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Exploring the educational ideas and practice of UK transnational education in China from the perspective of citizenship

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Exploring the Educational Ideas and Practice
of UK Transnational Education in China from
the Perspective of Citizenship

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Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirement for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

February 2014

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Abstract

This research project is an investigation of the educational ideas and practice of UK Transnational Education (TNE) in mainland China from the perspective of citizenship education. There are two areas of detailed examination. The first area of enquiry looks into the educational process of UK TNE, exploring how citizenship education has been conducted in UK TNE. The second aspect looks at how the students perceive their roles as citizens in a globalising world. In this research, citizenship education is broadly understood as the preparation of students for their roles as citizens through formal educational institutions.

Four cases representing different models of UK TNE in China were included in the empirical investigation. Qualitative data regarding the educational ideas (how the TNE cases perceive their roles in preparing students to be future citizens), the pedagogical process (curriculum, teaching and learning of citizenship modules) and campus ethos (campus culture and students' organisations and activities) was collected to describe how citizenship education was conducted in UK TNE. Meanwhile, to understand how the students perceive citizenship and citizenship education, a mixed method of students' interviews complemented by simple questionnaires surveys was adopted.

Synthesising different aspects of research findings, a descriptive model was drawn to explain the various factors influencing how citizenship education is perceived and incorporated into UK TNE in China. The research found that citizenship education was predominantly regulated and directed by relevant policies in China. The most widely adopted approach (joint programmes of Case C and D and affiliated college of Case B, all under the administration of Chinese partner universities) was to require students to take the ideological-political modules. TNE joint venture with independent university status of Case A enjoyed relatively more autonomy and played down the ideological-political side of citizenship, by focusing on cultural studies and students' self-management. Students demonstrated active minds in establishing citizenship perceptions, showing awareness and concerns for the social and political development in China. UK TNE received positive feedback with regard to its stress on improving the students' English proficiency and cultivating their multicultural awareness and critical thinking. This research, though exploratory in nature, has important implications for policy making, curriculum design and strategies for cooperation regarding TNE in general and UK TNE in China in particular.

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I would also like to thank Dr. Jean Ware, director of research at the School of Education. As the chair of my research committee, she has offered me great support in times of difficulties and encouraged me to turn hardships into enjoyable moments. My thanks also go to Ms. Janet Thomas, who has been offering great administrative assistance since the day I received the interview invitation. I am very grateful to all the faculty members, who have contributed to the pleasant working environment within the School of Education.

My research would not be possible without the generous financial support from Bangor University. In the past three and a half years, I have also been working closely with the International Education Centre at Bangor University, where I gained first-hand experience in the TNE programme development. I am very thankful for their trust in appointing me as an International Ambassador for three years and to let me closely engage in their work. Most importantly, I have had the pleasure to work with and learn much from some wonderful colleagues at the centre, especially Mr. Alan Edwards, Ms Luna Wu and Mr Bing Li.

My special thanks go to my family. Without their encouragement and the initial financial support to let me study in the UK, I would not have the opportunity to secure a scholarship from Bangor University or to carry out this research.

Chapter 1 Introduction

This research explores the educational ideas and practice of UK Transnational Education (TNE) in mainland China from the perspective of preparing students to be future citizens. TNE and international higher education in general have been receiving great attention since the end of the 20th century. Still being a relatively new area for research and practice, many aspects of TNE remain somewhat of a mystery and are rarely touched upon in academic discussion. One challenging area is about how to deal with the different and even conflicting educational ideas among the participating countries. This study attempts to address this issue from a unique yet crucial perspective: citizenship education, one fundamental task of education and one highly contested educational issue in an ever changing and gradually globalising world.

1.1 My Background and Interests in this Research

I came to the UK in 2007 as a student at the University of Manchester, studying for an MA in translation and interpreting, with a focus on cross-cultural communication. After graduation, I started working for an education company in the UK, which initiated my interests in TNE. My responsibility was to provide information and application advice services for international students who were seeking higher education opportunities in the UK. Many of the service users were Chinese TNE students who were in their final year of undergraduate studies and seeking postgraduate opportunities. Through lengthy talks with the students and research about the relevant TNE programmes, I became familiar with and interested in different cross-border education provision models and many related issues, including internationalisation of the curriculum, educational quality assurance and students' learning experience.

Through comprehensive consultation sessions, I noticed that many students showed confusion regarding their career goals. Seldom did students talk about their personal interests in defining a career path. Rather the most commonly asked question was: would this degree (academic subject) get me a highly-paid job in China? Why did the financial return become the students' primary expectation from higher education?

Other than that, how did students picture their future roles in China? How could and should universities assist the students to define their roles? With these questions in mind, I proposed to conduct a research regarding the educational ideas and practice of TNE.

The selection of UK TNE in mainland China as the focus for this research was based on the following considerations. Firstly, mainland China has been a major source of overseas students in the UK, accounting for over 14.1% of the non-UK students at UK higher education institutions¹ (HEIs) in 2010. China has also been recognised as one of the three “major markets” for UK higher education, both in student recruitment and in educational partnership (DIUS, 2007, p. 22)². Secondly, for historical, cultural and political reasons, mainland China and the UK are very different with regard to educational ideas and conventions of higher education. Therefore, UK TNE in China could provide interesting case studies and valuable contributions to the discussion of how citizenship education could and should be conducted in the cross-border education provision. Finally, I have personal experience with both Chinese and UK universities, being capable of communicating with educators and students in both Chinese and English languages. A detailed research plan was finally made after months of discussion with my supervisors and reading through the existing literature.

1.2 Research Background and Rationale

This research investigates undergraduate degree education provided by UK universities in the territory of mainland China in cooperation with Chinese counterparts to the Chinese citizens. In China, these programmes are known as part of the *Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools* (CFCRS), which is defined as the cooperative activities “between foreign and Chinese education providers in establishing educational institutions or operating educational programmes in the territory of Mainland China to provide education services mainly to Chinese citizens” (Article 2, English version of *Regulations of the People’s Republic of China on Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools*, State Council of P.R.C, 2003). Internationally, these programmes are seen as part of Transnational Education (TNE). TNE is widely discussed in the academic world and frequently mentioned by many international organisations, including UNESCO, WTO, and OECD. It includes different

kinds of cross-border education delivery by HEIs in countries other than their own (DIUS, 2008, p. 4).

Different terms (CFCRS and TNE) used suggest different perspectives of and approaches to cross-border education delivery. CFCRS, as coined by the Chinese government, focuses on the word “cooperation”. “Cooperation” suggests an action initiated either by the Chinese HEIs or their foreign counterparts, which could bring benefits to both parties. In other words, the Chinese HEIs are not considered merely as receivers of foreign education. According to the primary directive law to regulate CFCRS, *Regulations of the People’s Republic of China on Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools* (State Council of the P.R.C, 2003) (hereinafter referred to as *CFCRS Regulations 2003*), foreign educational institutions, organisations or individuals are not allowed to run schools independently in Chinese territory (Article 62, *CFCRS Regulations 2003*). Legally, establishing partnerships with Chinese counterparts is the only option for any foreign education provider to deliver education services in mainland China. CFCRS research mainly focuses on how the development of CFCRS has met China’s educational needs and how to make CFCRS contribute to the education “undertaking beneficial to public interest” (Article 3, *CFCRS Regulations 2003*). Addressing primarily the needs of China, CFCRS is often taken as a holistic entity with minimal discussion regarding the different foreign providers’ educational incentives and expectations.

TNE, a term brought up initially by the higher education exporting countries, stresses the “transnational” nature of the provision. Countries with traditions of recruiting international students into their domestic HEIs extend their education provision beyond their national borders. Many HEIs began to set up branches abroad and export educational services overseas, getting involved in different TNE activities. TNE, which is coined from the perspectives of the exporting countries, puts greater emphasis on how the transnational education provision could benefit the exporting countries and their HEIs. Little attention has been given to the TNE receiving countries.

In 2009 a report discussing the international partnership developed by UK HEIs points out that there is no significant research on the “overseas impact” of TNE on the receiving countries (Million+, 2009, p. 50).

Despite the differences in terminology and research focus, there is one consensus of opinion: the scale and impact of this cross-border education model is on the rise. This research takes the perspectives of different stakeholders into consideration, reviewing how the issues of citizenship education has been perceived and approached in the research and practice of UK TNE in China. Taking the contextual studies of the development of TNE internationally and UK TNE in China as points of departure, this research will look into the citizenship education process of UK TNE through an empirical investigation of four UK TNE cases.

Many factors were considered for choosing citizenship education as the lens to analyse UK TNE in China. Firstly, this research was inspired by the heated discussion of adding new global dimensions to the traditional nation-focused citizenship education. People are no longer merely living within their small communities, with little or no contact with the outside world. Many opportunities arise for people to travel internationally and work overseas. Global mobility brings new requirements and challenges to citizenship education since merely knowing the laws and culture of one's own country is no longer sufficient. People also need to learn and be aware of the laws, social norms and culture of the countries they are visiting and to work with people from other countries to tackle international and global issues. Even without physically travelling to a different location, people may still face international influences in various forms. For example, a small factory owner in China can manufacture products for a UK company, establishing an indirect contact with the end customers. Other issues, such as environment protection and global warming can only be addressed with local actions around the globe.

Therefore, citizens of the 21st century need not only the knowledge, skill and mind-set to be citizens of the nation state they belong to, but also the ability to communicate with other cultures, attitude of mutual respect, awareness of the global community and responsibilities to take actions to deal with global issues. Higher education is often perceived to shoulder that responsibility of preparing students to be citizens in a globalising world. Moreover, as TNE is international by nature, the question of how to make students behave responsibly in a multi-cultural environment cannot be avoided. In this sense, the educational ideas and practice of TNE makes an interesting case for the discussion of citizenship education in a globalising context.

