sell for around one U.S. dollar. There are Lei Feng stories with line drawings, Lei Feng books with cartoon characters and some books are so small that you can slip them into a pocket.

Lei Feng songbooks are another popular item. They include a variety of titles like "We All Want to be Lei Feng-like Kids", "Lei Feng is Lighting our Hearts" and "Uncle Lei Feng is Looking at us with a Smile" and the most famous, "Learn From Comrade Lei Feng", that people who served in the People's Liberation Army recall singing as they marched in formation.

In order to decide how many books to print, the general procedure is to send out a list of the up-coming titles with descriptions to schools and work units. The units send back their orders. An official at the Jiangsu People's Publishing House indicated that if a book becomes particularly popular, they reprint it, but they have a difficult time keeping up with these orders. The official indicated that books about Lei Feng have sold very well and are thus, profitable for the company to print. The company's interest in bringing out new titles suggests that Lei Feng continues to be appealing to the reading public. It also attests to the management's resourcefulness. The staff of these publishing houses approach the task of producing an endless stream of Lei Feng material with a great deal of creativity. Now that the market permits some degree of flexibility and competition, their ingenuity can result in larger profits.

The printing of Lei Feng books is one step in the process of disseminating the Lei Feng message. The final step comes at the distribution level, mostly through *Xinhua Shudian*, which in the past were the single point of distribution for all publications in China. In the city of Nanjing alone, for example, there are twenty-one branches.

The manager for the main branch of *Xinhua Shudian* explained that the mission of these stores throughout the country was to "promote the accumulation of culture" and that "economic concerns were secondary". According to the manager, the prime time for selling Lei Feng books is the end of February and the beginning of March after which distribution and sales go down although they continue to stock the books throughout the year. This coincides with the yearly official recognition of Lei Feng on March 5 which commemorates the date on which Chairman Mao's famous calligraphy first appeared on the front page of *People's Daily* in 1963. In the prime season they may carry as many as twenty different titles at the main store most of which are sold directly to organizations or schools. In 1990, for example, the manager said that they sold nearly 150,000 volumes of different Lei Feng books, the most popular being the

newly edited Lei Feng stories which alone sold nearly 90,000 copies. There are three categories of books which are most popular, those related to his life, those which tell the stories of others who have learned from Lei Feng and those which have songs and poetry about the young role model.

Books are ordered from publishers throughout the country, Beijing, Shanghai, Shenyang or Nanjing. The decision of which books to choose among the many titles that are published is based on three criteria: 1) Which books can be delivered to them in the shortest time? 2) How does the content compare. Is there lots of material? 3) How does the price compare? The question of price is an interesting one. The manager explained that the government encourages them to keep the prices on these books low.

According to the manager, most of these books will be used in organized study groups. While primary students continue to be the main target for this type of literature, there seems to be a new emphasis on the teenage years. As a result, many volumes are sold to organizations like the Communist Youth League and the Youth Renegade Team. The manager explained the rationale behind the intensification of the campaigns in 1990 and the new emphasis on teenagers.

> Since the new reforms and the opening of China the level of morality has gone down. That's why we feel a need to study Lei Feng. We have been concentrating on material advancement. Now, we emphasize both the material and the spiritual. Lei Feng is really a model for Chinese people because he looked down on material things and because he emphasized service to the people. We are concerned with the political spirit right now. There are many problems among teenagers. There is a tendency toward indecency. This is a good way to purify their minds.[2]

When asked if it looked as though the great campaign of 1990 would continue into 1991, the manager replied,

> It's not a question of whether the campaigns will go on. We have been studying Lei Feng for twenty years or more. Some years we study more and some years we study him less... We can study Lei Feng for twenty or thirty or even a hundred years or forever. It's not easy to make this sacrifice for the people.[3]

The managers circumspect answer to the my question was at once appropriate politically and an accurate assessment of this curious phenomenon which comes and goes as a political theme with varying degrees of regularity. Nevertheless, the revival of 1990 produced a prodigious number of books including the proceedings of a conference held in Fushun, in Liaoning Province. The conference held from February 25-27, 1990 was sponsored by the cities of Changsha, where Lei Feng was born, and Fushun, the city where he died which is also the site of the exhibition hall which has the most extensive collection of Lei Feng memorabilia. The conference garnered additional support from the Propaganda Ministry of the Central Committee of the CCP, the PLA General Political Ministry, the Central Committee of the Youth League and the Liaoning and Hunan Provincial Party Committees. The stated objective of the meeting was,

> to summarize the basic lessons in "learning from Lei Feng" in the past 27 years, to deepen the research on the new conditions in the "Open Door" reform period, and do some research on how to "learn from Lei Feng" and use Lei Feng's spirit to promote spiritual civilization in the 90s in order to build a good social environment in the course of socialist modernization."[4]

The conference volume, a rather substantial work of 431 pages, entitled *The Lei Feng Spirit is Eternal*, bears Li Peng's calligraphy on the cover. It includes 64 papers some with titles that recall earlier publications in the *Zhongguo Qingnian* (China Youth) magazine like, "On the Socio-psychological Obstacles Which Should be Overcome in Carrying Forward the Lei Feng Spirit". Like other conferences sponsored by the People's Liberation Army, the Communist Youth League and the cities of Fushun and Changsha over the years, this conference was concerned with building solidarity and focusing energies for increased ideological education. This conference was an attempt to re-legitimize Lei Feng by engaging in serious politico-academic dialogue. It may also be seen as reintroduction of the kinds of ideological debates which raged in the very early years of the first wave of campaigns (1963). The proceedings of this conference were available in bookstores in Changsha and Fushun.

It would be misguided to assume that Lei Feng was the focus of all of the moral education materials which flooded the market in 1990. Moral lessons were being drawn from the actions of people as diverse as Helen Keller, George Washington and Thomas Edison. One slim volume entitled *One Hundred Moral Education Stories*[5] was divided into eight chapters that focused on different areas for moral cultivation: 1) "Love the Motherland, Love the People Stories"; 2) "Stories About Collectivism"; 3) "Stories About Spiritual Civilization and Politeness"; 4) "Stories About People who Study Hard and Love Science"; 5) "Stories of Loving Labor and Arduous Effort"; 6) "Stories of Strengthening One's Sense of Socialist Democracy and the Legal System"; 7) "Stories About Willpower and Character Morals"; and 8)"Stories About Correctly Treating the Things Around Us". Of the one hundred mini-stories, Lei Feng was the subject of only one in chapter three entitled, "Uncle Lei Feng Respects Old People and Loves Children".

While certain party and military leaders in 1990 were focusing on Lei Feng's sense of discipline and loyalty to the Party, the children who read this book were being introduced to the nurturing side of Lei Feng, a side which is almost universally appreciated and valued in Chinese culture, both past and present.

Lei Feng was also included in a much more extensive six-volume series entitled *Primary School Students' Moral Education Stories* released by the Jiangsu Educational Press. This series was issued after June 4 and each volume is a collection of stories which illustrate certain cultural and moral objectives. Volume three, for example, includes eighty-two short articles divided into three categories: 1) "Articles About Essential Spiritual Civilization"; 2) "Articles About Resolve and Becoming a Useful Person"; and 3) "Articles About Ideals and Convictions". Lei Feng is included in chapters one and three in stories entitled "Orphan Lei Feng" and "Lei Feng Stories".

Another group of materials which appeared on the market in 1990 were Lei Feng diary copybooks. Borrowing from the ancient tradition of practicing calligraphy using the ancient Confucian classics as a text, these new copybooks help students to practice their penmanship using Lei Feng's diary as their text. There were at least four different versions of the copybook on the market in 1990, all written in excellent penmanship by well-known calligraphers. As the student practices penmanship s/he also internalizes the messages that are written on the page. In this manner penmanship and politics

are combined into a single activity and the ancient pedagogical vehicles are put to a new purpose.

In the past, the *Xinhua Shudian* was the place to buy political posters which could be displayed in homes and businesses. Portraits of Lei Feng were available alongside portraits of Chairman Mao, Zhou Enlai, and Zhu De. In some provincial cities like Shenyang, Yenji, and Changsha, political posters are still available but they are gradually being supplanted by pictures with less political themes like still life photographs, landscapes, beautiful women, and movie stars from Taiwan, Hong Kong and the West.

The great revival of Lei Feng which occurred in 1990 and the plethora of material aimed at re-politicizing a generation of youth who had forgotten their revolutionary roots, as Mao himself predicted they would, has had little apparent effect. There is simply too much competition from more attractive and potentially useful printed material. As one informant wryly commented, "It's difficult to find a copy of Lenin in the bookstores in Shanghai, but one can easily find a copy of the latest manual on how to speak English."[6]

Conclusion

This paper has illustrated the tremendous range of material on the role model Lei Feng which was available in Chinese bookstores in 1990. The fact that these materials were not uniformly available throughout the country indicates that people were differentially interested in buying them. In some provincial capitals, away from the foremost intellectual centers of China, such materials were more readily available than in the larger cities like Shanghai and Beijing. While most of the educational material produced by Chinese publishers is intended for use in schools, work units and political study groups, the line between official culture and popular culture is sometimes blurred and some people buy the story books as a means of educating their children to correct moral behavior or simply for enjoyment.

While this paper does not focus on the use of these materials once they leave the bookstore, it is clear that there are a variety of motives for buying Lei Feng books. A colleague who was living in Shangxi province recounts his experience visiting a small restaurant near the place where he was staying. The owner of the restaurant had bought a Lei Feng story for her son and ensconsed him at a table near the entrance of the little shop to read. All of the customers who were coming and going could see what he was reading. On the one hand this mother was publicly demonstrating correct political consciousness by buying Lei Feng books and giving them to her son to read. But there is a more subtle activity at work here because most of these story books display a very different version of Lei Feng than the one that the Party attempts to purvey. Parents like this mother choose the storybooks which tell the parts of the Lei Feng story that they wish to convey to their children. In this manner they pick and choose traits in Lei Feng which they want their children to emulate, like concern for others, and ignore those traits which they see as no longer compatible with life in the 1990s, like excessive frugality and blind loyalty to the Party. By making these choices they not only subvert the political message but also emphasize the parts of the story that will serve their own parental needs and help allay their fears that the next generation will be too spoiled and self-centered.

For years there was essentially no popular culture independent from official culture. All culture was official and it was created to appeal to public sentiment in such a way that it would also be popular. The cult of Chairman Mao demonstrated how the official and the popular were melded into a single politico-cultural reality. Like Mao Zedong, Lei Feng has undergone public re-evaluation in the last decade and while the "70% good, 30% bad" percentages which were applied to Mao have not been applied directly to Lei Feng, the original Lei Feng package has clearly been dissected and reconstructed to meet individual needs. One critical comment which reveals the level of public ambivalence toward the Lei Feng model in the 1990's was made by a Nanjing resident. When asked if he thought the Lei Feng spirit was a positive thing, he replied:

> It depends on how you define the Lei Feng spirit. If it means helping other people, it's okay. If it means being obedient to the Party, then it isn't. When I was a child I was a good student according to the party's wishes, now I'm having second thoughts...Chinese people need some religion. They have no beliefs anymore. If we just worry about money, society will deteriorate. We need something to believe in. China is at a period of transition where the old beliefs have disappeared and we have no new beliefs to follow. The new generation is different. They have become westernized... Chinese people have changed.[7]

This poignant response encapsulates the spirit of many responses to questions about Lei Feng which were posed during the course of this research. It captures the ambivalent feelings toward the Lei Feng role model and helps to explain how it is that people who have rejected the larger political message of the Party will still buy a Lei Feng book for their children.

Notes

1. Lai Ning is a modern young hero who died at the age of fourteen in a fire trying to save his village from destruction.

2. Interview, Nanjing, China, December 1990.

3. Interview, Nanjing, China, Xin Hua Shudian, December 1990.

4. Zhang Jingliang and Zhang Yanfeng, *Lei Feng Spirit is Eternal.* (Collection of Papers from the Fushun meeting) (Jilin: Jilin Educational Publishing House 1990), p. 5.

5. Collections of very short stories, often only a paragraph in length, were used as illustrations of correct moral behavior in ancient times. The *Tso Chuan* (*Stories of Mr. Tso*), for example, are brief, but poignant insights into human behavior, which often served as cautionary devices.

6. Conversation, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1989.

7. Conversation, Nanjing, China, December, 1990.

Moral Education in China: Traditional Values and the Communist Ideology

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Abstract

This article, preceded by a brief review of the development of moral education (Chiefly Confucian education) in China, looks basically into the contents of the Chinese Communist moral education. Spiritual civilization, a concept contrived by Deng Xiaoping in 1980, is the focus of the article. After presenting a silhouette of the moral exemplars in contemporary China, the evaluation process for moral conduct of university students is examined. Discussion concludes the paper.

Wealth and honors are what man desires; but if they come undeserved, don't keep them.
— Confucian Maxim —

I. Introduction

China is a country with 5000 years of history. With 1.2 billion people (one fifth of the world population), it is the only living ancient civilization in the world. The great philosopher and the founding father of Chinese education, Confucius (551-479 B.C.), laid a solid foundation for moral education in China. Many dynasties survived and flourished amongst wars, insurrections, and innumerable peasant uprisings because of the moral premises constructed by Confucius.

His influences and educational philosophy were felt beyond China's territory. In Japan, Korea, Vietnam and many other East and Southeast Asian countries and regions, Confucius moral precepts "Ren"—benevolence or human-heartedness, "Yi"—justice or righteousness, "Li"—courtesy or a combination of etiquette and propriety, "Zhi"—knowledge or wisdom, and "Xin"—truthfulness or sincerity, are still being observed. In fact, they have become incorporated into the national philosophies of those countries. "This shared legacy of Confucianism is a defining characteristic" of these nations (Bary & Chaffee, 1989, p. ix).

There have been many attempts in modern Chinese history to rebuke Confucianism as a national philosophy. The 1911 Republican Revolution led by Sun Yat-sun, overthrew the 2000 years old monarchy and for the first time announced the abolition of the old literary degrees that were mainly devoted to the classical learning of Confucius moral precepts (Peake, 1970; & Hayhoe, 1984). It witnessed what Schwartz (1977) observed in the Foreword of *The Dewey Experiment in China* the "open rejection of imperial institutions and the accompanying attacks on Confucian values" (p. 1). However, this effort was aborted by President Yuan Shikai, who issued many state decrees "urging the people to follow Confucianism as the one way to strengthen and steady the nation...and rehabilitated the hall of Classics and the Confucian Temple" (Peake, 1970, p. 77).

The May 4th student movement in 1919, triggered by the Versailles Treaty of the Paris Peace Conference, formally denounced Confucianism as the decadent philosophy of the reactionary and exploiting classes and called for the Chinese people to smash the Confucian Temples.

From early 1920s to 1927, the Wholesale Westernization Movement generated much momentum to despise Confucian education. The returned students from the United States led by Hu Shi, one of Dewey's Chinese students at Columbia University, argued that if China did not totally give up its traditional ideas of education largely based on the learning of Confucian Classics and thoroughly adopt the Western educational system, China could never catch up with the Western powers and be respected by them. Under the Nationalist Government (1927-1949), Sun Yat-sen's three principles of the peoples (principles of democracy, nationalism, and livelihood) were preached and studied in all Chinese schools (Tsang, 1968). Confucian moral teaching was secondary in comparison with the three political principles.

When the Communists defeated the Nationalists in 1949 and founded the People's Republic, they adopted a Marxist-Leninist philosophy and conducted Communist moral education at all Chinese schools. During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), the Red Guards shattered virtually all ancient Chinese heritage under Mao's slogans "Dare to rebel" and "Destroy the old and establish the new". Confucius ideas simply could not escape such an anathema. His influence further plummeted in 1971 when Lin Biao, Mao's designated successor, fled China in a failed coup to dethrone Mao (Lofstedt, 1980). The latter launched a powerful political campaign against Confucianism to help eradicate the influence of Lin Biao. In the views of Mao and his followers at Beijing and Qinghua Universities, Confucianism represented the interests of a corrupted exploiting class and was the spiritual pillar of Lin Biao, who was not only a fervent advocate of Confucianism but also frequently quoted his sayings to justify his deeds against Mao. The latter considered it appropriate to destroy the philosophical foundation of Confucianism, along with the influence of Lin Biao.

Despite these political campaigns endeavoring to strike out Confucian influence in China, Confucian teaching seems to be rooted in every Chinese household. Whether during the Cultural Revolution when people became carried away with Mao's revolutionary ideas and proletarian fighting spirit, or whether after the open door policy started under Deng Xiaoping's economic reform when people become more interested in material gains; "harmony", "benevolence", "righteousness", "courtesy", "truthfulness" and other human values emphasized by Confucius, remained the basic principles guiding the Chinese people when they evaluated their relationships with others. These values and principles are generally channelled into the younger generation by family education, of which, moral education is a major part.

II. The definition, content, and purpose of spiritual civilization

According to the Marxist point of view, morality is a social ideology determined by economic structure, as well as social and interest relationships. It is a conduct code that regulates the relationships among people, individuals and society. It is a criterion for judging right and wrong; good and evil; beautiful and ugly; honor and

disgrace (Pan, 1985). Cai (1990) contended that "[Morality] is not a negation of individual's desires nor it is asceticism, but an objective demand and value orientation of the individual's interest and desires. It is a common interest" (p. 8).

Moral education became a top issue in China after the June 4th 1989 Incident. This was partly due to Deng's remarks on the Tiananmen Square Incident. He was quoted as saying that "the greatest failure of the Communist Party of China's (CPC) work during the past years is that of education, in which, moral eduction is an integrated part and an ongoing process for a lifetime" (Cao, Fu, Fu, Yu, & Chen, 1990, p. 31).

The communist moral education in China, according to Pan (1985), refers to the "proletarian political ideological education and the Communist moral character education" (p. 1). An equivalent of that is the socialist spiritual civilization. Put forward the first time by Deng (1980) in his speech at a working conference of the CPC Central Committee, socialist spiritual civilization is regarded as an antonym of the socialist material civilization. Deng (1980) pointed out that:

> [To] build a socialist country, we need not only the highly developed material civilization, but also an equally developed spiritual civilization, which denotes not only education, science, and culture, but also the Communist ideology, ideals, faith, morality, discipline, revolutionary stance, and principles (p. 326).

Deng (1985) expounded the concept by observing that "we are developing a spiritual civilization of socialism, which means in the main that our people possess Communist ideals and moral integrity and are to be educated and disciplined" (p. 21). On many occasions, socialist spiritual civilization is interpreted as the Communist moral education. Pan (1985) wrote that the important content of socialist spiritual civilization is Communist ideals, moralities, and disciplines. "Communist moral education is an important channel for the construction of socialist spiritual civilization" (p. 4).

Bailey (1990) observed that the socialist spiritual civilization has two dimensions. One of which is purely political, namely, aiming primarily at "warding off what Party propagandists see as the potentially harmful effects of 'bourgeois liberalism' and 'spiritual pollution'" (p. 268) and both are referred to as Western political and cultural values in China, such as freedom and democracy in the former and individualism and pornography in the latter. The second dimension is to "reform the people's customs and behaviors" (p. 268).

Spiritual civilization in China generally contains (1) the study of the basic Marxist theories and principles (2) the cultivation of the Communist moral character, which includes collectivism, civic virtues and courtesies, professional ethics, observing laws and disciplines, and establishing a correct attitude toward love and manual labor; (3) developing a sense of esthetics (4) enhancing patriotism and internationalism; (5) developing the revolutionary ideals including social political ideals, moral ideals, professional, and talent-developing ideals (Pan, 1985).

The State Education Commission of China (1980) stated that the study of the basic Marxist theories and principles has a three-fold purpose: 1) to enhance students to accurately and thoroughly understand and interpret Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, 2) to raise their socialist consciousness, and 3) to establish a proletarian world outlook so that students can analyze practical problems from the Marxist point of view and serve the socialism and the people on a self initiative.

Collectivism is the basic principle of Communism. The goal of collectivism education is to make students place collective and national interests above their own. Collectivism is said to create harmony among students and enable them to help and to care about each other. The students are instructed that good behavior brings honor to the collective and bad behavior brings disgrace to it (Pan, 1985).

Civic virtues and courtesy, basically, refer to what is now termed "Five stresses and four points of decency". The five stresses are: 1) stress on decorum, 2) manners, 3) hygiene, 4) discipline and 5) morals. The four points of decency are: 1) decency of the mind, which means cultivating a fine ideology, moral character and integrity and upholding the Party's leadership and the socialist system; 2) decency of language, which means the use and popularization of polite language; 3) decency of behavior, which means doing useful things for the people, working hard, being concerned for others' welfare, observing discipline and safeguarding collective interests; 4) decency of the environment, which includes paying attention to personal hygiene and to sanitation at home and in public places.

In professional ethics education, moral requirements for a specific profession as well as obligation and responsibility that a profession holds for society are taught. For example, the medical students are instructed to "save the dying, and cure the sick" without considering their political backgrounds, and to practice revolutionary humanitarianism.

Education on discipline and law observation contains the study of constitution, laws, school regulations, and the Chinese Communist Party disciplines for Party member students. Students are expected to master the basic knowledge of law and fight against the unlawful deeds of society.

Love and manual labor education are both important aspects of the Communist moral education in China. The former emphasizes equity among men and women, close affinity in aspiration and orientation, and priority of political ideological consciousness and moral characters, with respect to finding someone to love or to be loved. It encourages men and women to be faithful and honest to each other and to help each other in life, study, and political affairs. Love attitude education strongly condemns behavior of womanizers and calls for students to resist the "corrosive influence and the spiritual pollution of the corrupted bourgeois sex liberation" (Pan, 1985, p. 20).

Labor attitude education is meant to develop a correct attitude among students toward the working class. It is considered an important guarantee of a well-rounded student, i.e., well developed morally, intellectually, physically, and esthetically. It encourages students to participate in labor without regard to remuneration, overcome the negative attitude about physical labor, respect workers and farmers and establish a close tie with them. It attempts to convince students that all work needed by society is equally honorable and therefore should be respected.

The Communist esthetic education is intended to help students establish a "correct" (Marxist) esthetic standard and improve their ability to appreciate arts. It denounces and condemns weird and vulgar art forms and expressions. Its curriculum includes emphasis on the major esthetic schools of thought, esthetic criterion, differences between proletarian and bourgeois esthetic outlooks, and proletarian esthetic values.

Patriotism and internationalism education include the study of patriotic traditions in ancient, modern, and contemporary Chinese history. It specially emphasizes the role of the Chinese Communists

as the most honorable patriots in resisting and defeating foreign aggressors. It requires students to develop and acquire the necessary capabilities, expertise, and Marxist life outlook, in order to carry out the socialist construction and maintain world peace. Placing national interests above one's own is always an expression of patriotism.

Internationalism education is to compare and contrast internationalism with parochialism, nationalism, and chauvinism. Students are instructed to "shoulder the task of liberating the whole world, and relate their study to the struggle of the oppressed and exploited people against imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism" (Pan, 1985, p. 24). They are also taught to respect and welcome foreign friends and students with courtesy and warm feelings, but meanwhile, to maintain the Chinese integrity and dignity and fight against all worship and blind faith in foreign things and those who lose their moral integrity.

Revolutionary ideals and talent developing education emphasize political ideological ideals, moral ideals, professional ideals and talent developing ideals. Political ideological ideals specify what social system they wish to fight or work for as well as the meaning of life in society. Moral ideals deliberate on the desired and respected personality that students should aim to achieve. Professional and talent developing ideals are referred to as the degree of expertise and knowledge one wishes to acquire and learn in order to serve the socialist construction and accomplish their personal goals.

III. Moral exemplars in contemporary China

Lei Feng (1940-1962), orphaned at seven during China's Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945), was a People's Liberation Army (PLA) soldier and a Party member before he died in service to his country. Being extolled as a perfect altruistic model for the Chinese youth, Lei Feng was said to be considerate, selfless and always ready to help others. He saved all his money to help the needy while he led a simple life himself. He won numerous merit awards and was elected model laborer in the army. He was elected as People's Representative of the City of Fushun in 1960. Chairman Mao issued a call to "Learn from Lei Feng" in 1963 and thus established his status as an everlasting model for Chinese youth.

Wang Jie (1942-1965), PLA soldier, was the winner of many merit awards and model laborer, too. In July 1965, he was sent to help some commune militia men in military training. In the grenade-throwing drill, one militia man failed to throw out a live grenade. To save other people's lives, Wang Jie threw himself onto the grenade and was killed. His altruistic deed was praised by the National Defence Ministry and he was posthumously admitted in the CPC.

An Ke (1959-1983), PLA soldier and CPC member, received many merit awards in the army and became a journalist after returning to civil service. He was also remembered by people for his Lei Feng Spirit (synonym of altruism, selflessness, and Communist ideals). In a 1983 bank burglary in Guangzhou, he was killed by bank robbers in an effort to apprehend the criminals. He was posthumously awarded with the title "Excellent Journalist" by the All-China Journalist Association.

Zhang Haidi (1955-), CPC member, has been a severely handicapped quadriplegic since she was five. She managed to finish all studies of the elementary and high schools and taught herself several foreign languages and university medicine courses. She published many books (including translations), poems, and articles and has given hundreds of presentations on life, ideals, and society nationwide. She also helps other youths with their studies. She was awarded "Excellent Communist Youth League Member" by the National CYL Committee.

Su Ning (1954-1991), PLA ranking officer (Regimental Chief of Staff) and CPC member, was killed in a military training practice when he tried to save his soldiers. Graduated from a military academy, Su Ning was a promising young officer and wrote and published more than 60 journal articles on the modernization of PLA. He was remembered for his "Lei Feng Spirit" and care about others. Teachers, students, vendors, farmers and soldiers and his commanders all recall him as a modest, hardworking, and self-disciplined man. He has been described by the People's Daily as the Hero of the New Generation and Lei Feng Style Soldier.

A commonality in these and other Chinese Communist exemplars is that they, first of all, believe in Communism. Other traits they share are the spirit of being unselfish, considerate, helpful and courageous. In contemporary China, almost all those who died for the country or for other people are posthumously recognized as heroes or models. When a "Learn From" call is issued by the national government, people of the whole nation will respond to it by studying the life records of the heroes/heroines and their heroic deeds. Students, in particular, are encouraged to emulate the heroic deeds and to pledge to fight for the socialist country.

IV. Evaluation of students moral characters and performance in China's universities

The standard for the evaluation of the moral characters and moral performance of Chinese university students was preset by the State Education Commission of China (1980) in its Regulations for Students of Vocational Education and Higher Education (Draft). To meet the criterion, Chinese university students are expected to:

1. Cherish the mother land, support the leadership of CPC and be determined to serve the people and the socialist cause.

2. Earnestly study Marxism, and Mao Zedong Thought; gradually establish the proletarian class stance, form a correct attitude toward labor and acquire the viewpoint of the masses and dialectic materialist viewpoint.

3. Study hard to master the basic theories, professional knowledge and basic technical skills.

4. Persist in physical training and actively participate in manual labor and military training.

5. Respect teachers and workers, show concern for the collective and correctly conduct criticism and self-criticism.

6. Comply with social morality, cherish public property, work hard and be thrifty and pay attention to personal and public hygiene.

7. Abide by state laws and decrees, observe school rules and regulations and keep state secrets.

8. Respond to the call of the motherland and obey state assignments. (Hu & Seifman, 1987, p. 139).

Normally, the evaluation of moral characters and performance consists of two parts. Part one contains formal course work evaluation such as written exams in political theories, Communist ideology and morality, and current affairs and tasks. Part two takes in the moral character evaluation by oneself, group, and the class.

The specific procedure for part two, according to Pan (1985), involves the following steps.

1. Self-evaluation. Students write a brief summary of their performances in the previous time period (usually, one academic

year), evaluate themselves in terms of moral, intellectual, and physical development, in accordance with these and other university rules. In their summaries, students are expected to confirm their achievement and find out the areas that need to be improved.

2. Group evaluation. After self-evaluation, students will form several groups in which they critique each other's summaries and exercise criticism and self-criticism.

3. Collect different opinions and make the organization comment. On the basis of the group evaluation the teachers and the political counselors in charge of the class will make written remarks on the students moral character with consideration of the students' actual performance at school, the opinions of the class Party committee and the Class Communist Youth League Committee (p. 36).

After the comment on the student's moral character is completed by each class unit, the written evaluation is sent to the department leaders, who are expected to approve it. Then the approved evaluation is given back to the students, who, in name, have the right to reserve their different opinions. A copy of the moral character evaluation is also mailed to the parents of the students together with their transcripts of the academic year. In this way, the parents are informed of the behavior of their children at university and are expected to cooperate with the university in terms of moral education. One of the prerequisites of the "Three Good Students" (morally sound, intellectually developed, and physically fit) is based on one's moral characters evaluation.

V. Discussion

Moral education in current China is carried out both in schools and families. In the former, it is usually colored by a political characteristic, which means, among other things, the indoctrination of the government's political ideology, in this case, the Marxist-Leninist ideas and Mao Zedong thought. Students must show subordination to the leadership of CPC and cherish a love for its leaders. The primary importance of moral education is placed on the support of CPC. Other stresses include collectivism, civic virtues, courtesies, decorum, decency, altruism, and selflessness.

Moral education is often conducted differently in families. The foremost emphasis is the traditional moral precepts based on Confucius' great canons of the codes of personal and social life and other virtues such as obedience, faithfulness, modesty, chastity, charity, self-respect, mutual-respect, and public-mindedness, etc, . Parents take special responsibilities for educating their children. The Chinese proverb "An uneducated child is the fault of the father" or "Shame on the father who feeds only the body not the mind of his child" are a strong indication of the importance of family education. It is an informal but a vital education. It usually teaches children how to become an upright and honest person and the necessary courtesy that will help them function politely in society, such as table etiquette, speaking, and even walking manners. It also teaches children to respect teachers and old people and maintain good terms with their peers. Even though political education is involved in some families, Confucian moral philosophy and the ancient and modern moral exemplars are still the major content of family education.

Yu (1982) observed in the highest ranking CPC journal *Red Flag* that moral education should start from the earliest age at home so that the children are able to distinguish from the beginning between yes and no, good and evil, honor and disgrace and beauty and ugliness. He asserted that

> The parents must teach the child to love the homeland, the people, physical labor, technology and socialism. The child must learn idealism, morality and discipline, and must learn to become accustomed to an honest and simple life. If this family education begins when the child is very small, the parents will find that they will get twice the results with half the effort (p. 142).

As a result of the combined effort of moral education at schools and families in the early years of the People's Republic, children and students would turn in a coin they found on the street to "Uncle Policeman", offer to lead a blind person across the street, and help childless old people with their house chores. Additionally, they learned to criticize or self-criticize their motives and ideas that are not considered healthy according to the Communist moral standards, which are often characterized by collectivism, altruism, and selflessness.

During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), when the Gang of Four (headed by Mao's widow, Jiang Qing) held sway, moral education was literally equated to the ultra-leftist political stance. "Redness" was the sole criterion for judging whether a person was moral or not. Confucian teaching was totally banned from school's curriculum and was criticized as an education to restore a slave society that had declined.

After the Cultural Revolution and Mao's death, numerous scholars in China advocated a return to Confucius study and the teaching of his moral concepts (Kuang, 1983; Yan, 1981; & Zhou, 1981). (Secondary references from Louie, 1984). Many national and international conferences on Confucianism have been held in China since. In Confucius' hometown, people have even begun to observe Confucius birthday and make it a big festival. However, moral education was formally reintroduced to primary, secondary, and tertiary schools only in the early 1980s.

When Deng Xiaoping initiated the economic reform program and called for a major shift of the Party's mission to economic construction, people became more interested in material gains than moralistic doctrines. A child who turned in a coin found on street to "Uncle Policeman" would probably be jeered at by peers for being silly. Lei Feng and other paragons of virtue were being forgotten and their good deeds were not stressed by government for emulation purposes among students. For quite a period of time (1980-1987), students, from pupils to university graduates, became more individualistic than ever in modern Chinese history. Self-design and self-realization became fashionable slogans for university students and a hotly debated issue in society.

When CPC perceived the developing trend among students, they resorted to the enforcement of the Communist ideological education and the traditional values advocated by Confucius. Louie (1984) observed that the new morality is nothing new from the old morality. The five stresses and four points of decency "do not seem to add anything to what was traditionally considered good behavior" (p. 35).

With the influx of the Western ideas, the CPC engaged itself in several political campaigns to fight against the bourgeois influence, but the price was high. The Anti-bourgeois Liberalization Movement caused the General Secretary of the CPC, Hu Yaobang (1981-1987) to step down. This contributed to the Tiananmen Square Incident, which crippled the new General Secretary Zhao Ziyang (1987-1989). Both were being criticized for a passive leadership in the campaigns against Western influences.

The June 4th Incident is often described as the disastrous result of the neglect of moral education in China. Since the Incident, moral

education has been given top priority in all China's schools, especially China's universities. Many educators and ideological officials argue that without the correct (Marxist) Communist moral education, the personnel trained in China will end up serving other systems and societies (Ji, 1991; Wang, 1991; Chang, 1991; He, 1990; and Cao, Fu, Fu, Yu, & Chen, 1990).

He (1990), the vice director of the State Education Commission of China made an appeal to all China's schools that they should place moral education on the top of their curricula. Political orientation should be the first concern of moral education. Ji (1991) also noticed that the prioritization of moral education in China's graduate education is determined by the nature and the tasks of the socialist institutions of higher learning and "whether this is being emphasized or not should be the first criterion for judging the work of graduate education" (p. 17).

In summation, Chinese moral education comprises of two parts: Communist ideological education and the traditional value education. The major concerns of Communist ideological education are the adherence to Marxism and the support of CPC's leadership. The traditional value education, to a certain degree, is a modern version of the Confucius moral teaching.

Chinese moral educators who used to be slighted have all the reason to feel that they are on a par with other faculty. At universities, they find moral education being established as an independent academic discipline and they can hope to be promoted to professorship of moral education.

It is my observation that moral education in China will maintain this momentum as long as Marxism and the traditional values with Confucianism underlayment are desired on the part of the Chinese leadership. I believe that moral education is vital for the general betterment of human society. Handled properly, it would enhance human morale and create a more communicable world in terms of human values, beliefs, and mutual trust. I also trust that it can become a powerful ideaological tool for the ruling elite to mold and change people's behavior in accordance with the dominating political line of a nation. With the latter concern in mind, I think it would be appropriate to advocate for a general moral education program for all school students on the common core of human values.

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The Cultural Consequences of De-politicizing Moral Education in Post-modern Taiwan

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Abstract

This paper attempts to explore the consequences of changing political conditions upon the future of moral education in post-war Taiwan. Deeply rooted in Confucian tradition, moral education has coincided with the broad dissemination of nationalist ideology at all levels of public education. Moralization and politicization thus constitute dual processes within the same education system. Recent voices of democratization have begun to pose sharp challenges to this established system of politico-moral education.

In a book entitled *Nations and Nationalism*, the anthropologist Ernest Gellner emphasized the crucial role of culture in the emergence and maintenance of the modern nation-state.[1] Drawing upon prior work by historians, sociologists and political scientists on the nature of the state, it was clear that the modern nation-state constituted a radically new phenomenon in human history that differed in many important regards from the traditional polity epitomized by divine kinship, elite cultures and trans-ethnic or trans-national literate traditions. The emergence of the nation-state represented, among other things, a crisis of culture in the sense that there was a need to invent or reconstruct a common ideological framework with which the nation as both political entity and social community could identify. In the case of many newly emerging multi-ethnic nations, the inability to define a common language and a neutral culture to transcend existing local traditions and to forge bonds of a higher level political allegiance was and still continues to be a threat to national unity (witness the case of Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union). Even in the case of modern China, which has been ethnically homogenous and endowed with a long tradition, the state has been constantly aware of the crisis of culture and its threat to national solidarity.

This begs the question, where does education fit into all of this? In his book, Gellner argues that education must play a pivotal role in the process of nation-state formation not only as a means of raising the general level of technical competence that is demanded by modernization and national development as a whole but more importantly as the agent for the public dissemination of a common culture, shared values, etc. Postwar Taiwan is an interesting case in point in this regard. Politics and culture have always been intertwined throughout the history of Kuomintang (henceforth KMT) rule since 1945. On the one hand, the government has always portrayed Taiwan as the bastion of traditional Chinese culture. Culture in this sense was promoted not just for the sake of preserving or idealizing the past; culture was the chief ideological weapon in Taiwan's struggle against communism. Beginning on a large scale with the cultural renaissance movement in the 1970s, it has been the explicit rallying point for instilling societal consciousness which in turn was supposed to provide the spiritual basis for national unity. Complimenting the politicization of culture on the other hand was an equally conscious attempt to culturalize political ideology and action. In many important respects, the founding of the Republic in 1911 was a fundamental break with the imperial past. The gradual concretization of what is known as "The Three Principles" (or *san-min chu-i*) based upon the writings of Sun Yat-sen came to embody many of the distinctive features of the KMT's vision of the modern nation-state. Over a period of several decades, the KMT set out to culturalize the nationalist ideology of The Three Principles, first by grounding it in the language of traditional Confucian ethics and second by popularizing its political and philosophical thought in a form which could easily be assimilated to aspects of everyday life and behavior.

In both the politicization of culture and the culturalization of political thought, education played a seminal role, not only as an agent of disseminating cultural-political knowledge but also as the primary agent of socialization. Ultimately, moral education is concerned with both kinds of knowledge acquisition. Through the promotion of culture, which happens to be both the object and subject of political reconstruction, moral education in Taiwan serves as a key frame of reference for understanding the KMT's underlying perception of the nation and the goals of nationhood.

In this paper, I will describe very briefly the historical development of moral education in postwar Taiwan in the process of cultural-political construction. Then I will discuss the challenges to the future of moral education posed by recent trends toward political liberalization and by threats to the government's traditional authority to define culture and its monopolistic control over the dissemination of cultural values.

It is interesting to note that the Chinese perceive nationalism or *min-tsu chu-i* literally as "the principle of a common people", rather than as the rationality of a set of socio-political institutions like the state or its bureaucracy. This explains in part the energy constantly devoted to the heightening of "societal consciousness" (*min-tsu i-shih*). The cultural renaissance movement (*wen-hua fu-hsing yun-tung*) initiated in 1966 was such an attempt to raise societal consciousness in order to strengthen national unity. A committee was established at the level of the provincial government to promote the Chinese cultural renaissance movement. The provincial committee then set up regional committees at the level of city district and rural township administration to carry out the work of cultural renaissance, primarily through the local agency of the elementary and middle school. Schools were called upon to serve as active nerve centers for the promotion of cultural learning and awareness, both as part of the daily curriculum and in extracurricular activities. Government policy outlined four explicit guidelines: 1) allow the media to sow the seeds of public dissemination and incite education to take the initiative, 2) exemplify and actively lead through the expression of social movement, 3) use the schools as activity centers for the extension of the culture renaissance movement to the family and society-at-large, and 4) use the full network of administration to step up coordination and supervision.[2]

At the local level, cultural renaissance was a three-step process involving public dissemination, moral education and active demonstration. Within the schools, courses on society and ethics as well as citizenship and morality were taught at the elementary and middle school levels, respectively. At the high school level, introduction to Chinese culture, military education, and thought and personality became a staple part of the curriculum in addition to regular courses in natural and social science. Outside the classroom, essay and oratory contests on topics pertaining to Chinese culture were regularly held as well as peer group sponsored study sessions to

discuss current speeches and writings. These were supplemented by occasional activities in all aspects of traditional culture, such as music, dance, folk art, painting, calligraphy, theatre, etc.. Moral education, moreover, was not limited to the schools and children. The schools were meant to be the basis for cultural training that was to extend to the family and local community in the form of family training groups, social work teams, women's and neighborhood associations, etc.. Local organizations usually awarded prizes to model youth, model mothers, model teachers, model farmers and other deserving samaritans on convenient occasions like Martyr's Day, the birthdays of the famous royal concubine Yueh-fei, the Ch'ing dynasty naval hero Koxinga, the penultimate teacher Confucius, etc.. Even teachers underwent similar moral supervision and training by having to periodically participate in study groups and various grassroots activities as well as attend talks given by scholars on topics pertaining to Chinese culture.

The collusion of government, party and education in the promotion of culture all underscore the blurred distinctions between culture, politics and morality. All civil servants were encouraged to be active members of the party. Local party units were set up in schools, and members were not only actively engaged in recruiting more members but were constantly on the outlook, supervising the actions and thoughts of colleagues. Having the right moral attitudes and political beliefs was just as important to success as having the right professional qualifications, if not more important. The appointment of military personnel as *chiao-kuan* ("school officers") or enforcers of correct moral behavior in the middle school and university was an extension of the state into the disciplinary apparatus of the school. Each school also has a section devoted hsun-yu or disciplinary training, which handles all cultural activities initiated from the Ministry of Education and coordinates activities on campus of other government sponsored groups like the China Youth Corps (*chiu-kuo t'uan*).

The other component of moral education in Taiwan deals with the culturalization of Nationalist political ideology. The heavy influence of Confucianism in Taiwan, especially in the form of filial piety and moral propriety, is widely known. Perhaps an even better example concerns the evolution and diffusion of The Three Principles of Sun Yat-sen within public education. Actually, it was determined early on by the KMT that public education would be primarily devoted to political training and that the party would be an active agent in the writing of the content of the curriculum. In 1919, The Ministry of Education formally implemented a course on "Party Ideology" (*tang-i*) as the nucleus around which the government aimed to define and achieve their goal of Nationalist education. In 1932, this course was renamed "citizenship" (*kung-min*) and broadened to include topics on ethics, morality, politics, law and economics. This was taught as a required course in high school. At the same time, other complimentary courses on "common sense", "health training" and "civic training" were instituted at the elementary and middle school levels. The guideline underlying the mapping of the curriculum was clearly spelled out in government directives: the focus at the elementary school level would be upon the application of concrete practice, in middle school upon the correct learning of concepts, and in high school upon the understanding of underlying principles. Even after the explicit teaching of nationalist principles shed the title of "party ideology", it continued to be diffused throughout all levels of education and expanded in content to include other aspects of social life, ethico-moral values, and personal conduct, in other words ultimately all aspects of public behavior. By the time this course on "citizenship" was renamed "The Three Principles (of Sun Yat-sen)" in 1944 and again in 1950 following the restoration of Taiwan, the government had already begun to systematically program the focus of education toward the long term cultivation of a Nationalist world view.

The next 15 years witnessed an experimentation with courses at the elementary and the middle to high school level. Primordial courses on common sense and society at the elementary school level developed during the decade preceding World War II were reorganized as "knowledge of citizenship" and "morality of citizenship", then eventually amalgamated as "citizenship and morality". Upper-level courses at the middle-high school level also wavered between topics on rules of disciplinary practice (*hsun-yu kuei-t'iao*) and rules of life routine (*sheng-huo kuei-t'iao*). In 1968, the curriculum was reorganized, this time permanently (for the next 30 years). The course on citizenship and morality at the elementary school level was renamed "life and ethics", while the corresponding middle-high school course was renamed "citizenship and morality".

In the long run, the institutionalization of The Three Principles into the entire spectrum of the educational process reflected the government's overall project of using education as the vehicle for national development. To a large degree, this involved cultivating the spirit of national unity in a way which clearly complimented the active promotion of other kinds of cultural consciousness. The cultivation of moral values in the practice of everyday life was as much the precondition for successfully inculcating the broader vision of Nationalist society as the explicit teaching of correct political ideology. In other words, to achieve this goal of politicizing education, it was important to see how political ideology as theoretically conceived was the "natural" culmination of moral education as well as the normal practice of everyday social life. In the final analysis, filial piety, national ideology, moral codes of disciplinary conduct, and work ethics can all be seen as manifestations of a broader code of conduct which has as its ultimate goal "the making of the moral person" (*tso-jen*). *Tso-jen* here does not simply mean displaying the proper conduct; in the context of specific institutions the same term *tso-jen* becomes in practice a code word for conformity to the norms or routines of the respective institution, whatever they may be. Moral education through the adoption of correct attitudes or beliefs and moral training (*shou-hsun*) through the emulation of proper conduct are thus general aspects of socialization.