Secondly, to achieve sustainable development in China, UK TNE providers would also be expected to take China's needs into consideration. Since the implementation of Reform and Opening Up policies in the late 1970s, China has been through tremendous social and economic changes. It has been transformed from a planned economy to a form of market economy where people are given more opportunities to become wealthier and take advantage of the growing economy. In the global arena, especially in economic terms, China has been playing a growingly significant role. The increasing international opportunities raised the question of whether they bring greater obligations on Chinese citizens to act responsibly in the global community.

Thirdly as China opens up to the international market, it also needs more international talent who can communicate competently in English, which is being used more and more as a lingua franca for cross-border communication. In the past three decades, the Chinese government has been actively promoting English language teaching and learning. Stepping into the new century, the government issued a policy titled *Some suggestions on strengthening the teaching in higher education institutions and improving education quality* to map out its plan for higher education quality assurance (Minister of Education, 2001).

In Suggestion 8 of the document, it requires undergraduate education providers to "create conditions to promote English-medium modules", especially in the subjects of bio-technology, IT, finance and law, so as to meet "the challenges of economic globalisation and technology revolution" (Minister of Education, 2001). One important element contributing to the growth of UK TNE is its English medium teaching and learning. While most academics and researchers respond positively to the policy, there are also concerns about the negative implications of the nation-wide English promotion across education sectors (Hu, 2009). One of the concerns is that the over-heated English promotion could threaten the status of Mandarin Chinese, Chinese national identity and citizenship. Some other researchers suggest a combination of English language and Chinese culture, claiming the status of "China English" (Ge, 1980; Li, 1993; Du & Jiang, 2001). The status of language(s) within a nation-state is considered by some researchers to have a close link with the conceptualisation of citizenship (Guilherme, 2007, p. 72).

In China, a multi-ethnic political entity, Mandarin Chinese is constitutionally defined as the standard spoken language and standardised Chinese characters are promoted nation-wide to

uphold “state sovereignty and national dignity” and to unify “the country” and “the nationalities” and to assist “socialist material progress and ethical progress” (Article 19, the *Constitution of PRC, 1985*; Article 2 & 5, *Law of the People’s Republic of China on standard spoken and written Chinese, 2001*). How has the language issue been dealt with in UK TNE? Apart from the language issue, how have other aspects of citizenship education been perceived and approached in UK TNE?

As indicated above, this research intends to explore how citizenship education has been perceived and incorporated in UK TNE in China and students’ perceptions with regard to these issues. This study aims to bring a new perspective to investigate the educational process of TNE. Compared with previous TNE studies, which focused overwhelmingly on the incentives, the financial benefits and developmental scales at macro-level, this research explores TNE at the micro-level in an endeavour to bring the front-line educators’ experiences and the students’ perspectives to the readers.

1.3 Research Questions and Relevant Audience

The existing literature gives little detailed account of the educational ideas and practice of UK TNE in China. This research looks into the educational process of UK TNE in China with particular references to issues of preparing students to be future citizens. Through literature reviews of TNE and citizenship education in the UK and China, the researcher raised two major research questions, which would be explored through empirical research of four UK TNE cases in China. Two main research questions (elaborated in sub-questions) are as follows:

1. How is citizenship education being perceived and incorporated in UK TNE?

- How have UK TNE institutions defined their roles in citizenship education?
- How has citizenship education been implemented in the pedagogical process?
- What is the campus ethos in relevance to citizenship education?

2. How do the students perceive and evaluate citizenship education in UK TNE?

- How do students perceive citizenship?
- How do the students evaluate UK TNE in preparing them to be citizens?

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 sets the contexts for the research and paves the way to answer research question one, reviewing the policy environment for UK TNE in China and contextual factors influencing citizenship education. It reviews the history of TNE development, analysing different incentives from the UK and China to engage in TNE.

Chapter 3 examines the concept of citizenship and citizenship education in the UK and in China, providing a theoretical basis for the empirical research. It firstly identifies the key dimensions in conceptualising citizenship and factors influencing citizenship education. It then discusses citizenship education in the UK, looking at the potential influences on its TNE practice. Finally, the focus moves on to China, reviewing how citizenship is defined in China and national policies in citizenship education. Both contextual studies and literature reviews can help to clarify the research questions and give rise to the design of the empirical enquiry of the research.

Chapter 4 describes the methodological approach and justification for the qualitative and quantitative methods employed. It also presents the process and data analysis of pilot studies, which were used to test the research instruments and to finalise the research questions and the research schedule. Additionally, issues of ethics and limitations of the research methods are also discussed.

The following three chapters (5, 6, 7) present results of the empirical research. Chapter 5 shows findings of how citizenship education was perceived and incorporated in the four TNE cases. Data from documents and staff interviews regarding educational ideas and the interpretation of the legal requirement of citizenship education is organised to answer the first part of research question one. Following the description of citizenship education at macro-level, chapter 6 is an account of findings of how citizenship education is organised in different TNE cases, answering the second part of research question one. It consists of two parts: the pedagogical process of citizenship education (curriculum, teaching and learning method and student feedbacks) and the campus ethos description (the campus environment, students' organisations and activities). Chapter 7 responds to the second research question regarding students' perceptions of citizenship and citizenship education.

Chapter 8 serves as the discussion of the research, synthesising findings to answer main questions. The discussion chapter links what was discovered in this research and what has been pointed out in existing literature, so as to better understand the research findings.

Chapter 9 concludes the entire research, pointing out its contributions and limitations. As this research was derived from an interest in an educational phenomenon in real life, the last chapter also attempts to make recommendations for the practice of TNE.

Endnotes of Chapter One:

¹ In 2010, approximately 55, 500 Chinese students studying at publically-funded HEIs in the UK, accounting for about 14.1% of total number of non-UK students (BIS, 2013a, p. 14)

²In the 2013 UK international education strategy, the UK government identified the following countries and regions as the priority markets for student recruitment and UK TNE: UAE, China, Singapore, Malaysia and Qatar (BIS, 2013a, p. 8).

Chapter 2 Trends in Transnational Education: Globally, in the UK and in China

“We live in a world without boundaries, a global community we can enter with a click...what does it mean to educate citizens who are instantly linked to people on every continent, who share a fluency in the technologies of communication that erase borders and take for granted a transparent, permeable world?” (Sexton, 2012, p. 5).

This research investigates the educational ideas and practice of UK TNE in China with regard to citizenship education. The quotation above highlight a series of issues which this research intends to explore: how has a globalising world, where global mobility, remote communication and exchange of information can be easily achieved, influenced the development of higher education? What are the desired attributes of a responsible future citizen? How should universities prepare students to be citizens of the 21st century? The current discussion will commence with the exploration of the impacts of globalisation on the development of higher education, in particular on the development of TNE, globally, in the UK and in China.

In China, UK TNE is considered as part of *Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools* (CFCRS), a term used by the Chinese government in all relevant regulations and official documents. CFCRS is a literal translation from the Chinese term “*zhongwai (Chinese-foreign) hezuo (Cooperation) banxue (Running Schools)*”. From its denotative meaning, CFCRS refers to Chinese education institutions’ cooperation with foreign counterparts. It indicates that CFCRS is not passively importing and accepting foreign education, but is actively seeking educational resources and cooperation.

In the UK, TNE has increasingly become an important model for UK higher education institutions (hereinafter referred to as HEIs) to sell their educational services and degree programmes to overseas markets. In the past two decades, the successive UK governments, under the leadership of the Labour Party (1997-2010) and the Conservative-Liberal Democrats coalition government (formed in May 2010) , have openly encouraged the UK

HEIs to further tap into the international education market through supportive national policies. In 2011/2012, there were 570,000 students studying for a UK higher education (HE) qualifications via TNE, a number larger than the total number (488, 000) of international students studying HE in the UK (BIS, 2013a, pp. 4-5).

Research and reports on TNE from the UK side have been mainly focusing on the incentives and development of TNE as well as its benefits to UK HEIs. There is little significant research concerning the impact of TNE on the receiving countries (Million+, 2009, p. 50). Meanwhile, Chinese researchers are predominantly using the term CFCRS, exploring the impacts of introducing foreign education, positive or negative, and making suggestions on how China should respond legislatively, politically and educationally. Considering readers outside of China and the wider adoption of the term TNE, this research uses “UK TNE in China” to describe the educational models of delivering undergraduate degree programmes jointly by the UK and Chinese HEIs in the territory of mainland China. The term CFCRS will be used in sections regarding China’s education reform and current policy environment related to TNE, in order to be consistent with Chinese policy documents and literature from Chinese scholars.

As the first part of the literature review, this chapter discusses the development of TNE internationally, in the UK and in China, and exploring the educational challenges in UK TNE from the perspective of citizenship education. This chapter intends to address the following issues:

- Factors stimulating the development of TNE worldwide.
- Incentives for UK HEIs to engage in TNE and the relevant policies from the UK government.
- Incentives and intentions of the Chinese government to open its higher education to foreign providers.
- The policy environment and educational challenges for the future development of UK TNE in China, with particular reference to citizenship education.

These issues build contexts for the exploration of the educational ideas and practice of UK TNE in China and pave the way for the second part of the literature review on citizenship education.

2.1 Transnational Education in the World

2.1.1 The development of TNE

The Global Demand and Supply of Higher Education

Since the beginning of the last two decades of the 20th century, the world has witnessed great changes in the scale and scope of higher education across the globe. Van der Wende (2003) points out two main trends in the development of higher education in the world: the growing demand for access to higher education (especially in the developing countries) and the increasing need for “more diversified and flexible types of higher education” (Van der Wende, 2003, p. 194). Across the globe, there is a stark disparity in the distribution of education resources. In the developed countries, the average Age Participation Rates (APRs) of post-secondary education stay around 50%, while the same rates reach only around 5% in Africa (Knight, 2006, p. 11).