In retrospect, one can see that the development of moral education in postwar Taiwan is in the first instance an expression of the KMT's peculiar vision of the modern nation-state. Historically, it was the product of an even larger discourse on the nature of Chinese culture and its role in bringing about national solidarity. Given the socio-political scope of moral education and the extent to which it has been diffused throughout the spectrum of public education, one can expect it to have had profound ramifications for the routinization of a certain lifestyle, code of conduct and world view that was particular to contemporary Taiwan and its people. However, it is important to point out that all of this was made possible essentially by the monopolistic claims exercised by the government over the authority of culture. Insofar as the power of this authority remained intact, the force of moral education did and will continue to play an important function in shaping the imagination and actions of individuals.

The recent movement toward democratization has been an unmistakeable trend of the 90s. The rapid transformation of Eastern Europe brought about radical changes in the existing political system that continued to spread throughout the rest of society. With

democraticization came political decentralization not only of the government's centralized control over administration but also of the monopoly over the production of knowledge and the standardization of ideology, whether it be political, cultural or otherwise. What remains to be seen in the long run here is the extent to which the undermining of the state's traditional authority to define political truth will extend to other kinds of ideology, the continuance of a unitary culture and/or the conceptual foundations of the state itself.

In Taiwan, the effects of political liberalization have already begun to be broadly felt throughout society. On the whole, responses to change the form and content of moral education have come largely from within. Educators involved in the teaching of *san-min chu-i* have most recently called for sweeping changes in the curriculum; some have even begun to question whether it should be offered as a mandatory course, especially at higher levels. Actually, this is not the first time one has proposed to change the content of *san-min chu-i*; the Ministry of Education has in their guidelines on course content periodically made changes in subject matter and scope. Major revisions have on the average occurred once every ten years. The point here is that these frequent periodical changes are really consistent with the forward-looking character of nationalist ideology; revisions in the content of ideology have always reflected changes in the socio-economic environment as well as changing political values put forth by the government. The forward-looking nature of nationalist ideology as embodied in moral education is really at the heart of the KMT's vision of reconstructing society and the utopian state, in spite of the way in which symbols of traditional Chinese culture are invoked to give the illusion of a conservative, never changing society. I personally suspect that the current trend will be toward de-emphasizing the cultural and philosophical aspects of The Three Principles and stressing those aspects of the Three Principles devoted to enhancing socio-economic livelihood. This would be consistent with the movement in post-cold war era away from the politics of promoting traditional culture and its need to enforce ideological purity. Indeed within university departments devoted to the teaching of The Three Principles, few actually do textual research on *san-min chu-i*. More people are actually trained in social-scientific disciplines covered by the scope of *san-min chu-i* and tend to do applied social science of various sorts. Some within these departments have also begun to directly criticize the role of the government in politicizing moral education while at the same time cultivating students who have begun to talk in Gramscian terms about the hegemonic function of nationalist ideology in modern society. The point I wish to make here is that far from being an abstract ideology divorced from socio-political actuality, the content and function of moral education have always been intertwined in the flow of current affairs. The internal debate pertaining to the teaching of The Three Principles reflects a concern not only about moral education but more importantly its direct relation to questions of national identity and socio-political development.

Yet ironically, as we look at political discourse per se, it appears that the problem of moral education has yet to surface as an important or urgent concern. The overt challenges to KMT authority as manifested in the rise of opposition parties like the DPP or Democratic Progressive Party have focused predominantly upon the issue of Taiwanese independence. Less attention has been given to the problem of defining an alternative national culture, i.e. a Taiwanese culture, much less the moral-ethical vision of such a nation. If the development of moral education in postwar Taiwan can serve as an example to follow, I think these utopian visions and their pragmatic realization should be key elements toward those political ends.

Notes

1. Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983.

2. See Taiwan Provincial Government News Agency, *Tai-wan kuang-fu erh-shih-wu-nien* (Twenty-year Retrospective of the Glorious Restoration of Taiwan), Taichung: Provincial GOvernment Printer, 1970, section 18, p.2.

Dare Taiwan Education be Effective for the Future?

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Abstract

Taiwan economy over the past 20 years has made Taiwan a prosperous society. Dare Taiwan education help create a new social order? To explore this issue, this paper examines three aspects of education which seem to underlie the basic foundations to the school effectiveness of the future and further to a new social order.

The economic situation in the past twenty years has made Taiwan a prosperous society. The success it has achieved in this endeavor is very clear. According to the report of the Council for Economic Planning and Development, in 1989, domestic earnings averaged US$ 18,000 per family, and consumer spending reached US$ 12,900 per family, while savings averaged US$ 5,700 (China Post, July 16, 1990). Although the people of Taiwan enjoy a high living standard, greed and materialism have spread, not only evoking concern among people in Taiwan, but also drawing criticism from abroad.

Education has been seen as an instrument for changing both human beings and society. But the supposed crisis in education is not an isolated phenomenon. The success of an educational innovation has strong relationships with rapid economic growth, including extensive improvement in politics, strong leadership, great changes in ideology, and technological development. Bearing a long tradition of Chinese culture and facing the challenges of the modern world, dare Taiwan education be effective for the future?

In the development of this paper, three aspects need to be examined in order to show that Taiwan education does have the potential to build a new social order for the future.

1. Educational Innovations

Facing the rapid social changes, economic growth, and democratic partipation, the Minstry of Education and Taiwan Provincial Department of Education have laboriously launched many projects for the betterment of Taiwan education. Education Minister Mao Kao-Wen (Mao,1991) asserted in his report, entitled "Current Educational Developments and Innovations in Taiwan", at the Legislative Yuan that the Ministry of Education has already conducted a series of educational reforms based on the principles of equal opportunity, balance between quality and quantity, and on the needs of humanities to the par with science and technology.

In higher education, an assistant professor and a professor emeritus will be added above instructor and full professor in a roll of faculty ladder respectively. That will be beneficial to control the teaching quality and maintain a high level of academic research. In the coming century, the quality of public or private universities and colleges will be booming and the enrollment of the college students will rise from 2.26 percent of the total population in 1990 to 3 percent by the year 2000. Under the principle of equal development between rural and urban areas, the law school and business college of National Chung Hsing University (NCHU) in a small town, Sansha, will be developed into an independent university, and the main campus of NCHU in Taichung will become a comprehensive university. Hualian, located in the east side of Taiwan island, will become a national university soon. Tainan, a historical city of southern Taiwan, will acquire a national institute of the arts. Kaohsiung, the biggest industrial city in Southern Taiwan, will build a college of technology. In Pingtung county, National Pingtung Institute of Agriculture will be promoted into National Pingtung Agricultural College.

In the improvement of elementary and secondary education, the Ministry of Education has positively promoted a program for encouraging graduate students of the junior high schools to enroll in senior high schools at their own will. This is likely to be a pilot program which paves the road for conducting the extention of 12 years of compulsory education. In order to help junior high school graduate students, who do not have a strong motivation and qualification to be enrolled in a senior high school, the Ministry of Education has launched the "Jade Project" to solve their job and behavioral problems and guide them to realize their potential, The purpose of this project is (1) to provide the students with an opportunity for self-awareness, (2) to guide them to realize their potential, and (3) to form a task force with the help of family, school, and community leading them to become a valuable citizen.

Also, the Ministry of Education has conducted the "Sunrise Plan" to deal with juvenile problems. The goals are to reduce the high juvenile dilinquent rate and to promote a comfortable school and social order. After six years endeavor and financial support, a nationwide network of guidance will be accomplished . The strategies are (1) to strengthen the resources and facilities of school guidance, (2) to provide teachers with the knowledge and techniques of guidance through workshop or small group discussion, (3) to establish files for preventing the dilinquent behavior, and (4) to practice individual and group guidance in the school setting. The desirable achievement of the Sunrise Plane is expected to have the rate of student's dilinquent behaviors decreased from 1.44 percent today to1 percent in the future.

The Ministry of Education has also set up a "Springtime" task force to educate both students and teachers about the evil of drugs, and further to prevent the teenagers from using amphetamins and any drugs. Through boy scout training, classroom activities, and course studies, such as Ethics and Health Education, an anti-drug education may have great contributions to a sound society.

Based on a report by the Ministry of Education, Taiwan has 1,380,000 adults who are functionally illiterate. Those 4,110,000 adults who only received elementary education need to take basic learning of adult education. Those who received secondary education need to take advanced studies of adult education. The population is 7260,000 people. The age group of 65 and over has 1,190,000 people. They need a kind of education just for the aged. There are 6,140,000 people in the age group of 20 and above. The total adult population is over 12,760,000 people. These are all the objectives of vocational education, leisure education, and career education in the coming years. As a result, Ministry of Education positively promoted "An ad hoc project to rejuvenate citizen" or "A five years project for strengthening the adults basic learning." This project intends (1) to provide adults who lost their opportunities for schooling with basic knowledge and skills of life, (2) to develop the adult's capabilities of reading, writing and calculating, (3) to guide them adjusting themselves to a modern world. The total expenditure of money on this project will reach over 10 billion.

There will be 450,000 people participating in this project and 3,550,000 people will become literate.

In addition to the reforms or projects which have promoted by the Ministry of Education, Taiwan Provincial Department of Education has already proceeded other projects as well. In October 14-16, 1991, TPDE organized the "Conference on Taiwan Educational Administration in the 90's " inviting more than 300 people, including scholars, educationalists, administrators, and specialists of different fields, to discuss how to fulfill the "Equal Opportunity and Teaching Differently Program" for innovating the elementary and secondary education. For the division of labor, the conference is divided into seven committees which deal wtih seven main themes (Conference, 1991).

The first theme focuses on the innovation of the educational administration. The more specific projects included (1) the establishment of the teaching profession, (2) the reconstruction of educational expenditures, and (3) the improvement of student educational loans. The second theme intends to the in-service training program for well-educated and competent teachers. The concrete proposals includs (1) to create a multiple way to train competent teachers, (2) to encourage well-educated teachers voluntarily taking their post in rural or mountain areas, and (3) to have "Evergreen Project"—a project for teachers in-service training effectively done. The third theme deals with the betterment of curriculums and teaching techniques. The conclusions are (1) the curriculums and learning materials should be interesting, lively, daily-based, and matain multicultural selections, (2) the teaching objectives and main points acquired in a process of teaching and learning should always be kept in mind by teachers, and (3) the improvement of teaching and learning evaluation. The fourth theme puts stress on the betterment of pre-school education and elementary education. As we know, our students now in the elementary schools will become social core leaders in the next century. The detailed proposals were (1) to develop an effective pre-school educational system, (2) to integrate the educational resources of both elementary and secondary education, (3) to provide high school graduates with the opportunities of learning in school, and (4) to enhance the content of technological education. The fifth theme is concerned about the social education. For years, school education in Taiwan has developed very fast in quantity. Following the quick step of social changes, social education needs to have more public attention. Several plans have already been set up. The task force goes on to deal with (1) marriage education, (2) parent-children education, (3) adult education, (4) career education, and (5) education for the functionally illiterate. The sixth theme emphasizes on physical and health education which will conduct some projects on (1) physical fitness training, (2) drug and AIDS prevention, and (3) special talent physical training. The seventh theme is on special education. On the one hand, special education takes the responsibility for searching for gifted students, on the other, it gives the handicapped the opportunity to be useful person.

Although my paper could not give a very clear and whole picture about the educational innovations which have been conducted by the Ministry of Education and Taiwan Provincial Department of Education, a concise summary of those reforms and projects I have made above might outline a vivid prospective view of Taiwan's education in the future. Taiwan education is full of vigor to solve problems today and furthermore to grasp the social trends of tomorrow as well. In essence, education should lead society rather than follow it.

2. Teachers Education

So many ideas, moral deeds and expectations of a brave new world cherished by philosophers, sages, prophets, and poets have changed our mundane world. Teachers may not be philosophers, sages and poets, but at least, futurists in essence, they are doing a sacred task—to prepare students for a world of tomorrow which surely will be vastly different from today's. If school teachers are persistently forced or conditioned to hold their fallacies dealing with educational activities, the prospect of Taiwan education would be dimmed. I shall examine a number of widespread fallacies which seem to me twist the real image of education to the indoctrination.

(a) There is a fallacy that teachers should play the role as Heaven or Tao and guide students to fulfill His will or Tao. In ancient times, teachers or adults have enough experience and knowledge to direct students behavior and even control most of the life resources. When society rapidly changed its aspects and the information widely prevailed everywhere, teachers and adults are no more the only channel and standard for students or young generation to get their needs and to follow the value system of adults. Heaven or Tao must be changed from its universal and comprehensive paradiam into a particular and individual nature. Let every student develop his/her own characteristics.

(b) There is a fallacy that a shadow is cast as soon as a pole is raised. In school settings, especially in junior high schools, most of the teachers insist that student's achievement should be known or done immediately without any delay. They want direct and immediate result as soon as they made some causes. Students need time to grow. Their mental and physical growth can not leap up but slowly change. Haste makes waste.

(c) There is a fallacy that the best way to manage order in a classroom is to punish a student as a warning for a hundred. Many teachers are so familiar with this vicarious learning theory that they are caught in this trap. In general, the social-economic status of a punished student is not as high as other students in the same class. It is unfair to punish a disadvantaged student as a warning not because of his/her bad behavior but for the convenient use of stereotype. As we have known, most school teachers who come from a middle class family have cherished some kind of middle class value system. After all, sacrificing one student may not guarantee the survial of all.

(d) There is a fallacy that teachers are expected to be a burning candle giving light to others but exhausting itself. That is a very impressive metaphor of teaching profession. In the good old days, the candle was used very often and popular. It is easy and understandable to take a candle as a symbol to encourage teachers doing their duty. Today the candle is no longer an instrument of illumination. We have to choose another object to substitute the candle as a metaphor of teachers. Nowadays, the rechargeable battery is widely used and regarded as one of the best protectors for the environment. The battery can be continuously used without taking any risk of being thrown away if it is constantly recharged. Teachers, just like a rechargeable battery, should be constantly energized through in-service training programs. It is a wonderful deed to give light to others and to reserve energy for oneself.

In order to enhance school effectiveness and a high quality of teacher education, Ministry of Education elevated nine provincial or municipal teachers colleges into national institute offering abundant educational expenditures to improve their facilities and qualification of faculty. Under the multiple or open educational policy, other colleges or universities have the same credit to offer educational courses to all students if the students have a strong motivation and

high potential to be a teacher. The absolute dominance of the teacher training used to be the responsibility of teachers college or normal university is fading away. As soon as the revised Teachers Education Bill becomes law next year, the teachers college and normal university will face a big challenge from other universities. Teachers may lose their long-lived prestige but can gain more self-respect and social resources.

Also, in November 8, 1991, the Ministry of Education worked out another five-year project for the betterment of teachers education. During this five-year period, the academic level of high school teachers and vocational training teachers must be raised to a master degree. And kindergarten teachers need to have minimum bachelor's degree.

To tell the truth, most educationalists are not satisfied with the current state of teaching in Taiwan schools. As far as I know, many faculty members of teacher's colleges and normal universities are proud of their intensive specialization in this or that field of science or scholarship, this or that learned profession. They just look down upon the educational courses which surely help students to become a qualified teachers in our basic schools. Teachers from those collegiate institution may have knowledge of what-to teach but have no idea of how-to-teach. Teacher's education in Taiwan has its crisis per se. But we feel comfortable when Mortimer J. Adler (Adler, 1982) told us: We cannot get the teachers we need for the Paideia program from schools of education as they are now constituted. As teachers are now trained for teaching, they simply will not do. The ideal—an impracticable ideal—would be to ask for teachers who are, themselves, truly educated human beings. But truely educated human beings are too rare. Even if we could draft all who are now alive, there still would be far too few to staff our schools.

3. Cultural Literacy

For years, Taiwan's economic growth has had a very strong tie with the training of manpower. Since 1968, the government has invested vast amounts of money and personnel to the extention of the nine-year public schooling in order to improve the quality of public education. According to the annual statistics issued by the Ministry of Education, the percentage of children enrolled in primary school increased from 99.67 in 1968 to 99.90 in 1989 while the percentage of primary school students who want to be enrolled in secondary school increased from 74.66 to 99.09. In higher education, for example the semester of 1988, there were 109 universities and colleges in Taiwan. The total enrollment of these institutions was 384,569 students in addition to 17,341 graduate students.

If the aim of education is to have manpower, it is good for an individual to choose an appropriate means of work to live by; it allows for a society to improve its economic growth; it is even suitable for a country to establish a strong national power. But the development of manpower is only the first step in creating a brave new world. In a brave new world, the aim of education must be gradually transferred from manpower to manhood. A society which is persistently more obsessed with manpower than with manhood tends to be materialistic and shallow. This tendency gives rise to the spread of greed, which in turn leads to the decline of moral standards, the growth of crime and the rise of social unrest. Admittedly, these side effects in reality reflect the fact that , over the years, the government has been trying to modernize Taiwan society at the expense of a liberal education and cultural literacy.

That liberal education once again becomes popular and attracts more attention in 80s must give thanks to the publications of Mortimer Adler's *Paideia Proposal*, E.D. Hirsch's *Cultural Literary*, and Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind.* They all believe only cultural literacy can effectively overcome the unreasonable desire for material needs and snobish acts or utterances, and most importantly, it can provide people with philosophical wisdom, historical experiences, and the power to live a good life.

Cultural literacy may be thought of as language learning for the study of any field of knowledge involving the learning of a language. Language learning becomes the basis of cultural literacy. There are three major functions of the language curriculum in school. (Westbury, 1988) The first of these functions is the promotion of cultural communication so as to enable the student to learn and operate the cultural norms of semantics, morphology, text structure, and some common procedural routine with other members of the culture. The second function is the promotion of cultural loyalty. The third function of language education may be the development of individuality. Once one has learned to communicate within the culture and developed a loyalty to it one is able to create one's unique style.

Nowadays, students have little enthusiasm for reading. The decline of reading ability among students directly causes a deterioration in liberal education. Teacher's poor competence in language learning and instruction becomes another vicious circle. Literature and philosophy have long been the leading curriculums in huamanities. Literature has its cathartic function for sublimating the suppression of human nature, and philosophy enables people to strive after wisdom and releases them from an enchanted cave. Bloom (Bloom,1987) believes that "men may live more truly and fully in reading Plato and Shakespeare than at any other time, because then they are participating in essential being and are forgetting their accident lives." Under the carelessly pouring of mass media, modern society puts much stress on material values and situational ethics so as to make curriculum fragmented and educational goals debased drastically. Taiwan educational reforms for the future must show that it enhances the opportunities for cultural literacy and quality of life.

In the near future, language education in Taiwan should take several aspects into consideration. First, the learning of Mandarin and dialects must go hand in hand. In recent years, some people in Taiwan have been calling for the increased use of various dialects. But Mandarin is still the most common form of speech in China. It is the language with the largest number of speakers in the world. In Taiwan, almost all locals under the age of 50 can understand each other by speaking Mandarin. This has contributed immensely to the enhancement of social cohesion, and thus has helped achieve the communication of ideas. What's more, the vast majority of Chinese classics and great works of Chinese literature are written in Mandarin. Only can one who has the competence to listen, to speak, to read, and to write in their language correctly be worthy of a learned person. With these basic instruments in hands, one may educate him/herself constantly and not be imerged into the wave of mass information and knowledge explosion. For the coming century, Taiwan education should give top priority to strengthening the students basic learning skills—how to listen, to speak, to read, and to write.

Taiwan's rapid economic development has brought about growing information exchange and cultural intercourse between the island and the international community. As a result, the need for foreign language learning, especially English, has been urgent. Since ordinary people get their new knowledge and information through translations and news reports, many magazines, newspapers, and

publishing companies hire translators to turn articles written in foreign languages into Chinese. But generally speaking, the quality of the Chinese translations of English books on the market is rather undesirable.The mistakes in translation make the books a source of serious misunderstanding for the readers. "In reality, translation is a highly academic activity," said Dr. Lin Yao-fu, a professor of English at National Taiwan University. He has been proposing the establishment of a translation center at NTU. "The center would have four sections, for the compilation of reference books, the translation of professional works and literature, the publication and marketing of translations, and the training of professional translators and interpreters," he said. (China Post, Dec. 2 1990) Fortunately enough, the Executive Yuan's Council for Cultural Planning and Development has budgeted more than NT$ 10 million for its translation project. Under the project, dozens of famous works of Chinese literature, both classical and contemporary, are being translated by famous foreign sinologists. We sincerely hope the CCDP can budget another NT$ 10 million for carring out a project by which great Western books and current information can be translated into Chinese.

Facing the new and dynamic world, we believe nothing is more important than to acquire new ideas, skills and knowledge from abroad, even from the Soviet Union. There is a growing demand for experts in the Russian language after the ROC government formally lifted the ban on trade with and travel to Soviet Union in March, 1989. So far, more than 1,000 people have graduated from the Russian departments at local Taiwan colleges. However, fewer than 20 of them are proficient in the language, said Ming Chi, director of the newly established Graduate Institute of Russian at Chinese Cultural University. (China Post, Dec. 30, 1990) From now on, the Russian language will become an alternative means of searching for new information.

Predictions of the future are hazardous. There are many unforseen variables and unexpected circumstances influencing outcomes. We should not ignore the future because we will have to spend the rest of our lives there. Ralph Waldo Emerson once said, "This time, like all times, is a very good one, if we but know what to do with it." Knowing the fact, we should all be concerned about how to plan for the future. Children entering first grade this year will graduate from college in the early twenty first century and may still be actively working in the year 2050. During their school years they must acquire new skills and knowledge in order to achieve success in their jobs, family life, and relationship with others. What kind of new century are we in? American management guru Peter Drucker, in an interview with a TIME editor on January 22, 1990, he gave a vivid response. He said,

"In this 21st century world of dynamic political change, the significant thing is that we are in postbusiness society. Business is still very important, and greed is as universal as ever; but the values of people are no longer business values, they are professional values. Most people are no longer part of the business society; they are part of the knowledge society. If you go back to when your father was born and mine, knowledge was an ornament, a luxury—and now it is the very center. We worry if the kids don't do as well in math tests as others. No earlier civilization would have dreamed of paying any attention to something like this. The greatest changes in our society are going to be in education."

This is a clear picture. If we look at the future of Taiwan, through the eyes of education, not that of politics, ideology, and indoctrination, we find little reason for pessimism.

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The Radio and Television University of China: Issues and Prospects as an Open Learning University

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Abstract

This paper examines the Radio and Television University (RTVU) in the PRC. It focuses on the extent of openness of the University by using the available literature and data collected by the author from recent field work in China and Hong Kong. Because of its attempt to equalize itself with other regular, elite higher education institutions, the RTVU remains a relatively closed system. Its future development will move between traditional social constraints and reform efforts.

Introduction

This paper examines the Radio and Television University (RTVU) in the People's Republic of China, the largest distance education university and one of the earliest television universities in the world. It focuses on the extent of openness of the RTVUs - using the available literature and data collected by the author from recent field work in China and Hong Kong. The perception of RTVU stakeholders was obtained through 57 interviews with administrators, faculty, students, staff, government officials and employers of graduates of the RTVU as well as 226 questionnaires completed by students.

History of the RTVUs

China began experimenting with television in 1956, with the help of the USSR which supplied most of the equipment and technical assistance. In 1958, as part of the "Great Leap Forward", the government announced an ambitious four year plan to establish a national network in 30 towns. In September of the same year, Peking Television started regular scheduled broadcasts (Howkins, 1980, p.58).

Educational use of television in China started almost simultaneously with the establishment of the national television network. A June 14, 1958 article in the Beijing *Renmin Ribao* (cited in Bruckner, 1970, p. 223) recorded the first experimental television station for education and scientific research built by the teaching-and-research groups of the radio department of the Peking College of Posts and Tele-communication under the guidance of Soviet experts. This broadcasting station began test broadcasting in April 1958, but did not begin broadcasting on a regular basis until September of the same year.

In March 1960, the Beijing Television College was set up, an idea soon followed by large cities such as Shanghai, Guangzhou, Harbin and Shenyeng. Despite its name, correspondence education was the primary means of instruction which was supplemented by the radio and television media (Abe, 1960, p. 159; Bruckner, 1970, p. 210; Hawkridge & McCormick, 1983, p. 160). This emphasis on print was brought out in an official New China News Agency dispatch from Beijing for May 3, 1960 when it noted that "the audio and visual methods used in these [radio and television] courses supplement the correspondence material supplied to the students" (cited in Bruckner, 1970, p. 211).

According to Bruckner (1970), all the radio and television universities at this time had a two fold purpose: 1) to train teachers for various kinds and levels of spare-time schools; and 2) to raise the ideological, political and technical levels of the cadres, technical personnel, engineers, workers and peasant masses (p. 235).

During the ten years of Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), the educational system in China was devastated. As with most tertiary institutions, all the radio and television universities were closed. When the Cultural Revolution finally ended in 1976, the Chinese government was rudely awakened by the urgent need to modernize the nation and a sad reality that there were few trained and educated professional/technical personnel to carry out the much needed modernization projects. Since radio and television universities are cost-efficient and can train masses of people at a given time, the State Council approved a report, jointly submitted by the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Broadcasting and other related ministries, on the founding of a national Radio and Television University (RTVU) System in February, 1978.

After a year's preparation, the Central Radio and Television University (CRTVU) was established in Beijing. Soon after, an RTVU System made up of 28 Provincial Radio and Television Universities (PRTVUs) in provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, 279 prefectural/civic branch schools in towns, cities and prefectural areas, and 625 district/county work stations in districts of cities and counties of rural areas were set up (Wang, 1984, p. 152; Zhao, 1988, p. 218). By then the aim of the RTVU had changed to the promotion of modernization and helping to deal with the limited number of places in conventional colleges and universities. In October, 1979, some 600,000 people were taking RTVU courses throughout China which was more than double the same year's conventional college and university enrollment (McCormick, 1980, p. 62). By 1989, the RTVU System had grown to a total of 43 PRTVUs , 497 Branch Schools, 1550 Work Stations and approximately 27,000 Television Classes (Xie, [1989], p. 11). (See Figure 1 for an Organizational Chart of the RTVU System).

The impressive number of graduates in the early years had won the RTVUs a nationwide reputation and had convinced the Chinese government of the value of their further development. The Sixth Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development (1981-1985) stated, "There will be considerable expansion of higher education through radio, television, correspondence and evening courses. Students taking these courses will number 1.5 million by 1985" (Wang, 1984, p. 152).

Prior to 1984, the RTVU System was developed without any outside aid. In 1984, the World Bank provided China with a U.S. $60 million low-cost loan for the purchase of printing presses and television production equipment for the Central Radio and Television University, production and transmission equipment for 9 major PRTVUs, and video production equipment for 19 minor PRTVUs. It also supplied computers, scientific apparatus and technical assistance of many kinds to all the RTVUs (Hawkridge, 1988; Hawkridge & Chen, 1991, p. 135). Out of 32 distance education projects funded by the World Bank between 1963-1985 in different parts of the world, China's RTVU project was considered to be the largest and the most important one. Moreover, it was deemed to be more cost-effective than conventional education (Hawkridge, 1988, p. 90-91).

In 1986, two milestones in the development of distance education in China involved the RTVUs:

1. The first all-China unified entrance examination for adult higher education took place on May 10-11, 1986. This is one of the attempts made by the Chinese government to raise the quality of new students. Prior to 1986, the CRTVU had its own entrance examination (Zhao, 1988, p. 218) which was considered lower in standard than that of conventional universities. Also, the passing score on the RTVU national examination was different for workers (50 percent) and the "intellectuals" (60 percent) (Kormondy, 1982, p. 35). However, with this all-China unified examination, cadres, workers and high school graduates seeking for adult higher education would be evaluated by the same examination using the same standards.

2. The launching of a satellite television education system occurred in October 1986. The goal was to create 5,000 ground receiver sites in order to increase educational broadcast time from 6 to 24 hours a day and double or triple the RTVU enrollment (George, 1986, p. 63). The satellite transmits teacher training courses not only to prepare new teachers for the new 9-year compulsory educational program, but also to retrain the more than 8 million unqualified primary and secondary school teachers (Zhou, 1987, p. 19) who obtained their positions during the Cultural Revolution (Epstein, 1982, p. 289).

These changes were believed to have raised the academic status of the RTVUs in the adult higher education system and to have provided new opportunities for the RTVUs to expand, as indicated by the following statistics. From 1979-1987, more than 400 books totalling 40 million copies have been published by the CRTVU Publishing House. Over 1 million audiovisual copies of teaching materials are produced and duplicated each year (Zhao, 1988, p. 221). Between 1979 and 1988, a total of 1,674,884 people graduated from the RTVUs and the RTVU enrollment of all subject College Speciality Programs ranged from 97,746 in 1979, reached a peak of 273,112 in 1985 and became stabilized at 191,900 in 1988 (Xie, [1989], p. 16).

Organizational Structure of the RTVU System

China is a totalitarian country which practices tight top-down administration. But China is also a big country, so out of sheer necessity, the RTVU System has to rely on local support. It must decentralize in order to achieve maximum effectiveness. Thus, the RTVU System employs an administrative policy of centralized planning and decentralized management. Its organization parallels the five-tiered national and regional government structure. The CRTVU, at the highest level, is the central body responsible for long-term planning, course design and course/material production, the setting of examinations and minimum standards of attainment. PRTVUs, at the second level, are responsible for the production of material to meet local needs, printing of teaching materials, organizing entrance and end-of-semester examinations and the marking of examinations, staff training and conducting research on distance education.

While Branch Schools, at the third level, conduct examinations, admit and register students, keep student records as well as employ and train tutors, Work Stations, at the fourth level, are responsible for organizing television classes and tutorials, laboratory work and

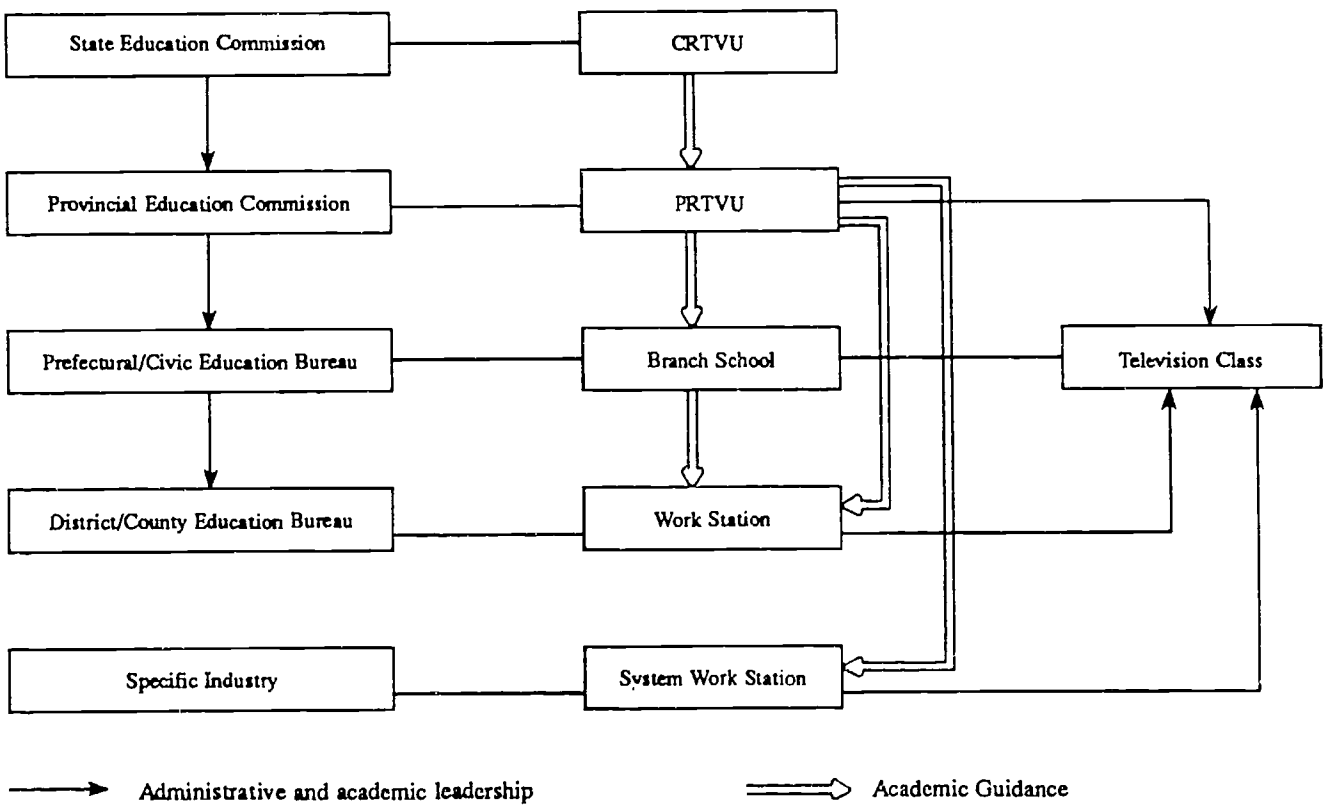

Figure 1: Organization of the RTVU System.

Note: Adapted from China Radio and TV University (pp. 1, 10) by X. Xie (Ed.), [1989, Beijing: CRTVU Publishing House.]

field studies. The actual organization of viewing and listening of teaching programs, tutoring, laboratory work and field studies takes place in Television classes, the lowest level of the structure. They also maintain contact with work units from which the students come (Zhao, 1988).

RTVU Student Categories

RTVU students can be broadly divided into two categories: registered students and audiovisual students (they are called "free viewers" in the literature.) Under the category of registered students are four sub-groups, three of which are employed: full-time, part-time and spare-time; and the fourth sub-group, which made up 5 percent of the total student body in 1983, is not employed (Hawkridge & McCormick, 1983, p. 167). The unemployed group increased to 20 percent in 1988 (Hawkridge, 1988, p.90).

I. **Registered Students:** All registered students must have an educational level equivalent to middle-school graduates and pass a competitive entrance examination (Yeh, 1983, p. 158). Registered students write an examination at the end of each term of the course. If they pass, they receive a diploma.

   1. **Full-time Students:** They are released from work to study full-time and they usually finish their RTVU programs in three years. They retain their full salaries, medical care and other benefits except bonuses. Upon graduation, they are expected to return to their work units (danweis) such as a factory, school, office, commune or army unit. Their ages range widely from 22 to 60 (Flower, 1983, p. 48). Ninety percent of them are workers (Hawkridge & McCormick, 1983, p. 167).
   2. **Half-time or Part-time Students:** They may be released from work a day or two a week to study, with full pay,over a period of one or more years. Ninety percent of those taking a single course are teachers, many of whom are taking English (Hawkridge & McCormick, 1983, p. 167; Yeh, 1983, p. 159).
   3. **Spare-time Students:** They have to make up their work-time due to morning television viewing. They receive no reduction in their working week (Yeh, 1983, p. 159).
   4. **Unemployed Students:** In Chinese they are called Unassigned or Job-waiting Youths (Li, 1984, p. 58). They are high school leavers who study full-time at the RTVUs. Unlike the former three groups of students they have to pay their own fees and are not guaranteed a job when they graduate or finish studying.

II. **Free Viewers:** They are unregistered students who usually study single courses in their spare-time and are self-funded. Although they do not have to write the entrance examination, they can apply to write the final examination. If they pass, they obtain a certificate for each of the single courses. They used to be able to accumulate enough courses to receive a diploma which would entitle them to the same pay and benefits as graduates from the equivalent programs at conventional universities. (McCormick, 1988, pp. 62-63; Flower, 1983, p. 48; Yeh, 1983, p. 159; Hawkridge & McCormick, 1983, p. 167; Wang, 1984, p. 155; Huang, 1986, p. 331; Hawkridge, 1988, p. 90). However, since the introduction of the all-China unified entrance examination in 1986, free viewers are no longer allowed to accumulate their passed courses in exchange for a diploma.

Overall, RTVU students are described as "experienced workers whose foundations (of knowledge) are weak but whose motivation is high" (McCormick, 1980, pp. 62-63).

RTVU Curriculum

The RTVU curriculum reflects the practical and relevant teaching objective of China's higher education system. It is a combination of theory and practical work. Besides televised lectures, science students have to complete the minimum number of experiments before they can obtain their credits. Engineering majors must go to factories to gain practical experience during their vacations and must complete a project before graduation. Social Science majors have to conduct field studies and prepare a report of their findings. Through these activities, students are expected not only to gain practical experience and theory, but also to cultivate their ability to study by themselves and work independently (Wang, 1984, p. 154). Another example of the emphasis on practical and relevant teaching is the change in course offerings resulting from changing societal needs. During the early years, the RTVUs offered only science and technology courses. Started in 1983 in direct response to the need of industry and other kinds of enterprises to improve their management, social studies courses covering economic management specialities were introduced. The public responded quickly and favorably by registering in these new courses which accounted for an immediate increase in intake of almost 22 percent and an increase of 83 percent in total enrollment in the College Speciality Programs (McCormick, 1984, p. 136).

Extent of Openness with the RTVU System

One of the characteristics of a distance education institute is openness. The degree of openness is determined by the ease of admission to the university; and the flexibility of the program in accommodating students' academic and personal needs, such as compulsory class attendance, availability of elective courses and student autonomy in pacing their academic progress. The RTVU is a distance education university, so it is important to examine the extent of its openness from both the entry and access points of view as defined by Neil (1981).

Open Entry

Neil (1981) defined "open entry" as the degree of openness measured against "the nature and restrictiveness of the rules and regulations governing registration of students by an institution" (p. 37). Selection criteria are examples of such rules. The less stringent the selection criteria, the more open the entry is.

Compared to the ancient Chinese elitist higher educational system which was accessible only to the offspring of the ruling class, the RTVU is a very open system. Since its inception until 1986, regardless of race, sex and socio-economic status, anyone could gain access to the RTVUs and obtain a diploma in two ways: they could become registered students by passing an RTVU entrance examination or they could take single courses as a Free Viewer.

Prior to 1986, although the registered students had to pass a "competitive" entrance examination (Yeh, 1983, p. 158), none of those interviewed in the field work complained about the old RTVU entrance examination as being restrictive to the openness of the RTVUs.

In recent years, adult higher education programs such as the RTVUs, Spare-time education, correspondence education and Higher Education Independent Study Examination have grown too fast causing a relaxation in the quality control. The government

believed that an all-nation unified entrance examination could provide some quality control for adult higher education in two respects. First of all, it believed that a nationally unified entrance examination could help raise the academic quality by screening out those who were academically inferior. Secondly, it believed that an entrance examination would result in a more uniform student academic entry level which reduced the attrition and failure rates. A third reason for introducing the unified entrance examination is not publicized. It was the government's attempt to control the number of College Speciality Program graduates in order to control the number of workers being promoted to the more senior cadre posts. Therefore, in 1986, the State Education Commission introduced the annual Adult Higher Education Examination which applicants must pass in order to be admitted to any of the adult higher education institutes, including the RTVUs. The examination covers five subjects: for Science and Technology Program: Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Politics and Chinese; and for Arts Program: Mathematics, History, Geography, Politics and Chinese.

In addition to the introduction of the all-nation unified Adult Higher Education Examination, the government stopped admitting Free Viewers in the College Speciality Program (86: Jiaojizi No. 049, 1986, p. 43) which means Free Viewers can no longer accumulate single courses to get a diploma. The government's rationale for this decision is to maintain or raise the RTVU academic quality. Some of the Free Viewers were reported to have less than a high school level of education, yet they were not required to write the entrance examination. Moreover, they could write the final examinations without having to attend any television classes. Since the policy makers believed that compulsory class attendance guaranteed academic quality, these Free Viewers who had not passed the entrance examination and attended no television classes could not possibly be any good academically. Furthermore, it was considered unfair for people who had to pass the entrance examination and had to attend compulsory television classes to get the same pay and benefits as the Free Viewers who did not have to meet the same stringent requirements. Thus, as of 1986, entry to the RTVUs became much restricted and the RTVU System became less open than before. From the student questionnaires collected by this researcher while she was in China, thirty-two percent of the respondents found the application to RTVUs not easy. One of the reasons cited was the Entrance Examination.

Many of the people interviewed by this researcher during her field work criticized these restrictive measures to openness as an unwelcomed limitation on the growth of the RTVUs as well as on people's opportunity for an education. From the students' perspective, the Entrance Examination limits the opportunity for adult higher education for masses of people. The purpose of adult higher education in China is to train adults into specialized personnel who are practitioners, not scholarly researchers (Quan, 1990, p. 155). The specific mandate for the RTVUs is to provide credit and non-credit ***technical training*** at the College Speciality Program level to the working adults (RTVU Temporary Provisions, 1988, p. 75). So the Entrance Examination, if there has to be one, should be a test of the prospective students' practical knowledge. Instead, the examination is a comprehensive test of students' ability to memorize academic materials from five high school subjects. Thus, it is not easy for adult students, despite their wealth of experience, their solid practical background and their analytical ability, to do well in the Entrance Examination because they have already left school for a considerable length of time.

Due to the nature of the Examination questions, the study method adult students have to resort to is rote memorization which is not an effective learning mode. Moreover, working adults, with family and work pressure, often have little time to study for the Entrance Examination. However, if they are admitted to the RTVUs, they would be given release time to study, and provided that assistance is available through the Tutorial Teachers, they will perform well. Indeed, one RTVU member cited a comparative study his RTVU has conducted which found that the difference in the final examination mark between those who passed the Entrance Examination and those who did not write it was only 5-10 marks. In some cases, there was no difference at all between the two groups. Unfortunately, under the existing system, those people who fail the Entrance Examination would be deprived of an opportunity to further their education and their career advancement because without a diploma, they would have little chance of being promoted to the more senior posts.

From an institutional point of view, the Entrance Examination reduces the RTVU student supply, not only by the screening of the Examination but also by a conscious selective decision made by working adults. The RTVUs are for working adults who have left school for at least two years. In the samples of the research conducted by this researcher which comprised mostly day students, the majority of the students (58.7 percent) were between 21 and 30 years old which means they would have left school for two to twelve years. If these working adults do not pass the entrance examination, they cannot enroll in the RTVUs as registered students. Moreover, since students can no longer obtain a diploma by taking single courses, they must pass the Entrance Examination if they want to get the same promotion opportunity as available to graduates from conventional universities. Those who are pragmatically minded seek other forms of adult education, such as the Higher Education Independent Study Examination, which does not require the writing of the Entrance Examination but would result in a diploma. Consequently, many RTVUs have experienced a drop in student enrollment in recent years. In fact, insufficient student supply was cited as the biggest problem that threatens the survival of some of the RTVUs.

According to one interviewee, prior to 1986, the dropout rate was 40-50 percent in the first two terms. After the introduction of the Entrance Examination in 1986, the dropout rate in the first two terms was reduced to 30 percent. In other words, the Entrance Examination has helped to screen out about 10-20 percent of potential dropouts. Although this statistic appears to be quite impressive, it is misleading because it did not and could not show the percentage of potential students who might have succeeded had they not been screened out by the Entrance Examination.

As mentioned, one of the purposes of the all-nation unified Entrance Examination is to raise the quality of RTVUs by screening out those who are deemed academically inferior. However, this rationale is questionable because it made two assumptions which are highly debatable. The first assumption is: those who do not do well on the Entrance Examination are inevitably and categorically of inferior quality academically. Thus they cannot possibly have achieved a good standard in the adult higher education system. Rather than let them try and fail (which is imminent in the policy-makers' mind), it is better to not give them the opportunity to try at all. In order for this to be true, the second assumption, which is the infallibility of the Entrance Examination, has to be true. To the contrary, Zhang and Yin (1988) noted numerous problems of the Entrance Examination System in an article on reform of the recruitment system of adult education institutes. First of all, they pointed out that the Adult Higher Education Entrance Examination has no

validity. In other words, it does not test what it is supposed to test, namely the technical aptitude of working adults.

Secondly, the Entrance Examination cannot predict students' future performance. In 1986, Zhang and Yin sampled the RTVU student records. It showed that the average mark of those under 23 years old was 61.1 while those over 30 years old had an average mark of 61.6. This indicates that young adults who, on the average, perform better than the older adults on the Entrance Examination do not necessarily perform better than the older adults in their course work once they get admitted.