For many countries, the growing demand for access to and diversity of higher education could not always be sufficiently met domestically. Many developing countries go beyond their national borders to seek overseas resources. China is one of them. Meanwhile, countries which have an advanced higher education system and rich education resources seize the market opportunities to meet the demand. Additionally, the advancement in communication and transportation technology has significantly lowered the cost for global information exchange and human global mobility. A global demand-supply chain of higher education, therefore, is taking shape and expanding. The UK is among the top suppliers, only behind the USA as the second most popular destination for international students pursuing higher education (BIS, 2013a, p. 19).

Historically, during the course of human development, education has always played an important role in creating and communicating knowledge and skills. When the communication goes beyond national borders with various intentions, be it educational, religious or political, so is the spread of education. For example, during the Cold War, the former Soviet Union and the US both assisted the developing countries through education export to win political support and influence (Gu, 2009, p. 626). However, the current scale and rate of growth in international higher education is unprecedented world-wide. Higher

Education has truly become “a real part of the globalisation process” (Zha, 2003, p. 249). TNE is an important component of this global phenomenon of the internationalisation of higher education.

The Definition of TNE

Over the two decades since TNE became a noticeable educational model, there have been many attempts by international and national organisations to define TNE, which was also known by other names, such as “cross-border higher education”, “borderless” or “offshore” education (Knight, 2005b). The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and The Council of Europe defines TNE as: “[a] ll types of higher education study programmes, or sets of course studies, or educational activities (including those of distance education) in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based” (UNESCO, 2001). Similarly, but in simpler terms, the UK Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills (DIUS) uses TNE to refer to “the education delivery by higher education institutions (HEIs) in countries other than their own (DIUS, 2008, p. 4)”.

Compared with the above quoted general descriptions of TNE, the latest trend is to be more specific about different models in TNE, focusing not only on the exporting countries, but also on the importing/receiving/ host countries. In 2011, the International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (INQAAHE) defines TNE via a list of TNE models: “distance education courses offered by higher education providers located in another country, joint programmes offered between a local provider and a foreign institution, franchised courses offered with or without involvement of staff members from the parent institution, and foreign campuses of institutions developed with or without local partnerships (AUQA, 2011, p. 8).” In the British Council 2013 TNE report, TNE was specifically defined not merely “as an export activity” but also including “collaborative arrangements such as joint and double degrees.” (British Council, 2013, p. 12)

China has its own version of TNE: CFCRS, which is legally defined as “the activities of the cooperation between foreign educational institutions and Chinese educational institutions in establishing educational institutions within the territory of China to provide education service mainly to Chinese citizens” (Article 2, *the CFCRS Regulations 2003*).” There are two key

elements in CFCRS, which need to be stressed as different to other definitions of and approaches to TNE.

1. CFCRS puts the emphasis on cooperation, rather than education offered by foreign institutions.
2. CFCRS specifically mentions that it is for Chinese citizens.

The requirement of cooperation limits models of TNE, eliminating possibilities of independent academic delivery by foreign institutions. The emphasis on CFCRS for Chinese citizens clarifies the principal aim of importing foreign education, which is to educate talents to meet China's needs. Unlike some host countries turning into educational hubs, such as Malaysia, China has no intention to use foreign HEIs to attract international students. Considering the two key elements in CFCRS and the focus on undergraduate degree programmes, UK TNE in China in the current study includes: both HEIs jointly established by UK and Chinese HEIs and undergraduate degree programmes jointly run by UK and Chinese HEIs in the territory of mainland China, recruiting mainly Chinese citizens.

TNE and WTO Regulations

From exporting countries' perspectives, the fewer trade barriers there are, the better it will be for their "business". In the middle of the 1990s, some leading education exporting countries (the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan) actively promoted education service trading to be included into a new round of negotiation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) under *the General Agreement on Trade in Service (GATS)* to further liberate trade in international education service (Van der Wende, 2003, p. 196). GATS entered into force in 1995 as a result of the Uruguay Round negotiations (Knight, 2006, p. 29). Education service is listed as one sector of international service trading. The fundamental pursuit of WTO/GATS is to lower the barriers in service trading through agreements and periodic negotiations (McBurnie & Ziguas, 2001, p. 87).

The basic WTO principles covering all WTO agreements, GATS included, are: no trade discrimination (most-favourable-nation and national treatment), free trade, predictability (binding and transparency) and fair trade promotion (Xu, 2009, p. 37). Each WTO member nation is required to make "the schedule of specific commitments" specifying the aspects of market access and national treatment (Xu, 2009, p. 38). In other words, the schedule lists

education sectors one member nation promises to open up to other nations as well as sectors it hopes to be exempted from market access and national treatment. Therefore, each nation can negotiate their own “restriction and reservation on the degree of openness” in education service trade (Zhou & Shi, 2003, p. 42). These regulations and commitments also become significant references for member countries to legislate domestic regulations and laws in international higher education. In China, for instance, the principal law for CFCRS, *the CFCRS Regulations 2003* (State Council of the P.R.C, 2003) was issued in 2003 soon after China joined the WTO in 2001. China’s “schedule of specific commitments” can be well reflected and detailed in the *CFCRS Regulations 2003*. This will be elaborated on in further discussion (section 2.3.3.1).

GATS classify four modes of service trading (Knight, 2006, p. 30).

- (Mode One) **Cross-border Trade**: the service provided from the territory of one member into the territory of another; such as a UK student studying for a US degree course online;
- (Mode Two) **Consumption Abroad**: the service consumption by the member of one country in the territory of another country; such as a Chinese student receiving UK education in the territory of the UK;
- (Mode Three) **Commercial Presence**: the service provider of one member supplies service in the territory of another through commercial presence; such as UK universities’ setting up a branch campus overseas;
- (Mode Four) **Presence of Natural Persons**: the service provider from one member providing service in the territory of another member through the presence of natural persons, such as a British lecturer providing block teaching in China. It often goes hand in hand with commercial presence.

Different modes of service trading require different levels of market openness on the part of host countries. For example, consumption abroad only indicates passive involvement in the sense that the domestic market is not directly challenged by international competitors, while cross-border trade or commercial presence is the permission for direct market participation of international service providers. Under the framework of GATS and the four modes, TNE mainly involves “commercial presence” and “cross-border supply”, which is also often accompanied with “presence of natural persons” and sometimes “consumption abroad” (such

as two campus joint programmes). Therefore, TNE is a “comprehensive and high-level form” of trade in higher education, clearly bearing great economic values (Gu, 2009, p. 637).

In addition to its unprecedented scale, another characteristic of current international higher education is its predominant commercial orientation. While in history, cross-border education provision could be academic, religious or political, the current TNE under the regulation of WTO was initiated and guided with market principles. Since 1980s, many English-speaking countries with advanced economies, whose educational institutions had been attracting international students, started to charge non-local learners high tuition fees. In the UK, education has become the fifth largest service export sector, creating a total value of £17.5 billion (including both tuition fees and students’ living expenses) in 2012 (BIS, 2013a, p. 60). Meanwhile, the contemporary advocates for free trade pushed for the further commodification of higher education to be part of GATS (Altbach & Knight, 2007, p. 291). In a 2007 UNESCO education report, Martin (2007) used the term “*transnational commercial higher education*” to describe this education phenomenon, highlighting the commercial application of the international education provision (Martin, 2007).

2.1.2 The actors in TNE

Supplying and Receiving Countries

Standing at different positions of the demand-supply chain, participating countries hold diverse incentives to be part of the international higher education activities. In general, countries can be roughly classified into three different groups according to their different positions and strategies in international education service trading (Million+, 2009, p. 18):

- Major international education service exporting countries, such as Australia and the UK, which seek both “short-term” and “long-term” economic benefit;
- Some countries involved in international education, not predominately for profit generation, such as Germany, focusing primarily on the social and academic benefits from international activities and limited financial returns;
- The third category consists of countries standing at the receiving end of international education service, such as China and India. These countries are mainly developing countries that hope to reform and enhance their own education system with the introduction of quality educational resources from developed regions.

One point to note is that there is no defining force or exclusive relationship among different categories. The grouping is only to provide an analytical perspective to generalise the status

of the education market internationally. Neither can it provide a comprehensive policy interpretation of each nation. Nor can it explain the strategies and behaviours of individual HEIs. For instance, although China's national policy on international educational communication is to import high quality educational resources and upgrade its own education system, many cooperative educational programmes were developed by Chinese HEIs to generate profit. Therefore, three levels of analysis (international, national and institutional) are necessary to gain insightful understanding of UK TNE practice in China.

“The rise of the pseudo-universities”

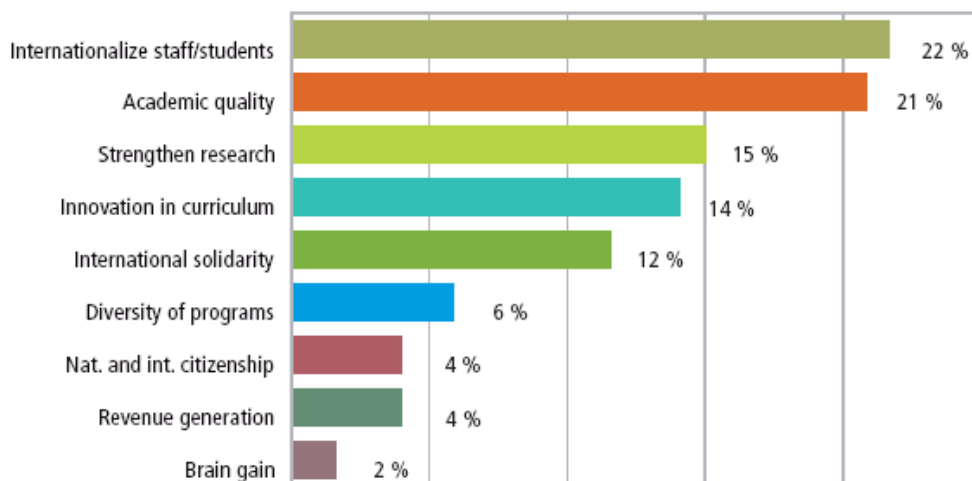
As the higher education service becomes tradable goods, a growing number and diversity of education providers, such as for-profit education institutions (for instance, the Laureate Education Group, and the Apollo Group), virtual universities (providing mainly on-line or distance courses, such as the Canadian Virtual University) entered into the market (Van der Wende, 2003, p. 195; Altbach & Knight, 2007). These new providers, to a large extent, were the results of the growing demand for higher education, not only from the traditional post-secondary students, but also the general public seeking lifelong education and employment-oriented training (Machado dos Santos, 2002, pp. 99-100).