The third problem with the Entrance Examination is its bias towards younger adults who have recently graduated from high school. They have the definite advantage of having a better memory of what they have learned in high school not too long ago. Zhang and Yin (1988) criticized the Entrance Examination for being discriminatory against older adult students who have been working for a number of years. In a 1986 Adult Entrance Examination, for instance, in the Science subjects in Hebei Province, 38 percent of the applicants were under 23 years old and 22 percent were over 30 years old. Among those who met the minimum passing mark, 47 percent were under 23 years old and only 10 percent were over 30 years old. After adjusting the marks (the unemployed youths who are roughly under 23 years old have to score 20-30 marks higher than working adults), 65 percent of those under 23 years old and only 38 percent of those over 30 years old were admitted to the RTVUs. Zhang and Yin noted that these statistics are indicative of the age discrimination problem of the recruitment method.

The fourth problem with the Entrance Examination is its relevance. One cannot help but wonder about the relevance for someone, for instance, majoring in Journalism, of memorizing some high school mathematical equations.

In addition to the introduction of the Entrance Examination and the stipulation on Free Viewers, the other selection criteria for admission to the RTVUs are restrictive too. Yet, no one complained about them possibly due to obvious political reasons or their being used to such restrictions. For example, in the 1986 admission regulations (86: Jiaogaosanzi No. 003, 1986, p. 111), political dedication is part of the first selection criterion. In addition to having a high school level or equivalent qualification, the applicant must support the Chinese Communist Party, love the country, love the people, love socialism, obey the law and be of good health. This criterion was later revised in 1988 to read "Applicants must support the Four Basic Principles and have good conduct, obey the law, have high school or equivalent level of education and have good health" (88: Jiaogoasanzi No. 001, 1988, p. 120). The Four Basic Principles are: 1) Follow the path of socialism; 2) Uphold the leadership of the Communist Party; 3) Uphold the dictatorship of the Proletariate; and 4) Uphold Marxism-Leninism.

Another restrictive selection criterion is that although the unemployed youths and the self-employed laborers are self-funded, they must obtain approval from the local rural government or, in the city, the Neighborhood Committee (*jiedao weiyuanhui*) which is the grassroot level of city government. A third restrictive criterion is that full-time and part-time students must be under 40 years old as of August 31 of any given year.

In summary, the openness of entry to the RTVU has been compromised by the government's desire to control the academic quality of RTVU students and the number of graduates from the credit education programs of the RTVUs. What China needs is not restriction of admission to the RTVU System, but rather, system reforms, educational as well as social.

Educational Reforms

As far as educational reforms are concerned, the government might consider abolishing the Entrance Examination because it is considered to be an invalid, inaccurate, unfair and irrelevant evaluation mechanism. If completely open entry is not feasible due to limited resrouces, perhaps the high school transcripts can be used as the selection tool instead. At the same time, the government might also consider reforming the final examination system by making it a more honest one. It is common knowledge within the RTVU System that the RTVU final examination system is not a foolproof system. In fact, incidents of cheating and corruption, especially in the more remote local branch schools and work stations, are often reported. Yet, students are given only one chance to prove their proficiency for most of the courses. Final examinations which are worth 100 percent not only create a lot of stress for many working adult students, but they also encourage procrastination and studying by rote. Ironically, on an individual course basis, local RTVUs are allowed to take into consideration marks from tests and assignments (Beijing RTVU, 1985, p. 4). However, this is not practiced because most teachers find it too troublesome to keep a record of the marks throughout the semester. Thus, in order to encourage students to study throughout the term and to alleviate pressure from the students, the CRTVU might consider enforcing an evaluation policy which takes into consideration both the tests and assignments during the term as well as the final examination because it can reflect the real ability of the students more accurately. Moreover, by making student evaluation less dependent on the one-shot final examinations, the problem of corruption could be dealt with more effectively.

Social Reform

Among some of the fundamental social reforms, China has to tackle a fundamental change from a "Job Assignment System" to an "Employment System". If job assignment were not guaranteed by academic qualification in the form of a diploma, and if other benefits, such as housing, were not automatically tied to job classification, which is also tied to academic qualification, the government would not have to be so concerned with restricting entry to education nor with the controlling on the number of graduates from adult higher education because it would not be obligated to assign jobs to them. There are signs that reform in the Job Assignment System is taking place in different parts of the country. For instance, in some major centers, some private enterprises have started to recruit staff through advertisements. The system of "mutual selection" between danwei leaders (prospective employers) and graduates of higher education institutes (prospective employees) is also being experimented within selected key points, for example, in the province of Heilongjiang, the Heilongjiang University, Heilongjiang Chinese Medical Institute and Harbin Physical Education Institute (Heilongjiang People's Publishing House, 1990, p. 311). Laizhou City RTVU in Shandong Province also started an employment system in the second half of 1988. Teachers and staff are hired through interviews. The term of appointment is two years. This is an innovative practice which is a reform of the system of the "iron rice bowl", meaning a very secure job ("Laizhou RTVU", 1989, p. 4). Little by little, people are beginning to be exposed to the idea of looking for a job on their own instead of waiting for the government to assign one to them.

Open Access

"Open access" according to Neil (1981) has a wider connotation than open entry. It includes not only open entry, but also openness in the following aspects:

1. Distance and other geographic constraints;
2. Communication constraints (ability to receive broadcasts);
3. Technological Constraints;
4. Program administrative constraints (degree of freedom in pacing, choice of courses, methods of evaluation);
5. Financial and political constraints (extent to which community groups can influence what kinds of courses are offered and where) (p. 37).

1. Geographic Constraints

RTVUs as an open distance education system have the potential to overcome geographical barriers and reach out to the rural areas. According to the 1990 Census, 834 million (73.77 %) of the Chinese population lived in the rural areas ("About 1990 Census", 1990, p. 3). A Unesco report (1991) shows that, in 1987, 72.54 percent of the illiterate population of over 217 million lived in the rural areas (p. 1-28). By 1990, the number of illiterate people had reduced to 180 million (17 %). Although the *Renmin Ribao* did not report the percentage of illiterates from the rural areas from the 1990 Census, one can estimate that a corresponding 17 percent drop in the 1990 illiteracy rate (that is, 60 percent of 180 million illiterates) still amounts to a staggering total of 108 million people. With such an alarmingly high percentage of illiterates living in the rural areas which represent the majority of the country, the need to expand education to the rural areas is apparent. The RTVUs, as a form of distance education, have the potential to undertake the education, at different academic levels, of the rural population. Besides teaching basic education to the illiterates, it can offer practical, technical courses on agriculture and teacher training to the rural areas. In fact, the recent establishment of the Liaoyuan (Set the Prairie Ablaze) RTV Institute in Heilongjiang and the adoption of the new national Policy of Liaoyuan are attempts made by one PRTVU and CRTVU, respectively, to offer agriculture courses at the Secondary Speciality level to the less educated farmers in the rural areas (Liu, 1990, p. 8). However, if the RTVUs were to start offering adult basic education, it would take on a different role from that of an adult higher education institute. Government and RTVU policy-makers would have to decide if this digression, or expansion, fits with the long-term goal of the RTVU System.

2. Communication Constraints

The second aspect of open access is the ability to overcome communication constraints. CRTVU programs are transmitted by microwave and satellite nation-wide. Most PRTV 's have their own receivers which enable them to receive the signals, either for direct transmission to students in the television classes or re-transmission through local terrestrial microwave networks, or for videotaping for later viewing or distribution to the Branch Schools and Work Stations (Hawkridge & Chen, 1991, p. 138). However, air time, in recent years has been cut back considerably by television stations, such as the central China Television. The CRTVU is experiencing much frustration over the negotiation for more air time because their requests appear to have been ignored. The growing popularity and affordability of videocassette recording machines in recent years has resolved partially the earlier problem of inability to transmit televised programs because PRTVUs can now send videotaped programs to those areas that cannot receive the signals. Unfortunately, the high cost of videotapes has prevented some local RTVUs from using the videotaped lessons. As a result, these RTVUs have to resort to hiring unqualified local teachers to teach the RTVU course in a face-to-face setting. If the RTVUs are charged with the mission to provide education to the masses, the government must exert pressure on the broadcasting stations for their cooperation. Without their help, the RTVUs cannot exploit their unique open access characteristics in educating the masses.

3. Technological Constraints

China is a developing country which means her technology is not very advanced. Electricity, which is taken for granted in the developed countries, is treasured in China, especially during the frequent power cuts, even in the capital city of Beijing (Xu, 1990, p. 3).

China has 12 million installed telephones, at a ratio of one phone to every 100 people. The Ministry of Post and Telecommunications has planned to spend RMB 18 billion yuan to install 6 million additional telephones by 1995 (Gao, 1990, p. 1). However, the cost of installing a private telephone line is very high. It is equivalent to roughly a professor's annual salary. Thus, private telephone ownership remains in the hand of the rich and influential. Those who cannot afford one have to share the communal line with hundreds of other households in the same danwei residence compound. China has 14.9 television sets per 100 people (National Statistics Department, 1990, p. 289). Due to the limited access to television sets and telephones, the RTVUs have to resort to congregating the students in a face-to-face setting to watch television and conduct tutorials. This restricts the openness of the RTVUs. Improvement in telecommunication is badly needed in order to solve the problem of not having adequate qualified Tutorial Teachers in the rural areas. If students can make long distance telephone calls to their tutors, wherever they may be, the lack of qualified Tutorial Teachers in the rural areas would not inhibit the RTVU expansion to these areas. Unless China develops technologically to the point that every household has a telephone and a television set, the RTVUs have no choice but to continue the face-to-face televised classes and tutorials.

4. Program Administrative Constraints

The third aspect of open access is program administrative constraints, such as credit transfer, choice of courses, pacing, method of evaluation, and discipline of student conduct.

The RTVUs have a credit system: a total number of 160 credits is required for a two year speciality program and 240 for a three year speciality program (Xie, [1989], p. 19). The RTVU credits are not transferrable to conventional universities but they can be transferred to another RTVU provided that the following conditions are met:

1. The transfer is due to job transfer which necessitates that a person move to another location, provided that it is not within the city, making it impossible to continue his/her study in the present teaching class.
2. The student's new danwei agrees to allow the student to continue his/her study.
3. The RTVU at the new district/county or danwei must have a class of the same level of speciality and agrees to accept the transfer student (Beijing RTVU, 1985, p. 14).

As far as transfer to another speciality is concerned, it is strictly

forbidden, unless it is necessitated by job requirement, in which case the student must present proof from the danwei (Beijing RTVU, 1985, p. 15).

Despite RTVU students' desire to select electives according to their personal interests, they have very little choice in the matter. In some cases, the so-called "electives" have become compulsory courses because the RTVU cannot offer any extra courses for the students to choose from.

Pacing of academic progress is also limited. Full-time students cannot proceed faster than the minimum of two years for a two year program and three years for a three year program because the study load is very heavy. Besides, many courses would only be offered at a certain time of the year due to tight air time. Thus, even if the students want to, and have the ability to handle the study load, they cannot progress faster.

In terms of student conduct and discipline, the RTVU stipulations resemble those of the conventional universities where, for example, students who are absent without any legitimate reason for one-third of the teaching hours in a term will not be allowed to write the final examination (State Education Commission, Department of Students of Higher Education Institute, 1990, p. 3). Similarly, at Beijing RTVU, any student who is absent from the televised classes for no good reason for more than 40 teaching hours will be asked to leave the school (Beijing RTVU, 1985, p. 8). In another PRTVU, 53 teaching hours are the maximum number of hours that a person can be absent without any legitimate reason. In addition, lateness to classes for a certain number of times is equivalent to a certain number of hours of absenteeism. When the number of hours of absenteeism accumulates to 53, the student will have to withdraw from the program.

Although the RTVUs do not forbid their students to get married as conventional universities do, they encourage them to delay their marriages and delay having children (Beijing RTVU, 1985, p. 8).

These regulations further restrict the openness of the RTVUs. They may seem odd according to Western standards, but one has to bear in mind that China is the country that enforces the "one-child policy". It is also a country where the people traditionally advocate strict discipline and obedience to authority. Even though the RTVU students are adults, they have to abide by the stringent university rules and regulations. There is no doubt that these traditional Chinese values clash with the open nature of distance education. However, if the RTVUs want to continue their claim as open learning institute, abolition of some of these regulations is warranted.

5. Financial Constraints

The RTVUs have always depended on the cooperation of the danweis in providing tuition to the RTVU students. The purpose of the re-establishment of the RTVUs after the Cultural Revolution was to educate and train the badly needed professional and technical personnel. Since this need has largely been met by the mid 80's, the RTVUs began to suffer a lack of student supply because of a decreasing lack of support from the danweis. This decline in student supply has pushed the RTVUs to even further reliance on the danweis to the point that the RTVUs are allowing the danweis to dictate to them what programs or courses to offer. The RTVUs began to shift their program emphasis to non-credit education and Secondary Speciality Programs in order to meet the demand of the danweis. All these efforts are made with the blessing of the Chinese government. In addition to government policy-makers, RTVU administrators and faculty members also believe that this close cooperation between the RTVUs and the danweis is a very good thing because it shows how the two can help each other by sharing each other's resources. It also demonstrates the responsiveness of the RTVUs to local needs. However, such close a link between the RTVUs and the danweis poses the same kinds of danger as those cited by Long (1987) in regards to corporate sponsored schools/ colleges for adults. He noted,

> First, education increasingly may become justified by the "bottom line" syndrome...Second, the traditional education system may be affected negatively through competitive strategies that blur the distinction between an education that at least pays lip service to the wholeness of the human being and an education designed only to equip the human as a worker. Third, education of adults may become more a means for constraining humanity than for liberating it (pp. 58-59).

If the policy-makers are concerned about the provision of adult higher education to the masses, they must allocate sufficient funding to institutes such as the RTVUs so that they will not be so dependent on the danweis. The RTVUs, too, must reaffirm their goal so that they do not lose sight of their mission of providing adult higher education as open learning institutes.

Conclusion

The RTVUs are open in the sense that anyone who passes the Entrance Examination and lives close enough to a branch school or work station has access to a post-secondary education. This is a major change from the traditional elitist form of education which is accessible to only a very small percentage of the population. It is also an open system as far as non-credit education is concerned. Other than these aspects, the RTVU System was found to be not very open despite its claim as an open learning university. In fact, due to a variety of constraints and also in its attempt to be accepted as equal to conventional university, the RTVU System remains a relatively closed system. It employs the conventional face-to-face instructional method; it implements the entrance examination; it offers limited choice of electives to the students; it lacks flexibility in student pacing of the program; it adopts stringent rules and regulations; and it has been unable to reach a considerable number of people in the rural areas due to inadequate technology.

The RTVU System has the potential of further development as an open distance learning institute in adult higher education. However, in order to maximize this potential, major reforms have to take place, not only within the educational system, but also within the Job Assignment System. Furthermore, Chinese educators have to reassess the relevance of some of their standardization measures, such as the Entrance Examination, on academic quality. Furthermore, they have to redefine the traditional conceptualization of ***adult*** higher education as opposed to ***conventional*** higher education in order to make the RTVUs truly open learning institutes.

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The "Blind Angle" of Chinese Education in the 21st Century

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Abstract

This paper employs various perspectives to analyze a number of social and cultural forces which have profound impact on the shape of Chinese education as well as created "blind spots" in it. These "spots" lead to excessive emphasis on examination scores and weaken school objectives to develop various abilities in students.

I. The Puzzles

Everybody has a "blind spot." They may not realize it or want to recognize it, but they still have one. Often the "blind spot" of social research is found when the researchers study themselves. This paper attempts to analyze the "blind spot" of Chinese education.

1. The puzzle of Chinese education

A difficult question always puzzles the Chinese students who study in the U.S. with their children. When they return to China, their children are unable to catch up with the other Chinese children in school. The parents earned Doctorates or Post-doctoral experiences in America, but their children are considered backward. It provides food for thought that if the children did not learn adequate knowledge from American schools, why would their parents come to America for study? If the parents are able to learn new sciences, technology and theory from American schools, why will their children fall behind others? It seams to be a puzzle of American education, but it should cause more serious concern about Chinese education, since a winner at the finishing line will be the real winner.

According to the *People's Daily* (July 31, 1990, and July 19, 1991), the teams of Chinese middle school students won several championships in the team aggregate score of the International Olympic Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics Competition in 1990 and 1991. Given this, why are Chinese adults, who are in the universities of China, unable to gain a Nobel Prize?

2. The puzzle of American education

B. F. Skinner asked, "Was putting a man on the moon actually easier than improving education in our public schools?"[1]

The Americans, including President Bush (who claims to be the Education President), are increasingly concerned about the crisis of education. But the crises in the U.S. and China are very different. To illustrate: my boy broke his arm so that he had to stay at home over two weeks. If in China, he would have had a difficult time catching up with his classmates. However, in his American school, even if he missed a semester, he would have very little difficulty catching up. In Chinese eyes, American education, particularly primary and secondary education, looks like a trifling matter. What do the students study in the American schools? Why does a foreign pupil who misses several weeks of school not feel any difficulty making up what was missed? How are American science and technology continually in the lead of the world? Why are North Americans awarded the most Nobel Prizes? Undoubtedly, American education is a puzzle, which consists of two poles — the Yin and the Yang —the shadow of crisis and the glitter of the Nobel Prize.

3. An assumption

In 1990, Asian-Americans were about 2.4 percent of the nation's population, but they constituted 17.1 percent of the undergraduates at Harvard, 18 percent at MIT and 27.3 percent at the University of California at Berkeley.[2]

If the Chinese children who studied in American schools but fall behind others in China, continue to study in American schools, would they be some of these Asian-Americans after ten years?

If the Chinese adults, who are in the universities of China, are unable to gain a Nobel Prize; and Asian-Americans excel in American schools where Americans have been awarded the most Nobel Prizes, will those Chinese children be the Nobel Prize winners in the 21st century?

The answer can be positive or negative. Because there must be some problems in both educations. But this paper just analyzes the "blind angle" of Chinese education, and its relative Chinese culture for the Chinese and Chinese-Americans.

II. Interlocked Relationships Between Human Duality and the Twofold Attitude of Man

Essentially, the puzzles of Chinese and American education result from interlocked relationships between human duality, what I call the "Agent" and the "Role," and the twofold attitude of man, which I call the "Conscious Act" and the "Unconscious Act."

1. The "Agent" and the "Role"

If society is a big "stage," every human has to act in various "roles" on this stage. Of course, a "role" has to follow the "Play" but the actor must always interpret the role.

The "Agent" means that an original human has the ability to choose and has the power to act.

The "Role" is a character to be played by an actor or an actress.

In fact, the "Agent" is the human on the back stage; the "Role" is to act as various characters on front stage.

To state it differently, the "Agent" is a state of the human with freedom to choose and act; and the "Role" is the human controlled to act in a particular way. An example, one day, my boy said, "Dad, would you please go shopping on Saturday, let me stay at home by myself." I asked, "Why?" He said, "If you are not here, I will feel free to do what I want to do." Actually, he wants to liberate his "Agent" to do what a "being" wants to do, free from the relationships between the parents and the son which is controlled by the norms of the roles.

G. H. Mead had a similar idea; he thought that the "Self" includes two parts — the "I" and the "Me." The similarity between Mead's "social self" and my "Agent-Role" is the social role; but, I am more interested in discussing some differences.

First, Mead considered that the "I" was the subject of the "Self," and the "me" was the object of "Self." "It is because the individual finds himself taking the place and attitudes of others who are involved in his world and in his conduct that he becomes an object of himself."[3] Second, the "I" was internal "Self," and the

"me" was external "Self." Mitchell Aboulafia said, "The so-called observer 'I' comes in not as the initiator 'I' but as an 'I' that has become a 'me' after responding to what was done or said in the original act."[4] Therefore, the "I" looked like a mysterious "driving gear," and the "me" was a "driven gear." Third, the "I" could not have a social act; the "I" only could associate with other individuals, and society through the "me." Fourth, as J. David Lewis said, "There is no inner dialogue between the 'I' and 'me' because there is no duality, only the 'me.'"[5]

I will argue, however, if the act of the "I" can only be located in the mind and be played through the "Me," there will never be any conflict between the "I" and the "Me." Then, we will be unable to explain the conflicts between the original being and the role, between role and role of the same human. Second, there will not be the possibility of a non-role-act on another person. The non-role-act would be nonsense. Furthermore, a human would have no significance as an individual. A human would merely imply "roles." In fact, humans do not act as roles anytime or anywhere. Namely, the various social roles are unable to replace a human completely, and the role-acts are unable to contain all of the human acts. On the contrary, human acts are able to comprise the role-acts. Accordingly, the "Agent" can have its own act; a human can socially associate with others just as an original being. In other words, when a human does not act as a role, but appears as a subject of "Self" to be among people, the "Agent" will cause a non-role-act.

In summary, human nature comprises free, unconventional and unrestrained characteristics which need to be controlled by role expectations that tally with the social order which is constructed by the social animals—people's selves. Obviously, the argument implies the human duality which agents act various social roles so that the role-act is deeply embedded in personalities. However, the role is unable to replace the human; the role-acts are unable to include all human acts. The human is the inner of the role, but the human could be just a man without the semblance of the role.

This is the puzzle of the human duality.

2. The Twofold Attitude of Man

The human duality puzzles people; the twofold attitude of man makes the puzzle more complicated and delicate.

Martin Buber thought, "The attitude of man is twofold."[6] Of course, "the twofold attitude of man" might have different meaning to him, but to me, the twofold attitude of man is the "Conscious Act" and the "Unconscious Act."

"Act" is a performance which is directed by certain purpose and meaning. It is a critical difference between human being and animal.

However, since humankind evolved from animals, ". . . lower animals and humans sometimes obey similar behavioral principles, . . . humans are influenced by environmental events in ways similar to animals."[7] For this reason, the human attitude could be twofold- -the "Conscious Act" and the "Unconscious Act."

The "Conscious Act" is an active, conscious movement with the predictive purpose, careful reasoning and profound meaning, like schooling, instruction of faculty, admission.

The "Unconscious Act" is a human instinctive, unconscious reaction without any predictive purpose, careful consideration, and profound meaning. The examples will be that a person loses his or her control; some students usually would like to follow their informal "heads"; students unreservedly obey their teachers.

Noticeably, the human act usually is a process which contains the conscious act and the unconscious act. In many cases, the conscious act and the unconscious act are mixed together. For instance, instruction by a teacher is a conscious act that is an active, conscious movement with the predictive purpose, careful reasoning and profound meaning. However, that does not mean that the teacher never loses his or her control. If the class is in a mess, he or she may yell or cry. The situation of the conscious act and the unconscious act being mixed together occurs often among students. This occurs when students abide a study schedule but follow the informal "heads"; or have a different idea but unreservedly obey the teacher.

The key differences are in following.

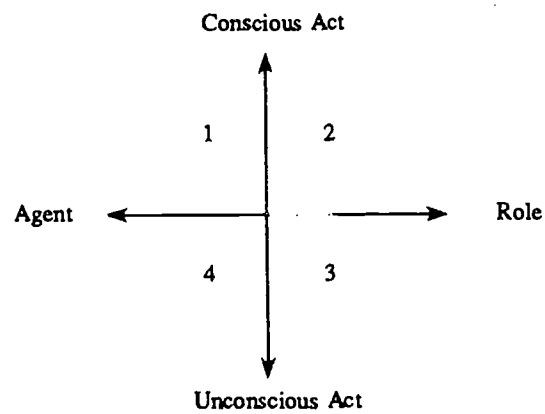
"Conscious Act" — it has its clear purpose(s) and a plan how to reach the goals; it predicts its result, and/or even prepare a failure.

"Unconscious Act" — in some cases, it might have a potential purpose, but it does not have a plan and steps, and does not predict its result. As I noted previously, the teacher loses control in crying; or as students make a criticism or willfully make trouble the leader loses control in yelling. Crying is without a purpose, but yelling might have the purpose of gaining order.

A significant, but neglected, point is that the unconscious act is likely to be advantageous for creation. The unconscious act is sometimes free from the control of human knowledge, will, habit of thought, traditional ideas, behavioral norms and role expectation so that it ignores the impacts of plan, steps, success and failure. As a result, this free and unconstrained link may be able to construct a new informatory combination which could be a base of surmounting and creating.

3. An Illustration with Potential Meaning

The theory X of McGregor assumes that human nature is lazy. Theory Y supposes that people are fundamentally industrious. Why did these two theories go to different extremes? In my opinion, they neglected to analyze the human duality and the twofold attitude of man which we might be more easily understood by the chart as following.



Area 1 is the "Agent-Conscious Act," which indicates that an original human consciously acts without the consciousness of role. For example, during the Persian Gulf War, some Iraqi soldiers refused to fight. It was an "Agent-Conscious Act" when those soldiers acted as humans who have agency rather than as "soldiers" who only had responsibility to carry out orders. Yet, when President Bush visited Saudi Arabia, some American soldiers asked: "When can we go home?" This was also an "Agent-Conscious Act" since

it was beyond a soldier's duty. As those American soldiers raised this legitimate question with a clear purpose, I believe, they had already thought what their individual right was, and what their soldier duty was in advance. Indeed, in some cases, the observed behavior could be completely beyond the role expectation, as when the American soldiers questioned their Commander in Chief or when a teacher strikes a female student.

In brief, the "Agent-Conscious Act" relates to creativity, critical thinking skill, introspection, unique individuality. It could imply either a good or bad act.

Area 2 is the "Role-Conscious Act," which indicates a conscious act that is directed by the consciousness of the "Role." Of course, the soldiers operating in "Desert Storm" is a conscious act of the role with predictive purpose, careful reasoning and profound meaning. Particularly, when some people control their "Agent" to obey their "Role" expectation and their "Role" norms, the "Role-Conscious Act" will be in reality as well as in name.

Notably, the "Role - conscious Act" operates the human normalization, self-control, sense of discipline, socialization, sense of responsibility, consistency, social identity, role consciousness.

The "Role-Conscious Act" could imply either a good or bad act, too.

Area 3 is the "Role-Unconscious Act," which indicates an instinctive and unconscious reaction of a certain role. For example, some Iraqi and American soldiers joined the war only because they were soldiers. As long as they unconsciously acted as their certain "roles" without predictive purpose, careful reasoning and profound meaning, it would mean that their acts would be located in Area 3. For instance, some students give up their different ideas to obey their teachers, because after a careful reason, they consider that their teachers are right; but some students give up their different ideas to obey their teachers, because they believe that their teachers are always right without a careful reason. The latter will be the "Role-Unconscious Act."

Area 4 is the "Agent-Unconscious Act," which indicates a normal, comprehensible instinctive reaction of a human. For instance, some Iraqi soldiers escaped from the war, because they were afraid and instinctively saved their lives; or a teacher strikes a female student without thinking of what he is doing. Of course, if he consciously shelves the role expectation and role norms, then has a premeditate plan to strike the student, his act would be located in Area 1.

(1) The relationship between Area 1 and Area 2

Theory X only stresses the "Agent-Conscious Act." Since human nature yearns for freedom without control, its conclusion is that people are as far as possible lazy. Theory Y, however, merely pays attention to the "Role-Conscious Act." Due to a role could be directed or controlled by a whole set of the role expectation and behavioral norms, its conclusion was that people were diligent. The mistakes were to separate the "Agent-Conscious Act" and the "Role Conscious Act" completely.

Indeed, though "Act" could be partially and temporarily distinguished, the relationships between the "Agent-Conscious Act" and the "Role Conscious Act" not only repel each other but also are interdependent. For instance, a student bears in mind constantly about his or her different idea, but follows his or her teacher as well. A teacher seriously implements a certain policy which he or she does not agree with.

The extents of the "Role-Conscious Act" are mainly a whole set of role expectation, behavioral norms and moral principles of a certain culture. The inconsistency between invisible values and observed behavior is just the human duality. In order to redesign culture, people must break out the extent of the "Role-Conscious Act" which are a whole set of role expectation, behavioral norms and moral principles of a certain culture, to enter Area 1, the "Agent-Conscious Act" for the "redesign of culture practices."

(2) The relationship between Area 2 and Area 3

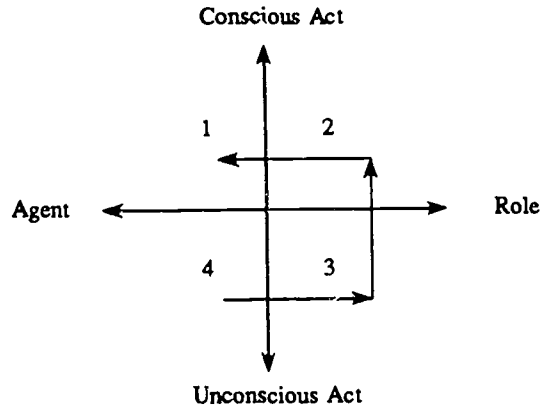
We might often see two kinds of student behavior. One is that the students obviously have their own thinking, but they control themselves to follow an expected student's role. Another is that the students, without their own thinking, unreservedly and immediately obey a student's role. The former more often occurs among mature junior students, senior students, and college students. The latter is more popular among kindergarten children, elementary school pupils, and immature students.

I could immediately recognize my boy's painting among tens drawings in his nursery school. His picture was so normal and regular that you could easily feel that he once tried to follow a certain model. The other American children's paintings showed a feeling to you that they did as they pleased. Interestingly enough, the first question after his drawing usually was whether the picture looked like his teacher's model.

There was a survey report about children building structures in a Chinese preschool. "After ten minutes most of the children have completed their structures. The teachers come over to check their work. If a building has been constructed properly (that is, exactly as in the picture), the child is told to take it down piece by piece and then rebuild it. If the teacher spots an error, she tells the child to correct it."[8]

Obviously, to different grades, courses and students, we ought to stimulate the different "Areas" of the interlocked relationships between the human duality and the twofold attitude of man.

The mature process of a person is as follows:



If we want our student's behavior to grow from Area 3 to Area 2 maturely, we should give a stimulation like "acupuncture" to the "Agent-Conscious Act."

(3) The relationship between Area 2 and Area 4

I did not find relationship between Area 2 and Area 4 when I first talked about my idea in a class I was in. A classmate who was an assistant superintendent of schools said that he found there was a conflict between the "Agent-Unconscious Act" and the "Role-Conscious Act" very often in his mind. As an unexpected and unsatisfactory affair happened to him, he was likely to lose his control in yelling and fighting, then he had a struggle between the

"Agent-Unconscious Act" and the "Role -Conscious Act" in his mind to try in keep his expected role.

His comments made me reason that the primary state of the human behavior is the "Agent-Unconscious Act" in which ". . . lower animals and humans sometimes obey similar behavioral principles."[9] People are also the social animals who must organize their society in which everybody has to act in various social roles with the role expectation and behavioral norms, in turn, to maintain the society they constructed. It is the logical relations of struggle between Area 4 and Area 2.

Essentially, it is the conflict between the human "animal nature" which wants to be unrestrained and the human "social animal nature" which has to maintain the social etiquette.

(4) The relationship between Area 1 and Area 4

The relationship between the "Agent-Conscious Act" and the "Agent-Unconscious Act" is very interesting.

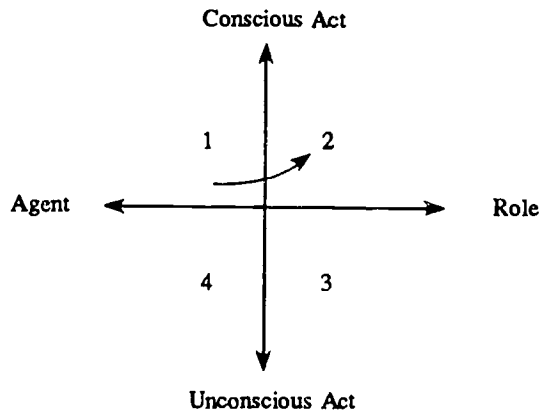
The "Agent-Unconscious Act" is the primary state of the human behavior, and the "Agent-Conscious Act" is a symbol of the mature human behavior. More interestingly, the combination of both will assist the human loftiest act — "Creating."

The "Agent-Conscious Act" relates to creativity, critical thinking skill, introspection, unique individuality. It seams to be good enough to be in charge of human creativity, why does it need to combine with the "Agent-Unconscious Act" which implies animal elements?

Many people have had the same interesting experience in which they are unable to solve a difficult problem; however, the problem is easily solved in a dream. Why? Because the dream does not use conventional logic to reason so that it would provide an opportunity to liberate people's thoughts from the control of consciousness. As a result, people would have a chance to combine a variety of information freely in which they absolutely could not do so under their conscious control. Of course, most of those unconscious free thoughts could be preposterous and ludicrous, but few of them might break a conventional logical process to create an advantageous illuminating remark.

Undoubtedly, the "Agent-Conscious Act" will certainly play a crucial role in the process of creation, but the "Agent-Unconscious Act" could be an important aspect of creative act which should not be neglected.

One point, I need to stress: an act is dynamic — a course, not just a spot. For example, when American soldiers asked the President Bush: "When can we go home?" It was an "Agent-Conscious Act." However, after they questioned him, they faithfully carried out the strategy of the "Desert Storm." It was a "Role-Conscious Act." We could diagram the course of these acts as following:



III. The "Blind Angle" of Chinese Education

As stated earlier, all people have blind spots, and the Chinese are no different. One of the Chinese blind spots is found in the dilemma of Chinese education: While Chinese middle school students are winning awards for their academic success, Chinese adults are not. How can this be? I believe the key lies in the failure of the Chinese to distinguish between intelligence and creativity.

1. Confusing "Intelligence" with "Creativity"

Intelligence and creativity are two totally different concepts but with some delicate relations.

(1) The differences between intelligence and creativity

Intelligence is capacity for memory, reasoning, understanding, and for similar forms of mental activity. The persons with strong creativity will have strong intelligence; the persons with weak intelligence will have weak creativity. However, the persons with strong intelligence do not necessarily have strong creativity; the persons with weak creativity may not necessarily have a weak intelligence. For example, a student who has excellent critical thinking skills will have a high I.Q. score; a student with a low I.Q. score will have poorer critical thinking skills. Nevertheless, a student who has a high I.Q. score does not necessarily have excellent critical thinking skills; a student with poorer critical thinking skill does not absolutely have a lower I.Q. score.

Chinese education misunderstands that a student with a high I.Q. score does not certainly have excellent critical thinking skill. In other words, it believes that a student with a high I.Q. score certainly has excellent critical thinking skill, so that people pay greater attention to develop students' intelligence, but neglects or even constrains students' creativity.

In brief, we have paid a serious price for failing to understand that "Intelligence" and "Creativity" do not develop at a direct proportion.

"Creation" needs elements of "Intelligence," but also needs some critical elements of non-intelligence, such as healthy but unique individuality, agency, willpower, sensitivity of survey, courage to criticize.

(2) "Creativity"

If "Creation" is to break free from conventional thinking to discover the laws, or make new things which have been excluded by conventional thinking "Creativity" will imply the capacity, the agent and the sustaining power which are able to break free from conventional thinking and force of habit.

The essential is to break free from "conventions," not from law.

"Creation" contains two characters in Chinese. One (创) means break free from "convention." Another (造) implies making a realistic value. In other words, only "breaking free from convention" but does not "make a realistic value," or merely "making a realistic value" but does not "break free from convention"; it will not mean "Creation."

The "Agent" of "Creation" is from the ultra-conventional thought, and critical thinking skill. A student who always follows his or her teachers, will be unable to create something. Likewise, everybody has an opportunity to see an apple drop to the ground, why did it just have a creative significance to Newton? Because of his name with a special part- -New(ton)? No, because he was good at in thinking in a different way.

(3) The diagram for "Creativity"

There are several kinds of thinking which relate to "creativity."

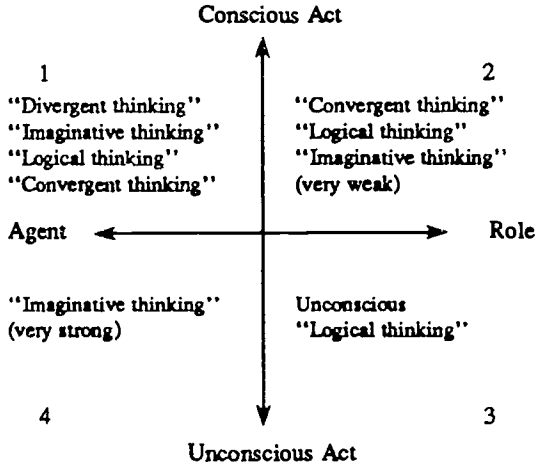
"Divergent thinking" — it does not follow conventional way, but seeks variation, tries to explore an answer from various perspectives.

"Convergent thinking" — it focuses on the conventional way and the available information to looking for a correct solution.

"Logical thinking" — it traces the conventional inference seeking a necessary answer. Its means include inductive method, and analogy etc.

"Imaginative thinking" — it reproduces images stored in the memory under the suggestion of associated images or of recombining former experiences to create new images.

The relationship between these thinking activities and the human duality and the twofold attitude of man can be clearly illustrated by the diagram:



As the above diagram visually depicts, I believe that the most colorful and vivid thinking occurs in the "Agent-Conscious Act." This is the area of Nobel Prize winning thought. It is also the "blind angle" of Chinese education.

2. The Chinese Historical Track in the Diagram

In China, no student writes with his or her left hand; no teacher sits on the desk to lecture; almost no student interrupts a teacher's lecture to ask a question. . . .

Let me draw an analogy between Western and Chinese culture. If we consider Mead's idea of the "I" and the "Me," American culture particularly emphasizes the "I," not the "Me." For example, it is incorrect English grammar to say, "Tom's friend is me," while it is correct to say, "Tom's friend is I." And in writing "I" is always capitalized while other personal pronouns, are capitalized only when they are at beginning of a sentence. When most scholars, like Aboulafia, Lewis, Pfuetze, write about the idea the "I" and the "Me," they write "me," not "Me." Even as a concept, the "Me" still did not have the same position as the "I" did.

In terms of the idea of the "Agent" and the "Role," Western culture stresses to the "Agent," not the "Role." No wonder, when Nora left the "Doll's House" and Helmer said, "Remember —before all else you are a wife and mother."[10] Nora said, "I don't believe that anymore. I believe that before all else I am a human being."[11]

To the most Chinese people, they never realize, "Who am I?" is a question. This is because they always consider that they are a role first, as "wife," "mother," and then a being.

According to the Chinese character components almost every personal pronoun relates to people, for example 你 (you) 他 (he), the character component " 亻 " means "people." Only " 我" (I and Me) didn't mean people, but was an instrument of punishment 戈 , according to its origin of character.[12] Why did " 我 " (I and Me) not relate to people? Because Chinese traditional culture thought "Self" was equal to privacy and selfishness so that it was the root of all evil, and must be punished. Therefore, Confucius said: "Restraining self to follow the etiquette, it is benevolence."[13]

Chinese culture can not really strangle the individual, but it wisely separated the "Agent" and the "Role," then belittled the "Agent" and praised the "Role." Just as Confucius's idea, "Monarch should have Monarch's manner; Subjects should have their behavior; Father should have father's air; Son should be a son."[14] Namely, people have to restrain the "Agent" to follow the etiquette.

Because Chinese culture over values the role and negates the agent, it has created a "blind angle" for Chinese education.

(1) Personality is not healthily developed

"The doctrine of the golden mean" was one of critical characteristics of the traditional Chinese philosophy. *The Doctrine of the Golden Mean* cited Confucian words, "I know why the principles could not carry out; because the talented people over implement them, but foolish people are unable to achieve the standard. I know why the principles could not be understood by the people, because the gentlemen have too high request, but non-gentlemen have too low request."[15] Accordingly, a modern Chinese scholar, Lin Yutang, said, "An educated man should, above all, be a reasonable being, who is always characterized by his common sense, his love of moderation and restraint, and his hatred of abstract theories and logical extremes."[16]

Obviously, restraining the "Agent" will hurt the development of personality. When the "Role" embodies the human relations, either student or teacher, who are among his or her peers or colleagues, he or she cannot be out of the ordinary. Namely, he or she "will do what others do; will not do what others do not do." To state it differently, he or she ought to follow others to using right hand; should learn from others to keeping silent to a lecture. . . . The sports, like soccer, volleyball, table tennis, in which the use of the left hand or foot is not limited causes a sharp competition. But how can an education in which nobody dares to show personal character be able to create?

Without personality, there is no creativity.

(2) Independence is weak

As a social role, many Chinese students study for their parents. Their parents and teachers decide their majors and choose their schools. Consequently, study seems to become others' business. They do not realize they have their rights to make independent decisions for their study. They are organized by others, even the time and way of study. They often give up their interest, and different idea to obey others. Even for college students, their teachers wake them up in the morning and urge them to go to bed in the evening. Where is the "Agent" of Chinese students? How can they stop teachers' lecture to express their different ideas?

Let us see how the foreigners see Chinese schooling. Joseph Tobin, David Wu and Dana Davidson videotaped a preschool in China, Japan and the United States, then showed the tapes to preschool staff, parents and experts.

Most of the Americans and Japanese who viewed our China tape objected strongly to what they perceived to be Dong-feng's rigidity, severity, and overregimentation. These respondents gave Dong-feng negative ratings on the items "teachers directed children's play too much," "teachers set limits and controlled children's behavior too much," "the overall" mood was too controlled," "children played independently too little," and "children's activity level was too passive, subdued, docile." For example, a Japanese preschool administrator said of Dong-feng:

> The children look so restricted. Nothing seems spontaneous. The feeling of the school is so cold, so joyless. The children are expected to be so, well, unchildlike. All that emphasis on sitting straight, on being perfectly quiet, on standing in straight lines. It reminds me of Japanese schools in the old days. I hope the Chinese didn't get this from us!

An American preschool teacher in Honolulu reacted similarly:

> There is so much regimentation. It looks more like the army than a preschool. I guess what bothers me most is that there is such an overemphasis on order and on behaving properly at the cost of stamping out the children's creativity. This is such an important age in children's cognitive and emotional development. What gets me in this film is the way the Chinese children are made to use blocks in a certain way instead of allowed to play in a natural, imaginative way. They are made to follow directions like workers on an assembly line, which negates the whole point of block play. . . .
>
> Although the kind of regimentation seen in our tape of Dong-feng is anathema to most Japanese and Americans, for many of our Chinese informants regimentation, order, and control are essential elements of preschool pedagogy and child socialization. Many (but, as we shall see, by no means all) of our Chinese informants were proud of the order and regimentation that came across in the tape.[17]

I believe, without independence, does not have creativity.

(3) Creativity is immature

"Personality" is not healthily developed, and "Independence" is weak; as a result, "Creativity" must be immature.

First, as "Personality" is constrained, and people merely "do what others do; and not do what others do not." Naturally, the "Agent" of "Creation" is very weak; the "Agent" of breaking convention will be next to zero.

Second, a person with very weak independence will be unable to have sustaining power to stand the shocks from failures of breaking convention. "Creativity" will lose its dependence.

Third, Area 1 is not exploited yet, various activities of thinking do not have their condition, green-bed and "soil" for breeding and growing. If the mature process of a person is: Area 4→ Area 3→ Area 2→ Area 1, the Chinese students always stay at their arena, Area 2 which is the "Role-Conscious Act," and will be unable to enter Area 1, the "Agent-Conscious Act" where is the real arena of the Nobel Prize winners.

Obviously, the person is the core and essence of the education; people are the start and also the end in education. However, owing to Chinese culture unusually values the "Role" and belittles the "Agent," it has turned Area 1, where there should be most colorful, vivid thinking activities, and the human creative activity into a piece of uncultivated virgin land.

The more ploughing and weeding, the better the crop. Let us seriously, diligently and conscientiously plough and weed this piece of uncultivated virgin land for our Nobel Prize winners in the 21st century.

Only the fruits of various creative thinking skills are able to grow up healthily in Area 1 — the "Agent-Conscious Act," the Chinese students will be able to answer the question: "Who am I?" properly. Then the glitter of Nobel Prize will become a sweet smile to us.

I would like to deeply thank my Dissertation Advisor Dr. Richard Quantz for his crucial assistance which includes offering his critical ideas and commendable editing for this paper.

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Some Possible Trends of Christian Higher Education in Taiwan in the Twentieth-first Century

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Abstract

Christian higher education has played an important role in the shaping of modern China. However, the requirement of Bible studies and compulsory chapel attendance has been strongly objected by Chinese intellectuals and government. Under the adverse circumstances, Christian educators begin to contemplate the future development of Christian higher education which may be adopted for the purpose of implementing authentic Christian higher education in Taiwan, with commitment to both Christian distinctiveness and academic excellence.

Introduction

The ideal Christian higher education institution would be an integration of "Christian ideas" and "university." In other words, it should be the place to offer an integrated program of faith, learning, and living in accordance with Christian principles. Students in the institution can benefit both academically and spiritually and have the "education of the whole person." However, the position of Christian colleges and universities in Taiwan has swung back and forth like a pendulum between the two extremes of seminary-like colleges and secular universities.

The awkward and difficult position of Christian higher education in Taiwan has its origin in recent Chinese history. Some historical factors shaped the present anti-religious and anti-Christian bias in Taiwan's academic environment and also caused the composition of anti-religious educational laws which have limited the development of Christian higher education. Although Christianity has made a significant impact on Chinese society ever since it came to China and, through Christian higher education, has also played an important role in shaping modern China, Christian educators encounter strong objection from Chinese intellectuals and the government to any requirement of Bible courses and to any religion-related course activities. Hence, it becomes a critical issue for Christian educators to contemplate the future development of Christian higher education in Taiwan.

This paper is a study on some possible trends of Christian higher education which may be adopted by Christian educators for the purpose of implementation of authentic Christian higher education in Taiwan, with commitments to both Christian distinctives and academic excellence. The first part of this paper introduces the early development of Christian higher education in China and the problems it encountered. The next part presents the current situation of Christian colleges and universities in Taiwan society and in Taiwan's educational system. The third part discusses the possible trends that Christian colleges and universities will pursue in society in the next century. The fourth part deals with the possible trends that Christian colleges and universities can practice on campus in the future. From this discussion, it is hoped that we may get a general picture of the possible development of Christian higher education in Taiwan in the twenty-first century.

The Early Development of Christian Higher Education in China

Not long after foreign missionaries came to China in the early nineteenth century, they began to establish schools for the Chinese young generation. One of the major purposes of establishing schools by the church was for preaching the Gospel.[1] Like churches, Christian schools were also under the protection of the so-called unequal treaties so they did not register with the central government, often had a foreign missionary as the president, and had their own curriculum with strong emphases on the Bible, Christian doctrine, Christian ethics and, in language, English instead of Chinese. In addition to their classes, all students had to attend church services, the YMCA, or YWCA, and evangelical meetings as well as prayer meetings.[2] Some Christian colleges and universities also founded schools of theology on campuses. These practices did not become an issue until the outbreak of the Anti-Christian Movement in the early 1920s.[3]

Since the rise of this Anti-Christian Movement in 1922, Chinese educators and scholars have criticized Christian education from the point of view of nationalism and urged the government to take back the right of education from the missionaries. As Prof. Jessie G. Jutz, a leading scholar of Chinese church history, has pointed out:

> Chinese patriots condemned the [missionary] schools as infringements on Chinese sovereignty. An independent state, they said, had a right to regulate all education within its borders.... An oft-repeated criticism accused the missionaries of using education as a bribe; their real aim was proselytizing and so they subordinated their educational program to this goal.... Young intellectuals organized Anti-Christian Federations and launched anti-Christian campaigns demanding the registration of parochial schools with the Chinese government, the discontinuance of all religious requirements in schools, and placement of Chinese rather than Westerners in leadership position.[4]

Influenced by the repeated suggestions and appeals from Anti-Christian intellectuals, the Peking government in 1925, and the National Government in 1926, issued registration requirements for Christian school. The regulation of 1925 forbade the propagation of religion and the teaching of religious courses, and it required the president and a majority of the local board of governors to be Chinese.[5] The 1926 regulations of the Nationalist Government were stronger, requiring the head in all schools to be Chinese, demanding strict conformity with the curriculum standards set by the government and forcing all church schools to be registered with the government within a certain period.[6]

Since both the governments of the south and the north made similar requirements, most churches and missionaries were aware that it was impossible to resist this Education Rights Recovery Movement and made the necessary accommodations. Most schools decided to follow the government but some chose to close. By the end of the

Northern Expedition, more than 70% of the church schools had already registered with the government, or were in the process of registration.[7] This procedure means that Christian colleges and universities "accepted state regulations concerning standards, curriculum, degree requirements, etc. Religious activities generally became voluntary."[8]

The major point was that school authorities needed to rethink their methods of evangelism and adopt some more indirect ways to preach, such as putting biblical literature into the English curriculum, putting Bible history in the history course, adopting evangelism by personal example instead of preaching through giving lessons, and offering elective courses on Christianity instead of the required courses in the past.[9] At the same time Chinese Christians gradually took over the school administration and began to pay attention to Chinese history and literature.

Educational Rights Recovery Movement and the follow-up measures could be seen as both a blessing and a disaster to Christian higher education. Looking from the positive side of the story, we have noted that Chinese Christians not only gradually took over the school administration but directed education to include Chinese history and literature. Yenching University was the most successful example. It not only began from June 1926 to publish the "Yenching Journal," which concentrated on the studies of Chinese culture, but also established the Harvard-Yenching Institute to promote and expand research and academic activities in Sinology.[10] Under these positive responses, the criticism from outside of the schools gradually declined and so did the opposition from inside the schools.

However, the negative side of the story is that the Christian colleges gradually lost the distinctives of Christian higher education in the process of conformance to governmental policies. These policies were obviously in conflict with the original purpose of Christian education in China. More and more non-Christian students entered Christian colleges in pursuit of knowledge instead of religion. According to a later investigation, about one third of the students in Christian schools voluntarily attended services of took religious courses.[11] As Prof. Lutz has said "the diminishing proportions of Christians in the total student enrollment of the colleges, combined with the fact that only a minority attended the voluntary religious activities, brought into question the very nature and function of religious schools."[12]

Another negative impact resulting from conformity to the state regulations on education was the closing down of theological and religious education on campuses. Since the Ministry of Education did not recognize these types of education, Christian colleges and universities consequently could not issue any official degree in these two fields and hence all theological schools located on campuses were forced either to close or to become seminaries outside of regular institutions of higher education. Although Christian educators in China were aware of the problem of losing the distinctives of Christian higher education on campus, they were completely tied up in the subsequent turmoil in China--the Second Sino-Japanese War (1931-1945) and the Civil War (1945-1949) and had no time or peace to think about finding any solution to this vital problem.

The Current Situation of Christian Higher Education in Taiwan

Taiwan, in the Ch'ing (1644-1911) or Republican (1912-1949) period, was considered as a frontier area and did not play an important role in China's politics.[13] Although the Dutch Reformed mission established a Christian community in the 1600s, the major effort of foreign missionaries did not start until the mid-nineteenth century. The English Presbyterians came in 1865 and hoped to create a Protestant community among the Minnan-speaking Chinese of the southern part of island. They settled in Tainan in the southwest. A decade later, in 1873, a second group of Presbyterians, this time representing the Canadian Presbyterian Church, settled in Tamsui in the northwestern corner of the island.[14] The two Presbyterian missions became the major part of Christian community in Taiwan.

The Christian missions in Taiwan survived the period of Japanese occupation—Japanese took Taiwan after the First Sino-Japanese War in 1894 and it was returned to China at the end of World War II in 1945. In 1949, when the Communists defeated the Nationalist armies on the mainland and assumed political control of China, another wave of nearly two million immigrants arrived in Taiwan with the Nationalist Government.[15] Accompanying this movement were foreign missionaries who were forced to leave the mainland because of either political reasons or the threat of the anti-American and anti-religious mentality of the Chinese Communists. From this time on, the Christian community in Taiwan became more diverse and pluralistic than before.[16]

The new-coming missionaries shared with the Nationalist government their attitude toward the Chinese Communists and so were welcomed by the government. They established many schools and colleges in the 1950s. Those institutions of higher education were Soochow University in 1954, Chung-yuan Christian University in 1955 (elevated to university status in 1980), Tung-hai University in 1955, Ching-yi Women's College in 1956, and Fujen Catholic University in 1963. In fact, some of them were reactivated of schools in Mainland China which had been taken over by the Communist authorities.

These major Christian universities registered with the Ministry of Education and followed the educational laws which prohibited the requirement of Bible courses and compulsory chapel attendance. What they could do was to add new courses, such as "Philosophy of Life" or "Philosophy of Religion," to introduce Christian ethics and Christianity indirectly and to have campus chaplains to help students when students had questions or problems in their faith or belief. These Christian universities, of course, encouraged the organization of campus fellowships which might be founded by Christian faculty members or by Christian students themselves. Every Christian university had a chapel open to all students, if they wanted to attend services or worship or to hear the Truth from these.

While the governmental educational laws continue the tendency to blur the distinctive features of Christian higher education, two more factors further hamper the development of Christian colleges. The first one is the industrialization and urbanization of Taiwan which fosters the rise of materialism and hedonism on the one hand, and also causes the decline of Christian churches in Taiwan.[17] According to a thorough investigation of various Christian denominations in Taiwan, churches did not grow in membership in the 1970s as they had in the previous years in the 1950s and 1960s.[18] In fact, many contemporary figures also prove that the percentage of Christian believers has a descending ratio in Taiwan population.[19]

Another factor which has become an obstacle to the development of Christian higher education is the low percentage rate of Christian faculty and students among the campus population. It is difficult for Christian colleges to get qualified Christian professors and researchers. At the same time, students who enter Christian colleges through the united college entrance examination are not necessarily

Christian believers. On the contrary, most of faculty and students in these campuses are either non-believers or believers of other religions. These two factors have promoted the secular orientation of campus culture.

Another extreme of Christian higher education in Taiwan is the Christian colleges which do not register themselves with the Ministry of Education. They insist that Bible be freely taught so the students can receive a *bone fide* Christian education.[20] For this reason, they register with the Ministry of Interior and become a seminary-like religious college whose purpose is the spread of religion. Although they reached their purpose of establishing a school, they have failed to become an accredited agency of higher education. They are also limited because they can not charge students tuition like ordinary colleges but use the name of donation as do church organization.

In addition to the problem of the legal status of these Christian colleges, their students can not receive a government-recognized diploma and hence can not enjoy the same job opportunities that other "normal" college graduates have.[21] Furthermore, students who come to these Christian colleges are usually those who fail to pass the united college entrance examination to "normal" colleges and universities. Generally speaking, these students have a poorer academic performance and often do not enjoy the Bible courses and chapel services offered by the colleges.

The existence of these private, non-recognized Christian colleges has become a headache for the government. This is because these Christian colleges in reality offer a liberal arts college education but evade conforming themselves to the educational laws of the government by registering under the name of religious colleges. They survive in a loophole of the law. The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Interior have repeatedly stated in recent time that they will complete the Law for Religious Organization to put these religious colleges under control.[22] These Christian colleges are also dissatisfied with their status and ponder how to break the current predicament.[23]

The above discussion clearly shows the current problem of Christian higher education in Taiwan. If any institute of Christian higher education wants to keep the distinctive features of its education, it can not receive the recognition of the government and thus could not have the legal status as a "normal" educational institution. Also, if it abides by the educational laws of the government, then, there will be no difference from other colleges and universities. This either-or situation throws Christian educators out of balance in attempt to develop an ideal college in Taiwan.

Future Trends of Christian Colleges—in Society

If Christian colleges are not in name or in historical origin only but try to fulfill their fundamental purpose of higher education, lost of things need to be done but in society and on the campus. Christian educators and church leaders were aware of the current predicament of Christian higher education and therefore called a meeting about a year ago (May 1991) and reached some understanding for the future development of Christian colleges in Taiwan.[24] Their findings in this respect may serve as the beginning point for a discussion on future trends of Christian colleges in Taiwan.

First of all, most of them agree that Christian educators must have more contact with society. Their contacts can influence public policy and contribute directly to societal advancement. The case of Hong Kong Baptist College has shown that over 100 faculty and staff of the College are involved in public bodies, advisory committees, educational institutions, professional and academic institutions, etc. Not counting church involvement, they represent at least sixty different bodies or organizations.[25] It is worthy of mentioning that Hong Kong Baptist College was at first a non-recognized private Christian college. However, through their painstaking and unfailing efforts, the College finally worked out their legal status along with maintaining their Christian educational ideals. Christian educators are convinced that they much unite and mobilize all possible resources, including alumni and students' parents, to exert influence on governmental policies of education in order to have more freedom to practice religious activities on campus and among students.

The second point is that Christian educators must strive for the recognition of the academic training and scholarship in religious studies and theology from the government and the re-establishment of these two fields as a part of higher education in Taiwan. In the past the Ministry of Education did not regard religion as a field of academic subject and hence decided that no college or university, no matter Christian or non-Christian, was allowed to establish related departments or to issue official degree to students in these fields. This policy is changed recently and The Fujen Catholic University has been granted permission to establish a Department of Religion in 1992. Christian educators and scholars must continue their efforts to demonstrate the values of the academic discipline of religious studies and theology and to convince the educational authorities of the importance of scholarship in these fields. Possible actions in this effort include sending students abroad to obtain high degrees in related fields; inviting internationally-known scholars in these fields to visit Taiwan and give lectures; organizing scholarly conferences in which distinguished domestic and foreign scholars participate; publishing scholarly works in the social science and humanistic science journals; and sponsoring public hearings to challenge the understanding of educational officials and the educational and religious policies of the government. These efforts may gradually change the attitude of the people as well as governmental officials toward religion and eventually reach the goal of the re-establishment of religious departments and theological schools on Christian or on any other campuses.

The third point is to promote cooperative relationship with other colleges and universities, both Christian and secular.[26] There is always a fallacy which suggests that professors at Christian universities should see things differently from a professor who does not believe in God or the Bible. Dr. J. Richard Chase, President of Wheaton College, argues that "when all truth is God's truth, the scholar is encouraged to investigate. This encouragement is needed, for some in the religious community have falsely assumed that all truth was revealed in Scripture and little more could be found in the investigation of God's Creation."[27] Christian believers should not isolate themselves in their own ivory tower but associate with peers in their field. Unless they can break through the limitations of denominations and religion and keep an open mind to others' research, they cannot earn respect in academic circles. Furthermore, "academic isolation can stand in the way of maximum effectiveness in the work of all concerned."[28]

Fourthly, a Christian college should have more interaction with society. A Christian college is not only an institution of Christian higher education but also a part of the society where the college is located. Students, and faculty, as well as its graduates, ought to pay attention to local as well as national affairs. Based on Christian belief, they should be concerned with social justice, and people's welfare as well as measures of environmental protection. They are

identified with God but do not forget to love others. If a Christian college can not give enough witness of its distinctive features, it is like a tree that can not bring forth fruit.

In sum, the future trends of Christians in society are to adopt outgoing programs toward government, society, other Christian colleges as well as secular colleges. It is hoped to benefit from cordial and cooperative relationships, to create mutual understanding between Christian colleges and other institutions, to manifest Christian love through their concern for the society and the nation and to exert influence through collective efforts.

Future Trends of Christian Colleges — On Campus

Work on campus will be not less important than work outside. Christian educators have reached an understanding that they are going to pursue lots of projects on the campuses in the future. In fact, without the coordination of projects within and without the campus Christian colleges can not turn the tide and maintain themselves as distinctively Christian.

The first decision is that there must be no compromising of aims; Christian colleges must have a definitely Christian aim and be plain and outspoken about it. As Bible says "Is the lamp to be put under a bushel or under the bed and not to be put on a stand?"[29] President Chase also suggests that the Christian college should identify itself by a clear educational purpose that openly states its distinctive mission in its mission statement of the college.[30] Moreover, this mission statement should be clarified in the governing values for everyone on campus to follow.

Secondly, the faculty members of Christian colleges should be composed of Christians who are committed to the purposes for which the institution stands as a Christian university. It is crucial to have committed Christians as faculty members who loyally and fully support the Christian educational ideas. An ideal professor ought to be Christian who is competent in his discipline, knowledgeable in the scriptures, and gives evidence of the fruit of the Spirit.[31] Christian teachers, the most important component of campus population, must live real Christian lives. It is up to them to create a Christian atmosphere and make it so contagious that all who come in contact with it cannot but be benefitted by it. It is well-known that "the greatest enemies of Christianity are not non-Christians or anti-Christians but the Christians who are not Christian enough." A black sheep can ruin the essence and reputation of a Christian college.

Although it is difficult to get enough Christian faculty members in every field at this moment, it is quite clear that Christian colleges will, from now on, call for the participation of Christian scholars in their educational task. This trend will continue and become a standing order in academic circles. The contemporary requirement for those non-Christian faculty members is to respect and observe the educational ethics of Christianity. And this requirement should be made clear to those who want to apply for a job in Christian colleges.

The third trend on campus will be the new instruction offered in religion-related courses. Although the Christian college can not have compulsory Bible courses, it can offer Christianity-related courses as electives for students. Especially in recent years, the Ministry of Education has gradually allowed the colleges and universities to offer more and more elective courses in different fields. Professors may take this opportunity to shape courses, select books, and develop assignments and experiments, direct and react to classroom discussion, give lectures and assign grades in accordance with Christian ethics. For example, career planning, the most popular course on today's campus, is a very good topic for students to discuss about the foundation of their life-long career and Christian ideas are relevant in this field. The administrators of Christian colleges certainly will pay attention to this kind of arrangement and will develop it as a trend in future course planning.

The fourth point is that Christian students should also play important roles in campus activities. They should be encouraged by the college to assume the responsibility and take the initiative in organizing and leading student fellowships. Since they have much contact with other students, they should learn to take responsibility for those around them, to make plans for them and to carry them out. It is also important for them to live up to Christian teachings or their efforts in this aspect can be in vain. Although students enter colleges and universities through they united college entrance examination, Christian colleges can encourage Christian students to choose Christian colleges through the offer of scholarship or some kind of assistantship.

From the above discussion on future trends of Christian colleges campus, we can summarize that Christian campus workers, which include administrators, faculty members and staff, as well as Christian students must have a clear identity with the distinctives of Christian higher education. They will work out together a plan which include worship, community service, subjects and leaders for curriculum courses, and a series of discussion groups which may have no official recognition. Their witness of love, devotion and sacrifice will make the campus a place of God and will attract non-believers before God.

Conclusion

Christian colleges in Taiwan, although burdened with much historical baggage, still have faith in their educational aims and will do their best to create a new heaven and a new earth in and out of their campus. This is because they understand full well that if they do not make some changes in current systems, they will possibly move on to be secular institutions.

Christian educators are awakened to understand the lowering of their Christian aims aggravated by the ambiguity of educational laws, utilitarianism, the pursuit of material pleasures, and expansion of egocentricity in the past forty years. Now they have designed some strategies to restore the original purposes of Christian higher education. The future trends of Christian higher education, based on these strategies, will need the cooperation and coordination of Christian colleges and Christian educators. These also need to work both in society and on the campus, among faculty members and Christian students and require dedication and commitment to Christian educational ideals.

Christian universities scored a major breakthrough in their repeated petitions of the academic status of religious studies. In the past, the Ministry of Education considered the religion was a personal matter and thus did not recognize the study of religion on campus. The Ministry of Education made a decision in 1991 and allowed the Fujen Catholic University to establish the Department of Religion in 1992. Since the religious studies receive a legal and academic status on campus, we are pretty sure there will be several more this kind of departments or institutes founded in other campuses. This is a major step toward the normalization of Christian higher education in Taiwan.

Yet the task before Christian educators is monumental and is crucial for them to keep Christian distinctives in changing Taiwan. If the above-mentioned strategies can be balancedly carried out, then it is certain that they will cause a tremendous influence on Christian education, on Taiwan society and even on China in the next century.

Notes

1. For reasons for foreign missionaries to establish schools in China, see Lutz, Jessie G. *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), pp. 12-24; and Wang Chen-main, "Seeking Balance between the Church and State--A Discussion of Christian College Education in China in the 1920s," presented to the International Conference of "The Role and Influence of Christian Colleges in Modernization of China" in Chung-yuan Christian University, Taipei, Taiwan, May 29-30, 1991, pp. 2 and 11.

2. Lutz, *China and Christian Colleges, 1850-1950*, pp. 11-15; and Wang, "Seeking Balance between the Church and State—A Discussion of Christian College Education in China in the 1920s," pp. 2-4.

3. The Anti-Christian movement of the 1920s has been widely discussed by scholars, such as: Lutz, Jessie G., *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950*; *Idem., Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920-1928* (Notre Dame, IN: Cross Cultural Publications, Inc., 1988); Varg, Paul A., *Missionary, Chinese and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958); Yip Ka-che, *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922-1927* (Bellingham: Western Washington University, 1980); Yamamoto, Tatsuro and Sumiko Yamamoto, "The Anti-Christian Movement in China," *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 12.2 (February, 1953), pp. 133-47.

4. Lutz, Jessie G., "The China Christian College: Historical Overview," paper presented to the International Conference of "The Role and Influence of Christian Colleges in Modernization of China" in Chung-yuan Christian University, Taipei, Taiwan, May 29-30, 1991, pp. 24-26.

5. West, Philip, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916-1952* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 95.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Miao Ch'iu-sheng, "Chi-tu-chiao chung-teng chiao-yu kai-k'uang" (The General Situation of Christian Secondary Education), *Chung-hua Chi-tu chiao-hui nien-chien* (China Christian Church Yearbook), 11-A (1931), p. 4:55.

8. Lutz, "The China Christian College: An Historical Overview," p. 28.

9. Yang Tsui-hua, "Fei tsung-chiao chiao-yu yu shou-hui chiao-yu-ch'uan yun-tung, 1922-1930" (Anti-religious Education and the Educational Rights Recovery Movement). M.A. Thesis. Taipei: National Cheng-chih University, 1978, pp. 131-32.

10. West, pp. 187-94.

11. Miao Ch'iu-sheng, p. 4:63.

12. Lutz, "The China Christian College: An Historical Overview," pp. 29-30.

13. For a study on the historical geography of Taiwan, see, Knapp, Ronald G., *China's Island Frontier: Studies in the Historical Geography of Taiwan* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1980).

14. Rubinstein, Murray A. *The Protestant Community on Modern Taiwan: Mission, Seminary, and Church* (NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1991), pp. 18-19.

15. Copper, John F., *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990), p. 8.

16. For the development of the Christian community in Taiwan, see Rubinstein's book, and Swanson, Alan, *The Church in Taiwan: Profile* (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1980).

17. See, Shih Wen-sen (Allen Swanson), "Chi-tu-chiao tsai T'ai-wan" (Christianity in Taiwan), In Lin Chih-p'ing (ed.), *Chin-tai Chung-kuo yu Chi-tu-chiao lun-wen-chi (Collected Essays on Modern China and Christianity), (Taipei: Cosmic Light, 1981 2nd edition), pp. 410-11.*

18. Chu Hai-yuan, "T'ai-wan ti-chu Chi-tu-chiao fa-chan chu-shih ti t'an-t'ao, 1950-1979" (A Study on the trend of the development of Christianity in Taiwan, 1950-1979), in Lin Chih-p'ing (ed.), *Li nien yu fu-hao* (Concepts and Symbols), (Taipei: Cosmic Light, 1988), pp. 281-301.

19. *Chi-tu-chiao lun-t'an chou-k'an* (Christian Triune Weekly), 1284 (November 11-17, 1990), p. 1; "T'ai-wan chiao-hui tsui-hin kai-k'uan" (The latest general report on the churches in Taiwan), *Kung-yuan liang-chien nien fu-yin yun-tung t'ung-hsun yueh-k'an* (Year 2000 Gospel Movement Monthly), 15 (June 15, 1991), p. 9.

20. For example, Christ's College, founded by the late Rev. James T. Graham in 1959, claims its aims as "providing Christian nurture for the students in such a way that they might be able to live and work with the Word of God as the dominating force in their lives. Hence, Bible teaching and spiritual life on campus were seen as integral parts of their education." Manual of Strategic Planning Meeting . Christ's College, April 27-30, 1991, p. 69:2.

21. For example, Christ's College registered with the state government of California.

22. See, for example, *United Daily News*, November 19, 1990; *Public Forum News*, November 20, 1989; *China Times*, February 8, 1991; *The Independence Morning Post*, February 10, 1991; *The United Evening News*, February 25, 1991.

23. For example, Christ's College called for a meeting of Christian colleges in June 1991 to discuss their future development in Taiwan.

24. The theme of this international conference was entitled "The Role and Influence of Christian Universities in the Modernization of China." It was held at Chung-yuan Christian University from May 29 to 30, 1991.

25. Hsien Chih-wei and Chen Shen-yi, "A Public Institution of Higher Learning with a Christian Heritage—The Case of Hong Kong Baptist College," paper presented to the International Conference of "The Role and Influence of Christian Colleges in Modernization of China" in Chung-yuan Christian University, Taipei, Taiwan, May 29-30, 1991, p. 7.

26. Fischer, Robert B., "Theory and Practice in Christian Higher Education," paper presented to the International Conference of "The Role and Influence of Christian Colleges in Modernization of China" in Chung-yuan Christian University, Taipei, Taiwan, May 29-30, 1991, p. 9.

27. Chase, J. Richard, "Distinctives of Christian Higher Education," keynote address given to the International Conference of "The Role and Influence of Christian Colleges in Modernization of China" in Chung-yuan Christian University, Taipei, Taiwan, May 29-30, 1991, p. 5.

28. Fischer, p. 9.

29. Mark 4:21.

30. Chase, J. Richard, "Distinctives of Christian Higher Education," p. 1.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Ways of Seeing Educational Reform in China: Comparative Perspectives on Cases of Reform in the 1990's

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Abstract

This paper consists of three parts. Initially, there is a brief description of the methods and sources used for our understanding of Chinese education policy and our contrasting reference to comparable cases in the US. Second, we provide brief portraits of three areas of education reform in the PRC that could be characterized as the decentralization of authority and responsibilities, restructuring, and the rationalization of teaching. Finally, a framework for interpreting these portraits of reform and their implications for a programme of research and policy analysis is considered.

Introduction

Complaints about the scarcity of literature related to social policy that is truly "comparative" are both well founded (Kelly and Altbach, 1986; Judge, 1989) and a reasonable response to the difficulties of doing such research (Eliason, Fagerlind, Merritt, Weiler, 1987; Lisle, 1987; Weiler, 1987). Concerns with the possible uniqueness of the education policy in the PRC, the underlying cultural and social distinctiveness of the concepts such as "education", "learning", and "teaching" and the parochialism of policy specialism certainly constrain enthusiasm for cross national comparisons in policy analysis (Heidenheimer, Heclo, and Adams, 1975 and 1983). While such concerns are important our efforts here are far simpler. Given the intentions of this conference we merely ask, what can be learned from analysis of another country's social policy experiments that might help us understand current developments and anticipate future complications with educational change in the PRC?

First, as the title of this paper suggests our approach was inspired by Tyack's monograph, "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling" (1976). As his piece modestly confesses we are not about to provide some "bullet proof" argument about the course of educational and social policy in the PRC. Second, rather than providing multiple theoretical frames of reference as Tyack did for understanding a particular educational policy over time we are concerned with drawing on instances of current educational policy in the PRC and what can be learned from how those policies unfolded or are evolving in other national contexts. Third, given the constraints under which most research seems to be generated, what sorts of questions can be both asked and possibly pursued? While the PRC's education policy analysts may not find solutions applicable to the Chinese context a pattern of questions do arise that can provide an agenda for policy researchers.

The Settings and Methods

Both fieldwork and library research provide the basis for this work. Fieldwork conducted in 1982-84 and 1986 provided baseline data on education policy, system-level reforms and school policy in the People's Republic of China. Interviews at the national and provincial level were buttressed with interviews of teachers and administrators, and observations classroom and school management practices. Additional follow-ups occured in 1987 and 1990 and were also expanded to include interviews with village, township, county, municipal levels and community leaders concerning their perception of changes in the management, resource allocation, authority and control of their schools. In 1987 and 1990 we interviewed at 30 secondary schools (15 key, 15 non-key ordinary, technical and vocational) and at 14 elementary schools (7 non-key) in 4 cities and 1 county in 4 provinces. School, township and county documents were collected to substantiate accounts of the curriculum-in-use, student participation, the allocation of resources and the control of schools and their work. Fieldwork was further supported by Chinese documents, newspapers, and popular and professional journals that provide descriptions of national and provincial policies as well as anecdotal accounts of schools and the management of education reform.

We do not propose that these cities or county can be seen as typical or representative of the rest of China. But, we would argue that such lofty expectations are difficult if ever met. The size and diversity to be found in the People's Republic of China provides any researcher with ample grounds for modesty. While limitations in the data are present we have tried to acknowledge them, if not keep them in check. First, our fieldwork relied on interviews and observations of schools and classroom practice. We think that understanding the nexus of policy and practice must include such observations. Nonetheless, it is difficult to claim that even the extensive fieldwork we have attempted can adequately represent the diverse contexts involving education in the PRC. Second, while baseline data prior to the early 1980's would be needed to support some of our claims of change, it is not readily available. Third, schools and their access to resources are dependent on the vagaries of regional economic development. Our use of schools from the north, northeast, and the south will necessarily exhibit that bias of economic development. Hopefully the use of professional and popular journals can dampen some of those complications. Nonetheless we choose to regard the study as an exploratory one.

Our data on the US experience is drawn from our reading of the US research literature, analysis of the rhetoric of US education policy change, and our perceptions as participant observers in an US teacher education program.

Comparasions across national, cultural, and temporal boundaries are always suspect. Nonetheless we have attempted to provide portraits of the policy environment regarding several reform efforts across the PRC and the US that will stand up to critique and foster healthy discussion.

Three Portraits of Education Reform in the PRC

Of primary importance to this paper are two official sources of educational reform in the PRC. First is the central government's 1985 "Educational Reform Decision." With this plan began the differentiation of secondary schooling into academic and vocational streams, the greater autonomy of each higher education institution from the central ministry, and calls for more decentralized management of schools. The second major source of reform stems from the 1986 Law of Compulsory Education which obligated local areas to move towards providing nine years of education to its

children. The implementation of these major policy shifts has been complicated by resource insecurities ranging from schools needing to rely more heavily than before on local sources of support to the need for more and different types of qualified professionels. High inflation throughout the late 1980's further depressed morale and the willingness of qualified people to fill the teaching ranks. [For a more extensive description of educational policy developments at both the national and local level, see Cheng, 1986; Cleverly, 1984, Lewin and Xu, 1989, Thorgersen, 1990, Paine, 1991]

With this brief policy background in mind we would now like to look more specifically at three reform efforts in the PRC: the rhetoric of decentralization that has effectively pushed responsibility for the fiscal support of local schools to lower levels of government (like the townships and villages), the rural school consolidation effort as an efficiency movement, and the continued rationalization of the teaching force (by means of increased qualifications, certification and accountablity schemes). For each reform we consider what the perspectives of potentially comparable reform efforts either in process in the West or those that have regained attention based on their long term effects at the local level might suggest for further analysis. These cases are not intended to be isolated events but are illustrative of the ecology of schools and the "policy soup" in which they are suspended (Kingdon, 1982). They will hopefully provide evidence of the web of issues that extend across national, cultural and social contexts.

Decentralization of Fiscal Responsibility

One significant outcome of the 1980's reforms was an increased reliance on the ability of local level school people and their communities to acquire resources to balance off declining state financial support of schools. Much interesting work has already provided a theoretical base for our understanding of the tensions between decentralization and centralization in state policy. An interesting implication for local schools, whether rural or urban, was an explosion of entreprenurial fund raising activities. [See DeLany and Paine, 1991, for an extended description of this activity and its implications for social and economic stratification.] Initially justified at the State-level as providing school personnel the opportunity to get beyond the confines of centralized control and bureaucracy, it also allowed schools with guanxi to translate connections into resources.

Traditionally the PRC is seen as on opposite ends of a spectrum from the US regarding the central control of education policy. Nonetheless some interesting comparisions can be made. The US education fiscal policy since the Reagan administration provides a striking model for comparision with the Chinese case. The Reagan era's "New Federalism" focused on redirecting national priorities and decentralizing programs through budgetary policy. While few studies have captured the period in its entirety, quite a few guesses about the potential fiscal and distributive effects made early in the 1980's (Vogel, 1982) seem to have been justified by the end of that decade (Verstegen, 1990; Kearney and Kim, 1990). By 1988 fifty years of growth in domestic programs had been reversed. Cumulative reductions in federal aid to education had dropped by 11% from what it would have been had it been frozen at 1980 levels but kept pace with inflation, with elementary-secondary hardest hit. Meanwhile Reagan's successful replacement of categorical with block grants, the noisy but failed efforts with tuition tax credit and voucher plans for schools, and Education Secretary Bell's *A Nation at Risk* not only kept education in the media but created opportunities for "education governors" to somewhat fill the gap with an increase in state funding of education programs and a rise of interest in education at the local levels.

We might wonder to what extent the US experience with "New Federalism" during the Reagan era can provide a context for understanding the current decentralization efforts in the PRC. Whether or not decentralization occurred "in fact" or only rhetorically in either the US or the PRC, it is worth considering how interpretations of the US case might help inform our understanding of the Chinese case.

In general, three arguments seem prevalent in justifying decentralization. First, there are the claims that decentralization provides a redistribution of authority that can insure political stability. Second, there is the claim that such strategies can enhance the efficient deployment of resources. In addition is the assumption that by moving authority and responsibility closer to local level there is the likelihood communities will rise to the occasion of being released from the confines of "top down" policymaking by generating new resources at the local level. Third, there is another aspect of efficiency which claims that because of sensivity to local contexts local communities can create policy alternatives that more efficiently match local contexts and avoid wasting resources with generic solutions to context specific problems.

In the US all three arguments for decentralization have been put forward at one time or another. Yet the passage of time allows us to raise doubts about these interpretations. In the US a case can be made for the abandonment of fiscal responsibility for education by the federal government to the states and, over time, the transfer to counties, districts and finally schools and their communities. By analogy might this apply to the PRC case? In the US with each transfer of responsibility to a lower level has there also been a corresponding decline in the overall funding of schools. In the US case the transfer of responsiblity was not achieved through a major restructuring of domestic assistance programs but rather a slowing in the growth of revenues made available to states once the attendent obligations had been passed down. In the US case it could be argued that federal deficits, continued international trade imbalances, increased defense spending, rising obligations in health care, social security and interest payments ensured that education would be driven out of the federal budget (Verstegen, 1990). Are there comparable demographic and economic shifts in the PRC that might help us understand the State's interest in shifting the cost of education away from the central government?

Some might claim that decentralization is an effective means of ameliorating conflict between levels of governance or the declining legitimacy of central governments. Might this analysis apply to both countries? As Weiler (1990) has suggested for other national contexts, with the rise of cultural regionalism further straining central authority, decentralizing responsiblity for education might provide some degree of "compensatory legitimacy" to the central authorities.

Finally, though the central authorities may be trading the responsibility for maintaining education and be seen to lose some control of a social institution known for providing some sense of citizenship and the opportunity of reproducing social relations, there might be means to reassert that control. In the PRC the reform has been accompanied by a loosening of controls on curriculum, testing, and personnel for a few of the major urban areas, like Shanghai, capable of disputing the legitimacy of the central government. Meanwhile in the US there has been renewed interest in state level and national level testing and evaluation schemes capable of reasserting the legitimacy of central authority in education. Where federal

authority had previously been exerted through fiscal incentives, testing may allow new avenues for state or federal control of education policy at the local level by mandating what is legitimate knowledge and curricular content. The traditional US analysis of education in the PRC as being test driven may now be turned on the US.

Rural School Consolidation as an Example of Restructuring

Following the national policy effort to expand universal education many rural areas have looked upon school consolidation as a means of improving the quality and accessibility of primary and secondary education. Often residing in poorer communities, rural schools typically fall into the category of schools without a local resource base to draw on. As a result, the rhetoric of decentralization and fiscal self-sufficiency has hit many rural communities hardest.

In an era when quality has been identified as a goal and it is often measured in formulas involving material resources, qualified teachers, and standard practices, rural education officials have considered school consolidation as a way to ensure greater quality to a larger segment of the population. Arguing that small village schools which are staffed by minban teachers and have small classroom populations are unable to provide uniformly high quality teaching, officials have moved to close down small schools and integrate their students into larger, consolidated schools serving several villages (Robinson, 1986; DeLany and Paine, 1991). In addition, the movement of labor within a rural county, prompted by changing economic opportunities produced by the growth of rural industry and small-scale enterprise, has shifted rural populations. The unevenness of rural economic development has created the movement of surplus labor from the fields to rural towns, and accompanying this has been the increase of "surplus" students in towns (Xu, 1987, p. 43). The policy that claims to answer to these demographic shifts, provides a redefinition or heightened concern for educational quality, and the reaffirms pressure for rational planning is school consolidation. The experience of Zouping County, Shandong, is illustrative, as its junior highs (serving a county of 650,000 people) have moved from 83 schools in the late 1980's to 63 in 1990 to a forecasted final number of 32. The county's goal is to reduce the number of schools and increase the scale of any one school. Underlying this plan are assumptions about economies of scale (the county officials argue, for example, that large-scale schools are able to have dormitories, which support a better learning environment for students), as well as a notion about rational distribution of services (the goal in Zouping, for example, is to have one junior high for every community of 12,000 to 20,000 people).

Of the many striking constrasts between the US and the PRC comparisons of the proportions of rural and urban dwellers in each country is often raised. That 80% of the Chinese population lives in the countryside while only 20% of the US citizenry live in rural areas is considered telling. Just what it tells is often confusing. At times such differences are intended to imply the relative lack of economic development in the Chinese economy and social infrastructure. However, considering the household registration (hukou) system as a social experiment to slow the migration to urban areas and the more recent efforts to develop county towns as attractive intermediate residential, economic and social units (Xu, 1988), the PRC's rural social policies exceed those of the US, which has only recently begun to understand the collapse of its major urban centers. In the US the transformation of large metropolitan areas from being the nexus of capital accumulation, production and low skill jobs to, if they are fortunate, centers of communication, technical and financial networks has trapped large populations with low social, cultural and human captial in inner cities abandoned by more mobile and privilaged groups who have moved to the suburbs (Wilson, 1989; Zinn, 1989). As might be expected, in the US, social policy problems are treated with economic policy solutions. Earlier in this paper the generation of efficiencies was cited as a justification for the decentralization of authority [such as those that allow for local generation of resources beyond the competing economies of scale and those that are created when there is the opportunity for adaptation of policies that more closely match the local context]. Efficiency has also been the key word justifying the demolition of many rural schools in the consolidation movement in both countries. The two countries are slighly out of phase in their application of these policies, with consolidation having been a theme in the US since the 1950s. What were once viable rural centers in the US collapsed under pressure from more privileged residential sectors for the allocation of public and private resources (DeYoung, 1991). In the US the society has come to believe the inevitability of rural decline and rural depopulation. While rural schools once played comparable roles in both countries as the social and cultural centers of their communities, the rhetoric of efficiency has swept many away, leaving a void (Sher, 1987, 1988; Nachtigal, 1982). The claims for "economies of scale" are now beginning to bump up against competing notions that rural education and rural economic development can be connected in mutually supportive ways and that standards can be maintained without standardization toward an urban model of schooling which is only recently beginning to discover the value of pedogogies that rely on low pupil/teacher ratios.

Discussions with Zouping County education leaders provided evidence that their enthusiasm for village school consolidation matched the earlier rhetoric of US rural school consolidation efforts. Claims that economies of scale would produce a more efficient use of public resources, enhance the quality and range of curricular offerings and provide rural students access to a more highly qualified corps of teachers would sound familiar to earlier US consolidation efforts. Missing from the Chinese discussions of consolidation is a recognition of the social and cultural effects on rural communities. Of corresponding interest to US policy makers is the valuable lesson the PRC provides in its efforts to restrain the migration to urban centers and promote town sized residential and economic growth.

Further Rationalization of the Teaching, a Teacher's Role and Teacher Training

Teachers have been central to the plan for reform of China's education. Reforms have occurred in teacher education for both prospective and experienced teachers, in the recruitment and retention of teachers, in the methods of their work, and in the rewards distributed to them. These reforms are many and varied. Yet connecting all the reforms is the aim of rationalizing the teaching profession—both preparation for the profession as well as professional practice.

The rationalization of teaching hinges on a process of professionalization of teachers. One area of reform that typifies this effort by the state involves revising admission procedures and requirements in an effort to recruit stronger candidates to teaching. Traditionally teaching held little attraction for the academically most capable students, and for years teacher education programs (which most

often are housed within teacher education universities, colleges, or secondary schools) have lamented the relative weakness of their students. Beginning with the re-instatement of the nationally unified university entrance exam system in the late 1970's, the education bureaucracy and individual institutions of teacher education have worked to create special mechanisms to provide these institutions with a stronger applicant pool. Over time this has included giving teacher education universities "first pick" on admission, allowing students applying to teacher education an early admissions, and providing stipends to teacher education students as incentive to apply. (For more details, see Paine, 1991.)

Accompanying structural reforms that are thought to attract a better professional to the field are other reforms in teaching seen to buttress state efforts at professionalization. One of these involves the introduction of a system of certification or credentials for experienced teachers. In the past, no such system existed. But in response to a teaching force with large numbers of unqualified or poorly qualified teachers (37 per cent of elementary teachers and 71 per cent of secondary teachers in 1987), the state has seen teacher testing and certification as a means to raise standards. State estimates expected 2.4 million teachers to be needing this type of certification of quality. The assumption, much like that implicit in the reform of university admissions to teacher education, is that the inducement of rewards associated with certification will encourage teachers to study and hence "raise the professional character of teachers and the level of education and teaching" (*Zhongguo Jiaoyubao*, August 18, 1988, p. 1).

Finally, in the post-Mao years, as part of this broader effort to improve teaching, the state re-instated a system of awards and distinctions for teachers and later moved to a system of teacher ranking which differentiates between teachers, chiefly in their pay but, in the case of awards, in their work responsibilities as well (Paine, 1990). The teaching ranks are thus differentiated with grades, as well as with special distinctions such as "model teacher" and "special grade teacher."

Throughout the last decade of research and reform in the US, efforts have often begun with the exhortation that in order to promote and improve the quality of education it made good sense to improve the training, conditions, and work of teachers. Negative comparisons with more "professional" lines of work like medicine and law were raised to justify and provide direction for national, state and district level efforts to recuscitate what was often claimed to be a moribund teacher work force. Many national rescue efforts (See for example the Holmes Group's *Tomorrow's Teachers* or Carnegie Corporation's *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century*) seemed fairly straightforward efforts to transform definitions of the more traditional professions (such as the need for a knowledge base, peer review for entrance into the occupation and establishment of standards, and so on) into reform agendas intended to capture legitimacy through emulation. Individual reforms claim to emphasize raising teacher education program entrance requirements, to extend teacher training in traditional disciplines, to subject new teachers to tests needed to both gain and maintain a teaching position, to induce higher performance with merit pay, to expand and redefine the teacher's role, and to assess teacher performance through student outcome measures. In the US the various interlocking national educational Labs and Centers also act much like the Carnegie Forum, at times acting as entrepreneurial promoters of reform and at other times as disinterested analysts, but always with much the same top/down, elitist relationship to schools and teachers as could be found over the last half century of educational reforms (Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988).

Yet while this discourse of reform has developed, a growing body of empirical work can be found, much in the tradition of Dan Lortie (1986) and Philip Jackson (1968), that looks more closely at the job of teaching, teachers, students and communities. The political and intellectual lives, obligations, and training of teachers are examined through critical ethnographic study (Giroux and McLaren, 1986); alternative certification routes for certain communities like Los Angeles are considered more plausible; the effects school-family relationships have gained closer attention (Lareau, 1987; Lightfoot, 1978); the role of schools as only one many social service organizations affecting children has gained prominence (Tyack, 1989); the role of teachers other staff as "street-level bureaucrats" and interpreters of state policy and at the school and classroom level continues to be investigated (Weatherly and Lipsky, 1977; and DeLany, 1991); and the social and cultural dynamics of classrooms remain at the center of ethnographic studies (MacLeod, 1987; Ogbu, 1978). These research studies suggest, at times implicitly and other times explicitly, that attention to emulating the form, structure and incentive schemes of other professions may not be sufficient to reform teaching. More modest reform efforts aimed at understanding teaching and learning may have grander rewards than efforts to control and mold measures of central tendency in educational outcomes. Such a pay-off can only come with greater attention to adaptation to local variation.