Gu (2009) pointed out that the “diversity of actors” in TNE “blurs the boundaries between university and non-university, education and training, continuing education and higher education, public education and private education (Gu, 2009, p. 628). Altbach (2001) used the term “*pseudo-universities*” to describe all the non-university education providers, in order to distinguish these education providers from traditional universities and not to let the loose use of the term “university” destroy “one of society’s most valuable institutions”. “The rise of the *pseudo-universities*” was the result of the growing demand for specialised training, the commodification of higher education service, especially the profit-making potential in education provision, and the “increasingly competitive nature of education markets” (Altbach, 2001a, p. 3).

These *pseudo-universities*, as they are established and operated for profit-making, have a fundamental operating principle to maximise profit for shareholders. The traditional universities, be it public or private, though hard to generalise, bear some common characteristics, such as devotion to public good and basic research (Altbach, 2001a). Echoing

the first question asked at the opening of this chapter, it appears that international mobility of financial and human capital, advanced by information and communication technology, has had a considerable influence on the “structure, content and delivery system of higher education worldwide (Martin, 2007, p. 12). The subsequent question is: has the trend in internationalisation modified the fundamental values of higher education? As a growing form of higher education internationally, how has TNE defined its educational visions and missions?

In a 2005 world-wide university internationalisation survey, over 500 universities from different parts of the world responded to the questionnaires (Knight, 2005a). Regarding the benefits they considered internationalisation could bring to them, revenue generation is not regarded as the primary gains in the process (Knight, 2005a). The fundamental values and aims of universities, including teaching/learning quality and knowledge creation, are still high priorities. At least these surveyed universities claimed it to be so for them (figure 2.1). Internationalisation, in general, is regarded as a means to make universities better adapted to the globalising environment (including the global competition for resources, funding, talents, etc.), and better prepare students to be future national and international citizens.



N= 526 HEIs

Figure 2.1 Survey results of universities’ rankings of benefits from internationalisation (Knight, 2005a)

Due to the stark distinction between traditional universities and *pseudo-universities*, the focus of this research will be on the TNE activities conducted by the traditional universities, investigating their educational ideas and practice of TNE in preparing students to be citizens of a globalising world. The TNE practice of the new merging education providers requires a separate research.

2.1.3 Models of TNE

Once having clarified the research focus on traditional universities, the next step is to look into the major models of TNE. In the early 1990s, TNE was coined and used by the major exporting countries of higher education services, to differentiate between overseas students studying on domestic campuses and those studying their degrees off-shore (Connelly, et al., 2006, p. 7).

The origin of the term indicates a focus on the location of the higher education provision: outside the home country of the education provider. Within the scope of TNE, there are a variety of provision models which directly influence the programme design and the students' learning experience. According to the students' learning locations and level of ownership/control by the exporting HEIs, there are four main models of TNE:

- **Online/distance TNE (GATS mode 1):** the enrolled students will not have on campus learning experience. In some cases, there may be occasional face-to-face support. As this research investigates TNE from the viewpoint of citizenship education in which campus experience plays an important part, the online/distance model will not be discussed in this research.
- **Joint programmes / two campus TNE:** at least two education providers (one from the domestic/ importing country and one from the foreign/ exporting country) jointly run the cooperative programme where students study in both countries on the existing campuses of the cooperating HEIs (GATS modes 2,3,4).
- **Joint Venture:** joint ownership between domestic and foreign education providers where normally a TNE campus has been physically established in the territory of the importing country (sometimes, the students are also given opportunities to visit or study at the campus of the exporting country; GATS 2,3,4);

- **Branch Campus:** an independent campus established solely by the education provider from the exporting country in the territory of the importing country. This indicates minimum interference and participation from the importing country (GATS modes 2, 3, 4).

Different models reflect varied levels of involvement of the exporting HEIs. The branch campus is the highest level of TNE whereas the TNE provider (the exporting HEI) has full ownership and academic control over its branch overseas. The choice of TNE modes depends on the market openness and overall strategic plan of the importing countries. So far, the Chinese government has only allowed joint programmes and joint ventures. In other words, the foreign HEIs are not allowed to run TNE programmes and institutions “unilaterally” (Article 62, *CFCRS Regulations 2003*) and therefore a Chinese partner (usually a HEI) is a legal requirement to conduct TNE in China. The joint programmes can be further categorised in accordance with different cooperative arrangements, such as franchising, and articulation etc. (Knight, 2006, p. 24; DIUS, 2008, pp. 90-92; Machado dos Santos, 2002). These categorising terms and TNE models are coined by various researchers aiming to achieve a better understanding of the practice of TNE. There are overlaps and blurring boundaries among them. The common point is that all these models involve partnerships among HEIs of the importing and exporting countries. Two most popular models, *Franchising* and *Articulation* are introduced as a reference for further discussion of TNE models.

- **Franchising:** an idea borrowed from the business world describing cooperation between the franchiser (the exporting HEIs) and the franchisee (the importing HEIs). The exporting HEIs grant the importing HEIs the right to provide their education programmes and qualifications in the territory of the importing country. Sometimes this model is also known as a “licensed” programme and the “rigorous partner approval is seen as particularly important” (DIUS, 2008, p. 91). In a franchising arrangement, the franchiser is responsible for the programme design and setting up the criteria while the franchisee is participating in the programme delivery. In many cases of the joint programmes, the franchisee is only responsible for part of the programme teaching, normally the first part. When the students have earned enough credits from the franchisee campus, they could be transferred to the franchiser campus to finish the rest of the degree there. The final award obtained by students is given by the HEI of the exporting country.

- **Articulation:** articulation arrangement suggests a process where the academic credits accumulated from one institution are recognised by another and results in the academic progression to a subsequent stage. In the context of TNE, articulation joint programmes run in cooperation between the exporting HEI (the degree-awarding body) and its partner in the importing country. This model is different from Franchising mainly in the aspect that the HEIs of the importing countries do not usually follow strictly the curriculum designed by the HEIs in the exporting country. Therefore, HEIs from both countries are contributing to the curriculum design and teaching. The students usually obtain awards from both participating HEIs.

In practice, each joint programme could be customised in accordance with the exact partnership agreements and relevant regulations. In the current research, these models are used as references for sampling cases for empirical research.

2.1.4 Concerns over TNE

2.1.4.1 National education system under market liberalisation

TNE originated from the commercialisation of higher education services and prevailed through the exporting countries' efforts to promote free trade in the international market. Being included in GATS, higher education is regarded as a tradable commodity which is subject to the complex WTO regulations leading to further liberalisation (Altbach, 2001b). The ultimate goal of GATS is to continuously promote free trade through progressive liberalisation of national markets to global providers (WTO, 2006, Section 1.2), creating more opportunities and less barriers for trade. Being a member of WTO, countries are "expected" to "negotiate the further removal of limitations on market access and National Treatment" (Knight, 2006, p. 38). Compared with the number of exporters, led by English-speaking countries and leading European economies¹, there are more countries on the receiving end of TNE. Although GATS claims to "facilitate the increasing participation of developing countries in trade in services" (WTO, 2006), the developing countries are generally importers, creating market opportunities for a small number of exporting countries. What impacts could TNE have on the existing higher education system of the host countries?

Promoters of free trade argue that market competition could result in improved service quality and too much interference with the market operation will only protect the less capable providers (McBurnie & Ziguras, 2001, p. 88). Swamped by the overseas HEIs, the HEIs in developing countries have to operate and compete with their much wealthier and influential counterparts from the developed world, especially the English-speaking countries (notably the US, the UK, Canada and Australia) (Altbach, 2001b). Additionally, the emphasis on free trade and dominant legislation in the market domain has put TNE predominantly under the category of private rather than public goods (Altbach & Knight, 2007, p. 291). With the employment of foreign staff and imported educational materials, TNE runs at a high cost and usually charges students higher tuition fees than domestic higher education. In this sense, TNE serves only those who can afford to pay, not the general public. This could impact negatively on the education equality of the importing countries.

Facing these challenges, how could host countries respond educationally, legislatively and politically? Under international market rules, how much education sovereignty could host countries maintain?

GATS has openly acknowledged this concern from the developing countries and addressed this issue as follows (WTO, 2006, section 5.4):

“First, it expressly recognizes the situation of developing countries and provides individual Members with "appropriate flexibility" for opening fewer sectors and liberalizing fewer types of transactions in line with their development situation. While these provisions in Article XIX: 2 may have been intended mainly to protect developing countries from overly ambitious commitments that, especially in the absence of appropriate regulatory frameworks, may cause excessive adjustment pains, they also protect from undue negotiating pressure across too wide a range of sectors and policy areas”.

WTO also stressed that “education is largely a government function and that GATS does not seek to displace the public education system and the right of government to regulate and meet domestic policy objectives” (Knight, 2006, p. 37). However, what was granted as rights to the developing countries might not easily be executed in a globalising world. As Knight (2006) points out, “national policies and regulations that have been established by some countries in order to control the import of education and training services into their countries are in fact sometimes seen by exporting countries as trade barriers that need to be removed (Knight, 2006, p. 33).”

2.1.4.2 Quality assurance

The growing scale of TNE also draws attention to the issue of quality assurance. The cross-border nature of TNE makes it difficult to be monitored directly by any external agency. The national quality assurance system of any one country is primarily designed to meet domestic needs. Quality regulatory bodies of exporting countries may find it hard to monitor activities which are conducted in foreign countries. Meanwhile, regulators of host countries could find their system inappropriate for TNE. Moreover, excessive interference from host countries may not be desirable as it becomes self-defeating to the fundamental aims of importing foreign education, which is based on the confidence and trust in their advanced educational ideas and resources. Since TNE is an international activity, should international institutions take the responsibilities for quality assurance? Certain efforts have been made internationally. For example, UNESCO issued *Guidelines for quality provision in cross-border higher education* in 2005 (UNESCO, 2005b). However, these international guidelines could only be voluntarily observed in practice (Smith, 2010, p. 794).

Despite the difficulties, it is of essential interest for all stakeholders to keep the education quality up to a high level. For importing countries, one principal incentive to be engaged in TNE is to bring high quality education to their citizens. For the exporting countries, to maintain high quality is also in their interests since the cost of poor quality can be “both reputational and financially detrimental” (Smith, 2010, p. 794). Students accepting TNE also deserve to have their educational rights protected. Therefore, quality is the key for the sustainable development of TNE. Later discussion in this chapter will look at how China and the UK deal with the quality assurance issue.

2.1.4.3 Cultural implications

Projecting the growth of TNE onto the process of globalisation, the development of higher education is unbalanced with some dominant centres in the developed world. These centres are defined in terms of their global influences, rather than the size of the higher education provision. Through the selling of their education services, they also impose the “norms, values, language, scientific innovations and knowledge products” on those at the receiving end (Altbach, 2001b). TNE triggers many concerns over alleged cultural/academic imperialism in higher education and the UK higher education sector is no stranger to such

criticism (McBurnie & Ziguras, 2006, p. 60). There has also been an increasing debate on the “cultural appropriateness” of the imported pedagogy and the cultural impacts of foreign education on the students and on the importing/host countries (Yang, R., 2008, p. 282).

For the developing countries, there is little leeway to stay independent in this fast growing interdependent world (Altbach, 2001b). Since market economy pursues economic efficiency, not equality, it is argued that market-led globalisation never means “global equality” (Yang, 2003, p. 273). In the name of economic liberalisation and global integration, developed economies lead to the establishment of international rules and regulations, which weakens the regulatory power of state government. In higher education, the inequality reflects not only on economic terms, but more importantly on the penetrating power of the educational values and cultural influences from the leading exporters. In a world where the strength of a country is predominantly reflected in its trade competitiveness, science and technology, the developing countries could easily fall into the trap of having unbalanced educational strategies with great emphasis on the practical knowledge and focused investment on a few elite HEIs (Yang, 2003, p. 277). The academic subjects of the humanities and social sciences, which are crucial in understanding and preserving the cultural and social uniqueness of the society, are quite often overlooked.

Viewing the issue from the perspective of the exporting countries, TNE practice amplifies the urgent need to understand the cultures of the importing countries. TNE is different from overseas recruitment to domestic campuses where international students are often expected to adjust themselves to the local cultures. Operating an education programme in a foreign culture is much more challenging and requires the exporting HEIs to take initiative to understand and even to adjust to the local educational, social and political environment. Therefore, for both the exporters and importers, a well-designed strategy to balance the cultures of all sides is a significant indicator for long-term success. In the current investigation of UK TNE in China, the interaction of the two educational values and cultures will be taken as an important perspective to reveal the strategies and practice of TNE in preparing students to be citizens of China and of the world.

2.2 International Education Strategies in the UK

The UK is the second largest exporter in international higher education, sharing 13% of the total global market, with over one million international students recruited into UK higher education either within the UK or overseas (UK TNE) in 2011/12 (BIS, 2013a, pp. 14-17). From a trading and commercial perspective, international education is a highly profitable industry, besides the other economic benefits these students can bring to many other industries in the UK. To maintain its competitive edge and leading position in the world, the UK government has been adjusting its strategies and relevant policies in accordance with changes in the international higher education market, such as the growing market in TNE.

2.2.1 National strategies of international education in the UK

In the first decade of the 21st century, the UK government issued two Prime Minister Initiatives (PMI1 and PMI 2) summarising its strategies in international education. In PMI 1 (1999-2005), the focus was narrowly defined as to increase international student recruitment domestically and overseas (TNE activities). PMI 2 (2006-2011) attached greater importance to the development of international partnerships in expanding its market quota and the influence of UK higher education globally. The Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government, which formed in May 2010, has also attached great importance to the economic benefits of international education. The represented policy was the publication of the *International Education Strategy: global growth and prosperity* on 29th July, 2013. The total contribution of education export was estimated to be £17.5 billion in 2011 and “a targeted plan” was set out to strengthen the position of the UK in the international education market (BIS, 2013a, p. 5). In addition to the traditional market of overseas student recruitment, TNE provision by UK HEIs has also been on the rise. In 2011/12, 124 UK HEIs were involved in TNE, delivering higher education to 570, 000 students (474, 000 at undergraduate level and 96, 000 at postgraduate level) outside the UK (BIS, 2013a, p. 17).

There are many recognised benefits of TNE in addition to its profitability. Setting up TNE through sustainable partnerships with foreign HEIs is often regarded as a direct path to constructing a better image for UK higher education. UK HEIs can also take advantage of the international activities to further internationalise the domestic higher education system, which includes creating more opportunities for domestic students to learn foreign languages, other

cultures and study abroad through partnership (Fielden, 2007, pp. 6-7) . Partnership and TNE activities also provide UK lecturers and researchers opportunities to teach in another cultural and academic environment. Additionally, the spread of “universal science” facilitated by the adoption of English as the primary international communicative language has created a global network for international collaborative research and knowledge creation. The knowledge spreading is not unidirectional but more of a global dialogue and communication (Million+, 2009, p. 14). TNE provides a more regular and sustainable link with the foreign academic communities by expanding the communication channels.

2.2.2 Incentives and TNE activities at institutional levels

At an institutional level, HEIs in the UK have traditionally been given freedom and space to cultivate their own strategies in developing international education (Million+, 2009, p. 13) . The outgoing attitude of the UK higher education sector was initially stimulated by the reduction of governmental funding. UK Higher Education has gone through profound changes in the last four decades. Since the 1960s, the number of UK HEIs has risen from approximately 40 to over 100 HEIs. Meanwhile, the UK government has been cutting its financial support for HEIs (Million+, 2009, p. 13), especially funding for those newly founded teaching-led universities (such as post-92 HEIs which were former polytechnic institutions and gained university status through the Further and Higher Education Act 1992). To fund themselves, most UK HEIs have been expanding their recruitment of international students and actively engaged in international education delivery. With their different development histories, UK HEIs have collaborated with each other to form different university groups or alliances:

- **Russell Group:** 20 research-intensive universities, such as Oxford, Manchester.
- **Group 1994:** 19 relatively new research-intensive HEIs, such as York, Bath.
- **Million+:** a university think tank consisting of 27 post-92 universities, such as the University of Central Lancashire.
- **University Alliance:** 23 major business-focused universities, such as Salford.

Such groupings, to some extent, reflect different development directions of UK HEIs, following varied international strategies. In the field of TNE, a 2008 DIUS report shows that “post-92” institutions are the major providers, offering approximately 63% of all UK

transnational educational programmes (DIUS, 2008, p. 6). To fully appreciate such a situation, the current research will choose cases from both research-led and post-92 universities.

2.2.3 Quality assurance and development of UK TNE

After years of expansion in international student recruitment, the UK's approach to international higher education has been characterised as highly commercial, and profit-driven (Million+, 2009, p. 14). Evidence shows that students usually choose a country before they make decisions on which institution to study at (British Council, 2010, p. 4). In this sense, building up the image of UK higher education is a shared responsibility of all HEIs and the UK government. This is of particular significance in the practice of UK TNE as the UK HEIs are physically operating in a foreign land. The reputation of UK higher education is at stake when overseas students are expecting a good quality UK education in their own countries. In the 2013 international higher education strategy, the quality assurance of TNE was specifically addressed by the government. The Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (QAA) and the Higher Education International Unit were assigned to carry out a comprehensive consultation over the practice of TNE in the autumn of 2013, addressing the issue of how to strengthen quality assurance of UK higher education delivered overseas, so as to protect the reputation of UK education (BIS, 2013a, p. 8).

At the time of the writing, there has been no “one size fits all” approach to the “development, approval and management of arrangements” for UK TNE practice (QAA, 2012, p. 7). As part of *the UK Quality Code for Higher Education* (replacing the original national higher education quality reference of *the Academic Infrastructure* from the 2012-2013 academic year), *Chapter B10 Managing Higher Education Provision with Others* covers the quality assurance issues of TNE (QAA, 2012). Following an initial review of UK TNE in China in 2006 (QAA, 2006), QAA conducted a second China-focused review of UK TNE and produced ten review reports of UK TNE programmes/institutions in China and four case studies, which addresses different issues in maintaining academic standards².

The above accounts of the international strategies of the UK higher education suggest a clear direction of continuous expansion of TNE overseas. The subsequent issue is to map out specific strategies for particular markets. Therefore, it is crucial to have a thorough analysis of the political, socio-economic and educational contexts in China, especially the on-going

higher education reform since the adoption of Reform and Opening-Up Policy in 1978, as well as the influential factors outside China in an increasingly interdependent world. The next section will address this issue. Zhou (2007) holds three main parties accountable for the education reform in China: “public authority”; “local communities”; and “international community” (Zhou, 2007, p. 141). Considering the current discussion, three aspects will be considered: the central and local governments within China (public authority); the higher education market where all Chinese HEIs and foreign TNE operate (local communities); and influence from the international market where every national government and international non-governmental organisation (NGOs) plays a part (the international community). Since the international community has been discussed above, the following sector will be focusing on the national policy and market environment for the development of UK TNE in China.