Toward a Framework for Useful Comparison

What general themes might come to the aid of researchers interested in gaining insights that come from such unlikely comparisons as are found in the US and the PRC? For starters, it seems worthwhile to reconsider the assumptions made by researchers, policymakers, and practitioners that educational systems are as rational as they might wish or expect.

Western policy makers are often accused of an over-extended facination with top-down, rational models of both policy making and its implementation. Large data sets reduced to broad scale measures of central tendency and aggregate measures typify the state and federal "wall chart" approach in the US. Taking standardization as a synonym for standards, statewide testing programs have been developed across the US to help monitor student achievement and assess whether it falls within particular bands of projections of performance based on school district and student background characteristics. Reforms intended to professionalize teachers and improve the likelihood of good teaching through testing throughout their careers in the classroom have attempted to narrow the confidence intervals of teacher competence. Oddly enough these efforts at coordination, systematization and control are being pressed against a national governance structure specifically designed by its founders to thwart such efforts (Cohen, 1984).

At the same time in the US there is abundant research to indicate the schools are not quite such rational organizations as these reform efforts might suppose. The lack of goal consensus and ambiguity of the monitoring systems provide portraits of loosely coupled systems where the Federal authorities' work is dislocated from State concerns; State authority structures are only weakly tied to district concerns; and district activities only tangentially related to school and classroom performance (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, 1978; Weick, 1976; 1982). In the effort to maintain appearances authority structures expend substantial resources gathering large amounts of data that has little bearing on educational decision making but merely to provide means of classifying and categorizing schools, teachers and students (Feldman and March, 1981). Various

bureaucracies hover around differentiated program areas but are buffered from intruding on classroom practices by confidence that appearances are sufficient to guarantee the ritual performance of the act of learning (Meyer, 1979). This dislocation of structure from the process of teaching and learning makes one doubt the likelihood that large scale efforts to rationalize the system might have the desired and intended effects.

So, a common theme running across both the US and PRC's reform efforts is the assumption that educational systems are reasonably guided with rational decision making. Whether it is through the rhetoric of decentralization of funding responsibility, the consolidation of local schools into more unified systems, or the professionalization efforts directed at the standardization of teaching and teachers, the plans of central authorities seldom take into consideration the "local knowledge" of the village, school, or classroom. These other "ways of seeing" are needed to gain a fuller understanding of what is needed for educational reforms.

A second point follows that researchers and analysts can support policy makers by taking a closer look at the variation across districts, villages, schools, and classrooms rather than just aggregating such information for measures of central tendency of the system as a whole. Both intellectually and politically this is difficult to achieve. On the one hand we have come to understand the "bounded rationality" decision makers are prone to. Aggregate data reduce the flood of information that can neither be understood nor consumed before decisions need to be made. And on the other hand, the *realpolitik* of resource allocation decisions would imply that many decisions are made on the basis of interest group politics, tradeoffs, and side payments. Nonetheless it is reasonable to assume that good information on the variability across contexts is worth having regardless of how the information might be used since reliance on aggregate measures can often confuse decision makers who forget these measures are only proxies or reified variables that seldom make sense in the classroom, school or other local context.

Finally, if anything is to be learned across the two contexts it is the need for greater understanding of the processes and content of the lived experiences of those administrators, teachers, students and their parents engaged in the mundane daily efforts of teaching and learning. Typically education is looked at for its economic, social or political implications rather than pedogogical possibility. Opportunities for analysis of reforms "up close" are seldom taken so that the results are seldom intelligible nor useful at any local level.

These modest proposals are intended to alter our assumptions about our decision making in and for educational organizations, the type of research that might have more to say about local variability than central tendencies, and how we might regard the everyday activities of schools as places worth studying. All in all they can provide us with useful views across the two educational contexts of the US and the PRC and some modicum of intelligence in a disorderly world.

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Innovation in Chinese Rural Education: Jiangxi Communist Labor University

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Abstract

Jiangxi Communist Labor University (JCLU), founded during the Great Leap Forward in 1958, was an educational innovation which aimed to train a skilled labor force at home in the countryside. The university survived under its own name for twenty-two years, in an often hostile climate. It was re-named Jiangxi Agricultural University (JAU) in 1980. This paper examines the association of educational and political events in the history of JCLU, and the contribution of the university to rural education, which supports the cause of the provision of educational services tailored to local conditions.

Jiangxi Provincial Communist Party Committee and the Jiangxi People's Congress determined on 9th June, 1958, to found a labor institution of higher education.[1] They stipulated that the policy for running the institution should be half-work and half-study and that its program should cover professional training and politics. Jiangxi Communist Labor University, or Gongda as it is known in its shortened form, was a creative response to demands for rural improvement. Begun at a time of heightened ideological awareness and national economic challenge, its ups and downs mirror the great events of the day. JCLU's brief time span was accompanied by heroic deeds of hard labor and purposeful study, the motivation of its teachers and students relying very much on ideological awareness and recognition of local need. JCLU graduates are influential at many levels of Jiangxi government today.

The name JCLU became a by-word in China representing a new approach for higher level rural education. The prime mover in its establishment was the Provincial Governor, Shao Shiping, who argued that key personnel could be trained and economic construction developed through an educational innovation. Shao Shiping would lecture at JCLU, and he helped resolve problems, especially those arising from coordination with local government. However recognition of the educational claims of JCLU has not been helped by the intense ideological atmosphere which surrounded it. Certainly the history of JCLU was relatively short, but this has been a characteristic of many innovative ventures in world education.

Half Work and Half Study, Principle and Practice

The Jiangxi Governor and his backers came from a province immensely proud of its revolutionary tradition. It was in Jiangxi that the communist forces regrouped after they had been driven from the eastern coastal cities by the Kuomintang and its allies in 1927. The province, despite a wealth of natural resources, was one of the poorest in China. (Indeed a sample survey in 1988 revealed an average monthly per capita income of 60.7 yuan, in Jiangxi's cities and towns, the lowest of any province in China).[2] It was in this least hospitable of places that the communists had taken sanctuary and where the individual armies of Mao Zedong and Zhu De would join together in 1927 to form the core of the Red Army. They remained in their Jiangxi enclaves until 1934 when the CPC embarked on its epic Long March which eventually settled in Yan'an.

Interestingly, Jiangxi had its own revolutionary tradition in education which called for physical labor from students and teachers. This appeared in an educational plan for the communist enclave issued in 1933.[3] However Jiangxi today remembers its military contribution to the revolution, rather than its social one. The institutions most cited as exemplars for JCLU were the Peasant Movement Training Institution, established in Guangzhou in the early 1920's to train rural organisers for the First United Front, and the Anti Japanese Military and Political University known as Kangda. Kangda students dug their own classrooms in the loess hills of Yan'an in the late 1930s. They were noted for their 'Kangda spirit.' Ten socialist educational principles were associated with Kangda: 'correct objectives, firm leadership, good school spirit, political education, integration of theory and practice, simplified content, shortened schooling, lively teaching, revolutionary minded teachers, and self reliance.'[4] These provided a measuring stick for JCLU and other revolutionary educational ventures.

In rural China, productive labour in education was boosted again as part of the attention given to agricultural policy in 1957-8. The revised draft of the Program for Agricultural Development 1956-67, had a clause inserted which called for the establishment of agricultural middle schools, and the promotion of the 'work while you study'[5] educational programs. In March 1958, Shuanglou People's Commune in Haian County, northern Jiangsu, established the first agricultural middle school in the country. The schools taught the junior middle school curriculum alongside practical courses in subjects like planting crops, insect control, making fertilizer, and tractor operation and repair.[6] The establishment of agricultural middle schools became a national movement.

Jiangxi Province joined national movements designed to increase the skilled labor force in the countryside. In 1957, some 50,000 cadres in Jiangxi were sent down to work in rural areas.[7] They helped build roads, span rivers, work farms and establish factories. One of their tasks was to rebuild the old revolutionary base of Damaoshan Mountain laid waste by the Kuomintang when the Red Army retreated. A venture begun at this time by urban volunteers on reclaimed land was the 'Yaya' duck raising venture which grew into a town enterprise maintaining its own technical college associated with Jiangxi University. Jiangxi graduates were among the 135,000 higher education graduates who graduated in 1960, having undertaken productive labor during their university courses.[8] Among them were veterans recruited from the revolutionary areas of Jiangxi and Shanxi.

In August, 1958, Mao Zedong, inspecting Tianjin University, called for part work part study in schools. Just prior to his statement, the Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the CPC, Lui Shaoqi, had proposed 'two kinds of labour systems and two kinds of educational systems.'[9] Liu's suggestion was known as 'the two track' system. However it was regarded by some as not fully integrating the work study principle. Following Mao and Liu's statements, a directive was issued by the Central Committee and the State Council which declared that:

> The principle of the Party's educational work is that education should serve the politics of the proletariat,

and that education should integrate with productive labour. To fulfil this policy, educational work must be put under the Party's leadership.

Founding JCLU

Founding a university in its own right and dedicated to the work study principle capped the mood of the times. It took historical precedent a step further; it answered the ideological challenge to combine education and productive labor at the highest level; and it promised to skill a rural workforce. The decision having been taken on 9th June, the implementation stage followed. A meeting was held on 15 June, 1958, in a building of a forestry school located at the foot of Meiling Mountain in a northern district of Nanchang, the provincial capital. The main campus of the new institution would occupy this site. The foundation gathering was attended by provincial leaders and the heads of local state farm and forestry units. The first President was Liu Junxiu, who was concurrently Secretary of Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee in charge of agriculture, and the CPC Secretary of JCLU was Wang Dongxing, the Vice Provincial Governor. In addition to establishing a main campus, it was decided that branch campuses led by local teachers and party secretaries would be maintained.

(The Vice Governor, Wang Dongxing, would have a role to play in the future. A one-time bodyguard and confidant of Mao Zedong, he became Vice Minister of Public Security in 1962, and a member of the Central Committee of the CPC in 1969. Although regarded as having Leftist sympathies, he was won over by Hua Guofeng in 1976. However he would not survive Deng Xiaoping's accession to power, being removed from all Party and state posts in 1978. In his years of power, he was regarded as having a special concern for JCLU, serving as Vice President from mid 1958 to the end of 1960.)

Debate over the best name for the institution ensued. The search was for a title which would reflect the integration of theory and practice at a high level, the communist ideal, and the necessity of hard work. One of the first put forward was the Communist Labor Team. This was rejected because it under-emphasised the role of knowledge and technology in what was after all a post secondary school education. There was common consent that the institution deserved the title university. A university, which combined study and work, and politics and specialised knowledge, was regarded as a legitimate entity. It was supported by precedent from Yan'an; and it was wholly in tune with the dominant ideological line. The suggestion, Labor University of Jiangxi Province, was thought to underplay the concept of 'red and specialised.' Finally the name Communist Labor University of Jiangxi Province was determined upon. This university was seen as a prototype, based on Mao Zedong thought, which suited the actual conditions in the province.

On the 1st August, 1958, after less than two months preparation, JCLU's main campus and 30 branches were opened officially. 'This university was suited to reality so it was warmly welcomed by the masses. We can tell by the speed of its establishment.'[11] About 11,000 students were enrolled, mostly from Jiangxi.[12]

JCLU was staffed by the 50,000 cadres drawn mainly from government, and educational and technical offices in Nanchang who had answered the party's call in to go 'up to the mountains, down to the countryside.' They were joined by university graduates, and exceptional students and specialists recruited from the branches. Among the cadres were workers, agriculturalists, graduates in several disciplines, and demobilised army men. Technical workers especially were prized as teachers. This workforce was required not only to teach and administer the main and branch campuses but to physically build them and their infrastructure, with help from the students.

Initially, the JCLU main campus offered five main courses of study: agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, fisheries and horticulture. 'The work of Jiangxi is in these specialities, so the study of the university is the study of them.'[13] The duration of undergraduate studies was four years, and that of specialised training two years. The four year program set aside six months for labor in the first year, five in the second, and four in each of the third and fourth years. Labor was related to the speciality, for example rice growing in agriculture, and tree planting in forestry. Farms and factories were associated with the major teaching priorities. Thus the agronomy department had its farm, the forestry department its plantations, and the fisheries department, its ponds and processing plants.

JCLU aimed to integrate teaching and production in an educational way, not just through a mix of labor in the morning, and study in the afternoon. What was learned would be used, with questions arising out of practice being taken back to the classroom. Basic courses were taught in the new classrooms and in the work place. The normal vacation period in July and August did not suit JCLU for July-August was the time for harvesting the early rice crop and planting the later one. Without crops, students would have no rations and branch campuses no income. In the first year, office workers, teachers and students worked together in the fields.

The branch campuses were essentially state farms in the period 1958-1961, whose teachers and administrators were paid by the province. Inhospitable sites were chosen deliberately, as it was not thought proper to take over land already in production. As far as academic and professional training was concerned, the main campus controlled the courses, teaching plans and texts used by the branches. Communication between the centre and its peripheries depended in many places upon access along dirt tracks. Leaders of the branches met as a group once or twice a year, and staff from the main campus occasionally inspected the branches, or responded to requests for help. Most branches had no telephone or regular mail links.

One issue that worried students and staff was the underlying question of whether JCLU really was a university. It was a contentious concern which affected the attractiveness of the institution in students' eyes and staff morale.

JCLU would receive backing from the Central Committee of the CPC for its claims to full university status. In 1959, Zhou Enlai visited Nanchang and inscribed the name Communist Labor University. Thus it was made clear to the doubters that JCLU was indeed a university. Zhou would visit the Lushan campus and the main campus again in 1962 and 1966 respectively. Mao Zedong would later write in support of JCLU: and Zhu De visited the university several times, writing words of encouragement. Recognition by the highest in the land effectively ended the debate. In 1977, JCLU was included in the short list of key national universities in China.

The survivors of the first three years could look back with satisfaction. Although the university had few buildings and little cash income, it possessed an extensive endowment of potentially arable land, and timber and water reserves. The combination of education and production had proved workable, with students managing to support themselves. While their first 30 yuan payment had gone mostly on tools, students managed to survive physically through group effort. By 1961, JCLU and its 102 branches had become largely self-sufficient in the supply of grain, cooking oil, meat and vegetables, with the income from its various establish-

ments enough to cover most non salary expenditures. The number of students had risen to 46,000.[14]

There can be no doubt that the teachers and student changed the lives of their communities. Once the land was reclaimed and roads opened, plots were turned into enterprises, farms, orchards, and tree plantations. Improved transportation enabled local products to find new markets. Hydro-electricity brought electric light to remote villages, and made film shows possible. Crop yields and timber products increased, although some branches did better than others. Many of these improvements can be attributed to the organisation of labor and the introduction of appropriate level science and technology. Other gains came through social organisation: newly founded schools, theatre and meeting halls, hospital services, libraries, shops and dancing halls served their communities.

A Matter of Life or Death

The bloated targets and unreal achievements of the Great Leap Forward cast their shadow on the expansion figures of JCLU in its early years. Rapid growth evident in increased student numbers and more branches was not regarded per se as an indication of institutional health. While the Chinese people had undertaken great feats of physical labor, many working themselves without proper rest, their efforts foundered on lack of foresight and expertise, and under the weight of natural disaster. Jiangxi province was required to divert its stock piles of food to other parts of China, and to cut rations in the towns.

The food ration at JCLU was reduced to 32 jin a month for students, with 40 jin for those undertaking physical work. Still JCLU students were better off than others in the cities where rice rations were as low as 28-30 jin. Also JCLU had animal products to supplement the rice. 'In spite of difficulties our students had one or two big dinners every week.'[15] Vegetables were in particularly short supply. JCLU found itself in dire straits. Suspicion of the quality of work study schooling threatened the university with closure on grounds that its standards were below those expected from a tertiary institution. Its students could not be expected to attend study classes when they had to labor to keep themselves and their families alive. Lastly the revenue of the province had fallen sharply and it was unable to continue to pay full salaries to JCLU's teachers and administrative staff. JCLU's situation was parlous indeed.

The University was saved from closure by two powerful friends, Mao Zedong, and Zhou Enlai. On the 30th July, 1961, Mao Zedong wrote, 'A Letter to Jiangxi Communist Labor University', which provided a much needed lifeline.

> Comrades,
>
> I fully support your enterprise. The half-work and half-study program operated without government funding can offer courses at elementary, secondary and university levels and in Jiangxi Province's various mountain and plain areas. This kind of schooling is very good. Most of the students are young people, and a few middle-age cadres. I hope this sort of institution developed in Jiangxi will be developed in other provinces. Other provincial governments should send capable and experienced leaders to Jiangxi to learn how to develop the program. Initially, this kind of program can be operated with a limited number of students. Gradually more students can be admitted like Jiangxi where over 50,000 students are enrolled. ....
>
> Jiangxi Communist Labor University is, in August 1961, to celebrate the third anniversary of its establishment. The celebration organisers asked me to write a few words. Because it is a great event, I wrote the above words for them.
>
> Mao Zedong
> July 30, 1961[16]

Mao's letter, written at a critical moment, claims that he acted at the request of the organizers of celebrations for the university's third anniversary. In 1977, it was publicly reported that Mao Zedong had actually written his letter because the bourgeoisie inside the Party was persecuting JCLU. 'When Liu Shao-chi was trying to shut down the university, Chairman Mao, after hearing a report from its responsible members, wrote a letter known as the 'July 30' Directive to the university's teachers and students.'[17] It is accepted that Mao had followed the establishment of JCLU with great interest, and had encouraged its efforts on his inspection tours in Jiangxi. 'He had a good idea of its strengths and problems.'[18]

Interestingly Mao's letter was not published at the time it was written. One reason was because its argument differed from the views put forward by the Ministry of Education at the time, which was in a 'consolidation' phase. In January, 1961, the Ninth Plenary Sesson of the Eighth National Congress of the CPC had issued a call for 'readjustment, reconstruction, consolidation and improvement?'[19] Had the letter been publicised in 1961, it could well have set off a movement to found work study universities across the country. While the existence of the letter was known to many people, extracts from it were not published until 1975, and it was not available in full until 1977, when it appeared in *Renmin Ribao*. The letter uplifted JCLU staff and students. The care Mao had taken with his calligraphy in writing to them was especially noted by the staff. However praise from Mao Zedong, although sufficient to legitimate the university, could not of itself secure its future funding.

With funding drying up another powerful friend answered the call. Zhou Enlai had heard that the university was threatened with closure and phoned the Jiangxi Governor asking that JCLU staff and Jiangxi provincial leaders leave for Beijing to report. Premier Zhou asked ministers from eight government departments including those from the State Education Bureau, and the Training Division of the Agricultural Ministry, to join a meeting. Zhou read them Mao Zedong's letter and told those present that a university backed by Mao should not be closed down. He asked staff from JCLU to raise their difficulties and invited the ministers present to solve them. 'Mao Zedong has written to you' said Zhou, 'I support you and the Central Committee supports you.'[20] He told the ministers:

> Are not Gongda teachers the teachers of the state? If they belong to the state why do you give money to other universities but not to JCLU? Their students already work as well as study to maintain themselves, and it's impossible for them to earn enough money to support their teachers. Can we give the teachers their salaries?

The ministers agreed that the teachers deserved a share of state funds. Zhou suggested one million yuan from central funds and two million yuan from provincial funds. The ministers agreed to their share, but the province said it could not afford two million, but would settle for one. The deal was struck: two million from the state and one million from the province. This payment continued until the Cultural Revolution. Zhou Enlai's support was particularly noteworthy and reflected favourably on the institution.

'The Golden Years'

The Beijing government extracted a price for its aid, a new set of standards being demanded of JCLU as part of the rescue plan. In 1963 the CPC of Jiangxi and the Jiangxi People's Congress stipulated that the main campus would concentrate on four and five year courses at professional and undergraduate level based on senior middle school entry.[21] Branches under the control of the province and prefecture would offer mainly four year middle level professional training taking students at junior middle school level, and county based branches would provide lower level training, including classes for students who had only a primary school qualification. Admission and job assignment of undergraduates and middle professionals would follow the state plan. Main campus graduates would be assigned to jobs by the central government, branches run by the province and the prefecture would assign their own graduates, and the country would be responsible for its trainees on the basis 'from the commune to the commune.' The arrangements were described as a three-level structure: main (undergraduate), prefecture (middle level technician), and county (lower level technician).[22]

JCLU developed its own hierarchy of course offerings. It maintained its own kindergartens, junior and senior middle schools. 'The fact that JCLU operated classes at all levels ensured that it could serve workers and peasants irrespective of their cultural standard.'[23] The first national intake for the main campus was enrolled in 1965, with 250 students coming from Beijing, Wuhan, Tianjin, Shanghai and Changsha. The time given labor as against study was decreased to 6:5 in first year, 5:6 in second, and 4:7 in later years. Labor time was also cut in the branch campuses by about 30 per cent. The university begun to operate courses for educational leaders in the counties, such as its Higher Education Training and Research Course, and it operated other short term courses as required. The main campus developed additional factories. In 1965, it supported soap and umbrella factories, a fungi processing plant, and a machine tools factory. Apart from what they earned, the factories provided employment for the children of staff.

JCLU was considered at its peak in late 1965, with 126 branch campuses, and 50,000 students.[24] It was considered a mature institution which exemplified a new direction for proletarian education. JCLU also attracted international acclaim, having been opened to foreign visitors from 1963. Among those who inspected Gongda in the period were Anna Louise Strong, Rewi Alley, and delegates from the Afro-Asian international conference held in Beijing.

Revolution and Education

The Cultural Revolution was visited on JCLU, just as it was on all Chinese education institutions. The phenomenon, characterised by bitter ideological debate, and savage enforcement, was experienced by JCLU in its turn. Although it was not as violent in its expression as in the large cities, senior staff were paraded in dunces caps, physically abused, and sent to hard labour.

Radical students called senior JCLU staff to Beijing charging them with running a university approved by Liu Shaoqi. The students depicted JCLU as one of Liu's 'two track' institutions, which kept its best courses for students with high marks. 'We said that Mao and Zhou supported the university.' It was true that Liu did not object to JCLU. He mentioned it four times in his talks. But JCLU was a university for all students.'

Courses of study terminated during the Cultural Revolution, although staff and students continued production. Some short courses were offered in 1968, but that year eight out of ten regular teachers and staff were sent down to the countryside. Most students returned home. Classes resumed at the main campus in 1971, and at most branches in 1972. Staff began to return from the countryside in the first half of 1971, but individuals were still being sent down as late as 1974. In 1971-2, the student body comprised worker -peasant - soldier students whose entry was based on the recommendation of their units. In the early 1970s the university was run by a revolutionary committee formed in early 1968, and a Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Team and soldiers were on campus.

The branches were 'unhooked' from the university in 1968, and put wholly under county leadership. They frequently retained Communist Labor University in their new titles, adding their county name as a prefix, e.g. Ji'an CLU.[25]

A positive outcome from the days of the Cultural Revolution, although not wholly appreciated at the time, was the forced amalgamation of Jiangxi Agricultural College (JAC) with JCLU. Jiangxi Agricultural College had been directed to leave its inner suburban location following Mao Zedong's call for the agricultural institutions to go down to the countryside. Beijing Agricultural University, for example, had moved to Yan'an. JAC was readily accommodated at JCLU for neither the college nor the university had many students or staff on their campuses. The major difference between JAC and JCLU was that the former had a strong academic culture. JAC had been an agricultural college before 1949 attached to the National Zhongzheng University.[26] After liberation, the agricultural college was associated with Nanchang University until the link was broken in 1952 when higher education was reorganized by reducing the number of comprehensive universities in favour of more specialised colleges and institutes. That year JAC took over the veterinary science faculties of agricultural colleges in Guangxi, Henan and Hunan provinces. Joining JAC, with its academic reputation, and CLU with its work study agenda, was regarded at the time as ensuring that JAC better served 'the poor and lower-middle peasants.' In the longer term, the move strengthened the academic component in JCLU, a factor which enabled the institution to regroup in the late 1970s when scientifically oriented policies were pursued at national level. The urban site of JAC was given to a factory unit.

The written records of the achievements of JCLU in the early 1970s are embedded in the language of the propaganda of the day. They are also careless of chronology. For all that, they reveal some remarkable achievements. Mostly they concentrate on activities in the branches as part of the ideological emphasis on grass-roots work. These summarised extracts are typical of the press statements of the time.[27]

> At the Nancheng branch school, teachers helped students grow over 100 strains of rice, taught them how to compare their qualities, advised them on close planting and the use of fertilisers, and demonstrated how three crops a year could be harvested. Students produced their own new strains of rice, had their ideas incorporated in the branch's textbook, and produced 200,000 kilos of improved seed grain for the county.
>
> Yunshan branch teachers and students showed that grapes could grow well south of the Yangtze, by cultivating 30 varieties on the loess mountains of the province.

Branches in Hengfeng county responded to an insect plague in 1970, by collecting formulas and ingredients for traditional insecticides. An effective mixture was supplied to a third of the county's brigades.

In 1970, 130 hydro-electric technicians trained by the Chuannan branch helped the county build 93 small power stations.

The political consciousness of graduates from JCLU branches was highlighted. Nancheng branch had 120 CPC members, 800 in the Communist Youth League, 90 appointed to leading bo[illegible]s in the country, and 300 commended as advanced workers or 'labor heroes.' This was from a graduation list of 1,400.[28] That branch's revolutionary committee, which comprised three veteran cadres and six new ones, was newsworthy as well. 'They assiduously study Marxist and Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings, and work like ordinary labourers.' Each worked more than 100 days in the piggeries and in farm work. The branch specialists were headed by seven 'poor and lower middle peasants' who comprised the Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Team and often give lectures themselves. The County CPC Committee supplied cadres experienced in agricultural management to visit Nancheng. As part of 'open door education' branches called on red army fighters from the 1920s and 1930s to tell students how they survived against superior Kuomintang forces on a diet of pumpkin soup and unpolished rice, and how they repeatedly repelled their attacks.

In this period there were calls to 'Learn from Gongda', including a remark from Deng Xiaoping that the nation could learn from JCLU. Jiangxi Province itself had called a 'Learn from Gongda' conference in 1973, when participants had been asked to sum up its experiences by citing its achievements and rectifying its shortcomings. In 1976-7, two books were published about the university. Further favourable publicity was received when four JCLU graduates, including one girl, volunteered for Tibet. The university continued to attract visitors. There were delegations from other exemplary institutions including Chaoyang, universities, work units, schools and kindergartens. Between 1968 and 1980 54,000 visitors were received. Other communist labor universities were founded in accordance with Mao's July 30 Directive, including the Industrial Labor University in Jiangxi. 'Over 100 communist labor academies have grown to maturity and expanded. Like azaleas, they bloom all over every hilltop of Kiangsi.'[29]

The publicity JCLU received in the early 70s. whether sought or not, would be used against the good name of the institution towards the end of the decade. Here it was film rather than the printed word, that did most damage. The film, *Break* (with tradition), was a thinly disguised account of the establishment of JCLU. It was followed up by the article, 'A Battle Song of the Proletarian Educational Revolution', by Chu Lan strongly ideological in tone. *Break* portrays a heroic revolutionary, Long Guozheng, Party Secretary and President of the university, who has to fight constantly against the revisionist educational line in the establishment of the work study institution. 'There can never be calm and tranquillity on the road of educational revolution.'[30]

The reception *Break* received was mixed. Its magnificent technicolour scenes were a joy to the eye, and its stand for peasant education touched a sympathetic cord with some rural audiences. However the more sophisticated were less impressed and the film brought forth the laughter of disbelief at some showings. *Break* was a great embarrassment to the senior staff at JCLU, especially after government policy changed, although some junior staff thought the film had brought the university to national prominence and would make it famous.[31]

A teacher in our Veterinary Science Department was the first to say that the film denigrated JCLU, although it was praised by the media at the time. 'The film did us a great disservice. People thought we actually did the things in the film. They laughed at us, and would be pleased to see us closed.' Some staff wanted the university to change its name.

Politics and Policy in Transition

By 1977 JCLU had graduated 200,000 men and women, 170,000 of whom had returned to their communes and work units.[32] Graduates played an important role in the improvement of agriculture in the province where they ran schools, undertook party work, assisted in the medical care system, and maintained machinery and transport. The university and its 107 branches worked over 3,000 hectares of farmland land, 24,300 hectares of forest, and there were 350 farms, lumber yards, grazing grounds and machinery plants. Over the last decade and more, JCLU had created wealth estimated at 400 million yuan, and had produced 150,000 tons of grain. The main campus, and half its extensions, had become self-sufficient 'either in grain, edible oil, meat, vegetables and managing funds or in grain and living expenses for the students.' During the period of 1968-1980, 7,496 foreigners from 89 countries were recorded as having visited Gongda, from a total of 55,424.[33]

If achievement mattered, then JCLU was surely poised to take advantage of its new status as a key university. Further, the university had moved to distance itself from the educational line of the deposed 'gang of four.' That it was slow in changing its policies was a reflection as much on the confusions of 1977, as any unwillingness on JCLU's part to change. Events moved quickly in education under Deng Xiaoping's urging, and it was clear that the half-work half-study approach was not favoured at the higher education level, except in the context of adult and spare time education.

This pressure that required JCLU move into full time higher education in 1978, although it still enrolled some middle professional students in two and three year courses. No more of these professional students were enrolled in 1979. That year, JCLU adopted the unified teaching plan for general agricultural and forestry institutions, and it began to enrol post graduates. While links between the branches and JCLU had resumed, the bond was weakened, with the main school only advising on the specialism. The shift in control led to changes in the names of branches, which now added the county or prefecture name after CLU instead of the particular place name. In effect then JCLU's association with the branches ended, and a number of them closed or were transformed into middle level and other specialised colleges. The process was complete by 1984. JCLU continued to maintain the bases attached to its main campus for teaching, research and production purposes.

Rural China continues in need of graduates in agriculture and related disciplines and of extension services to serve both populated and remote areas. The supply of graduates prepared to work in the countryside in field studies remains wholly inadequate despite the introduction of short cycle higher education and financial incentives to work in rural areas. Extension work makes use of radio, and correspondence and TV delivery systems, and there are workers and peasants colleges, short term technical training schools, and classes are run by regular institutions, or organised at township and village level in farming practice and rural development. In 1986, the State

Science and Technology Commission initiated the 'Spark Program', designed to promote township and village enterprises through the application of science and technology. In the period 1986-89 some 5 million received training through the program.[34] Rural development is also promoted through the 'Prairie Fire Program', which maintains the Liaoyuan Broadcast/TV School. For all these schemes, the number of qualified personnel in rural areas remains low.

Conclusion On inception, Gongda made a mark. It recognised the necessity for better education in the countryside. It promised a diversified, but top level, institution which differed from past practices, for the higher education institutions of the liberated areas had been directed mainly at cadre training. Lower cost higher education was another feature. At the same time its assertion of the importance of labor reinforced the reigning ideology. Its structure of branch campuses benefited local groups and state farms. Behind JCLU was the challenge of a new way of doing things, with significance for China's future.

Use of the title university set JCLU aside from the vocational and technical school sector. Here university was not applied in its comprehensive sense, but in the narrower view of a higher education institution which offered graduate studies in a particular field recognised by the State. JCLU also offered itself, or sponsored, lower level courses which were an important part of its raison d'etre. The title was no doubt important in its public acceptance, 'university is of large significant, middle school is of secondary significance, and primary school is of little significance.'[35] However JCLU was a newly founded institution which differed from the conventional university in the time set aside for practically oriented study, both labor and practical work, which was associated with the specialism. It stood against the dominant Chinese tradition of letters and scholarship. The eventual reversion of JCLU to conventional nomenclature, and the introduction of full time study, was recognition that a weightier tradition had prevailed, and that an experiment had failed?

At its foundation, JCLU's philosophy was congruent with the vision of Mao Zedong. Its approach to learning and life also appealed to men like Zhou Enlai and Zhu De, and it could match the objectives of Liu Shaoqi, who saw it as a separate track institution. Further, it could accommodate to the 'experimental' demands of the Jiang Qing group. The events of the early 1970's made it less able to retain its distinctiveness under the Deng Xiaoping, who supported academic reform. The University's continuance into the 1980s was the result of good fortune, its merger with Jiangxi Agricultural College in 1968 providing the required academic standing.

The atmosphere of the 1980s and 1990s has not been supportive of the original JCLU model. The ambitions of the educated young are less towards practice and more towards scientific advance. Group spirit and ideological awareness have been replaced by the priority of individual return. Processing and marketing appear more rewarding activities than physical production. Academic demands cannot space the time for the part-work part-study concept.

JCLU retains a continuity with its past, particularly through individual staff and graduates. It can be argued that JCLU had served its main purpose of leadership and networking in years when no adequate rural extension service existed. There can be little argument that it played a pivotal role by creating a greater knowledge and demand for rural services, which could see it displaced by other and different solutions in time. While a continued need exists in rural Jiangxi for the kind of activities it sponsored, central and local policy making has determined that other specialised approaches are likely to be more effective thereby releasing the university to pursue its own higher level teaching and research.Note: Interviews were held at JAU from 18th June 1991 to 28th June 1991. They ranged from major group interviews held on 19th, 20th and 27th June, to various discussions with individuals.

Notes

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14. Yu Yingen, p.2.

15. Interview, JAU, 20.6.1991.

16. *Renmin Ribao*, 30.7.1977, trans, Zhang Lizhong.

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18. Interview, JAU, 28.6.1991.

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Equal Opportunities in Higher Education: Experiences of China's First Private Women's College

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Abstract

It could be said that women's lives and education opportunities in China have come from those of an imprisoned frog's life to the open sky, but still have far to go. This paper traces historical outlines of 1) women's lives, 2) Chinese education in general and 3) women's education in particular, 4) recent changes in women's lives and education, and 5) discusses a new women's college which holds unique future promise.

Women in Traditional and Changing China

Historically, women's education opportunities or lack of them were greatly influenced by social concepts about females, their capabilities, and roles, and the honor given to tradition reinforced its power and discouraging change. The low status of women has been seen as "natural" and "normal" for centuries, and behavior can change no faster than the beliefs which determine it.

Wolf notes that birth of a first daughter was a disappointment, a second daughter brought grief, and a third was a tragedy blamed on the mother.[1] Female infanticide was common, females were seen as liabilities in the patrilineal society in which they were governed by the "three obediences:" to the father before marriage, to the husband after marriage, and to the son in old age. Women were considered weak, reckless, ineducable, unclean, a risk to family reputation, a drain on its wealth, and of only minor value as property and labor. Footbinding kept them immobilized and incapacitated, and made negative stereotypes into self-fulfilling prophecies. Anonymity and having nothing to be known about oneself were considered virtuous. One writer described women's lives as "the existence of a frog in a well."[2]

After marriage, women were permanent "outsiders" in their husband's families, could not inherit or own land, and had only the "rights" allowed by others. "Status" was achieved by the birth of a son and his nurturance. For thousands of years, women lived at the bottom of Chinese society, trapped in self-perpetuating, rigid, family centered traditions. Families have been described as isolationist, apathetic to the outside world, nepotistic, and putting its own welfare above the law. These characteristics have been described as both oppressive to women and hindering to modernization.[3]

Some efforts were organized in the 1880s to improve women's lives, but had rather little impact. The end of the Qing dynasty in 1911 brought changes that affected the status of women, and the May 4th Movement of 1919 formalized efforts to liberate women, but with very uneven success. Through the Sino-Japanese war and World War II, women emerged from the home to help their country, also bringing attention to their potentials for social and economic development. After 1949 Liberation sought women's contribution to society and work. The All-China Women's Federation was established in 1949 to better women's lives in all areas. The 1950 Marriage Law gave women new rights for marriage and divorce, inheritance of property, and equal rights in the home.[4] However, implementation was slow and uneven, especially in rural areas. By 1953 initial attention faded amidst issues of the First Five Year Plan. Several later revisions have kept the Law in tact, but unevenly applied.

The Great Leap Forward in 1958 brought more women into the labor force, but not with equal positions, pay, or opportunities as men. Benefits came, not so much because workers were women, but because all labor needed to healthy to produce. Although opportunities may have improved, they were largely still based on traditional concepts of both women and education.

Traditional and Changing Education in China

China has one of the oldest education systems in the world, since the Western Zhou period (11th century to 770 B.C.) with schools under government control and curriculum geared to its needs. Students were generally sons of the elite. Although subjects expanded with time, the intent of the education system to provide government officials. Private education appeared between 770 and 221 B.C. and eventually functioned alongside the public system, still for boys. These patterns of providing government officials generally remained until the 1800s brought outside contacts. Missionary schools often broadened both the curriculum and sources from which students were drawn.

In 1905 the civil service examination which had long dominated educational planning was abolished, and the first Ministry of Education was established. Especially after 1911, these changes allowed curriculum development to address emerging needs of literacy and economic development, with applied subjects such as agriculture and engineering as well as classical subjects. After 1949 emphasis was on science and technology, and availability for the masses, a major undertaking given China's size, population size and distribution of 20% urban and 80% rural, and development needs. Education opportunities went beyond formal institutions to develop TV and "spare time" universities.

Early Women's Education

Although males have dominated the 3000 year history of Chinese education, education for females has fluctuated widely. Male and female abilities were viewed as intrinsically different. Men were seen as yang: strong, positive, enlightening. Women were seen as yin: weak, negative, and dark. Yet by the early Han dynasty (221B.C.-A.D.220), powerful families used education to justify and protect their power. Especially in the south, government sponsored and private schools of wealthy families flourished, and in the home often included daughters. However, early fourth century wars decimated government support, and private family schools increased. Mothers were expected to assume responsibility fore educating children' so educated girls were sought as suitable brides. By the sixth century, Buddhist nunneries educated women outside the home, and daughters of scholarly families taught at imperial court, some gaining positions of authority. But with time, opportunities for educated women changed with the ideals of the dynasties they served, and by the Ming and Qing dynasties, education for women had shrunk by comparison. Knowing how to serve one's husband, care for the family, and plough the fields were considered sufficient knowledge for a woman.

However, nineteenth century foreign exposure brought new concepts of women and education. The first mission school for girls started in 1844, and a Chinese sponsored girls' school opened in 1898. Some students were from elite families, but where ignorance was virtue, only prostitutes, the poor, or converts came. As benefits of education gained recognition, women furthered their studies overseas from the 1880s, returning to distinguished careers. Girls were included in public education in the 1905 Approved School Statute, and in 1907 entered the national system, though implementation was slow.

Access to higher educations was still very rare, limited to a few private mission schools before the May 4th Movement of 1919. But public access grew from the 1920s through the 1940s. After 1949, one major aim of the government was to raise the status of women to contribute to national development. Many mission and private schools were merged or closed, and some subjects were stopped. Emphasis was on literacy, primary education, and peasants and workers, with educational goals following government development goals. While many advances for women's education were lost during the Cultural Revolution, in general, their opportunities did grow, although that growth, uneven at best, has slowed as other issues have taken precedence.

Recent Developments

Since the Cultural Revolution, a number of social and educational developments have influenced women's education opportunities. Socially, women have increased in the labor force and in political activity. The All-China Women's Federation has continued to lead efforts on behalf of women's rights, both in providing direct help to women in all walks of life and keeping awareness of their needs visible. To help women help themselves, the Women's Development Foundation of China was established in 1988. Defining progress is also a concern, as Kelly noted a general pattern also applicable to China, that women are often socially and politically active in times of revolution, but traditional patriarchy again takes precedence afterward. She questioned whether bringing women into the workforce via education truly advanced them, or if it simply transferred control of their labor from the family to the state and increased their workload to two jobs, one paid and one unpaid.[5]

Employers often use home responsibilities to rationalize lower paying jobs, layoffs, and reluctance to hire women. Women's rise in the labor force has often stagnated and declined. Women who do advance are usually in fields traditional to women, such as teaching and health services. Although some consider that education alone will not strengthen women's entry into the work force,[6] and many problems influenced by centuries of tradition continue, education has opened many opportunities otherwise unavailable to women.

In higher education in 1983, 26.9 percent of students were women. For 1958-87, women entered at a rate 42 percent that of males.[7] A major development was the 1985 Educational Reforms which did not identify women, but which were key to creating opportunities for women. Among these were allowing creation of private colleges whose graduates could seek their own jobs, decentralization of planning and control allowing colleges to develop their own syllabi and select their own teaching materials, encouraging new disciplines, updating content and methods allowing materials and practices to come from a wider range of sources, and encouraging "professional" or vocational colleges. Some are described as "vocational universities" with two or three-year programs aimed at meeting China's social and economic needs at post-secondary levels that neither secondary nor formal higher education are structured to meet, and offering subjects not available elsewhere. Begun in 1980, there were 124 such colleges with 74,000 students by 1985.[8]

Some of these are women's colleges, criticized by Mak as perpetuating lower level female stereotypes and workplace segregation, and reversing a trend toward coeducation.[9] Yet they do fill a need, provide opportunities, and increase women's employability. That potential is being address by a new, unique, private women's college in Fujian province, described as providing a good command of professional and theoretical knowledge, meeting provincial development needs, and raising the political and cultural status of women.[10]

Fujian Hwa Nan Women's College

That college is Fujian Hwa Nan Women's College in Fuzhou, the first private women's college in the People's Republic of China. Although opened only in 1985, it has a long history dating from missionary ideas the Foochow Girls' Boarding School in the 1880s. The "old" Hwa Nan College was established in 1908 as the only women's college south of Shanghai. Its campus was built between 1911 and 1924 (1). A liberal arts college, it did also offer home economics, seeing the importance of healthy families to social well-being. A home economics department was established in 1932 and a practice house built in 1934 (2). English as its language of instruction allowed many graduates to study overseas. It was chartered by the New York State Board of Regents in 1934.

As the Sino-Japanese war approached, classes were suspended in 1938 and students taught wartime survival skills, child care, health, and sanitation to illiterate peasants in nearby villages and made clothing for the soldiers. Most students were from upper class families, and were praised for aiding other social classes, in effect bringing home economics extension work to both urban and rural areas. By mid-1938 they were evacuated inland where they held classes and served until 1945 when they could return to Foochow to a stripped and burned campus. They rebuilt, reopened and grew through 1950, though futures of church-sponsored colleges seemed doubtful after 1949. In 1951 all buildings, equipment, and books were appropriated and merged with Foochow National University which later became Fujian Teachers College. Many old Hwa Nan faculty continued with it, but Hwa Nan ceased to exist. During the Cultural Revolution these faculty were severely persecuted.

Yet afterward these aging faculty, led by Dr. Yu Bao Sheng, a former faculty member, dreamt of starting a new Hwa Nan nearby. Land was acquired overlooking the Min River (3), proposals were in order when the 1985 Education Reforms were adopted, a new building was built in 1985 (4) and classes opened with three year programs in four departments: Early Childhood Education, Clothing and Design, Food and Nutrition, and English. These areas were chosen because they were needed and supported by Fuzhou industrial leaders, they were considered suitable to women, and the college could handle them (5).

Elsewhere, three of the four departments would be in home economics, but that had been stopped in 1949 and remembered with negative stereotypes as a Western elitist frill. True, its principles and potentials had not been adapted as it should have been to Chinese customs and needs, yet its potential for both family and professional contributions to national development were not recognized. Segments of home economics were scattered among various academies and ministries at professional levels, or taught informally, usually seen from production and commercial viewpoints. Fuzhou is an

"open city" fast developing; so majors were chosen for professional job opportunities.

Enrollment stabilized at around 530, more than the 1985 building could hold; so an army barracks was rented for classroom and dormitory space (6). The Childhood Education Department trains students as nursery and kindergarten teachers and day care supervisors, and assisting with advising (7) and testing (8). The Clothing and Design Department trains students as designers (9), teachers, and in joint ventures. Their training includes designing from idea to finished outfits (10). The Food and Nutrition Department includes basic sciences (11) and applied practice (12). Since Hwa Nan is a private college which must raise its own funds, and combines a work-study approach, it has a bakery from which goods are sold (13) to help earn money. They also help with nutritional assessment clinics in measuring and weighing children (14). The English Department trains students for business, foreign trade, customs, and tourism (15). Many Hwa Nan students make higher TOEFL scores than those from four year schools (16). All Hwa Nan graduates so far are employed.

In 1990 Hwa Nan built a new (17) building to expand facilities (18). With help from the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, Amity Foundation, United Nations Development Program, and Florida State University, Hwa Nan is strengthening its programs and facilities. They have begun a program of "young assistants," graduates selected to study overseas to return as young faculty to bridge the gap from the aging founders, now ranging from 65 to 87 (19). It is also working toward degree granting status.