2.3 Higher Education Reform and TNE Development in China

The Reform and Opening-Up policy (*gaigekaifang*) commencing in 1978 opened a new chapter in the modern history of China. The Reform (*gaige*) is to change what was, and has been, unsuitable for China’s overall development, while keeping China’s socialist nature and political stability. Around two centres, the establishment of socialist market economy³ and reinforcing the socialist political system (socialist democracy and rule of law), the Reform involves almost all aspects of China’s political, social and economic lives. Opening-Up (*kaifang*) generally refers to opening the Chinese market to the outside world, confronting global economic challenges and embracing more opportunities. New industries and businesses with reliance on talents in science and technology have emerged in the process of economic reconstruction and development, which repositioned education as “an integral part of national strategy” (Chan & Mok, 2001, p. 26), the core for socio-economic development.

The great importance the Chinese government attaches to economy and education has given rise to the reforms in higher education in the last three decades in two aspects: the *decentralisation* to make it more responsive to local economic needs and the *massification* to make it more accessible to the general public. Meanwhile, in the spirit of the socialist market economy, the higher education system has opened up to the social sectors, undergoing the process of *marketisation*. There has been so far four main stages of higher education reform (Yang, D., 2008), which also depicts the policy contexts for the development of UK TNE:

- 1977-1984: recovery and reconstruction after the Cultural Revolution⁴ ;
- 1985-1989: comprehensive reform of the education system;
- 1990-2003: massification and marketisation of the education sector;
- 2003-present: re-evaluation of the commercialisation of education and focus on improving education quality and strengthening regulations.

Each stage witnessed and accelerated the opening up process of Chinese higher education to the outside world. CFCRS was initiated in the mid-1980s, the beginning of the comprehensive higher education reform, and grew quickly in the 1990s, together with the expansion of higher education recruitment and marketisation. However, as the market expanded, new “social relationships, practices and behaviours” appeared which resulted in the government reinforcing its control through laws and regulations (Law, 2002, p. 579). This section reviews the process of higher education reform in China, highlighting its influence on the policy environment for UK TNE.

2.3.1 Adjustment of government role: decentralisation

2.3.1.1 Centralised higher education system in China

In 1949, after a century of wars with different foreign invaders (1840-1945)⁵ and four years of civil war (1945-1949)⁶, the Communist Party of China (CPC) formed a new government based on socialist ideology. At that time, there were in total 207 HEIs with merely 117,000 students (Qiang, 1996, p. 17), a number even smaller than the number of Chinese students (179, 800) studying abroad in 2008 (Ministry of Education, P.R.C., 2010). The initial higher education system in China was formed at the first *National Higher Education Conference* in June 1950 (Hu, 2006, p. 403), which was based on the Soviet model of a highly centralised education system, so as to allocate limited resources to train mainly “scientists, technicians and teachers” for its development (Qiang, 1996, p. 17). The majority of the HEIs were single-disciplinary institutions with the government’s intention to cultivate skilled workers for the new country. The government played a triple role of being the investor, provider and manager of higher education institutions nationwide (Sheng, 2003, p. 48). Each HEI was affiliated to a governmental authority, mostly a central ministry, such as the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Forestry, etc. (Zha, 2009, p. 43). Such affiliation was not arbitrary, but assigned in accordance with the focused discipline of the HEI and relevant

ministry. For example, Harbin Institute of Technology, an information technology, engineering and aerospace science focused university was assigned under the leadership of the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology. Thirteen comprehensive universities were directly led by the Ministry of Education.

Meanwhile, the state sent many scholars and intellectuals to study in the Soviet Union and invited a number of Soviet experts to help China. This early educational exchange was under tight organisation and control of the central government, highly dependent on the government's political agenda. Therefore, as China's relationship with the USSR began to decay in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Moscow withdrew all its experts from China, which put an end to China's limited educational communication with the outside world. In 1966, the Cultural Revolution broke out and led China into ten years' isolation from the rest of the world. During that time, even listening to a foreign radio broadcast could lead to the listener being prosecuted (Du, 2001, p. 127). Ten years of closed-gate policy left China far behind the developed world. After Mao's death in 1978, the decaying situation was rescued by the new post-Mao leaders⁷, especially by Deng Xiaoping, the initiator and designer of China's Reform and Opening-Up Policy.

In 1978, at the third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CPC, the central government confirmed the core task of economic construction. To realise "modernisation", Deng asserted the importance of higher education in training talents in science and technology (Li, 1999, p. 179). In 1977, the National Higher Education Entrance Examination (*GaoKao*) was restored and the first group of students were sent by the government to study in the US the following year (1978). In the same year, the government also issued the first important document regarding a government programme for sending scholars and students abroad (Huang, 2003, p. 226). In 1981, people were allowed to study abroad with private funding (Yang, R., 2008). The restoring of a higher education system and initiating international communication was the main theme for the first stage of the reform (1977-1984).

2.3.1.2 Decentralisation: provision, financing and regulations

In 1985, the education reform entered into the second stage (1985-1989), a period of comprehensive reform of its system, which was signified by a central governmental *Decision* issued by the CPC Central Committee in May of 1985. In the 1985 *Decision*, the CPC

admitted the problems of the highly centralised higher education system, which was too rigid to respond to the social and economic needs (CPC Central Committee, 1985). The central government decided to “streamline administration, giving more autonomy to higher educational institutions”, while at the same time “strengthening the macro-level control” (CPC Central Committee, 1985). In 1986, the first TNE joint institution, the John Hopkins-Nanjing University Centre for Chinese and American Studies started to recruit students (Jiao, 1998, p. 10), marking the beginning of Chinese-foreign cooperation in higher education. Meanwhile, attempts were made to delegate more power to local governments and institutions to send scholars and students abroad (Huang, 2003, p. 226). From then on, Chinese higher education went through a series of reforms with decentralisation and marketisation as prominent characteristics (Mok, 2002; Xu, 2005; Hawkins, 2000), leading to the third stage of higher education reform (1990-2003).

Decentralisation describes a process of “the transfer of the decision-making authority, responsibility, and tasks from higher to lower organisational levels or between organisations” (Hanson, 1998, p. 112). In the case of China, the decentralisation of higher education was the transfer of authority (mainly in finance and management) from the central government to local/provincial governments and higher education institutions, and relying increasingly on the funding and education provision from non-governmental social sectors. Generally speaking, there are three aspects of decentralisation in the higher education sector: provision, financing and regulation (Mok, 2000, p. 261).

(1) Provision

Under the centralised higher education system, the central government was responsible for distributing educational resources and funding and organising higher educational activities. However, as the demand for higher education grew, it becomes hardly possible for the government to continue to manage it directly from the centre. Additionally, to transfer from a planned economy to a market economy, resource allocation under the market rule became essential to build an education system that could be responsive to regional market needs. Therefore, the government decided to loosen the control of education provision and allow for more diversified social providers to sustain the expansion of higher education (Ma, 2009). The opening of higher education to private sectors has also created a favourable environment for CFCRS. In 1993, the former State Education Commission (now Ministry of Education)

issued the *Notice on the Issue of Cooperation in Running Schools with Foreign Organisations or Individuals*, which confirmed the central government's support for CFCRS (Zhang & Li, 2010, p. 2). In the past two decades (by the year of 2009), over 1,100 CFCRS institutions and programmes gained approval⁸ (Ministry of Education, P.R.C., 2009) and hundreds more are in operation without approval (Cui, 2009; Li & Wang, 2009), which formed a substantial part of the higher education provision in China.

(2) Financing

The authority of financing was decentralised in the sense that the central government gave more autonomy to both local government and HEIs to finance higher education, allowing different sources of funding to enter into higher education, such as “overseas donation”, “local government taxes and subsidies” (Mok, 1996). HEIs were encouraged to search for “revenue generation (*chuangshou*)” through running businesses, offering adult and professional courses (Mok, 2002; Ma, 2009). The age of free higher education for students was also terminated during this time.

From 1997 onwards, all students enrolled in higher education have been required to pay a tuition fee, which has become a crucial funding for many HEIs. Tuition fees have also been on the rise, from 2000RMB⁹ annually in 1996 up to 5000/6000 RMB per year in 2000 (Hu, 2006, p. 143). The tuition fees for TNE programmes are usually higher than average. For example, the annual tuition fee for undergraduate programmes in the University of Nottingham Ningbo (UNN) was 60,000 RMB in 2011 and the same amount was also charged by Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University (XJLU). A survey conducted by the Chinese Academy of Social Science in 1999 shows that saving for their children's education was a priority for most families in China (Li, P., 2006, quoted in Mok, 2002, p.263). When students have to pay a significant amount for their education and HEIs have to rely heavily on students' tuition fees, the relationship between students and HEIs could turn into “consumer-providers” (Mok, 2002, p. 265). Impacts of the market rules on higher education will be further analysed in the next section.

(3).Regulation

Through a series of decentralisation reforms, HEIs were gradually handed over to local governments where they were located, so as to make them more responsive to the local needs (Li, 1999, p. 180). This was in conformity with the government's political reform of streamlining central government and empowering local governments (Hu, 2006, p. 408). In principle, the central government is in charge of the "macro-level" management, while the specific decision-making authorities are assigned to local governments (Mok, 2002, p. 262).

Additionally, HEIs were given more autonomy, making decisions on issues such as financing, and programme design (to meet market demands). The empowerment of HEIs within the legal framework was finally legitimised in the *Higher Education Law* of 1998, which granted HEIs the rights to "run the school on their own in accordance with the law and to administer with democratic management" (Higher Education Law, Article 11). Accordingly, in the *CFCRS Regulations 2003*, CFCRS should also "enjoy the autonomy when conducting educational activities in accordance with the law" (Article 4).