The 1985 Education Reforms created conditions allowing the establishment of the new Hwa Nan. Its unique combination of subjects fills a dual role of educating women both professional employment and personal family well being, an efficient and productive combination that helps improve the status of women and their efforts to "hold up half the sky." It could serve as a model for other women's education developments to grow alongside coeducational efforts to improve equal opportunities in Chinese higher education.

Notes

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3. Zhangling, Wei. Statu- of Women: China. Bangkok: UNESCO Principal Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, 1989, pp. 8-10.

4. Johnson, pp. 235-239.

5. Kelly, Gail P. "Achieving Equality in Education--Prospects and Realities," in Kelly, Gail P., Ed. International Handbook of Women's Education. New York: Greenwood Press, 1989, p. 564.

6. Mak, Grace. "People's Republic of China," in Kelly, Gail P., Ed. International Handbook, p. 125.

7. UNESCO. Women's Participation in Higher Education: China, Nepal, and the Phillippines, Bangkok: Unesco Principal Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, 1990, pp. 23, 25, and United Nations, The World's Women 1970-1990, Trends and Statistics, Social Statistics and Indicators Series K, No. 8, New York: United Nations, 1991, p. 52.

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9. Mak, pp. 119-120.

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Chinese Education in the 21st Century: The Legacy of John Dewey and Tao Xingzhi[1]

Cheryl B. Dockser

Abstract

In considering John Dewey's influence on Chinese education, this paper will be concerned with the relationship between Dewey's educational philosophy and his faith in democracy—particularly the ideal of community. The basis of his most abstruse technical philosophy, Dewey's faith in democracy was paramount in his educational theory. At its heart was the ideal of community—of shared, communicated experience.

Every thinker puts some portion of an apparently stable world in peril, and no one can wholly predict what will emerge in its place.

John Dewey

Introduction

John Dewey (1859-1952) was born in the rural town of Burlington, Vermont and taught philosophy in large cities, at the Universities of Michigan, Chicago, and Columbia, at a time when the United States was being transformed from a group of informal small communities to a distended industrial society. During his long and productive career, he wrote 40 books and several hundred articles in every area of philosophy and on public affairs. Because he believed that philosophy should be involved with the problems of human beings, he participated actively in the important social and political issues of his time. In 1919, when Dewey was on sabbatical from Columbia, speaking in Japan, he was invited by former students to give lectures in several Chinese institutions. Arriving by chance on the eve of the May 4th incident, Dewey lived in China from 1919-1921 teaching, lecturing, traveling widely, and writing articles for American periodicals.

How should we evaluate Dewey's "influence" in China? Until the recent resurgence of interest in Dewey and the pragmatists by philosophers in the United States and Europe,[2] he had, for many years, been considered a symbolic figure, little read and much misinterpreted both by "followers" and critics, venerated and condemned for ideas that were often directly opposed to his philosophy. His "role" in China has been attacked from almost every side—by traditionalists, for undermining tradition, by Communists, for subverting revolution, and by some American Sinologists for not developing a specific program for instituting liberalism and democracy in China during the violent decades of the 20s, 30s and 40s.

However, if we read what Dewey actually wrote, if we regard him not as a symbol for a static point of view, but as a man and a thinker, who continued to develop and grow throughout his life, it is obvious that whatever influence was involved in Dewey's encounter with China was reciprocal. While his presence undoubtedly reinforced and enriched the May 4th ideals of science and democracy and his theories were used in educational reform in the early 1920s, the experience in China was significant for Dewey's own development. He was deeply impressed with the moral commitment and activism of the young reformers and with Chinese civilization and culture—enough, so that he agreed to remain an extra year. I think it is significant that the three decades after Dewey's return from China was his richest, most fertile period, in which he developed his social psychology, logic, aesthetics, and naturalistic metaphysics.

Democracy as a Moral Ideal

Dewey's enduring legacy is his vision of democracy as a moral ideal and a basic human right. It is a vision of wholeness, of community life that both sustains and is sustained by the growth of the individuals who compose it, a conception of democracy in which people participate together equally, using critical intelligence to create the values and institutions by which they live. Based on a secular faith in the basic needs and potentialities of human nature, transcending cultural differences, he considered democracy the form of social organization healthiest for the development of human personality.

When Dewey said that philosophy was the "general theory of education," he meant that the school should be a form of democratic community life, developing habits of critical and cooperative intelligence in children and nurturing their individual growth. As Lawrence Cremin explained: "The aim of education is not merely to make citizens, or workers, or fathers, or mothers, but ultimately to make human beings who will live life to the fullest—that is who will continue to add to the meaning of their experience and to their ability to direct subsequent experience."[3]

It is his vision of democracy as a moral ideal, together with what he called the "spirit" or "method" of science, a paradigm for the type of cooperative, self corrective inquiry, he considered essential to democracy, and his focus on economic justice that continue to make Dewey relevant.

The Lectures

Elements of this democratic vision—the ideals of community, communication, individual growth, participation, critical intelligence, (the method and spirit of science) equality (including concern for economic well being) intellectual freedom and education as growth—can be found in the published versions of Dewey's lectures on "Social and Political Philosophy."[4] and "A Philosophy of Education" in China.

What is most striking about these lectures is their moral quality; they are addressed to universal human needs and aspirations and, aside from a few direct references, not to a specifically Chinese audience. The criteria for a good society are social welfare, individual freedom, community and communication: "a habit, a custom, or an institution is to be judged good when it contributes positively to free intercourse, to unhampered exchange of ideas, to mutual respect and friendship and love—in short to those modes of behaving which make life richer and more worth living for everybody concerned."[5] This is the democratic ideal of community.

It follows then, that divisions, separations, hierarchies of any kind, whether of class, caste, or family, that create barriers between human beings, cutting off communication and participation in decision making are inherently oppressive, distorting the personalities of both dominant and subservient groups.

In one of his few direct suggestions to Chinese reformers, Dewey expresses the hope that China will profit from Western mistakes and

skip the stage of laissez-faire economic individualism, by nationalizing basic resources, and develop the traditional guild system into some form of participatory democracy. He advocates the spirit and method of science, substituting the authority of scientific method for the unquestioned authority of tradition. Above all, intellectual freedom is the most essential of all rights—"the opportunity for full and free development of the right to think, to believe, to express opinions, to explore, and to publish."[6]

The Lectures on "A Philosophy of Education" express Dewey's concern with the present life of children rather than preparing them for some remote future, moving them gradually from play to more specialized adult subject matter. It deals, for example, with the moral purpose of education, cultivating habits of mind like "open mindedness, intellectual honesty, and responsibility" to "produce effective personalities."[7]

Yet, although we can find aspects of Dewey's social and educational philosophy in these lectures, there are also obvious distortions. This may be due in part to the circuitous interpretation and translation process. (The lectures were interpreted in Chinese as Dewey spoke, recorded and later published. Because Dewey's original notes are not available, the interpreted versions have been translated back into English.) However, there are passages that are clearly inimical to Dewey, both philosophically and temperamentally: for example, Social Darwinian imagery, a deterministic and mechanistic conception of science, and harsh criticism of the student movement. I have suggested elsewhere that these and other passages seem to reflect the viewpoint of Hu Shi, the interpreter for these lectures[8] and Dewey's "foremost disciple" in China who like many of his "followers" in the United States neither agreed with nor understood his philosophy.[9]

Tao Xingzhi

On the other hand, I believe that the rural educational reformer, Tao Xingzhi, another returned student from Columbia, whose ideas had developed independently, was closer in spirit to Dewey's philosophy than was Hu Shi's "fundamentalist" interpretation. Tao, who had been unable to implement his educational ideas when he returned to China in 1917, was swept into prominence by the May Fourth Movement—becoming chairman of the Education Department of Southeastern University; interpreter for Dewey's lecture series in Nanjing (He edited a Chinese version of *Democracy and Education*); editor of the journal, *New Education* and executive director of the Chinese Association for the Improvement of Education.

However, during the course of the 1920s he rejected the role of Westernized intellectual, reasserting his Chinese identity, his solidarity with common people. Late in 1923 he wrote to his sister:

> A few days ago I bought a cotton jacket, a pair of cotton leggings and a Chinese skull cap. When I put them on, I felt I was completely a Chinese and felt much closer to people in general...By origin I am an ordinary Chinese. Unfortunately, ten years of school life gradually turned me in the direction of the foreign upper classes. School life has certainly had benefits toward my upbringing which cannot be erased. But this foreign upper-class air is a great deficiency. Fortunately my Chineseness and my common-man's characteristics are plentiful. My colleagues all say I am 'one of the most thoroughly Chinese' returned students. Having passed through a bout of introspection it was like the Yellow River bursting its dikes. I flowed back toward the path of the Chinese common man.[10]

With James Y. C. Yen, a Yale graduate who had worked with Chinese laborers in France during the First World War, Tao developed a mass education movement that attempted to spread literacy as the basis for democracy. Using a thousand character text, they started evening schools, people's reading circles, centers for itinerant workers and ricksha pullers. Because of the shortage of teachers and the overwhelming need, each of the newly literate was responsible for teaching illiterates, in a relay system.

"By March 1927, the mass education movement had proved an unqualified success, but it had also come to be regarded as dangerous by conservative Guomindang officials and local warlords, especially because Tao's friends included many leftist writers and intellectuals. Under pressure, Tao took up a new project. A month later the mass education movement went into permanent decline."[11]

The Xiaozhuang Experimental Village Normal School, Tao's greatest achievement, was established in 1927 in a small village outside of Nanjing; Its object was twofold—teacher education and village renewal. The new teachers would have the "bodies and minds of peasants ...scientific brains...and a spirit of social reconstruction."[12] It was here that Tao was able to fulfill his desire to go "back to the people".

> I came to the county six days ago, and have stayed in peasant Lui's home ever since. At night I have been sleeping warmly on the rice straw...Mr Chan Shan-chih, three laborers and I have been using the same bedding, and we have a good tempered buffalo lying beside our bedding....We received the Commissioner of Education in the same room where the buffalo stays.[13]

In addition to schools, Tao developed a village hospital, adult literacy classes, a self defense league, and tea-house social centers. However, his work was too progressive for the Guomindang,[14] and when the school was closed in 1930, he had to flee, first to the French concession in Shanghai and then to Japan, to avoid arrest.

He returned to China in 1931, and began a work-study program and a "little teacher" system in which school children instructed the illiterate. He was active in the resistance against Japan, traveling abroad to gain support for China's cause, developing a "national crisis education" for mass mobilization, a school for talented orphans, and later a social university for working class young people, organized along democratic lines.

After the defeat of Japan, Tao participated in the efforts of the China Democratic League to prevent civil war between the Guomindang and the Communists. In January 1946, he was brought to court by the Guomindang on trumped up charges of inciting his students to violence. When two leaders of the China Democratic League were assassinated, it was rumored that Tao was to be next. "In an effort to put his affairs in order before the blow fell, Tao worked day and night despite his tendency to high blood pressure. The strain proved too great, however, and he died in Shanghai of a stroke on 25 July, 1946 at the age of 55."[15]

Many of Tao's educational reforms were used by the Communists at their Yan'an base in the late 1930s and early 40s. At the time of his death, he was lavishly praised by the Communists, almost made the object of a cult, but by the early 1950s, he was posthumously attacked as a disciple of John Dewey. In the late 1970s and early 80s, an effort was made to revive Tao's writing.

Tao and Dewey

What was Tao's relationship to Dewey's thought? He was not a philosopher, but he was an independent thinker who had come to his own conception of the unity of knowledge and action from within traditional Chinese thought before encountering Dewey's philosophy. An activist, deeply concerned with the welfare of human beings, peasants, working women, small children, Tao had planned to be an educational administrator before circumstances and his temperament moved him to informal mass education and rural reform. Yet, his similarity to Dewey in theory, in practice, and above all in spirit is evident when we compare some of Tao's speeches and writing to aspects of Dewey's educational philosophy.

The Autonomous Teacher

The key to Tao's conception of educational service was the gifted village teacher. He said of his recruitment effort for Xiaozhuang Village Normal School:

> Whether teaching one student or one thousand students, we are equally enthusiastic, because if the student is talented, he is certain to make a considerable contribution to village eduction. One hundred thousand people begin with just one student, so ever if we get one real student when we invite applications this time, we will be satisfied.

His students had to be extraordinary people who combined farming skills, a scientific mind, the will to reform society, and an artistic outlook to remodel society. All aspects of life were part of the curriculum, including farming and cooking. Students and faculty alike built their own thatched huts or had to remain in tents. With contagious enthusiasm, Tao expressed his desire to serve three hundred forty million peasants by gathering one million teachers to promote one million schools, and reform one million villages. The creed of the Chinese Educational Reform Society reflected his great faith in the power of gifted teachers to achieve social transformation: "If every rural teacher becomes 'peasant sensitized', I deeply believe that they can transform every Chinese village...into a completely self-governing part of the Republic of China."[17]

The teacher, according to Tao, should both "teach according to each student's capabilities and needs" and "link his teaching methods with his learning process" for the sake of his students and his own well being: "Learn what is useful, teach what you learn, and use that to instruct other teachers":

> The vast petrification and isolation that characterizes life in the teaching profession results from the fact that the people who are engaged in it stick to familiar paths and cannot revise their direction. Confucius said, 'If you learn without constraint, you can teach without weariness'....So if we are attentive to the happiness of good teachers, we must first join teaching and learning into one whole.[18]

Tao, like Dewey, had difficulty breaking through conventional habits of thinking to communicate the conception of unity between teaching and learning, knowledge and action. Although he consciously employed slogans to make himself understood, they were continually misinterpreted in an almost comic manner. For example, "thinking while doing" is not interchangeable with absent mindedly "doing while thinking." The unity of "teaching, learning, and doing" is not divisible into three component phases. Similarly, Dewey tried to explain that he was not attempting to " practicalize intelligence, but to intellectualize practice."[19]

"Our Creed,"[20] developed by Tao in connection with Xiaozhuang is reminiscent of Dewey's "My Pedagogic Creed", written in 1897 when he was involved with the "laboratory school" at the University of Chicago. In both, the teacher's role is central. Dewey, his writing during this period still tinged with idealism, likens the teacher to a prophet. Tao seems to endow the rural teacher with the qualities of a "chun-tzu" (a noble or superior man), able to bear up under adversity, yet unlike the traditional "chun-tzu", willing to work not only with his mind but with his hands as well. Tao's teachers, who filled their "souls with the sweet and bitter of peasant life," influenced their students directly—living, working, and studying with them, serving as role models and moral exemplars. Dewey also believed that a teacher should be a learner, but his teachers, working indirectly, would "determine on the basis of larger experience and riper wisdom how the discipline of life shall come to the child."[21] The teacher's function was to provide an environment that fostered growth—"the power to retain from one experience something that is of avail in coping with the difficulties of a later situation."[22]

> ... no thought, no idea can possibly be conveyed as an idea from one person to another. When it is told it is, to the one to whom it is told, another given fact, not an idea. The communication may stimulate the other person to realize the question for himself and to think out a like idea, or it may smother his intellectual interest and suppress his dawning effort at thought. But what he directly gets cannot be an idea. Only by wrestling with the conditions of the problem at first hand, seeking and finding his own way out, does he think. When the parent or teacher has provided the conditions which stimulate thinking and has taken a sympathetic attitude toward the activities of the learner by entering into a common or conjoint experience, all has been done which a second party can do to instigate learning.... This does not mean that the teacher is to stand off and look on; the alternative to furnishing ready made subject matter and listening to the accuracy with which it is reproduced is not quiescence, but participation, sharing in an activity. In such shared activity, the teacher is a learner, and the learner is, without knowing it, a teacher—and upon the whole, the less consciousness there is, on either side, of either giving or receiving instruction, the better.[23]

It is important to note Dewey's insistence on the active role of the teacher here, in view of his later criticism of the abuses of progressive education, particularly the lack of adult guidance and organization that have ironically been attributed to Dewey.

Intellectual Tradition

Like Dewey, Tao had an ambivalent attitude toward the ideas of the past, but unlike many of his contemporaries, he was neither a totalistic iconoclast nor a complete traditionalist. He admired "pre-Ch'in thinkers like Lao Tzu, Confucius, Mencius, Chuang Tsu, Mo-ti, Yang Tsu, Hsun Tzu and others" who " relied on their own experience to explain their writings."[24] Critical of the "false knowledge" of later scholars who capitalized on "Confucian credit," Tao was equally contemptuous of wholesale imitation of foreign education. He refused to participate in the intellectual controversies of the time, characterizing the debate between

"science and metaphysics" as "nothing more than a debate between the old or new eight legged essays."[25]

Tao's identification of knowledge with action went back to his early interest in the Ming dynasty scholar-official, Wang Yang-ming (1472-1529). Later, after encountering Dewey's conception of experience and in the light of his own experience, Tao took issue with Wang over the precedence of thought before action:

> Mr. [Wang] Yang-ming says, 'Knowledge is the beginning of action; and action is the completion of knowledge.'I do not agree. Action is the beginning of knowledge, and knowledge is the completion of action. Let us begin with children. They know that fire is hot only after they have felt the heat.[26]

Despite the obvious differences between John Dewey and Wang Yang-ming—particularly Wang's intuitive conception of knowledge as opposed to Dewey's pragmatism—there was a striking similarity in their attitudes toward education. Each was oppqsed to the formalistic educational practices of his own time and believed in cultivating the physical, emotional and moral as well as the intellectual development of children. Like Dewey, Wang used the metaphor of growth:

> Generally speaking, it is the nature of young boys to love to play and to dislike restrictions. Like plants beginning to sprout, if they are allowed to grow freely, they will develop smoothly. If twisted and interfered with, they will wither and decline. In teaching young boys today, we must make them lean toward rousing themselves so that they will be happy and cheerful at heart, and then nothing can check their development. As in the case of plants, if nourished by timely rain and spring wind, they will all sprout, shoot up and flourish and naturally grow by sunlight and develop under the moon. If ice and frost strip them of leaves, their spirit of life will be dissipated and they will gradually dry up.
>
> In reading, the value does not lie in the amount but in learning the material well. Reckoning the pupil's natural endowments, if one can handle two hundred words, teach him only one hundred so that he always has surplus energy and strength and then he will not suffer or feel tired but will have the beauty of being at ease with himself.[27]

The comparison is obviously limited. Wang's theories oriented toward perpetuating a stable culture, were aimed at cultivating virtues like filial piety, propriety, integrity, and the sense of shame.[28] Dewey, concerned with an open, developing society, sought to nurture moral and intellectual traits like open-mindedness, sincerity, assumption of responsibility for developing the consequences of ideas.[29] Yet the similarity of spirit between these two figures, is a reminder of the diversity within both Western and Chinese thought and the fact that sensitivity toward children's physical and emotional development and discontent with formalistic education are not new phenomena.

Tao's own critique of traditional culture, common to the May Fourth generation, for suppressing human desires and oppressing children, resonates with Dewey's attack on "the insolent coercions, the insinuating briberies, the pedagogic solemnities by which the freshness of youth can be faded and its vivid curiosities dulled. Education becomes the art of taking advantage of the helplessness of the young; the forming of habits becomes a guarantee for the maintenance of hedges of custom."[30]

Culture

Dewey's opposition to the conventional, narrow conception of culture[31] because it set up barriers between classes, consigning some to a narrow utilitarian training, while others acquired a broad liberal background, is reminiscent of the traditional Chinese distinction between those who work with their minds and those who work with their hands. Tao, used a poignant analogy to express his conviction that knowledge and learning should not be the monopoly of one class: "If books are to be learned from, then everybody should have them. There certainly should not be one group of people learning from books called scholars and another group without books called non-scholars. In the same way, food must be eaten and everyone should be able to do so. Of course there should not be one group with food called 'eaters' and one group without food called 'non-eaters'....Books are the communal property of the 360 occupations; not the scholar's private possession."[32]

On the other hand, he was critical of the lack of substance and dullness of "modern textbooks":

> When we read such novels as *Water Margin, The Dream of the Red Chamber*, and *Robinson Crusoe*, we start reading the first chapter and then want to read the second. We read from morning to night, from late in the evening until sunrise; we want to finish completely before we are satisfied....China's textbooks are miscellaneous writing and do not have this power. Some people say that educated Chinese are bookworms, but Chinese textbooks do not have the strength to nourish a bookworm. Why do bookworms eat books: Because there are good things to eat in books which make them want to eat more and more.[33]

Lest anyone suspect that Tao himself had bookwormish tendencies, he hastily added that even textbooks based on good literature were insufficient to provide the energy needed to transform China from an agricultural to an industrial society. Books are but one kind of tool for doing:

> Using a book is like using a knife. If it isn't sharp, you must sharpen it. If its dull and won't cut vegetables, What's the old lady going to do with it?[34]

One gets from this obsessive interest in the practical, despite his own obvious enjoyment of good literature, a sense of the vastness of the problems to be overcome. Tao has been accused of anti-intellectualism; certainly some of his statements can be construed that way. I believe they have to be taken in the context of the situation he was reacting against and his desire to make the benefits of education available to all.

"To the People"

Tao and Dewey were both concerned with the economic well being of ordinary people. As Dewey said in his lectures in China, political and social democracy are unreal without economic and political democracy. Tao wanted to create cooperatives for peasants, bridging the gap between agriculture and industry, in which farmers could manufacture and market their own products. Village teachers would cooperate in this effort: "training the peasant to understand his rights and teaching him to use his rights to vote, to remove an

official from office, to initiate laws, and to exercise the power of referendum."[35]

I disagree with the notion that Tao was patronizing toward peasants. While he was committed to improving their standard of living and their ability to control their own lives, his attitude was consistently respectful.

> The Chinese farmers are contented and conservative people. They have contributed to the stability and persistence of Chinese civilization. In spite of all difficulties they have been very successful in growing food and in maintaining fertility of the soil.[36]

> Should life itself be considered as education, then there is social, economic, and political literacy as well as school literacy. In this sense the peasants of some parts of China may have a higher degree of literacy than some scholars or farmers in the West.[37]

On the other hand, because of overwhelming economic problems, peasants need "positive efforts to help them, or guide them to help themselves to solve these problems and achieve a decent standard of living."[38]

Tao's goals were practical: improving methods of farming, creating cooperatives, teaching farmers to participate in self government and defend their rights. Both his work and his attitude satisfy Dewey's criterion for social action—"to foster conditions that widen the horizons of others and give them command of their own powers."[39] In this respect—in going "to the people" Tao seems to have been "more like Dewey than Dewey was", fulfilling his lifelong ambition to be a social activist. I agree with those who call Tao a romantic, but he, like Dewey, was a "high-romantic"[40] who combined intelligence with emotion.

Life is Education

A speech Tao delivered in the winter of 1929 is almost in the form of a dialogue with Dewey, agreeing with some ideas, taking issue with others, turning Dewey's ideas upside down, and wringing concessions from him. Tao's relationship with Dewey's thought is appropriately characterized by his analogy of grafting trees:

> The question here is how to use knowledge gained from other men's experience so that it becomes our own true knowledge instead of false knowledge. It is like grafting trees. One kind of branch can be grafted onto another kind of tree to make its foliage thicker, its flowers more beautiful, and its fruit sweeter. If we graft knowledge derived from other men's experience onto the knowledge produced from our personal experience, then our knowledge will be exceptionally broad, and our lives exceptionally rich. We must make our own experience the roots, and the knowledge from it, the branches. Then, other men's knowledge can be grafted onto this and will become an integral part of ours....If there is any knowledge for which our experience has no root, then no matter how it is forced, it cannot be integrated.[41]

The image is apt, conveying a naturalism they shared, a conception of people working together within and with the natural environment to better the human condition. Tao's roots were firmly planted in the earth of rural China and in those aspects of Chinese tradition he considered vital. Dewey characterized the earth as the "enduring home of the occupations of man."[42] Each viewed education as a lever for social reform. Tao, immersed in rural China, dreamed of establishing a network of dynamic village teachers to revitalize his nation. Dewey, at the turn of the century, in the context of a burgeoning industrial society, conceived of the school as an idealized embryonic community that by simplify social life, would foster individual growth and a cooperative social spirit.

Dewey appreciated the "increase in toleration and breadth of social judgment, the larger acquaintance with human nature,"[43] that accompanied industrialization. Yet he believed the school must compensate for the loss of the "other side of life—occupations which exact personal responsibilities and which train the child in relation to the physical realities of life."[44]

> ...we cannot overlook the importance for educational purposes of the close and intimate acquaintance got with nature at first hand, with real things and materials, with the actual processes of their manipulation, and the knowledge of their social necessities and uses. In all of this there was a continual training of observation, of ingenuity, constructive imagination, logical thought, and of the sense of reality acquired through first hand contact with actualities.[45]

Paradoxically, the kind of occupations and sense of community Dewey was describing might well be those of Chinese peasants, while the closeness to nature he was trying to provide in an educational setting were present in the Chinese countryside. On the other hand, for Tao, the conception of an embryonic community was not only impossible, but irrelevant. Yet, Tao's attempt to overcome peasant inertia by living like primitive people was not unlike Dewey's efforts to bring his students back to occupations and to nature. Both served the purpose of raising basic questions, stimulating thought, creativity and the ability to cope.

> Farmers's lives under the feudal system were very unprogressive. They lived from day to day like completely unquestioning human beings. Although rural education is intended to make farmers prosperous, it is very doubtful that this can be achieved if we begin from the realities of farmers' lives. Therefore, we must summon our courage and force the pendulum of rural education to swing toward the life of primitive people. The lives of primitive people are very rich with questioning. The real questions of life confront us one by one, commanding us to think, demanding that we solve them. These questions are extremely urgent and pressing. They do not allow us to be careless or lazy.[46]

It is not surprising then, that Tao should take issue with two slogans attributed to Dewey.—"education is life" and "school is society". Giving each a half turn, he affirmed that "life is education" and "society is school."

> The concept that 'school is society' is like taking a lively little bird from the air and putting it into a cage. It wants to absorb all aspects of society into a small school. It is easy, therefore, to do it speciously. The concept that society is school is contrary to that. It seeks to take the small bird from the cage and release it into the air so that it can fly freely. It seeks to extend all aspects of the school into the natural world.[47]

"Life education," as he called it, is geared to the needs of people. "If people need bread, we must live the life of a bread maker and receive bread making education. If people need love, we must lead

a loving life and receive education in love...the kind of life that is led is the kind of education that is received."[48] Interpreting Dewey's account of Russian education[49] in his 1928 trip to the Soviet Union as a repudiation of the conception that education is life, Tao decided: "If Mr. Dewey were in Xiaozhuang, I think that he would have to advocate that 'life is education'."[50]

Tao was undoubtedly right. Dewey had been impressed with the rural experiments of the Russian educator, Stanislav Shatskii.[51] Even more important, Dewey's own development paralleled Tao's. The experiences of World War I, his stay in China and other trips aborad—to Turkey (1924), Mexico (1926) and the Soviet Union (1928)—had contributed to broadening Dewey's interests beyond the classroom, to the wider issues of social education . While Tao at Xiaozhuang envisioned the creation of self governing communities throughout China, using education as the foundation for village renewal, Dewey in *The Public and its Problems* (1927), conceived of recreating face-to-face communities in the United States as the basis for generating and expressing an educated public opinion. Although he continued to be concerned with schools, Dewey had come to realize that what happened within the classroom alone was not a sufficient lever for social reform. "The educational system is part of the common life and cannot escape suffering the consequences that flow from the conditions prevailing outside the school building."[52]

Community Schools

There are interesting parallels to Xiaozhuang in experimental community schools established in the United States during the Depression—the Ballard School in Kentucky, and the Arthurdale School in West Virginia. Both were run by a colleague of Dewey's, Elsie Ripley Clapp, who shared his philosophy. The community school at Arthurdale, West Virginia was part of a subsistence farming community, created under the New Deal for unemployed miners and their families, who had been living in miserable conditions in abandoned mining camps. Despite the differences in culture and environment, the guiding philosophy and the spirit in which it operated is reminiscent of Xiaozhuang—starting with needs and working with people to help them develop their capacities.

Like the normal school teachers and students at Xiaozhuang, the teachers at Arthurdale lived in and became part of the community. They helped establish health centers, athletic and recreational programs, school gardens, hot lunches, music festivals, dramatics, crafts, cooperative buying, a "night school" for older students, social clubs, and a community theater. Using the resources at hand, they based the elementary school curriculum on the construction of the community, on building houses, developing farming skills, and exploring cultural resources. Like the kindergarten at Xiaozhuang, the nursery school at Arthurdale became a model laboratory and health center for child care. On the other hand, contributing to the school was a catalyst for community cohesion.

Dewey, who was on the board, thought rural areas had both the greatest need and offered the best opportunities and resources for community education. He was impressed with the integration of teachers into community life. Teaching at Arthurdale was "free from drudgery and monotony....It was a continuous experience, enlivening as well as enriching, a process in which the joy of discovery and growing was never absent."[53]

In discussing the achievements of the community, working together to develop a new life at Arthurdale, Elsie Ripley Clapp, comes close to Tao's conception of "life is education." We can recognize the voice of the true believer.

> It is in this matter of the recognition of a need, and in the joint endeavor to meet it, that community education lies. For no people would it have been any more difficult to face the problems of building a new community by their own efforts than for people of mine camps, and after a period of unemployment. Of course they did not expect to be well, did not know how to farm, conduct town meetings, solve civic problems. Why should they? How could they? Yet the interesting thing is that they learned quickly how to do all these things. Adult education? This education of adults was learning to live. The demands of the situation, and their efforts to meet these, taught them.[54]

Whether the goal was reconstructing rural China or creating a new community in the United States, bringing unemployed mining families back to the soil, the ingredients were similar: strong, determined but flexible leadership with a clear vision and purpose; gifted teachers who combine teaching with learning; immersion in the life of the community, using its resources both as subject matter and method; dedication to the welfare of children; willingness to act as counselors and social workers, a love of people, and—one suspects—infinite patience. It is not a bad recipe for education, anywhere.

Democracy and Education

History tends to be written from the perspective of the historian's own time.[55] In the 1950s, totalitarian implications were found both in Dewey's favorable reaction to educational experiments during his 1928 visit to the Soviet Union[56] and in Tao's experiment at Xiaozhuang. It was alleged that Dewey's educational philosophy was applicable to undemocratic, even totalitarian societies. However, as Dewey himself later acknowledged, his views of the Soviet Union during his brief visit were superficial and uncritical—based on his contact with like minded educators, during a period of relative educational freedom. After the Moscow trials, a decade later, he wrote of his disillusionment, particularly as an educator, with the Soviet experiment:

> A people that is kept in systematic ignorance of what is going on in the world and even in their own country and which is fed on lies has lost the fundamental leverage on progress. To me an educator, this is the great tragedy of the Russian situation.[57]

Further, it was charged, "there was at Xiaozhuang the vague presentiment of a new society. What kind of system is the best example of 'Society is a School?' It is, of course, a totalitarian system in which, as it were, the whole society becomes a classroom."[58] Tao's school is characterized as an "agent of control and manipulation in the countryside." However, the incident used as an example of manipulation, the story of the well at Ho-ping Gate, demonstrates, in my estimation, just the opposite—the use of democratic means to attain democratic ends.

During a drought, the school had made its well available to the entire village, but when the water supply proved insufficient, conflict had arisen. The school called a village meeting, and instead of imposing a solution, helped guide the group—which elected a teen-ager as chairman and was dominated by great grandmothers—toward an equitable solution. "They learned to run a meeting by running it." It was decided that the well would remain unused for

ten hours each night and then opened on a first-come first-served basis. Fines would be levied against those who violated the rules, to be used for maintenance. A committee was formed to open a new well, for which wealthier members of the community would be more heavily taxed, Tao concluded from this experience:

> 1. A popular movement must be centered on a problem that is closely related to the people.
>
> 2. A social movement that does not regard society as school cannot be thoroughly implemented.
>
> 3. If great grandmothers and young children are not allowed [to attend the meeting], they cannot be trained. One only needs a method; one need only to be able to begin with their pressing problems.
>
> 4. Public strength will become much greater than that of the school. If solutions are dictated by the school, there will be few people in society with any understanding. On the contrary, they will feel alienated.
>
> 5. The people must have guidance. Had there not been appropriate guidance in dealing with the drinking water problem at Ho-ping Gate, the problem might not have been solved for forty of fifty years.
>
> 6. A popular movement requires working with the people and not doing things for them. That is essential if we want to develop the Chinese nation.[59]

It is obvious from Tao's account of the incident that his purpose was not to control or manipulate. Rather than have the school make decisions in an authoritarian way, he sought to strengthen the resources of the community for self government. Although the teachers with their wider experience were needed for guidance, the spirit in which the meeting was conducted seems to have been democratic and educative in the broadest sense, designed to lead to future growth, to further fruitful experience.

What, after all, is the difference between education and indoctrination—or manipulation which is covert indoctrination: An experience is genuinely educative if it leads to further experience, to increased development of individual capacities. It is educative if it encourages openness and freedom to dissent, to exercise the most basic of all freedoms, intellectual freedom. As Dewey wrote in *Experience and Education*:

> ...democratic social arrangements promote a better quality of human experience, one which is more widely accessible and enjoyed, than do non-democratic and anti-democratic forms of social life...The principle of regard for individual freedom and for decency and kindliness of human relations come[s] back in the end to the conviction that these things are tributary to a higher quality of experience on the part of a greater number than are methods of repression and coercion of force.[60]

Tao himself consistently upheld democratic principles. "My sole purpose in this life is to create a democracy by education and not by military revolution," he affirmed in 1916, at the age of 22. " After seeing the serious defects of the sudden birth of our Republic, I was convinced that no genuine republic could exist without a genuine public education."[61] In 1924, he wrote: "How to make opinion more intelligent is the problem of popular education which has on its program the transformation of two hundred million illiterates into intelligent and responsible citizens in ten years time."[62] His activities after Xiaozhuang—schools for workers and talented orphans and the workers' university, attest to his lifelong commitment to democracy.

In the 70s when opinion had swung in the opposite direction, Tao was criticized for not being involved in a revolutionary political movement:

> Educational reformers can do very little in a hostile political environment. Tao's refusal to become involved in a revolutionary political movement doomed his revolutionary educational movement to failure. As P'an [a Chinese Communist critic] points out, Tao's educational experiments could at best, only be reformist, and ultimately trivial, because they were not commensurate with basic philosophical realities. At worst, they could be an opiate that gives poor people a complacent sense of progress and dulls their will to struggle.
>
> Tao's experience is interesting because it demonstrates a creative adaptation of Dewey's pragmatic nonviolent approach to problem solving; but it is more interesting and important for showing the limits of that approach.[63]

This analysis raises some questions. Would Maoist China have been a congenial environment for Tao, in view of the reaction against his philosophy in the early 50s and the campaigns against educators, particularly during the Cultural Revolution? It is instructive that the ideas of Stanislav Shatskii suffered a similar fate in the Soviet Union during the 1930s although he had by then joined the Communist Party.[64]

Education and the Social Milieu

The debate over whether "school is society" or "society is school," is far from over. The tension between education and its social milieu has taken the form of pendulum swings—in China between "red" and "expert," and in the United States between inflated expectations and complete disillusionment with schools. Lawrence Cremin, in the spirit of the late Dewey, suggested that the polarities of school and society could be addressed by looking at education "wholly across the entire life-span"[65] in terms of configurations and interrelationships between educative institutions, both formal and informal. Recalling Dewey's turn of the century characterization of the teacher as prophet, he called for a great public dialogue on the aim of public education, that would itself be educative. A central issue in that debate, as Cremin reminded us, is the "balance between the demands of individuality and of community"—between individual development and social responsibility. Whether we acknowledge it or not, the way in which we educate our children reveals the values of our society.

Pragmatism

Tao was neither a clone of Dewey, as he has sometimes been portrayed, nor was he ignorant of Dewey's philosophy, as others have claimed. Although he was primarily an activist, I believe he had what Dewey called a "philosophical disposition."

> The wholeness characteristic of philosophy is a power to learn, or to extract meaning from even the unpleasant vicissitudes of experience and to embody what is learned in an ability to go on learning.[66]

One aspect of Tao's wholeness was his capacity to use strains of both traditional Chinese and Western thought and experience without feeling it necessary to make a choice, in Joseph Levenson's[67] terms. between being modern and being Chinese, between history and value.[68] Tao was a pragmatist, not in the vulgar meaning of opportunism or concern with what works, but in the philosophical sense of unifying intelligence and morals. Dewey had once characterized pragmatism as a faith that "consequences in human welfare are a test of the worth of beliefs or thoughts," a faith "in the future, in experiment directed by intelligence, in the communication of knowledge, in the rights of the common man to a common share in the fruits of the spirit."[69]

The clarity and integrity of Tao's vision; his commitment to improving the lives of peasants; his concern for the welfare of workers; his willingness to work with anyone interested in literacy and education, government, militarists, Guomindang, Communists; his use of pluralistic means, as long as their consequences were consistent with his vision—the mass education movement, rural education and renewal, work study units, little teachers, relay teachers, education for gifted orphans, a democratic university for working class youth—exemplify the pragmatic spirit in action.

The problems Dewey and Tao confronted, although vastly different, those of peasants in an agricultural society and workers in an industrial state—were in one respect similar. At issue for both was the ability of ordinary people, through education and political activism, to gain some control over the forces that governed their lives. Sadly, the tragic realities of Chinese history made that increasingly less possible for Tao.

Dewey also ran into obstacles. By conceiving of philosophy as social criticism, substituting the authority of scientific method for the authority of tradition, insisting on the concrete and particular over the abstract and general, he was continually challenging established institutions and the status quo. I agree with Sing-nan Fen that Tao's career demonstrated the radical implications of Dewey's philosophy:

> Tao's life story illustrated vividly the truth that progressive education, if really progressive, will sooner or later get into trouble with those social groups which are always sensitive to any real challenge to their vested interests....
>
> Since education is a testing ground of ideas or ideals, it is no wonder that there are authoritarians who attempt to take education into their own hands. Education as a human enterprise is at the front of social conflict. It is a strategic area rather than an escapist's paradise.[70]

Dewey's last published piece on education, the introduction to another book by Clapp on the Ballard and Arthurdale experiments,[71] is a bitter critique of progressive education in the United States. He deplores the way in which the methods associated with his democratic philosophy of education have been transformed into subject matter to be applied externally like "mustard plasters" and transmitted to students in an authoritarian way. In contrast, the community schools, demonstrate "what it really means to make the educative process a genuine sharing, a truly cooperative transaction in which both teachers and students engage as equals and learners."It would appear that the work of Tao Xingzhi in China was one of the relatively few examples in which a philosophy similar to Dewey's was actually carried into practice. As Sing-nan Fen said, Tao "was one of the best students Dewey could ever have had."[72]

Conclusion

> For the creation of a democratic society we need an educational system where the process of moral-intellectual development is in practice as well as in theory a cooperative transaction of inquiry engaged in by free, independent human beings who treat ideas and the heritage of the past as means and methods for the further enrichment of life, quantitatively and qualitatively, who use the good attained for the discovery and establishment of something better.[73]

Dewey's legacy is the injunction to move on; the answers of the past are no longer valid for the problems of the present. What is enduring about Dewey is his spirit and his vision—democratic, pluralistic, but never morally relativistic. He leaves us not with solutions, programs, or prescriptions, but with criteria for judging the quality of social institutions: community, free and open communication, equality, a method of critical, self corrective intelligence, economic welfare, intellectual freedom.

The humane, democratic conception of education Tao shared with Dewey has not prevailed either in China or the United States. Critics have attributed this "failure" to their inability to deal with politics and power. In the case of Tao, the criticism seems to blame the victim; he had no alternative but to learn how to cope with power: for example, by setting up a Self Defense League, guns, and fortifications after a child was kidnapped and murdered by bandits. He seems to have accomplished extraordinary feats considering the circumstances with which he was confronted. The brutal decades of the 20s 30s and 40s in China left little room for educators.

Dewey, on the other hand, had more choices and may be considered more culpable. I don't fault him for the type of political action he chose, working with groups outside of the major parties, and certainly not for his activities on behalf of human rights. But I do blame him for a vice that could be considered the reverse side of his virtues. Both he and Tao evoked love and loyalty from those who knew them. They seemed to have been similar, not only in philosophy, but in their concern for the welfare of individuals. Known for his character and his balanced disinterested judgment, Dewey was also unusually kind, helping and encouraging myriads of people. His courage, intellectual and personal, was demonstrated when he travelled to Mexico at the age of 78, to preside over the hearing to investigate the charges brought at the Moscow trials against Leon Trotsky, despite threats, opposition and ridicule. (It was the source of much of the Soviet animus against Dewey.) The one area in which he seemed to lack courage, or at least resolution, was in confronting would be "disciples" who distorted his philosophy. In that sense Dewey perhaps could be charged with, if not encouraging, at least not discouraging the misunderstanding and misapplication of his ideas.

Still, while Dewey's philosophy of education has not become part of the mainstream in the United States even, ironically, when it was supposed to have been the prevailing "orthodoxy", it has remained as a viable alternative.

The key, as Tao realized, is teacher education that is democratic, not only in theory but in practice. Beyond the 200 students in Xiaozhuang normal school, hundreds more had to be turned away, despite the primitive conditions and expectations of minimal pay. The concept of a teacher who is also a learner, who participates

together with students, viewing them as whole people, guided by methods of critical intelligence, is truly liberating.

In the end, both Dewey and Tao came to realize that education is just one aspect of larger social trends and cannot escape surrounding conditions. Yet, like the ideal of democracy itself, the conception of education as a community in which democratic means are used to achieve democratic ends keeps recurring. And while good educational practice in itself cannot bring about social reform, it is an indispensable element in its success. Tao's achievement at Xiaozhuang remains as a shining standard, demonstrating the possibility of democratic rural education, based on the work of gifted autonomous teachers, using both Chinese and Western methods.

Dewey wrote that a revolution is only the beginning of a gradual process; the drama of China's revolution is far from over. I deeply hope it will be possible for Dewey and Tao's philosophy and practice to be a vital part of education in China for the 21st Century.

Notes

1. Much of this paper is based on Ch. 6 of my Doctoral Dissertation at Harvard Graduate School of Education, "John Dewey and the May Fourth Movement in China: Dewey's Social and Political Philosophy In Relation to His Encounter With China (1919-1921) (Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1983.) Pinyin romanization has been used, with some exceptions.

2. For example, Richard Bernstein, "The Varieties of Pluralism," *American Journal of Education.* Aug., 1989, v. 95, n. 4, See also Robert B. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1991).

3. Lawrence Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education.* 1876-1957 (New York: Vintage,1964), pp. 122-3.

4. John Dewey, *Lectures in China, 1919-1920.* Translated From the Chinese and Edited by Robert W. Clopton and Tsuin-Chen Ou (Honolulu, University of Hawaii, 1973).

5. *Dewey*, Lectures, p.90.

6. *Dewey*, Lectures, p. 174.

7. "The Nanking lecture series on "A Philosophy of Education," differed in content and style from the identically titled series which Dewey delivered in Peking. The Nanking lectures, being addressed to students, are more technical and somewhat similar in style to...*Democracy and Education.*" Clopton and Ou, p. 8. Hu Shi interpreted the lectures in Beijing, and Tao appears to have interpreted the series in Nanjing.

8. Dewey, *Lectures*, pp. 9, 43, 302.

9. Dockser, "John Dewey and the May Fourth Movement in China". Ch. 4.

10. Philip A. Kuhn, "T'ao Hsing-chih, 1891-1946, An Educational Reformer," *Papers on China, XIII*, (Cambridge, Mass., Committee on International and Regional Studies, December, 1954), p. 170.

11. "T'ao Hsing-chih," in Howard L Boorman, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, III, p. 245.

12. Kuhn, p. 175.

13. Don-chean Chu, *Patterns of Education for the Developing Nations: T'ao's Work in China, 1917-1946,* (Tainan, Taiwan: Kao-chang Printing Co., 1966), p. 51.

14. Ibid., p. 53.

15.Boorman, p. 247.

16. Tao Xingzhi, "On the Development of Normal School Education in China", *Chinese Education*, Winter 1974-5, vol. 7, p. 30.