However, as commented by many researchers (Hawkins, 2000; Chan & Mok, 2001; Mok, 2002; Xu, 2005; Hu, 2006; Ma, 2009), HEIs in China are not released from governmental control. Ma (2009) commented that with the increasing involvement of local government, HEIs are under "multi-government control" (both central and local governments), which effectively reduce HEIs' responsiveness to the local needs (Ma, 2009, p. 119).

After many field visits in mainland China, Mok (2002) concluded that despite central government's retreat from direct higher education administration, there is less evidence to show that HEIs are autonomous from state control (Mok, 2002, p. 271). Similarly, following the promulgation and enforcement of *CFCRS Regulations 2003*, the government has actually been tightening up the control of CFCRS (Tang & Nollent, 2007, p. 5). This will be further discussed later (section 2.3.3).

2.3.2 The implementation of market economy: marketisation

Closely related to *decentralisation* is *marketisation*, a process of introducing market economy into the higher education system, through which educational services become commodities that are priced and consumed by people who are able and willing to pay (Yin & White, 1994, p. 271). To separately address *decentralisation* and *marketisation* is not to argue that they are two distinctive processes, but to identify different elements of the higher education reform, which creates the contexts for TNE development in China. *Decentralisation* reflects the change of government policies to shift authorities and responsibilities (empowerment of local governments and HEIs), while *marketisation* accounts for how different stake holders (government, HEIs, students, employers etc.) relate and interact under the influence of market economy. Marketisation accompanied by massification (the widened access to HEIs and the expansion of the higher education market) led to profit chasing of HEIs and commodification of higher education services. The freedom gained by the HEIs (in financing, provision and management), the substantial financial returns in CFCRS and the incomplete legal framework created an “informal, incidental and laissez-faire phase” for the development of CFCRS (Tang & Nollent, 2007, p. 37) at the third stage of higher education reform (1990-2003).

2.3.2.1 The formation and expansion of the higher education market

In economics, public good is something that has to be provided in the fashion of equal distribution among all its members (Varian, 2006, p. 671). Under a planned economy¹⁰, when decisions of which industry to develop and how to allocate resources were made by the central government, it also makes decisions on what should be taught in HEIs to foster the particular skills which are needed. Considering the society as an entity, the skills students acquire from higher education to use for social development could be regarded as public good to be enjoyed by all members. However, for each individual member, a higher education service itself is not strictly speaking for the good of the public since they have to compete with each other to receive the service¹¹. When a student receives the service, skills the student learns will be exclusively his or her personal property, not to be shared by others. Therefore, higher education has both public and private characteristics, a kind of *quasi-public good* (Zhang, 2009, p. 28).

As China introduced market economy, the central government would inevitably invite the market system into higher education sector since the market decides the kinds of talents required. Meanwhile, as the economy grows, the demand for well-educated talent increases, resulting in the expansion of the higher education market. The following Table 2.1 illustrates the increase of the gross enrolment rate to higher education for people between the ages of 18 to 22 since 1991 (Ministry of Education,P.R.C., 2012).

Table 2.1 Enrolment rate of 18-22 years' old students to higher education in China (1991-2010)

Year	Rate	Year	Rate	Year	Rate	Year	Rate
1991	3.5	1996	8.3	2001	13.3	2006	22.0
1992	3.9	1997	9.1	2002	15.0	2007	23.0
1993	5.0	1998	9.8	2003	17.0	2008	23.0
1994	6.0	1999	10.5	2004	19.0	2009	24.2
1995	7.2	2000	12.5	2005	21.0	2010	26.5

Considering the huge population of China (1.3 billion by the end of 20th century), the scale of expansion has been unprecedented in the world. In 1998, there were only 1,022 normal higher education institutions (those providing four-year degree programmes) with an enrolment of 653,135 students (Ministry of Education,P.R.C., 2009). In 2008, the number of normal higher education institutions had increased to 2,305 with an enrolment of 2,970,601 students to degree programmes (Ministry of Education,P.R.C., 2009). This rapid expansion would not have been possible without utilising various social resources, including opening the higher education market to private providers. By 2010, the number of private (*minban*) HEIs providing undergraduate degree programmes had reached 676, accommodating over 2.8 million students (Ministry of Education, P.R.C., 2010). The expansion and privatisation of higher education in China has provided good market opportunities for TNE.

2.3.2.2 Market competition and diversification

Like all markets, the higher education market is driven by self-interest and competition (Gewirtz, et al., 1995, p. 2). HEIs have to compete for public funding and diversifying financing channels to survive and thrive in the marketplace. For public HEIs, the Chinese government has set up an internal competition system to rank all universities and mainly fund

key and research-led universities. In the mid-1990s, a hundred universities were selected as members of “Project 211”, to which the central government attached “financial and strategic importance” and hoped to make them into “world class” universities in the 21st century (Mok, 2002, p. 29). In addition to the top hundred universities, some HEIs are selected by the local governments as the “key universities” (*zhongdian daxue*), which are given funding priority. The rest of the HEIs (both public and private ones) providing undergraduate degree education are categorised as “ordinary universities” (*putong daxue*). Therefore, a ranking system was formed among the HEIs within the higher education market. “Project 211” universities are in the top ranks as the national key universities, which are followed by the locally identified key universities and the ordinary universities. Graduates of key universities (especially the Project 211 universities) are rated higher in the job market and consequently favoured by students. Provided that there are limited annual enrolments to these key universities, students have to compete for access. The National Higher Education Entrance Examination (*gaokao*) implemented by the central government decide (according to the marks the students get) who has the rights to receive (buy) the service (Liu, 2012). These key universities are classified as Tier One universities in *gaokao*, which recruits students before the other public HEIs (Tier Two) and private HEIs (Tier Three). In the market, Tier One universities have advantageous financial positions, with substantial public funding. The ordinary universities, especially Tier Three private ones, compete fiercely to enlarge recruitment, as they have to rely primarily on students’ tuition fees.

As students become consumers in the higher education market, they also become more self-interested and expect best returns for the money they pay. One direct and prominent expectation is their competitiveness in the job market. As the job market reflects socio-economic demands of talents, the higher education provision also needs to react to socio-economic changes. Consequently, programmes and curriculum design are becoming more market-oriented with HEIs paying more attention to students’ employability (Chan & Mok, 2001, p. 29). Additionally, as the higher education market expands, more and more people are receiving higher education to meet different personal needs, which create market demands for new educational services to emerge and diversification for educational provision.

While the market decides the price of certain product, it also allows for price differences in market diversification. As mentioned above, the tuition fees for CFCRS are usually higher

than those charged by the Chinese HEIs. In an open market, consumers can choose which product to buy. There are maybe two situations that would make consumers willing to pay more: a) the product is better than its competitors'; b) there is a shortage of supply. CFCRS could well meet both criteria. It was first introduced to China as the means to import quality educational resources, which is still taken as the core principle of CFCRS (Article3, *CFCRS Regulations 2003*). The first cooperation of this kind was in 1986 between Nanjing University, a top Chinese university, and a world renowned American university, John-Hopkins University. The government's intention was to bring in advanced higher education resources (Huang, 2003, p. 232). The higher education from certain developed countries, including the UK, has been rated highly in China. Its attraction has translated into the market for studying abroad and TNE since the 1990s.

However, as education is regarded as a matter of public interest in China, higher education cannot be fully subjected to market rules. The system of *GaoKao* is to ensure relatively equal opportunities for people to compete for access to higher education and to decide which university they are able to attend. Meanwhile, an order of recruitment is also set up during the recruitment process following the order of Tier One, Two and Three. Therefore, when a UK HEI seeks a Chinese HEI for TNE partnership, it is crucial to understand fully the Chinese partner's position in the recruitment chain, which may have a determinant influence on the student source.

Tier One universities are rated as the key universities by the government and recruit students who reach the Tier One score. The cut-off score for Tier One universities differs from one province to another, depending on the cumulative recruitment quota from all Tier One universities in that particular province. All universities publish their recruitment plan (the enrolment quota for each province) every year. The students are ranked in their province in accordance with their *gaokao* scores. If their scores are above the Tier One cut-off line, they could choose Tier One universities. All students have to fill in an application form, listing the universities to which they want to apply. Therefore the minimum recruitment score of individual universities in each province depends on the scores of the applicants. For instance, Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University recruits Tier One students. They planned to recruit 41 students for all its arts and humanities subjects. If more than 41 students applied from Anhui province, then the lowest score (the minimum score for recruitment of that year) was the

score of the 41st student from the top. Getting a Tier One score would only give students the rights to apply for Tier One universities, but not guarantee a place for the one they chose. Similarly, if the number of applicants didn't reach the recruitment plan, then the minimum recruitment score would be the Tier One cut-off line. Tier One universities are not allowed to lower the recruitment line so as to meet the recruitment plan. For some top universities, such as Tsinghua University, the recruitment score could be 70 and even 100 marks higher than the Tier One cut-off line. The excerpts of the recruitment scores for the year 2012 are presented in Table 2.2 (Gaokao Information Website, 2012)

Table 2.2 Excerpts of recruitment scores of Xi'an Jiaotong Liverpool University, 2012

Province	Students of Arts and Humanities					Full Mark of the GaoKao Tests
	Number of recruited students	Tier One Cut-off Line	Highest Score	Lowest Score	Average	
HeBei	29	572	606	572	571	750
FuJian	14	557	598	560	570	750
Anhui	41	577	608	587	594	750
Shandong	26	573	609	573	588	750
Henan	35	557	602	557	565	750

The access to higher education was often described as a “single-log bridge¹²” in the 1990s and the competition was still fierce even after the expansion, especially admissions to prestigious universities (Zheng, 2008, p. 144). Those who fail to get good marks have to seek alternative higher education provision, such as foreign providers who recruit students outside the *GaoKao* system. Foreign TNE, at the early stage of its development in the 1990s, happened to meet such market needs, providing services to those who could afford the high tuition fees (Tang & Nollent, 2007, pp. 28-29). Before relevant regulations¹³ were put in place, many CFCRS programmes enrolled students outside the national recruitment plan, making random recruitment requirements (Ministry of Education, 2007). The degree subjects offered also tended to be market-oriented popular subjects, such as business, engineering and

computing. The following Figure 2.2 displayed in a QAA report on UK higher education in China illustrates this point.