17. Tao, "Our Creed", *Chinese Education*, p. 14.

18. Tao, "On the Development of Normal School Education in China", *Chinese Education*, p. 17.

19. Charles Frankel, "John Dewey's Social Philosophy", *New Studies in the Philosophy of John Dewey.* Stephen M. Cahn ed. Hanover, Vermont University Press of New England, 1977.

20. *Chinese Education.* p. 14.

21. John Dewey, "My Pedagogic Creed," in *Dewey on Education*, Martin S. Dworkin, ed. (New York: Columbia University, 1959), p. 24.

22. John Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York: The Free Press), p. 44.

23. Ibid, pp. 159-60

24. Tao, "The False Intelligentsia," *Chinese Education.* p. 53

25. Ibid. p. 59. "The 'eight-legged essay' was the literary form required for the civil service examination in the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties." p. 44

26. Ibid. p. 36.

27. Wang Yang-ming, *Instructions for Practical Living and Other Neo-Confucian Writings*, Translated and Notes by Wing-tsit Chan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 183, 185.

28. Ibid p. 195.

29. Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 356-7.

30. John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct, John Dewey: The Middle Works 1899-1924, Volume 14* Jo Ann Boydston, ed. Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press,1988, p.47._

31. See Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*, p. 125.

32. Tao, "The False Intelligentsia", *Chinese Education*, p. 51.

33. Tao, "A Teaching Manual For Uniting Teaching, Learning and Doing", *Chinese Education*, p. 96.

34. Ibid. p. 93.

35. Tao, "How To Teach the Farmer Success," *Chinese Education*, p. 87.

36. Tao Xingzhi, "China", *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University*, 1924 (New York: The MacMillan Company) 1925, p. 97.

37. Tao Xingzhi, "China", *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College) p. 110.

38. Ibid.

39. John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*. The Middle Works p. 203.

40. See Joseph Feathersone "An Emerson Among the Dynamos"

41. Tao, "The False Intelligentsia", *Chinese Education*, pp. 51-2.

42. John Dewey, *The Child and the Curriculum and the School and Society*, p. 18.

43. Ibid., p. 12.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

46. Tao, "Beginning by Living Like Primitive People", *Chinese Education*, pp. 83-4.

47. Tao, "Life is Education," Chinese Education p. 41.

48. Ibid., p. 41.

49. Tao mentions a conversation about Shatskii's work with the Columbia educator William Kilpatrick who had visited Xiaozhuang a few months earlier. Like Hu Shi, Kilpatrick promoted himself as one of Dewey's foremost disciples. However, Dewey disagreed profoundly with Kilpatrick's child-centered project method. See Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*, p. 238 and Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, p. 504. The patronizing nature of Kilpatrick's recommendations (He thought the kindergarten too formal, Tao too economical, recommended incorporating James Yen,s techniques, and commended Xiaozhuang for being so "completely Chinese."), may account for the rather testy tone in Tao's criticisms of Dewey. See Unpublished Diary of William H. Kilpatrick, Oct. 15, 1929, Milbank Memorial Library, Teachers College, Columbia University.

50. Ibid.

51. John Dewey, *John Dewey's Impressions of Soviet Russia and the Revolutionary World: Mexico-China-Turkey*, 1929, William W. Brickman, ed. (New York: Columbia, 1964), pp. 75-8.

52. John Dewey, Introduction to *The Use of Resources in Education*, by Elsie Ripley Clapp, in Dworkin ed. *Dewey on Education*, p. 127.

53. Elsie Ripley Clapp, *Community Schools in Action*, Foreword by John Dewey, (Arno Press and The New York Times:1971).

54. Clapp, *Community Schools*, p.123.

55. John Dewey, *Logic: The theory of Inquiry*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1938), p. 233.

56. John Dewey, *Impressions*.

57.Agnes E. Meyer, "Significance of the Trotsky Trial," Interview with John Dewey, *Washington Post*. December 19, 1937.

58. Kuhn, pp. 184-5.

59. Tao, "Life is Education," *Chinese Education*, pp. 46-7.

60. Dewey, *Experience and Education*, p. 34.

61. Tao, Letter to Dean J.E. Russell, February 16, 1916. Milbank Memorial Library, Teachers College, Columbia University.

62.Tao Xingshi, "China", *Educational Yearbook. International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1924*, New York: The MacMillan Company, 1925), pp. 96-7.

63. *Chinese Education*. Editor's Introduction, by Peter J. Seybolt.

64. Dewey, *Impression*, p. 77.

65. Lawrence A. Cremin, *Public Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), p. 59.

66. Dewey, *Democracy in Education*, p. 325.

67. Joseph R. Levenson, *Liano Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959).

68. See Hubert 0. Brown, "American Progressivism in Chinese Education: The Case of Tao Xingzhi," *China's Education and the Industriol World: Studies in Cultural Transfer*, Ruth Hayhoe and Marianne Bastid ed. (Armonk New Jersey: M.E. Sharpe, 1987) Although I don't agree with Hubert Brown's thesis that Tao didn't understand Dewey's philosophy, I think he is right about Tao not feeling a conflict between history and value, as figures like Liang Qichao did.

69. John Dewey, *Characters and Events: Popular Essays in Social and Political Philosophy* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), v.2, p. 144.

70. Sing-nan Fen, "Dewey's Philosophy as a Program of Action," in *Essays for Dewey's Ninetieth Birthday: Report of a Conference on Education and Philosophy*, ed. Kenneth D. Benne and William 0. Stanley (Urbana: University of ILlinois, 1950), p. 84

71. John Dewey, Introduction to *The Use of Resources in Education*.

72. Fen, p. 83.

73. Dewey, Introduction to *The Use of Resources in Education*, p. 133-4.

Chinese Education in the 21st Century: Reconstruction from Lessons of Dewey and Mao in the 20th Century

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Abstract

In considering the influence both Dewey and Mao Zedong had on Chinese education in the 20th century, this paper compares the two men in respect to their political views, educational philosophies, and faith in social transformation.

With the year 2000 only eight years away, the twenty-first century, which used to be such a remote future, suddenly looms right around the corner. While it is natural for us to look into the future, it is necessary for us to look back to our immediate past to plan and construct the future. As Bode points out, "We do not escape the bondage of the past merely by issuing an Emancipation Proclamation."[1] This is very much true for modern Chinese education. To go beyond the past, we cannot but go through it.

This paper is such an endeavor, and examines the educational ideas and practices of Dewey and Mao. The reasons for focusing on Dewey and Mao are the following: first, both Dewey and Mao were renowned philosophers and influential figures in Chinese modern education. Their ideas not only stirred lively and controversial educational debates in theory, but also inspired numerous implementations in practice. Second, Dewey and Mao intriguingly presented tremendous differences as well as similarities, successes as well as failures. It is revealing to go through and scrutinize such complexity for the benefit of future education. Third, due to political reasons, Dewey and Mao have been viewed as completely opposite. Few studies have compared the two holistically. This paper intends to address this ignored field and thereby bring light for Chinese education in the twenty-first century.

Due to the extreme complexity of the educational theories and practices of Dewey and Mao, this paper will primarily focus on a brief comparison of similarities and differences in their theories and practices, and lessons they provide for our immediate future. The issues discussed will be limited mainly to the relationship between school and society, moral education, and the function of intellectuals.[2]

A Brief Comparison of Dewey and Mao

Given the influential and powerful roles of both Dewey and Mao within modern Chinese education, it seems natural to compare their educational theories and practices. However, due to various political reasons, such a comparison has been prohibited for the past half century. Nevertheless, if we look deep into Dewey's and Mao's educational theories and practices today without over-politicizing or distorting the issues, it is not hard to see the comparable themes in their similarities and differences.

Dewey and Mao — Theory

In comparing Dewey's and Mao's educational theories, especially those regarding the relationship between school and society and related issues, it is interesting to see that their differences are interwoven with similarities.

Their first important similarity is that both Dewey and Mao stress the intimate relationship between school and society. For both, education is not an isolated enterprise but one closely connected with, affected by, and achieved with and for social change. School's significance lies in its ultimate function in the reform, change, and development of the society.

Moreover, the reciprocal role between school and society does not exist simply in a bonding for the future but in a strong tie for the present. This theme occurs repeatedly in Dewey's various works, as he points out:

> Our emphasis should be on helping children to grow and the growth takes place now, not in some dim and distant future.[3]

Mao also constantly emphasizes education for social practicality and present reality. Actually this emphasis occurs to such a degree that not a single statement of Mao on education can ever be severed from the current reality. Thus, both Dewey's and Mao's educational theories have a strong pragmatic approach and social orientation.

Dewey's and Mao's similar notions on the close connection between school and society lead them to a second similarity in their educational theory — i.e., the role of moral education. Both see the necessity and significance of moral education in schooling, and place it as the top priority among the three tasks of education, before intellectual and physical development. In addition to this agreement, Dewey and Mao also break away from the traditional stagnant morality, and substitute for the constituents of moral education the contents and concerns of their immediate reality. They both view moral education as omnipresent, and therefore advocate for persistent and diffuse efforts for moral education at all levels and throughout all subjects. More importantly, moral education for Dewey and Mao does not simply remain in verbal and theoretical teaching but in actual doing.

In addition, both Dewey and Mao highly emphasize the role of experience. For education, experience is the means, the contents, and the goal; and it is both the beginning and ending points. As Dewey states, education is "of experience, by experience, and for experience."[4] Mao also indicates, "knowledge starts with practice, reaches the theoretical plane via practice and then has to return to practice."[5] To both Dewey and Mao, experience as the educational goal is not simply doing, itself, but rather a constructive acting on the world so as to transform the current social reality. Actually, the stress on experience lays down the epistemological foundation and explanation for their notions of school and society, moral education, and other related issues, as well as their practices.

Considering the drastic differences in Dewey's and Mao's backgrounds, it is striking or even astonishing that Dewey and Mao bear so many similarities in the above fundamental issues in their theories. However, it is important to realize that their similarities, surprising or impressive to us due to decades of being suppressed and neglected, by no means indicate a total resemblance between the two. Dewey and Mao bear significant differences even on the above issues, on which they seem generally to agree. Their similarities do not obliterate their differences.

Although Dewey and Mao highly emphasize the social role in and of education, it is important to note that their theories start and end

completely differently. Dewey's educational ideas were built on the modern sciences of psychology, biology, and sociology, and pursued social and political issues mainly through academia; while Mao's educational ideas were founded on Marxist political ideology, and focused on social and political transformation via revolutionary struggle. The changes and social reforms they advocate education to serve are quite different. To Dewey, it is an adaptation to and consolidation of the newly developed industrial world and bourgeois democracy. However, for Mao it is a rebellion against the existing social and political structure, a transformation from a feudal society to a socialist republic.

Consequently, Dewey and Mao clearly have quite different visions of what constitutes moral education, in spite of both hammering away at the necessity and significance of moral education in schooling. As Dewey indicated in his lectures in China, his moral education has a general approach oriented towards all citizens and is highlighted by characteristics such as "democracy," "open-mindedness," "intelligence," "intellectual honesty," and "responsibilities." Mao's moral education, on the other hand, has a strong political and class orientation and demands an absolute belief in Marxism and development of the proletarian consciousness.

Similarly, in their notion of experience, despite all their agreements, one important difference is in their concepts of the most valuable experience in education. For Dewey, it should consist of controlled and experimental experience of general human experiences within school. For Mao, however, it should focus on political and productive activities from the society at large.

Thus, Dewey's and Mao's educational theories embody both similarities and differences, which inevitably affect their practices and implementations.

Dewey and Mao — Practice

Compared to their theories, a brief, first-glance comparison of Dewey's and Mao's implementations seems to suggest much greater differences. Unlike their theories, which indicate agreements on principles and then differences in constituencies, Dewey's and Mao's practices start off in quite different directions.

First, Dewey's practice brings society into school with a scientific and experimental approach, while Mao's disperses school within the society with an ideological and political orientation. While carrying out the notion "school is society," Dewey's educational practice presents a model of social reform. In this process, school serves as the only promising medium for social change, and such changes are conducted through a gradual and peaceful scientific and academic pursuit. Mao's practice of "society is school," on the other hand, provides a model of social revolution. Thus, schooling will never have a chance to be separated from the immediate reality, and its outcomes will be tested right away along with the progress of the society. During this process, school is but one of the forces, and the social changes it assists occur within an intensive class struggle, which will often result in bloody political or military conflicts. This overall difference in their educational practices naturally defines their educational settings differently. Dewey's practice remains within the formal education system and, to a large degree, physically on campus; and Mao's pushes beyond the boundary for formal schooling and almost combines school with other divisions of the society.

The overall focus of schooling also differs. For Dewey, since the individual is the base of society, the educational focus is on each individual while the ultimate goal aims at community. Educational practice under Mao, however, mainly considers the proletarian class interest and collectivism.

Another related difference is their emphasis in educational contents. Deweyan schools broaden traditional education by introducing modern subjects, a variety of topics, and experimental experience into their curricula; whereas Mao's schools substitute political study and productive labor as their main contents, in place of academic courses. Although Deweyan schools also include manual work, the low percentage of such work indicates a qualitative difference from Mao's schools. The educational contents of Deweyan school embody his notion "school is society," while the content range of Mao's school requires a larger environment beyond school, and reinforce his notion "society is school."

In addition, Dewey's and Mao's practices also vary in the roles that intellectuals come to play in schooling. While challenging the absolutely authoritarian roles of teachers in traditional education, Deweyan practice creates a more balanced and democratic power relationship between teachers and students. Although Dewey's practice stresses the student-centered approach, and has even been accused of being *laissez-faire*, in fact, the Deweyan school does not abolish the teacher's role in education. As Dewey points out,

> The teacher is not in the school to impose certain ideas or to form certain habits in the child, but is there as a member of the community to select the influences which shall affect the child and to assist him in properly responding to these influences.[7]

In reality, as shown in Xiao Zhuang, teachers play an important role in school as facilitators. Outside school, intellectuals (teachers and students alike) form the leading force in social changes through their philosophic pursuit, scientific research, and personal growth. Due to this function of teachers in the social life, Dewey highly appraised teachers as always "the prophet of the true God and the usherer in of the true kingdom of God."[8]

In Mao's practice, however, intellectuals in school, as well as in the general society, have different roles from Dewey's vision of teachers and intellectuals. The decisive factor that determines each teacher's role in schooling is whether he or she possesses Marxist ideology and proletarian outlook. Since the majority of teachers have been trained in the old school system and thus contaminated by bourgeois thoughts, they can only serve the new government after ideological rectification. Therefore, teachers have a double role of being educators and being educated in school, as indicated in the case of Beida (Peking University). Professionally, they are supposed to be the guidance and facilitators in students' academic study. Politically, they must undertake reeducation either by workers-peasants-soldiers students, or with students by the proletarian class. Both within and without school, intellectuals serve as an important, pioneering, and most mobile force in revolution. Yet, it is the working class that is the leading class.[9] Intellectuals are considered, at best, only as allies after ideological transformation.

As different as the educational practices of Dewey and Mao appear to be, interestingly, they also have some important similarities. First, despite the fact that the schools of Dewey and Mao practiced in different realms, for different social changes, and under different governments, they all, in their own way, challenged the old social orders and served the progressive causes in the social development. The practices of both Dewey and Mao challenged the traditional Confucian education, which advocated preservation of the existing feudal rule, clung to classics as its only contents, and condemned and looked down on any form of ordinary experience. The practices of Dewey and Mao both worked for change, and they brought

everyday experiences into the classroom for educational purposes and provided such experiences with new meanings. With both of their efforts, modern Chinese education, to a certain degree, has been taken out of the isolated ivory tower, and situated much closer within the current social reality.

Another similarity in the practices of Dewey and Mao is their methodology. Unlike the other issues discussed so far, when it comes to methodology, Dewey and Mao seemingly have reached the most agreement in their practices, not only on principle, but also in details. Both strongly opposed the oppressive traditional education, which mainly employs memorization and cramming. The schools of Dewey and Mao resemble each other in that they all guarantee learners an active role in learning and take their interests into consideration; that they favor inductive methods, group discussions, and activities; and that they focus on fostering imagination, originality, creativity, and students' own capabilities of thinking and problem solving.

Thus, Dewey and Mao in practice, like in their theories, also present a picture in which differences and similarities are intriguingly and provocatively intertwined. All this, combined with the similarities and differences presented by the comparison of their theories, forms an extreme complexity, which challenges the conclusion of the earlier single-dimensioned comparison between Dewey and Mao —that Dewey and Mao are completely antagonistic in theories as well as in practice.

Lessons and Insights from Dewey and Mao

So far, this paper has covered the roles of Dewey and Mao in modern Chinese education and the comparison of their differences and similarities. A question may rise naturally: what is the value of looking into either their differences or similarities for education today? The following intends to search for the possible lessons and potential insights Dewey and Mao may offer us.

Is school society or society school?

The first and most heated controversy is whether school is society or society is school. Before venturing any answer, perhaps it will be helpful to look at what happened to Deweyan schools as a society and Mao's society as a school.

Dewey's educational theory certainly provides profound and philosophical reasons why school is society. However, while making great efforts to keep school as society, Deweyan implementations in China had a somewhat short span of existence. The educational decree of the Ren Mao School Act (1922) was never fully realized. The Popular Educational Movement, on the other hand, failed to address the other important issues facing the nation, had little effect on social change, and thus came to a halt. Xiao Zhuang Normal School was shut down by the Guomingdang government in fear of its progressiveness after its three-year promising success. What, then, contributes to the short life of all Deweyan implementations? Why did they all have such difficulty in carrying out the idea that "school is society"?

To address these issues, we have to look briefly at Dewey's theory that "school is society." When Dewey developed the notion, it was based mainly on the then-existing American education system. Although Dewey explained the social function of school and the reasons for school to be society, he never really specified clearly the prerequisite conditions for such school to come into being and the environment necessary for it to survive. As Sarason pinpoints, Dewey "never seemed to rivet on the problems of the pitfalls and obstacles" the progressive endeavors would encounter. This might have been unnecessary for Dewey's laboratory school, which is "a school of his creation."[10] Nor was it necessary for American education at the time. Modern Chinese education, however, was situated in a completely different environment. For the first half of the twentieth century, China took great pains to break away from thousands of years of feudal dynasties, while trying to save the country as a whole from various imperialist invasions externally, and frenzied warlord fights for power domestically. Unfortunately, sword and fire were the main themes of the nation, and the majority of the people struggled in extreme starvation and poverty (Chen, 1969; Gao, 1985; Zheng, 1980). Education, as an individual or social need, only comes after the primitive and minimum human needs are met — to eat and to survive — and cannot precede them. For five decades, with Chinese people fighting desperately for basic survival as individuals, a culture, and a nation, education was reluctantly yet definitely moved down the priority list for the exact reason that Dewey stated (only in a different context): education is socially affected. Such effects become much stronger and more powerful in times of disastrous war. China went miserably through four major wars in five decades,[11] plus numerous military conflicts among warlords and local power groups (Chen, 1969; Zeng et al., 1985). During this period, social problems were too gigantic for school alone to tackle experimentally and to provide any immediate solutions within its educational capacity. The range and power of education have their own limitations in the face of the national catastrophes which call for immediate action.

While school felt, and was affected by, the pulse of society, it also had a reciprocal impact on society, as Dewey thoughtfully pointed out. However, this very characteristic of school actually may account for another reason why Deweyan schools confronted so much difficulty. Tao's Xiao Zhuang Normal School is a wonderful example. As Dockser (1983) discussed and Sing Nan-fen so well summarized,

> Tao's life story illustrated vividly the truth that progressive education, if really progressive, will sooner or later get into trouble with those social groups which are always sensitive to any real challenge to their vested interest.... Since education is a testing ground of ideas or ideals, it is no wonder that there are authoritarians who attempt to take education into their own hands. Education as a human enterprise is at the front of social conflict. It is a strategic area rather than an escapist's paradise.[12]

Xiao Zhuang was not the only Deweyan school that was attacked by the authoritarian and conservative forces. The Popular Education Movement and the Baihua Movement went through the same struggles with opposing forces within and without the government (Chen, 1969; Gao, 1985). The progressive nature of Deweyan implementations together with the potential that they would affect the society at large again made it impossible for school to be free from the tampering of the other forces in the society. The more successful and progressive schools are, the more likely they are going to confront outside forces in non-academic and rather political battles, especially when the illuminating power of knowledge is viewed as threatening by the prominent military and political forces.

Therefore, the short existence of Deweyan implementations, in a way, illustrated the prerequisite conditions and limitations, as well as the success and potentiality, of Dewey's "school is society."

Mao's models of "society is school," however, presented a situation quite different from Deweyan schools. Kangda (Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political University), Gongda (Jiangxi Communist Labor University), and Beida (Peking University), for instance, all enjoyed considerably longer existence. With the support of the dominant political forces, they served social changes in their own historical contexts much more closely and directly. The duration of each school lasted from eight to twelve years, not as long as schools in normal time will exist, yet each in a way had a natural termination together with the social change it served.[13] While they appear to have had strength that the Deweyan schools lacked, however, they also had problems of their own.

First, one of the characteristics of Mao's schools is that, despite the fact that they all claimed sweeping triumph within their duration, as soon as they ended, education dramatically reverted back to where it had started — traditional formal schooling — with little trace of any continuity. The reasons for this sudden disjointing largely come from what gave them their strength in their heydays —that is, the close association with the ruling political force and the tight connection with the immediate social changes. Since they were completely attuned to, and almost trapped in, the immediate social and political change, once this change was over, they could not serve the next social phase without completely changing themselves. Interestingly enough, Mao's schools were not the only ones that suffer from this "victim of success" phenomenon. In a summary of Dewey's progressive schools in America, Cremin also lists this as one of the major reasons accounting for the dismal end of some Deweyan laboratory schools.[14]

All this may have exactly illustrated Dewey's reasons for keeping school a relatively independent and experimentally controlled society of its own. While it is important for school to keep a close connection with society and serve social purposes, school is likely to lose its flexibility, normal academic responsibilities, and long-term goals if it is too close to current social changes and takes the immediate social goals as its own. At the same time, its integrity may suffer, because in experimental social changes humans often make mistakes (e.g., the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution), even with the best intentions. The school's full involvement in such an endeavor will lead to miseducative and contrary outcomes that are other than beneficial for social progress. Direct and dominant political support from the government, though promoting school as the most important arena and vigorous pioneer in the social change, often comes at the expense of intellectual honesty and the keeping up of the true progressive nature. As a changing medium, school will become too politically biased. All this indeed happened with Gongda and Beida, and accounted for their ineffectiveness as educational models or lessons after their prime times.

Another problem with Mao's model schools is that as new schools they did not really complete the new tasks that they were supposed to accomplish. At the same time they also neglected their original responsibilities as educational institutions. While rushing around in the society, to do and learn what they were not familiar with, intellectuals had no time to do what they could do — academic teaching and research. Consequently, the lack of educated and qualified personnel and scientific technology, theoretical and practical, resulted in the slowdown of national development for the decades to follow (Ouyang, 1988).

Mao's "society is school" uniquely and daringly brought school to a powerful and prominent role in the society. However, it did not necessarily achieve the ideal goal nor the genuine social benefits either in short or long terms. Compared with Dewey's model, Mao's "society is school" seemed to be much more powerful in social change and closer to social reality. At the same time, Mao's approach, with the political forces behind it, was able to reinforce such changes, educational and social, to an extremely thorough extent. Dewey's "school is society," on the other hand, did not seem to have Mao's model's power at the first glance. However, in aggregate Dewey's schools formed a persistent and continuous stream in education, small in scale, yet more promising and persisting for the long social transformation.

Now, if we go back to our original question at the beginning of this section to see whether school should be society or society should be school, then the answer, based on the experiments of Dewey and Mao in modern Chinese education, seems to be neither, or perhaps both. For both experiments indicate vividly how school and society interact with and influence each other. Due to this very property of school and society, any simple approach of either "school is society" or "society is school" will have its limitations and downfalls, as illustrated above. School inevitably is contingent on the situation in the society; and society can not be equivalent to school, either. The complicated relationship between school and society demands an educational model of complexity, which connects school with society, yet at the same time keeps it rather independent, so as to reduce both the negative contamination from society and the disaster-in-disguise contribution from school. As Scheffler remarks,

> The school ought to see itself *not simply* as instrumental to an improved society, although it ought to see itself in that way, surely. Its job is not only to serve but also to enlighten, create, understand, and illuminate, efforts which have intrinsic value and dignity, efforts which are themselves to be served by the society of man.[15]

Then, a question may arise here — what part of school should be society, and what part of society should be school? Theoretically, this is a critical philosophical issue that needs to be addressed. Practically, however, if we ever intend to keep accordance with Dewey's and Mao's theories, it is almost impossible to provide any form of concrete description. For, in order to keep educational philosophy and practice attuned to social needs and changes, one must leave room for change. As times and environments differ, the constituents of society that will be brought into school, and those of school that will construct society, will definitely and constantly enrich themselves with new meaning and in new forms. Thus, as an educational philosophy and approach, the whole combination and proportion of society as school and school as society will change accordingly.

The Role of Intellectuals

Another hot debate over the difference between Dewey's and Mao's educational theories and practices focuses on the role of those who make up the population of educational institutions — the intellectuals. What is the role of intellectuals? Is it, as Dewey described, to be the facilitators and leaders both in school and society, or, as Mao indicated, to be facilitators in academia and allies and pioneers in social progress, who are subject to the leadership and reeducation of the working class?

This issue has been the central battlefield, theoretically and practically, in modern Chinese education as well as in the Chinese political arena for decades. It has generated conflicts and splits among intellectuals themselves, and between intellectuals and other

forces, such as governments, various political and military powers, and other classes. To discuss and analyze this, again it might be worthwhile to look first at intellectuals in general, and then at those who played important roles in Dewey's and Mao's models.

Who are the intellectuals in Chinese modern times? In a country where workers and peasants form the dominant majority, the term "intellectuals" can be very loose, referring to anyone who has received education above the junior high school. More strictly speaking, however, it refers to those who have finished higher education. Before 1949, Chinese intellectuals mainly came from the families of wealth or power. After 1949, despite the government's effort to admit students from the working class, students from intellectual families still make up the majority (especially in the nationally reputable institutions), because they tend to score higher at the national college entrance examination. As a class, intellectuals are the elite in modern Chinese society, with a uniquely mobile, active, and prominent role. They have connections with various sections of the society from top to bottom, and they are sensitive to issues other than their own immediate concerns (at least financially most of them can afford to be so). Interestingly, unlike the other classes, they do not have the same solidarity. Often their beliefs and ideals divide them into different groups, which identify themselves with and serve others in the society. There is not a fixed role for them all in the society, but a variety of roles which often change as the society changes (Chow, 1960; Mao, 1971).

Actually, in Deweyan implementations in China, the intellectuals who played key roles as facilitators and leaders in education and society were not just any intellectuals, but rather a certain group of intellectuals — liberals. Many of them had the opportunity to have a non-traditional education, either abroad or at home, under the reforming influence in the late Qing Dynasty (Sizer, 1966). Their new knowledge, combined with traditional values toward education, led them firmly to believe in education as the means to save the nation. This is reflected in the various movements during the first republican period. Meanwhile, there were many other intellectual groups, such as radicals or revolutionaries, who believed in revolution and military action; conservatives, who preferred to seek social solutions within the old Chinese tradition; royalists, who wanted to keep Confucianism and the monarchy untouched; and those who insisted that education should remain purely academic (Chen, 1969; Gao, 1985; Zheng, 1981). Although they all contributed to the heated debates on education and social destiny in one way or another, obviously not all of them acted as facilitators and leaders for educational and social change.

Another issue with Dewey's notion of intellectuals' role is that Chinese intellectuals as a whole comprised a very insignificant percentage of the total population (it is so even today). If education is the only avenue to reform, and a small group of the elite of elites were the facilitators, actors, and leaders for the social transformation, then the scale and the pace of such reform would definitely become a serious problem. Moreover, as discussed earlier, such education, if it is really progressive as intended or claimed to be, would sooner or later transcend the educational-social arena.

Here, Dewey might be criticized for his vague definition of "intellectual" and for his flawed theory. Although it is possible that Dewey might be defining the intellectuals' role only within school, or referring to what intellectuals should be in an ideal educational enterprise, rather than addressing the current reality. Nevertheless, his implementations in China definitely point to the weak spot in his theory and challenge it for further clarification.

Mao's notion of intellectuals, on the other hand, seemed to capture the diverse roles of intellectuals more sensitively. With a sharp politician's mind, Mao described intellectuals in various groups according to their political attitudes and their multiple social functions (Chow, 1960; Mao, 1971). However, because of his political needs and in contradiction to his own definition, he advocated restraining the intellectuals' diverse roles and rectifying them into one role particularly beneficial for the proletariat.

This, again, raises several questions. For, the intellectuals who fit Mao's desired functions were not all of them, but only the most radical or revolutionary ones. By generalizing this small group's role to that of all intellectuals, Mao eventually forced the other intellectuals to conform, and consequently threatened one of the most important intellectual functions — to develop different schools, debates, and alternatives. However, as happened in the Cultural Revolution, this ideological consolidation may even prevail briefly, or seemingly so. Yet, in the long run, such efforts simply will not reduce intellectuals to simplified functions. For their roles and functions go hand-in-hand with the diversity of their social formation — a factor explainable with Mao's own notion of experience in society.

Moreover, while Mao insisted that all intellectuals, even the most revolutionary ones must be subject to the working class' leadership, he seemed to deny yet another role that some intellectuals (including himself) had been playing. Since China primarily is made of workers and peasants, it is understandable that Mao sought their participation in revolution by designating them as the leading forces. However, to say the least, it is not really a faithful description of the revolutionary leadership to insist that the working class are the only authorized leaders. For instance, in the Cultural Revolution, the fire was lit not by workers and peasants, but by some intellectuals. Another well-known yet unacknowledged evidence is the fact that Mao and many other core revolutionary leaders, such as Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, were not workers and peasants, but actually intellectuals themselves. This reality dispels the notion that intellectuals cannot be part of the leadership. Actually, the very secret of the communist success lies in a joint leadership of working class (workers and peasants) and intellectuals as well as other classes such as merchants, gentries, and city citizens.

It seems that the notions of the intellectuals' roles of Dewey and Mao each reveal a part of the truth. The reality, however, suggests that the roles of intellectuals are much more complicated, diverse, and intriguing than either has pictured. It is interesting to note that Dewey's and Mao's different notions on the role of intellectuals correspond with their different approaches toward utilizing education as social transformation. Since Dewey advocated "school is society," he seems to advocate social reform by uplifting the whole society in school and transforming masses into intellectuals — i.e., merging the popular culture within the high culture. This sounds elevating and democratic; however, a few fundamental issues have been raised during his implementations in China. First is whether it was indeed possible within the reality then in China (or anywhere else in the world). Second, even if it was, how long would it take for the society to change effectively, especially when it is in an extremely disastrous condition. These two issues have brought Deweyan implementations under much criticism and at times even frustrated his followers.

Mao, following "society is school," on the other hand, envisioned social transformation by rectifying intellectuals into proletarians and leveling off the ivory towers to the ground field — i.e., engulfing the high culture within the popular culture. By calling on

the majority, the working class, as the main forces, Mao was able to make big waves. Nevertheless, the effect remained as unsatisfactory as Dewey's, if not more so. It shared the same problem as Dewey's when it came to the possibility of carrying out this notion in the given context. Moreover, even if it was indeed possible, with all its mandatory forces and sweeping scale, would it eventually bring the ideal social change it intended to achieve?

It seems that both Dewey and Mao, in an earnest attempt to reach the ideal states in their theories, might have stretched their solutions farther than is suitable for the reality. Although it is hard to dispute both of their long-term visions that the people in the final transformed society would all be well-educated intellectuals, it is questionable whether the transformation in the given reality can be achieved by either gradually molding the rest of the world into intellectuals, or fiercely casting intellectuals down into the rest of the society. The trials of the implementations of Dewey and Mao indicate that neither provides a promising solution. Unfortunately, any social change has to occur within the society it is going to change, as indicated theoretically by both Dewey and Mao. In the modern world, one of the most distinctive characteristics is the increase in stratification of professions and division of labor (Cremin, 1961, 1988). All these diversified social structures, each functioning in its unique way, construct the society. If the whole society is taken into consideration, instead of education alone, the transformation seems to require a more complicated avenue which works within the current state, rather than a one-way solution. Before any merging can take place, bridging must occur first. It is through making gradual and firm connections that the high culture will serve and assimilate the popular culture and the popular culture will benefit from and contribute to the high culture. During the process, both cultures will be enriched and extended, and therefore, a larger and firmer common ground will be built in place of what used to be an impassable gap that has elicited hatred, agony, fear, and disasters on both sides. This bridging might have a better chance of working within the multiple stratification and divisions of the current society, and of facilitating the transformation to a harmonious future, if it is, indeed, bound to come.

Morality — Does It Have Class Character?

The fundamental difference between Dewey and Mao on moral education focuses on whether it should preserve the social class character. Dewey's educational morality, with "democracy" as its core, does not differentiate according to class and is oriented toward all. However, this stand has been severely attacked by Mao and his followers. Looking through Marxist glasses, they claim that in a class society there is no human nature above class, and accuse Dewey's morality, which develops on the base of human nature, of being a "fallacy put forward by the landlord class and the bourgeoisie, which denied the class character of human nature."[16] They further contended that the Deweyan morality, under the disguise of democracy, is not really for all classes or without class property, but actually serves only the bourgeoisie. Dewey's theory, therefore, they concluded, is reactionary, for it substitutes moral education for revolution and it assists the development of capitalism and imperialism.[17]

Dewey and his followers, on the other hand, contend that once moral education is contaminated by class character it will lose its true democratic property and its flexibility to change. If the Marxist view and proletarian outlook are held both as the only content and as the criteria for truth, then it will leave no room for sophisticated moral development but a simple form of indoctrination, which is the very opposite of, and a complete betrayal of, democracy.[18]

Dewey's prediction about the outcome of Mao's moral education, sadly, has been testified to by the half century of Marxist moral education in mainland China. Under the name of the people's democracy, Marxism and Mao's thoughts have been instilled into people's minds by the Party and the government. There has been no free pursuit of moral inquiry, and any debate other than Marxist has been completely forbidden. The moral education has become reinforced and high pressured, what has often described as "brainwashing." While repelling other moral alternatives out of the public's view by force and "red terror," however, Mao's morality failed to occupy the complete territory it intended to claim. The cramming (exactly what Mao declared war against as an educational methodology) of Marxist ideology through political studies, recitations, and forced labor did not elevate Chinese people to any higher moral plane, but rather deteriorated morality. Although it brought a long seeming consensus, all this soon collapsed as the circumstances slightly changed. During the Cultural Revolution, it was abhorrent that the very people who went berserk with violence, chaos, and crimes were mostly those who had been growing up and educated "properly" within the seventeen years of prevailing Marxist education. After Mao's death, there has been a prolonged "moral crisis" in which people have openly denounced Marxism and Mao's thoughts, and even officials admitted their disillusionment to various degrees. The heated debates since 1988 over the film "River Elegy"[19] illustrated clearly such frustrations.

The failure of Mao's moral education casts more promising light on Deweyan democratic moral education, and adds weight to his notion of "democracy" as morality. It is even more so, especially after the "June Fourth." Li Huoren voiced such sentiments in his recent article in memory of Hu Shi, saying that liberalism is doubtlessly the correct way and the way for us to follow today.[20] However, as an alternative, Deweyan moral education must also face serious scrutiny.

As much as Dewey would like to sustain a universal and classless status, his critics as well as his supporters have noted the middle-class characteristics in his implementations (Cremin, 1961, and Gonzalez, 1982). A close look at his Chinese followers seem to reveal that they belong to the similar classification.

In addition, for decades his followers advocated moral development through personal inquiry and growth. While doing so, they carried one notion saliently — i.e., taking equality for granted (Wirth, 1966). Actually, within the intense social reality of China, where all forces kept colliding politically and militarily, the differences between social groups and classes were so strong that they could never see eye to eye. Such a notion, and the practice, of moral education were rejected by all except a small group of liberals who already believed in Dewey's philosophy. The Guomingdang dreaded it as too progressive (Gao, 1985); the CCP considered it as an obstacle of revolution (Cao, 1957); the conservatives took it as an eroder of Chinese traditional values (Liu, 1990); and many people simply felt tired of the slow motion and trivial effects of Deweyan education in addressing impending issues in the extremely dire state of the country, and turned to other measures.

The issue raised here is whether democratic moral education requires democratic conditions and environments for it to triumph. Or can it transform a non-democratic desert to an oasis of democracy, single handedly and effectively, with its scattered and short-lived greenhouse experiments? Modern Chinese education never provided a full chance for Deweyan implementations to test this through. As Dockser (1983) prudently pointed out, evidence from Chinese modern history seems to indicate that it is too early, or arbitrary, to come to such a conclusion.

Beginning from the May Fourth Movement in 1919, to the Anti-Rightist Movement during 1957 and 1958, through the Cultural Revolution, the April Fifth Event in 1977, and the June Fourth Movement in the summer of 1989, the voices calling for democracy have repeatedly and persistently arisen even in the darkest days, and the demands to observe the people's wills have again and again contributed to the debates and actions of social change and affected the course of Chinese history. Could it be that Deweyan democratic moral education is a weak grassroot approach in disguise? Perhaps, exactly like grass, it is actually spreading its seeds and taking roots even in the most extreme rough conditions, and then when the time is ripe with the east wind blowing, it is eventually to cover even the most barren land with flourishing green?

If such a promising perspective is ever going to become reality, however, Deweyan moral education still must address yet another fundamental issue. To embody democracy, Deweyan criteria of morality consist of democracy, open-mindedness, responsibilities, and intellectual honesty, which leave much space for social change and new definition. The question, then, is: who is going to decide what the actual contents of moral education are? According to Dewey, the teacher is the prophet. This brings the further question, as Sizer asked,

> How can one have an educational elite in a democracy anyway? Does education give one special powers, special responsibilities, innate morality, powers of foresight?[21]

Another alternative, presumably, would be the people. However, in a non-democratic society, can people of any group, powerful or powerless, have the same input to morality in reality? If so, how? If not, then, with unbalanced and distorted moral criteria, will Deweyan moral education still work toward democracy? That is, will a quasi and limited democratic moral education go beyond itself and lead to full democracy?

Mao's critiques of Deweyan moral education might be misfiring and politically exaggerated. However, the smoke seems to rise from Deweyan implementations' tender point. How can democracy grow out of a non-democratic jungle and be preserved and developed to a triumphant reality? Will it ever be able to? Neither Deweyan theory nor its implementations have provided any answer. While reexamining Dewey and Mao for education today, the possible solutions certainly leave out any simple repetition of either Dewey or Mao. Yet, a clue may dwell in carefully analyzing and learning from their lessons and insights, and going beyond Dewey and Mao with originality and creativity.

Concluding Remarks

Almost a century has passed since the launch of modern Chinese education. After all the wars and the political disturbances, China finally seems to be reaching some stability over the past decade.[22] Modern Chinese education, after the experimental endeavors of Dewey, Mao, and others, has come to a much less progressive and adventurous, and more traditional, formal, and back-to-basics approach. Dewey and Mao are seldom mentioned in education, except in a few historical works. However, the analysis and comparisons in this paper seem to indicate that neither Dewey nor Mao belongs to the showcase of history. On the contrary, the issues they confronted are far from being resolved, and they constitute the core educational issues today. As Dockser points out,

> The debate over whether "school is society," or "society is school," is far from over. The tension between education and its social milieu has taken the form of pendulum swings — in China between 'red' and 'expert,' and in the United States between inflated expectations and disillusionment with schools.[23]

Neither Dewey nor Mao has provided a perfect educational model with their implementations in modern Chinese education. However, they have offered insights and lessons that we can learn, and thus started a discourse in search for better solutions. What, then, is the relationship between school and society that has been indicated through the success and failure of Dewey and Mao in modern Chinese education? It seems that school in reality can only be, and is, part of society. It is not possible for school to function if it is overladen with all the problems of society and then prescribed as the only social solution. A ballooned expectation for overall and immediate social transformation via education often leads to great disillusionment, and school becomes the number one scapegoat for whatever society at large fails to deliver. On the other hand, society, or other constituents of society, can never completely substitute for school's particular functions, either. Dispersing school prematurely into the current society will not necessarily contribute to social progress, but rather disturb the natural development of, and damage, both society and school.

With unsatisfactory outcomes from both Dewey's and Mao's practices, does it mean that school should go back to a "school is school" tradition? Should we dump both experiments because of either the errors they made, or the imperfection of their models? "Error is indeed our enemy, but it alone points to the truth and therefore deserves our respectful treatment."[24] The indications from Dewey and Mao toward the truth seem to convey a message just opposite to "back-to-tradition" with the successful half of their stories. Their vigor and promise displayed in their experiments, though not completely carried through due to their other flaws, lie exactly in making connections between school and society.

Therefore, to avoid the extreme pendulum swing in either direction and at the same time embody both spirits, Cremin suggested "a balance between the demands of individuality and of community"[25] while looking at education "wholely across the life-span."[26] To extend Cremin's notion, based on the experiments of Dewey and Mao, such balance may also need to include a balance between the political and professional orientations, various group interests, short and long term goals, and school's functions in connection with other social institutions.

With all these balances, school and society form a dialectic picture, one that Schwartz described as "correlative cosmology," where "the correlated 'concrete' realities of our ordinary experience remain irreducibly real aspects of our natural and human environment."[27] Here, school has a distinctive difference from society, but at the same time is organically connected with society — a ying and yang pattern.

However, it is important to point out two factors. First, such a picture does not indicate a defined dividing line between school and society, for their correlated reality provide no clear-cut boundaries and their pattern of correlation constantly shift with the changing school and society. Second, this balanced picture between school and society does not refer to a simple and fifty-to-fifty combination of Dewey and Mao. The models of Dewey and Mao have their own merits and demerits. What we learn from them comes from creative reconstruction based on a thorough analysis of both, instead of a mismatch of what seemed to work in their days.

All this balance, however, presents a very uncertain and vague image of school and society, which has unsatisfied and troubled so many educators and the educated. Such ambiguity may be bothersome indeed. However, in an extremely complicated world, there can hardly be any knowledge without the company of the unknown. Given such complexity, which the comparison of Dewey and Mao has illustrated so vividly, it is inevitable that we work with both entities, and any solution cannot but be a reflection, or rather, reflections, of a tangled and changing reality.

Keeping this in mind, the direction for education today and tomorrow may not rest in an isolated pursuit but must become a holistic endeavor. That is, to go beyond the pendulum swing, we may need to go beyond the pendulum model as a whole. It is important to realize that modern Chinese education does not only consist of Dewey and Mao; in reality many facets, big and small, theoretical and practical, have coexisted with them. Actually, the notion of balance might easily lead to an association with another powerful educational philosophy — Confucianism — "the Middle of the Road." The reexamination of Dewey and Mao does not exclude other alternatives that China has had, has been developing, or will adopt and create.

After all, history is continuity and correlation, or a "relational world" as McDermott puts it.[28] Everything from before Dewey's and Mao's times that affected them, is, along with Dewey and Mao themselves, affecting us today, and will affect us tomorrow as well. The similarities of Dewey and Mao illuminate the essential issues in modern education, and the strength of modern education in comparison with the traditional and classical education. Their differences highlight the most fundamental controversy in modern Chinese education. History has granted neither Dewey nor Mao complete success in their practices. However, together they do offer important and provocative lessons for today and tomorrow.

To move into the twenty-first century and to construct a better education, we cannot but confront and address all these issues. For, despite our accomplishment in the twentieth century, we have also paid dearly for our trial experiments and mistakes. Yet, future does not automatically exempt us from the repetition of our past errors. To avoid the extremely pendulous swing in education in the past century, we need to learn from both the success and failures of Dewey and Mao, and reconstruct accordingly.

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2. For detailed discussion, please see Xu Di, *Is School Society or Society School? A Comparison of the Educational ideas and Practice of Dewey and Mao in China*. San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, in press.

3. John Dewey, "The Present and the Future," in *John Dewey: Lectures in China 1919-1920*. Ed. by R.W. Clopton and T. Ou, Honolulu: the University Press of Hawaii, 1973, P. 225-226.

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8. John Dewey, an interview with the editor, *The School Journal*. LIV (1897), p. 77 - 80.

9. Mao Ze-tong, "Quotation," *Red Flag*. Beijing, 1968, No. 2.

10. S. Sarason, *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Chance*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1971, p. 213.

11. The Northern Expedition (1926-27), the first civil war between the Guomingdang (GMD) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) (192738), the Anti-Japanese War (1938-45), and the second civil war between GMD and CCP (1945-49).

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13. Beida, although it still exists until today, ended as a model of Mao's education at the end of the Cultural Revolution.

14. Lawrence A. Cremin, *Transformation of the School*. New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1961, p. 349.

15. Israel Scheffler, *Four Pragmatists: A Critical Introduction to Pierce, James, Mead, and Dewey*. New York: Humanities Press, 1974, p. 255.

16. Please see Chen Jin-pan, *Criticism of Dewey's Moral Education Theory*. China: Hubei People's Press, 1957.

17. Idem. Also see Fu Tong-xian, *Criticism of the Reactionary Pragmatic Educational Thoughts*. China: Hubei People's Press, 1957. And Gilbert G. Gonzalez, *Progressive Education: A Marxist Interpretation*. Minneapolis: Marxist Educational Press, 1982, p.34.

18. Please see John Dewey, "Means and Ends," in *Their Morals and Ours: Marxist V. Liberal Views on Morality*. George Novack ed., NY: Pathfender Press, p. 67 - 73.

19. The film compared the western history with Chinese history in search of the reasons for the slow development of China in the modern times.

20. Li. Huo-ren, "Comments on Hu Shi in Hongkong in the Past Forty Years," *The World of Chinese Language and Literature*. Vol, 6, NO. 7, p.109.

21. Nancy Sizer, "John Dewey's Ideas in China: 1919 to 1921," *Comparative Education Review*. October, 1966, p. 396.

22. The June Fourth Events three summers ago brought this into serious question.

23. Cecile Bahn Dockser, *John Dewey And The May Fourth Movement In China: Dewey's Social And Political Philosophy In Relation To His Encounter With China*. Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1983, p. 146.

24. Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind*. New York: Simon and Schuster Inc., 1987, p. 43.

25. Lawrence A. Cremin, *Public Education*. New York: Basic Books, 1976, p. 74.

26. Ibid, p. 59.

27. Benjamin I. Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985, p. 360.

28. John J. McDermott, *Streams of Experience: Reflection on the History and Philosophy of American Culture*. MA: the University of MA Press, 1986, Chapter 7, p. 107-124.

Appendix

Report on the Working Group in Learning Experiences in Formal, Informal, and Nonformal Settings

Edgar A. Porter
University of Hawaii at Manoa

A. Gender Issues as Related to Education Opportunities

1. a comparative study among Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China on education and its influence to both male and female students in terms of educational opportunities, education content and value of education.
2. an in-depth study or case study on female college graduated students coping with their life in terms of family life and work.
3. an international collaborative research on female education: their activities, problems, the attitude of their families and teachers towards them in primary and secondary education both in urban and rural areas, and both in general and key schools.

B. Efforts to Improve Teaching Quality

1. the inclusion of practitioners in research, search for a true opinion/voice of students and teachers concerning China's education.
2. teacher's tole and teaching behavior as perceived professiobally, socially, and politically.

C. Curriculum Change and Implementation

1. China's search for relevant curriculum.
2. political/cultural values in modern education. study on methodology in moral education at the university setting, how traditional methods vs. modern methods influence Chinese education. A content analysis on Chinese political education.
3. learning strategy and various achievement behavior among Chinese students.
4. study on hidden curricula such as that learned in boarding kindergartens, playgrounds, and home environment.

D. External Influences of Education

1. research on aspects in education of overseas Chinese, Mainland China and Taiwan.
2. Modern telecommunication techniques in higher education, how this changes both formal and informal education.
3. China's children's rights - child labor, female infanticide, sex and drug abuse, health care for mother and children, female education, etc.
4. research on the nature of the school population in China, how it is changing the nature of the university, and what influences the student - composition change has caused to the Chinese education.
5. study on government rationalization/policy for adult higher education.
6. student, faculty, administration perception on change in education system in Hong Kong after 1997.
7. research on Chinese adolescents' stimulation seeking behavior (smoking, drug abuse, sex, delinquency, etc.), its antecedents and consequences.
8. market economy in education, entrepreneurship and privatization.
9. educational programs in China's prison.
10. how the Chinese economy drives educational policy and curriculum.
11. changing role of the key school.

E. Influence of Schooling on Social Stratification

1. research/follow-up study on Chinese university graduates in terms of their work assignment.
2. Chinese schooling contribution to social stratification, a cross-national study in social and cultural context, and their contribution at different levels.

Suggested Scholars to Work on Research Project

A. Gender Issues

1. Beverly Hooper - University of Sydney
2. Jean Robinson - Indiana University
3. Li Xiaojiang - Zhengzhou University
4. Marjorie Wolfe - University of Iowa
5. Katherine Farris - Columbia University
6. Emily Honig - Yale University
7. Gail Hershater - Williams
8. Sha Tsun Kua - Zhongxing University
9. Grace Mak - Chinese University of Hong Kong

B. Teaching Quality

1. Bruce Fuller - World Bank
2. Juergen Hanze - Germany

C. Curriculum

1. Paul Morris - University of Hong Kong
2. Keith Luwin - Sessex
3. Xu Hai - Hangzhou University

D. External Influence

1. Julia Kwang - University of Manitoba
2. Tsang Maw - Michigan State University
3. David Ros - Australia c/o James Kirkwood (Ball State Univ.)
4. Stanley Rosen - University of Southern California

E. Influence of Schooling

1. Michael Oksanburg - East-West Center
2. Mr. Bacib - Netherlands
3. Ray McDermott - Stanford University

Appendix

Report of the Working Group in Cultural Education

Gay Garland Reed
University of Hawaii at Manoa

Group Members:

Chairperson - Gay Garland Reed
Rapporteur - Paul Engelsberg
Faith Breen
Allen Chun
Robert Cowen
Ruth Hayhoe
John Lee Jellicorse
Martin Singer
Richard Smith
Wesley Shoemaker
Xu Wang
Shelley Wong
Di Xu
Suqiang Zhang

"Cultural Education" proved to be a slippery term which required defining before the group was comfortable with the task of setting a research agenda. Throughout two days of discussion the group gravitated toward a broad definition of cultural education which would include moral/political education, aesthetic education, education in the arts and non-formal education through the media. Clearly there were areas where the Cultural Education Working Group shared concerns and research interests with the group on Non-formal and Informal Education.

Our group was perhaps more concerned with process than with product. Nevertheless, we offer this as a tentative, though incomplete, list of possible topics for research.

In the course of the conversation there were three main themes which emerged as possible research questions:

A. What does it mean to be a "cultured" or "educated" person in Chinese society? (jiao shu yu ren)

1. What useful elements can be gleaned from traditional Chinese culture, Marxist culture or the West?
2. Who arbitrates societal values and truths?
3. What is the role of the state?
4. What are the current cultural policies?
5. What is the nature of the cultural discourse?

B. How might we characterize the present student subculture and what will be the political and moral characteristics of the new population of students?

1. The changing complexion of the Communist Youth League.
2. A look at popular songs, dance, and the literary interests of the students.
3. What is the nature of the "campus" culture?
4. What equity issues must we consider? (gender, region, urban/rural, class)

C. How is the media affecting China's children? (A good opportunity for cross-national comparisons considering that some television programs are shown in Taiwan, Hong Kong and the PRC)

1. What is the interface between the media and the schools?
2. Are there value dissonances created by the media?
3. What type of programming is available in these areas?

In discussing methods for conducting research, new questions and research interests emerged:

D. Using material culture as a means to illuminate popular attitudes toward "beauty".

1. Examination of the visual elements of textbooks and calendars.
2. Use videos as a means to examine the aesthetics of different settings: homes and classrooms.

Appendix

Report of the Working Group in Literacy Section: Issues, Research and Fieldwork Agenda

Frank Pialorsi
The University of Arizona

A. For Future Study and Development:

1. definition of literacy standards
2. review of literacy texts
3. development of a reliable instrument for literacy assessment

B. For Fieldwork:

1. investigation of literacy for women and girls, especially in rural areas
2. collection of data on how genda and literacy intersect
3. description of research models currently being used by Chinses researchers
4. identification of current definitions of literacy and literacy programs
5. examination of work-related literacy such as special types for rural women and the role of literacy in family planning programs
6. measurement of the success of state and locally designed programs and means extent of accessability to and availability of various data
7. description of the work of indigenous researchers, their systems for followup observation of the efficacy of various programs
8. more comparative literacy studies with areas such as India, Latin America, Africa, as well as the U.S.
9. literacy and minority languages in specific settings such as school vs. job
10. study of the influence of pop culture on learning of English as a foreign language

C. Priority Needs:

1. review of lireature and research in Chinese language literacy
2. use of Bitnet network to compile an annotated bibliography (posssible clearinghouse: American Association of Asian Studies)
3. research team members: Chang, Roth, Stites, Liu Xhang to contact sub-group of research people
4. all intersted groups to consider cross-reference system
5. re-definition of literacy by current Chinese researchers; that is the kinds literacy within the Chinese context: a contectual definition of literacy

D. Possible Additional Funding Sources:

1. Ford Foundation
2. Jiang Jinkou Memorial Foundation

Appendix

Report of the Working Group in Basic and Rural Education

Weiping Gong
The University of Virginia

Chair: Kai-ming Cheng, University of Hong Kong

Rapporteur: Weiping Gong, University of Virginia

Participants: Manzoor Ahmed, United Nations Children's Fund; Kuang-fu Chang, Kaohsiung Normal University, Taiwan; Lungching Chiao, US Department of Education; Winnie Lai, University of Hong Kong; James O'Connor, California State University at Bakersfield; Leo Orleans, Library of US Congress; Lynn Paine, Michigan State University; Xiaodong Qiao, East-West Center; Valerie Sutter, The University of Virginia.

A. Defining the terms:

1. Whether to use the mainstream notion of Rural Education or to use the term Basic Education, which may cover education both in rural and urban areas?
2. One opinion: The term "Rural Education" does not quite fit the situation in Taiwan and Hong Kong.
3. The result: not quite conclusive; therefore, the present use of the reconciliatory term "Basic and Rural Education."

B. Suggesting what can be done (by the group and those interested in this area):

1. Clearing House function—to gather and disseminate information of research in this area. The Hong Kong group (Kaiming Chen, Winnie Lai and others) will take the initiative in exploring the possibility of establishing such a Clearing House for research information from selected Chinese publications.
2. Networking function—to develop and establish relations with scholars, researchers, practitioners and policy-makers in this area.

C. Identifying areas of study:

1. Areas identified: vocational education, multi-cultural education (including bilingual education), special education, religious education, aesthetic education, minority education, distance learning, policy-making process in education, policy choice (funding, teacher training, curriculum, textbooks, student access, and equity issues), moral education, school-community partnership, school administration and educational planning.

D. Deciding upon strategies:

1. Several strategies are agreed upon—Knowing, Understanding, Identifying/Defining Problems, Research and Analysis, and Searching for Solutions; Diffusion.
2. Strategies as applied to problems. (see diagram, next page)

E. Setting the priority:

1. Factors to be considered while setting the priority
   - — feasibility
   - — essentiality
   - — urgency
   - — availability of resources (eg. time, funds, expertise, literature)

F. Pinpointing possible funding sources:

United Board, Asian Foundation, Ford Foundation, Luce Foundation, Rockefeller foundation, Run & Shaw Foundation, Spencer Foundation, UNICEF, etc.

Appendix

Report of the Working Group in Basic and Rural Education

(continued)

KNOWING	UNDERSTANDING	IDENTIFYING PROBLEMS
Teacher training: mobility special educ. minority educ. gender issues instruction	Teacher training: attitudes conditions	Teacher training: Minban
Curriculum: junior secondary innovation localize curri. choice	Curriculum: value educ. exams rural vs. urban	Curriculum: textbooks extra curri.
Sch. admin./planning: leadership climate Party role efficiency	Sch. admin./plning: discipline assessment work-study	Sch. admin./plning:
Students: aspiration parents health/affairs rights grads. profiles	Students: equity (gender/ability) discipline	Students:
Policy: implementation efficiency local policy	Policy:	Policy:
Funding:		
Regional disparity:		

Appendix

Chinese Education for the 21st Century
Remaining Abstracts

(Alphabetically Listed by Family Names)

CAREY, Joan
South China Normal University
"Learning for the Foreign Research Experiences of South China Normal University Scholars"

In sending scholars abroad for further study, the Chinese government has recently placed an increased emphasis on selecting more mature and experienced candidates as participants. A second notable change has been to endorse shorter term study and research not directed primarily toward the earning of an advanced degree. Chinese and Western scholars and institutions struggle to learn how to accommodate these changes. A number of scholars from South China Normal University have done study and research abroad in recent years under just these circumstances. The story of their experiences during their time abroad and after returning to China may serve to inform other institutions, both Chinese and Western, as they plan various roles in similar research endeavors.

CHOOK, Edward K.
University of Southern California

KWON ZU, Hsueh
Taiwan Normal University

LIN, Agnes
University of Southern California

NIU, Zuyin
China Guangdong Television
ROUNDTABLE: Life-long Learning Views from China and Taiwan

Life-long learning in China is perceived as a means to educate a large number of highly trained people in order to achieve the four modernizations (agriculture, industry, defense, and science and technology). Because this growing need cannot be met by conventional education, distance learning via radio and television became the main education vehicle since 1979. With its student body mostly consisting of in-service adults and secondary-school graduates, China's Radio and Television Universities (RTVU) enrolled over 1 million students and graduated over 500,000 in a 10-year span. The panel will examine the accomplishments, problems and prospects of China's RTVU.

In Taiwan, life-long learning encompasses community social education, supplemental education (ranges from elementary to college levels), adult education, continuing education, senior citizen education, and University of the Air. Taiwan's Universi-ty of the Air provides students who scored below selection crite-ria in the college entrance examinations another avenue to obtain a college degree.

In fact, in both Taiwan and China, education is degree-oriented. The discrepancy between the perceived value of diploma and purpose of life-long education in China and Taiwan will be discussed.

CHOU, Chuing Prudence
University of California at Los Angeles
"Gender Difference in the Academic Reward System: A Nation-wide Study of the University Faculty Members in Taiwan"

Taiwan of the last decade has been undergoing major changes: the lifting of martial law and the relaxation of censorship. The society is experiencing a period of shifting power relations—that is, contested power structure between men and women, between the old and young generations, and between and authoritarian regime and its opposition. Unless a fair social order guaranteeing equal opportunities is constructed and regulated between different groups of people, the growing internal and external pressure and conflict will deteriorate Taiwan's economic development and democratization process.

Academe is a part of the social system, which prides itself on the pursuit of meritocracy and equality. Even though a centralized and fixed salary policy has been enforced by the government across all fields of specialty in Taiwan, gender bias appears in consideration of promotion in the universities. In reality, female faculty members are restrained by lack of support from the academic system and society at large. The study will investigate gender differences in the university reward system among faculty members.

CHOW, Paul
California State University, Northridge
"A Re-Examination of the Lower Secondary Education Curriculum Under the Scheme of Universal Basic Education"

When lower secondary school is implemented as universal basic education, its nature immediately becomes rural and, for the great majority, terminal. Its curriculum should no more remain as it is, an intermediate step to a higher level. It should rather be redesignated as to prepare useful citizens for a modern age. Through a World Bank sponsored Physics Teaching Workshop in Summer 1991, a model with an ambitious dissemination plan has been developed to emphasize the heuristic approach through critical thinking and simple hands-on experience. Similar approach is applicable not only to other branches of science teaching, but also to the training of a thinking worker for a technological society.

EPSTEIN, Irving
Lafayette College
"Child Labor and Educational Policy in the People's Republic of China"

This paper will examine various aspects of child labor with specific reference to educational priorities and policies in China. It will summarize salient aspects of vocational and "productive labor" curricula within primary and middle schools, in light of market pressures and the responsibility system. The impact of official efforts to universalize primary education upon local child labor practices, and the changing nature of reform and re-education through labor policies within juvenile justice settings will also be discussed. International comparisons with particular reference to India will also be noted.

HSIEH, Hsiao-chin
National Tsing Hua University
"Sex Differences in Educational Opportunities"

This study investigates differential educational opportunities between male and female junior school graduates in their matriculation process to the senior high school level. Three aspects of Levin's analysis of the

concept of equal educational opportunity are involved, i.e., 10 equal access to the educational system, 2) equal participation in the educational process, and 3) equal educational results.
The research results show that there has been an unequal access to post-compulsory educational placement in favor of boys. Based on a 1985 sample of 795 graduates of two Taipei junior high schools, results suggest that girls' educational aspirations at this stage are at least as high as boys, but the junior high school system and the matriculation process may operate by far more for the interest of boys than for that of girls.

JACOBSON, William H.
The University of Arkansas at Little Rock

"The Development of Special Education Services in the People's Republic of China for the 21st Century"

Since 1987 the Carter Center, Global 2000 and the China Disabled Federation have conducted cooperative projects to train teachers and administrators who work with handicapped children and adults in the People's Republic of China. To date 250 teachers and over 100 administrators have received 12 training courses in four different project areas: mental retardation, deafness, visual impairment, and administration.

This paper will focus on a description of the projects, results from the various training courses, and a discussion of a projected course of action that needs to be taken into the 21st century to improve special education services.

JELLICORSE, John Lee
Hong Kong Baptist College

"Chinese Media Education"

Media education (Journalism, Film/Video, Advertising, Public Relations and Communication Studies) in Mainland, Taiwan, and Hong Kong institutions will be described and analyzed. Both diploma and certificate programs will be reviewed, and current Chinese media education programs and curricula will be compared and contrasted with British and American models. While note will be made of media, particularly film and video, as educational technologies, primary focus will be on the interaction of media with cultural education. Given the significance of media practitioners as cultural gatekeepers, Chinese media education's potential influence on 21st century Chinese political and aesthetic values will be accessed.

KRUZE, Uldis
University of San Francisco

"'Political Correctness' in Chinese Education: Compulsory Political Education in the Curriculum after June 4th 1989"

One important recent development in China's educational system has been an increased emphasis on compulsory political education in the aftermath of the June 4th massacre in Beijing. "Insufficient political awareness" and a "lax attitude" shown by Zhao Ziyang to compulsory political education led, in Deng Xiaoping's assessment, to the Democracy Movement of 1989. To prevent future mass movements of this type, one solution offered by China's ruling hardliners has been to reimpose and re-emphasize the virtues of Chinese socialism and the negative aspects of capitalism ("spiritual pollution").

This paper will 1) analyze the policy of the Chinese government since the summer of 1989 regarding the issue of implementing political education ("zhengzhi jiaoyu") in the curriculum, and 2) analyze its effectiveness in the face of resistance to it from China's "civic society" and "reformist" elements within the Communist Party itself.

LAI, Winnie Y.W. Auycung
University of Hong Kong

Curriculum Dissemination in the People's Republic of China

Curriculum Development in China can be typically described as top-down and centrally controlled. This paper attempts to elaborate the validity of this statement by describing the strategies adopted in the dissemination of curriculum changes from 1978 up to the present. The first part of this paper compares and contrasts the strategies used to disseminate curriculum changes in the PRC wutg soecuak reference to Secondary School Chinese Language during the 1978-1987 and post-1987 periods. This is followed by an analysis of the causes for the different strategies adopted in the two periods. Finally, the paper identifies and discusses the major problems and obstacles in the dissemination of curriculum changes in the PRC.

LAMONTAGNE, Jacques
University de Montreal

"Education and Quality of Life in China's Counties and Cities"

The aim of this paper is twofold: (a) to compare the educational level of the counties and the cities of China and (b) to relate the educational level of the counties and the cities with various indices of other aspects of quality of life: economic, health and cultural.

The analysis is based on raw quantitative data from the 1982 national census of all counties and cities and from a 1985 survey of all cities and their satellite counties.

Three hypotheses are tested. (1) The development of education and the improvement of the other aspects of quality of life are markedly more advanced in the cities than in the counties, more advanced in the satellite counties than in the remote counties, and more advanced in the counties which were, in later years, to acquire the status of city than in the counties that did not change status. (2) In view of the recognized importance of education as a component of development, education (measured by educational level) and other aspects of quality of life (measured by economic, health and cultural indices) reinforce one another in the development of the counties and the cities. (3) In the context of the economic reform of the eighties, in particular the implementation of the responsibility system, educational development displays a certain degree of incongruity with economic development.

LI, Shaotung
Hunan Normal University

The Developing Vocational and Technical Education of Hunan Province in China

In the last decade, Hunan's vocational and technical education has witnessed rapid growth. By 1990, the province had built 679 vocational and technical secondary schools, with a total enrolment of 277,900 (99,300 in polytechnic schools, 124,500 in vocational senior middle schools, and 54,100 in ordinary technical schools). According to the province's ten-year program and the plan for the first five years, the goal for developing vocational and technical education in Hunan is: the number of students of various vocational and technical secondary schools should be increased to 50% of the total number of students of all senior secondary schools by the year 1991, and to 60% by the year 2000; newly-recruited workers should mostly receive basic vocational and technical training required by their jobs; and for the more professional and technical jobs, all the workers should receive strict systematic vocational and technical training. This paper also addresses, the present condition concerning the teaching force of Hunan's vocational middle schools and the role of the College of Vocational Education of Hunan Normal University in Hunan's vocational and technical education. (excerpt)

LIN, Agnes
University of Southern California
CHAN, W.C.
Hong Kong Examination Authority
LEE, T.C.
College Entrance Examination Center
MA, Jin-ke
National Education Examination Authority

WU Jing-Jyi
Foundation for Scholarly Exchange

ROUNDTABLE: "The Use of Tests in College Admission in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan: Pros, Cons and Prospects"

Although some American universities and colleges require results from the SAT (Scholastic Aptitude Test) or the ACT (American College Testing Program) as part of the credentials for admission, the United States has no single national examination that approximates the role played by the national college en-trance examination in China and Taiwan. In both places, this examination covers six subjects and lasts approximately 12 hours over a three-day span. It decides the fates of millions.

In the United States, with more than 3,200 institutions of higher learning offering vastly diverse program of studies, virtually any high school graduates who wants to attend a college can. In China, on the other hand, less than 1% of the 3 million students who take the entrance examination can enroll. Taiwan's admission ratio is about 26% for the 100,000 who sit for the examination. In the context of the large number of students who compete for limited access to higher education, the adoption of a uniform set of procedures such as a single examination is understandable. However, the appropriateness of such measure has provoked constant debate, and the calls for reform are legion.

The panel will assess present conditions as well as elaborate on the pros and cons of implementing national college entrance examinations. Possible modifications, alternatives and future directions will also be explored.

LU, Tiecheng
Sichuan Educational Commission

Emphasis, Difficulties and Hopes: a view of rural education in China

In Sichuan, the epitome of China, universal education in rural area is both emphatic and difficult point of rural education, the major part of the whole Chinese education. The future direction and hope is to carry out full-scale comprehensive reform which includes: re-adjust investment policy to be favorable in considerable degree to rural area, encourage people-run education re-adjust educational structure, more flexibility of schooling forms, advance educational thought and strengthen international cooperation.

MA, Liping
Michigan State University

"A Comparative Study on Chinese and American Teacher's Knowledge of Mathematics"

This paper will be a report of a comparative study on elementary teachers' subject knowledge of mathematics between Chinese and American teachers. The National Center of Research on Teacher Education at Michigan State University collected data of teachers' knowledge from different sites in the States. I will use the math section of the interview questionnaire of NCRTE to interview Chinese teachers at two sites (one rural and one urban area) in this summer. The research will reveal difference and commonness between Chinese and American teachers on their knowledge of math and of teaching math. Also, the author's explanation of the research result will be given.

O'CONNOR, James E.
California State University/Bakersfield

"A Qualitative Analysis of Thought Processes of Teachers in the People's Republic of China"

This study examines the thoughts of ten veteran Chinese elementary school math and reading teachers from the People's Republic of China using a think aloud technique. These teachers, all employed at a key elementary school affiliated with the Beijing Foreign Language Institute, were asked to "think aloud" as they reacted to six vignettes containing classroom management problems typically encountered within an elementary school classroom. Their responses were recorded via audiotapes and translated from Chinese into English in order to construct the resulting verbal protocols.

These protocols yielded rich data and exceptional insight into these teachers thought processes as they attempted to solve these hypothetical problems. A qualitative analysis of these transcripts discovered that these teachers place much emphasis on their students' moral development focusing on such important values as love, respect and harmony. Solutions to the problems were frequently student-centered and humanistic with particular care taken not to humiliate their students. Oftentimes the teachers presented multiple possible solutions to the problems presented to them.

PAINE, Lynn & DELANY, Brian
Michigan State University

"The Changing Meaning of Schooling in Rural China"

At the heart of China's desired social and economic transformation is the reform of rural life Schools in China have traditionally played a dual role: as an agency that sorts and differentiates among people (providing opportunities for individuals to leave rural areas) and as a creator of social coherence and shared understandings What are the roles of schooling in China's rural society on the eve of the 21st century? What meanings does education have for students, parents. and communities? This paper draws on recent and ongoing fieldwork in one rural county as illustrative of the dynamic role of schooling in rural life Data include interviews with provincial, county, township and village education officials, principals teachers, students and parents. as well as classroom observations in schools that represent a range of educational opportunities.

SHEN, Louis N.
Physics Department, California State University
CHOW, Paul
Physics Department, California State University

Due to a variety of reasons, physics laboratory is a largely neglected subject, particularly in junior high schools. Two sessions of a two week workshop on Physics Laboratory Teaching, sponsored by the Educational Committee and the World Bank, were held in Hefei, Anhui in the summer of 1991. Over eighty participants, mostly physics instructors of educational institutes around the nation, attended. The authors, as instructors, proposed a novel teaching system which encompasses the following:

1. The main objective is to cultivate students' mastery of the scientific methods of experimentation;
2. A strong emphasis is placed on the "hands-on" approach;
3. The development of critical thinking skills in students is a high priority;
4. Students are required to develop empirical relationship between variables from their data, and not a single experiment is to verify a given theory. Despite initial skepticism and lack of familiarity on the part of most participants, reactions to the new system was extremely favorable. Plans are afoot to test the new system in some twenty junior high schools in Anhui as early as the Fall of 1992. Rationale for the new system, the possible ramifications as well as other follow-up plans will be discussed.

SHU, Hangli
SUNY at Buffalo

"Girls' Education in China"

Along with the recent economic reforms in China, women's social status has been dropping to a great extent because of their general low qualification and education, as well as their lack of the motivation for societal/political participation. Many sociologists and educational researchers recognized that in order to improve women's social status,

the essential way is to improve women's eduction. This paper is focused on the current issues of girls' education in China, such as the impacts of school education, reading materials, and job market on girls' education. Suggestions for 21st century girls' education are also made in the paper.

STITES, Regie
University of California at Los Angeles
"Issues in the Qualitative Evaluation of Adult Literacy Work"

This paper summarizes preliminary findings from an ethnographic case study of adult literacy education and literacy practices in a rural township in western Fujian and presents a model for the qualitative evaluation of anti-illiteracy work in rural and remote communities. The model is designed to highlight the following aspects of Chinese anti-illiteracy work: (1) technical aspects affected by literacy educational policy decisions and therefore amenable to central control and reform; (2) practical aspects related to the context of local communication practices within which and upon which literacy education operates; and, (3) ideological aspects related to the transfer and transformation of various domains of knowledge through literacy education and literacy practices in a given context.

TENG, Xing
Central Institute of Nationalities
"Basic Education of National Minorities in China: Present Situation and Future Development"

1. A history of basic education in China.
2. The present socio-economic and cultural levels of population in minority areas.
3. The forecast of the need for talented people in the economic development of minority areas in the year 2000.
4. Basic education in minority areas: present situation and future strategy.

TZENG, Ovid J.L.
National Chung Cheng University
The Impact of Literacy on children's Metalinguistic Ability: a Comparative Reading Perspective

The advent of writing systems is undoubtedly one of the most important cultural achievements of humankind. In fact, human beings stand alone in history as the sole creature on earth who invented written symbols and who also benefitted from these symbols. Without question, because of the ability to transcribe spoken language into some kind of graphic representations, communication has been vastly expanded to overcome the limitations of space and time that are usually imposed on the spoken sound. But such an enlightening thought developed slowly; Indeed, it took a span of many thousands of years for our ancestors to come up with systems that work for different languages, and it certainly takes a great deal of effort on the part of a modern learner to become a fluent reader in any writing system. This can not be simply a biological coincident. It is the purpose of the present paper to review relevant research issues and their implication from a comparative reading perspective.

WANG, Xu
SEEBERG, Vilma
WANG, Tingyu
Kent State University
Equality of Access to Higher Education in the P.R. China 1985-91: Results of Targeted Recruitment Policies

As part of the 1980 reforms to promote economic development, the central government of the People's Republic of China undertook new programs in higher education consisting of the expansion of technical-professional programs and the implementation of new, coercive affirmative action recruitment strategies. Regional inequities in development and education had resulted in critical deficiencies in skills and personnel particularly in rural areas and the agricultural sector in general. Dislocations such as these are common to regions undergoing the transition from subsistence to agriculture to large-scale commercial and industrial production. The Chinese government made policy decisions to counteract the strong economic pull of urban development with preferential recruitment of rural background students, and making contingent post-graduation job assignments in rural agriculture.

Compared to several educational reforms on recruitment and programs, this education reform was a first educational reform based on economic needs instead of political needs. Our hypothesis is that the new coercive recruitment policies would meet the goals they aimed and would cause more equal opportunities for students from areas designated to be in need of economic development.

This presentation will report on a larger project inquiring into whether the new coercive recruitment policies could counteract economic pull factors. And the presentation will view the issue of access to higher education by students from rural and urban locations.

The results of descriptive, chi-square analyses will show the impact of the reform policies on access to higher education and its distribution across the above mentioned segments of society.

WONG, Shelley
University of Maryland
"Dialogic Approaches to International Educational Exchange"

The paper describes the study of a year-long orientation program for Chinese students in New York City. Multicultural curriculum was designed to introduce the students to diverse voices within American culture. In preparation for graduate studies in the United States, students developed a critical perspective to integrate and apply what they learned to their future work in China. Students were encouraged to preserve and to develop their distinctively Chinese perspectives and voices in academic American English..The paper traces dialogic approaches to language and culture from traditional Eastern and Western philosophy to Mao and Freire.

ZHANG, Diana
University of Maryland
"Non-government Education in China: Diversity in a Structured Society"

Non-government educational institutions, mainly at secondary and post-secondary levels, have emerged in Chinese society since the country's economic reform of the late 1970s. Commonly, yet erroneously, defined as adult education in general, these institutions operate under jurisdiction of government adult learning administrative agencies. These new and varied educational institutions range from single-subject, private vocational schools to full-fledged accrediting, multi-resource universities. Their evolution and growth is marked by both substantial achievement and by painful struggle. Few people, even educators, outside of China know of these privately sponsored educational initiatives in what is otherwise a heavily government controlled society. The paper proposed here will introduce and analyze Chinese non-government education, through its history, policy changes, nationwide controversies, social impact and current status.

Data for this presentation, collected primarily through the researcher's personal investigation, in summer 1990, on a series of publications and interviews with policy-makers, researchers and institutional administrators. Data also include demographic information on the size and scope of non-government education in China as well as current concerns among institutions and government.

It is the presenter's intention to stimulate interest from Comparative and International Education Society and encourage further, in-depth investigation of Chinese non-government education.

DILGER, Bernhard
Ruhr University
"An Analysis of Textbooks in Regional Use in the Countryside of the People's Republic of China"

ENGLESBERG, Paul
University of Massachussetts
University Students in China: Learning Outside the Classroom

HARTNETT, Richard
University of West Virginia
MIN, Weifang
Beijing University
Cross-cultural Encounters and Chinese Educational Reform

ORLEANS, Leo A.
Library of Congress
Are China's Educational Woes Impeding Economic Growth?

POSTIGLIONE, Gerry
University of Hong Kong
"National Minority Education in China"

QIAO, Xiaodong
University of Hawaii
"Development and Reform of Teaching Language Training in Taiwan"

Chinese Education for the 21st Century

November 19 - 22, 1991, Honolulu, Hawaii

The Honolulu conference is designed to provide researchers, practitioners, and policy makers with a forum to discuss various theoretical and practical issues around four themes basic and rural education, literacy, cultural education, and learning experiences in formal, informal, and non-formal settings, and to formulate potential topics for future investigations. The conference will serve as an opportunity for scholars and educators from the Mainland, Taiwan, and Hong Kong to share views and concerns with their colleagues from other parts of the world so as to mutually assess the present conditions as well as to explore what might generate a means by which to improve quality of learning.

Conference Program

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1991 (third floor)

12:30-4:30 p.m. **REGISTRATION**

1:00-3:00 p.m. **PRE-CONFERENCE WORKSHOP**
A Comparative Context on Educational & Familial Impact of Fewer Siblings
Room: Mauna Kea Ballroom
Panelist: Joseph Tobin, University of Hawaii/Manoa

4:45-5:45 p.m. **WELCOME REMARKS, OPENING COMMENTARY & PROGRAM PURPOSES**
Room: Mauna Kea Ballroom
Dean Victor Kobayashi, University of Hawaii/Manoa
Peter Hackett & Xiao-ming Yu, University of Virginia
Lungching Chiao, US Department of Education

5:45 p.m. **Opening Reception (the Promenade Terrace)**

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1991 (third floor)

7:30-8:15 a.m. **Continental Breakfast (Foyer)**

8:15-9:45 a.m. **PLENARY SESSION**
Literacy on Children's Metalinguistic Ability: A Comparative Perspective
Room: Mauna Kea Ballroom
Chair: Lunhching Chiao, US Dept. of Education
Speakers: Ovid Tzeng, Taiwan Chung Cheng University
Ji-mei Chang, San Jose State University
Discussant: Gerry Postiglione, University of Hong Kong

9:45-10:00 a.m. **Coffee/Tea Break**

10:00-11:30 a.m. **CONCURRENT SESSIONS**

John Dewey & Mao Zedong
Room: Haleakala I
Chair: Robert Cowen, University of London
Panelists: *Dewey & May Fourth Movement*
Cheryl Dockser, Babson College
Encounter between Dewey & Mao
Xiao-ming Yu, University of Virginia
Experiments by Dewey & Mao
Di Xu, University of North Dakota
Discussant: Dean John Cleverley, University of Sydney

Education & Society
Room: Haleakala II
Chair: Edgar Porter, University of Hawaii/Manoa
Panelists: *Child Labor & Educational Policy*
Irving Epstein, Lafayette College
Consequences of De-politicizing Moral Education
Allen Chun, Inst. of Ethnology, Taiwan
Different Managerial Styles between US & China
Faith Breen, Prince George Commu. College
Discussant: Leo Orleans, Library of Congress

Test Scores in College Admissions: Pros & Cons
Room: Kilauea I
Chair: Agnes Lin, Univ. of Southern California
Panelists: W.C. Chan, H K Examinations Authority
Jing-jyi Wu, Foundation for Scholarly Exchange, Taiwan

Women's Education and Employment
Room: Kilauea II
Chair: Valerie Sutter, University of Virginia
Panelists: *Equal Opportunities in Higher Education*
Marian Davis, Florida State University
Girls' Education in China
Hangli Shu, SUNY/Buffalo
Women Faculty in Taiwan
Chuing Chou, UCLA
Sex Difference in Educational Opportunities
Hsiao-chin Hsieh, Tsing Hua Univ., Taiwan
Discussant: Heidi Ross, Colgate University

Practical Realities in Classroom (Roundtable Discussion)
Room: Mauna Kea Ballroom
Chair: Steve Thorpe, East-West Center
Panelists: Xiaodong Qiao, East-West Center
Bihui Fang, Beijing Jinshan School

11:30-12:30 p.m. **Lunch (Mauna Kea Ballroom)**

12:30-2:00 p.m. **PLENARY SESSION**
Comparative Perspectives on Teacher Education
Room: Mauna Kea Ballroom
Chair: Victor Kobayashi, Univ. of Hawaii/Manoa
Speaker: Harry Judge, Oxford University
Discussants: Dean James Cooper, University of Virginia

Dean John Dolly, University of Hawaii/Manoa
Dean Kuang-fu Chang, Kaohsiung Normal University, Taiwan
Dean Shaotang Li, Hunan Teachers University

2:00-6:00 p.m. **AFTERNOON TOURS**
Historic Hawaii and Honolulu environs

6:00 p.m. **Evening Meal at Hee Hing Chinese Restaurant**

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1991 (third floor)

7:30-8:15 a.m. **Continental Breakfast (Foyer)**

8:15-9:45 a.m. **PLENARY SESSION**
International Exchange in China

Room: Tower Garden (fifth floor)
Chair: Peter Hackett, University of Virginia
Speaker: Ruth Hayhoe, OISE, Canada
Discussants: Lianping He, China International Exchange, Beijing
Glenn Shive, Institute of International Education, U.S.
Jing-jyi Wu, Foundation for Scholarly Exchange, Taiwan
Robert Cowen, University of London

9:45-10:00 a.m. **Coffee/Tea Break**

10:00-11:30 a.m. **CONCURRENT SESSIONS**
Literacy in the Mainland

Room: Haleakala I
Chair: Kai-ming Cheng, University of Hong Kong
Panelists: *Evaluation of Adult Literacy*
Regie Stites, UCLA
Technological Literacy for China's Youth
James Kirkwood, Ball State University
Discussant: Ji-mei Chang, San Jose State University

English Language Teaching in China

Room: Haleakala II
Chair: Weiping Gong, University of Virginia
Panelists: *Promises & Limitations of EFL in Taiwan*
Frank Pialorsi, University of Arizona
EFL Teacher Education in Mainland
Janice Penner, Univ. of British Columbia
Discussant: Gay Reed, University of Virginia

Education Reform & Teacher Training

Room: Kilauea I
Chair: Heidi Ross, Colgate University
Panelists: *Thought Process of Teachers in China*
James O'Connor, Ca. State Univ./Bakersfield
Development & Reform of Teacher Education
Xiaodong Qiao, East-West Center
Teaching in a Chinese Way - Social Marketing
K.C. Chen, Taiwan University
Discussant: Lynn Paine, Michigan State University

Life-long Learning in China (Roundtable Discussion)

Room: Kilauea II
Chair: Edward Chook, Univ. of Southern California
Panelists: Kuangtsu Hsueh, Taiwan Normal University
Anges Lin, University of Southern California

Cultural & Educational Exchange

Room: Captain's Room
Chair: Lungching Chiao, US Dept. of Education
Panelists: *China's Academic Exchange with Canada*
Martin Singer, Concordia University
Dialogic Approaches to Educational Exchange
Shelley Wong, University of Maryland
Foreign Research Experiences in China
Joan Carey, South China Normal University
"Adopt a Rural School Library" Project
Dun-zhi Liu, Hunan Land Surveying Bureau
Discussant: Lianping He, China International Exchange

11:30-12:30 p.m. **Buffet Lunch (seated by working groups)**

12:30-2:00 p.m. **PLENARY SESSION**
Rural Education in China

Room: Captain's Room
Chair: Xiao-ming Yu, University of Virginia
Speakers: Kai-ming Cheng, University of Hong Kong
Lynn Paine, Michigan State University
Tiecheng Lu, Sichuan Education Commission
Discussants: John Cleverley, University of Sydney
Manzoor Ahmed, UNICEF

2:00-2:30 p.m. **Coffee/Tea Break**

2:30-4:00 p.m. **CONCURRENT SESSIONS**
Education as a Means of Modernization

Room: Haleakala I
Chair: Gerry Postiglione, University of Hong Kong
Panelists: *A Novel Approach to Physics Laboratory Teaching*
Louis Shen & Paul Chow, California State University/Fullerton
PRC's Graduate Education in the 21st Century
Shuching Chen, SUNY/Buffalo
Minority Education in China
Xing Teng, Central Institute of Nationalities Studies, Beijing
Special Education Service in the PRC
William Jacobson, University of Arkansas
Discussant: Joan Carey, South China Normal University

Education as an Ideology

Room: Haleakala II
Chair: Liu Zhang, University of Virginia
Panelists: *Jianxi Communist Labor University*
John Cleverley, University of Sydney
Christian Higher Education in Taiwan
Chen-main Wang, Tamkang University
"Political Correctness" in China's Political Education
Uldis Kruze, University of San Francisco
Traditional Values & Communist Ideology
Jizhu Zhang, Southern Illinois University
Discussant: Valerie Sutter, University of Virginia

Education as a Culture

Room: Kilauea I
Chair: Richard Hartnett, University of West Virginia
Panelists: *Media Education in China*
John Jellicorse, Hong Kong Bapitist College

Value Clarification among College Students
Shuqiang Zhang, University of Hawaii/Manoa

Cross-cultural Encounter & Edu. Reform
Richard Hartnett, University of West Virginia
Weifang Min, Beijing University

Discussant: Peter Hackett, University of Virginia

Education as a Development

Room: Kilauea II
Chair: Glenn Shive, IIE, U.S.

Panelists: *Is Education A Drag on China's Economy?*
Leo Orleans, Library of Congress

The "Blind Angle" in Chinese Education
Quanyu Huang, Miami University

Curriculum Dissemination in PRC
Winnie Lai, University of Hong Kong

Equal Access to Higher Education
V. Seeberg, X. Wang, & T. Wang, KSU

Discussant: Ruth Hayhoe, OISE, Canada

4:00-4:15 p.m. **Break**

4:15-5:15 p.m. **WORKING GROUP SESSIONS**

6:15-7:00 p.m. **No Host Reception**

7:00-9:00 p.m. **Banquet**

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1991 (third floor)

7:30-8:15 a.m. **Continental Breakfast (Foyer)**

8:15-9:45 a.m. **PLENARY SESSION**
Aesthetics Education in China: Challenges & Problems

Room: Mauna Kea Ballroom
Chair: Peter Hackett, University of Virginia
Speakers: Peter Hackett, University of Virginia
Richard Smith, Rice University
Victor Kobayashi, Univ. of Hawaii/Manoa

9:45-10:00 a.m. **Coffee/Tea Break**

10:00-11:30 a.m. **CONCURRENT SESSIONS**
Issues in Rural & Basic Education

Room: Haleakala I
Chair: Lynn Paine, Michigan State University

Panelists: *Edu. & Quality of Life in Counties & Cities*
Jacques Lamontagne, University of Montreal

Changes in Schooling in Rural China
Lynn Paine, Michigan State University

An Analysis of Textbooks in Rural Education
Bernhard Dilger, Ruhr-University Bochum

Discussant: Manzoor Ahmed, UNICEF

Curriculum & Schooling

Room: Haleakala II
Chair: Glenn Shive, IIE, U.S.

Panelists: *China's Search for School Curriculum*
Yat-ming Leung, Univ. of Hong Kong

A Re-examination of Secondary Curriculum
Paul Chow, Ca. State University/Fullerton

A Comparative Study of Reform Cases
Brian DeLany, Michigan State University

Discussant: James Cooper, University of Virginia

Moral & Social Dimensions of Education

Room: Kilauea I
Chair: Irving Epstein, Lafayette College

Panelists: *Socialization & Moral Education in PRC*
Gay Reed, University of Virginia

Taiwan's Education in the 21st Century
Kuang-fu Chang, Kaohsiung Normal Univ.

Vocational & Technical Education in Hunan
Shaotang Li, Hunan Teachers University

Discussant: Irving Epstein, Lafayette College

Informal & Non-formal Education

Room: Kilauea II
Chair: Edgar Porter, University of Hawaii/Manoa

Panelists: *Radio & TV University in China*
Yuen-ching Sin Fu, University of Calgary

Formal & Informal Organization on Campus
Paul Englesberg, University of Massachusetts

Using Slides in Teaching Methodology
Tsu-shou Li, Taiwan Normal University

Discussant: Joan Carey, South China Normal University

11:30-12:30 p.m. **Buffet Lunch (seated by working groups)**
Room: Mauna Kea Ballroom

12:30-2:00 p.m. **WORKING GROUP SESSIONS**

2:00-3:00 p.m. **PLENARY SESSION**
(Mauna Kea Ballroom)
Final Group Reports & Future Research Agenda

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The Planning Committee would like to express its special appreciation to the following individuals for their assistance to developing this conference:
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