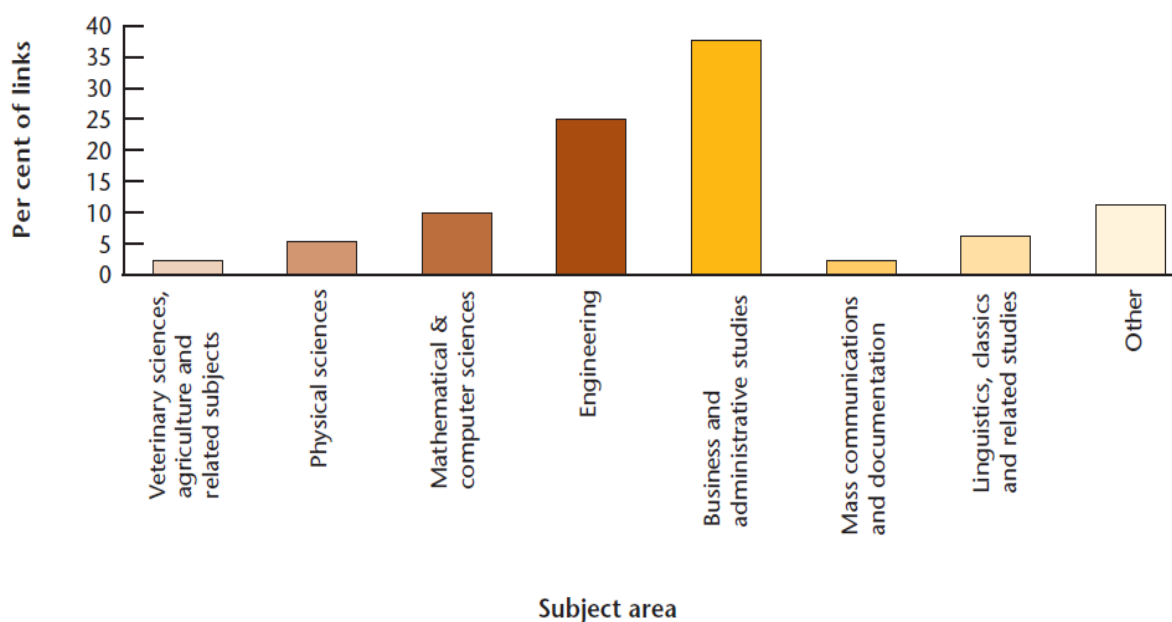


Figure 2.2 Subject distributions of TNE programmes provided by 82 UK higher education institutions in China (QAA, 2006, p. 12)

2.3.2.3 UK TNE in the market place

UK TNE in China benefited greatly in the process of marketisation. In addition to all of the above analysed reasons, it also meets the demand for English medium education. The importance of English has been well acknowledged in China. UK TNE usually claims to integrate UK educational resources and offers English instruction and study environment, which is a prominent attraction to students and parents alike.

Different statistical evidence gathered through various collection criteria have all proved the growth of UK TNE in China. The Ministry of Education in China, as the central authority for certifying TNE programmes and institutions, provides a full list of certified UK TNE, including five institutions and 100 UG programmes operating in Beijing, Shanghai and seven provinces, with a total enrolment plan of over 8,000 students (Monitory Platform of CFCRS, 2010) (updated on 19th July 2010)

Table 2.3 Statistics of UK TNE in China (undergraduate level degree education) certified by Ministry of Education (Monitory Platform of CFCRS, 2010)

Location	Institution	Number of Programmes	Number of participating UK institutions
Beijing	---	6	4
Shanghai	Sino-British College of the University of Shanghai for Science and Technology	6	12
Jiangsu	Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University (independent legal entity)	---	1
Zhejiang	The University of Nottingham-Ningbo (independent legal entity)	---	1
Guangdong	---	1	1
Henan	---	21	8
Shanxi	---	1	1
Heilongjiang	---	54	14
Liaoning	Surrey International Institute, Dongbei University of Finance and Economics; Liaoning University Xinhua International Business School	3	4
Total	5	100	

This list does not include programmes that are operating without gaining certificates from the government. This licensing system was established and enforced in order to regulate the CFCRS market. Criteria for approval and regulations are significant as it shows the Chinese government's intention for a more vigorous control over education quality (Tang & Nollent, 2007, p. 5) and its educational expectations of CFCRS. Sources from the UK side, QAA for instance, reports 82 UK HEIs' are involved in delivering higher educational programmes in China with approximately 11,000 students studying for a UK higher education award in the year 2005-2006 (QAA, 2006).

2.3.3 The tightening up of governmental control and regulations

After a period of deregulation, expansion and marketisation in the 1990s, the education reform in China entered into the fourth stage (2003-present): the critique of industrialising education and focus on improving education quality and regulations. While the previous stages of reform focused on monitoring social resources for widening higher education access, the present stage of reform puts more stress on education quality. Such policy change also resulted in the government's tightening up the regulations of CFCRS. Since the issue of *CFCRS Regulations 2003*, the Ministry of Education has taken a series of actions to enforce the regulations, including an implementation guide for *CFCRS Regulations 2003* issued in 2004 and six directory documents within a year (Zhang & Li, 2010, p. 4). Implementing CFCRS regulations was also a response to China's access to WTO.

2.3.3.1 China's GATS schedule of commitment

The external factor stimulating China's construction of the legal system in CFCRS is its commitment to GATS and the growing influence from the international market. To create a stable international investment environment is expected in WTO principles (predictability and fair trade) (Law, 2002, p. 582). In the education service trade sector, China made "the schedule of specific commitments", specifying its obligations and restrictions in sectors of education services, market access and national treatment (table 2.4). The same commitments and reservations were also written in relevant laws and regulations in China. (Zhou & Shi, 2003, p. 45).

The first column of the table lists the educational sectors China opens: all levels of education service excluding compulsory education and special education in military, policy, political and party education (reflected in Article 6 of *CFCRS Regulations 2003*). The Second column indicates that China has no obligation to open its market for trading service mode 1 (four modes discussed in section 2.1.3), no restriction to mode 2 (Consumption Abroad, Chinese citizens can go abroad to study freely) and limited market access to mode 3 (*Commercial Presence*) and 4 (*Presence of Natural Persons*, setting up cooperative education programmes with foreign partners and allowing foreign staff to work in China, as stated in Article 2 of the *CFCRS Regulations 2003*). The last column shows China's protection of its educational sovereignty with no obligation to national treatment except qualified teachers working in

China (reflected in Article 27 of the *CFCRS Regulations 2003*). The Chinese government's attitude towards TNE can be described as publically supportive and politically cautious. This view is further explained in the following sections.

Table 2.4 China's Schedule of Specific Commitment in the WTO sector of education service trading (Zhou & Shi, 2003)

Detailed commitments of China for education services.

Sector or sub-sector	Limitations on market access	Limitations on national treatment
Educational services (Excluding special education services e.g. military, police, political and party school education)	(1) Unbound* (2) None (3) Joint schools will be established, with foreign majority ownership permitted. (4) Unbound except as indicated in	(1) Unbound (2) None (3) Unbound (4) Qualifications are as follows: possession of Bachelor's degree or above and an appropriate professional title or certificate, with two years' professional experiences.
A. Primary education services (excluding national compulsory education)	Horizontal	
B. Secondary education services (excluding national compulsory education)	Commitments and the following: foreign individual education service suppliers may enter into China to provide education services when invited	
C. Higher education services	or employed by	
D. Adult education services	Chinese schools and other education	
E. Other education services	institutions	

*Key: Modes of supply: (1) Cross-border supply (2) Consumption abroad (3) Commercial presence (4) Presence of natural persons

2.3.3.2 Chinese government's concerns over TNE

As the market drives the expansion of CFCRS, concerns from the Chinese government over its development began to emerge. Major issues detected by the Ministry of Education included: (a) too many repeated and overlapping programmes in business, management,

computing and IT (this is also supported by the QAA report as quoted above); (b) low admission requirement; (c) failure to introduce quality educational resources: only a small number of foreign partners are world renowned universities and some programmes have little real educational involvement of the foreign partner; (e) poor education quality (Ministry of Education , 2007).

Another issue is the high tuition fees, which consequently worsens the imbalanced regional development and education inequality. Under the policy of higher education *decentralisation*, local governments have been empowered to finance and manage HEIs in their regions. To make HEIs more responsive to local needs and encourage local governments to invest in higher education, the current national college recruitment policy allows HEIs to give more annual admission quotas to local students. The following Table 2.5 shows excerpt of the 2010 recruitment plan for the University of Nottingham, Ningbo, which is located in Zhejiang Province. Hence the admission quota for Zhejiang province is much higher than any other region within China (University of Nottingham, Ningbo, 2010).

Under such enrolment arrangements, CFCRS can develop better in provinces where more people can afford such high tuition fees. In China, the per capita GDP in certain areas, such as the eastern coastal areas, is much higher than in other regions, such as the western inland areas (Tang & Nollent, 2007, p. 29). This can explain why Xi'an Jiaotong University did not establish its cooperative institution with Liverpool University in its own province, Shan'xi Province in the western region, but in Suzhou, Jiangsu, a wealthy eastern province.

Table 2.5 Excerpt of Enrolment Plan of University of Nottingham, Ningbo, 2010 (website of UNN)

Enrolment Plan of UNN, Ningbo, 2010 Enrolment Level: Tier One										
Programme	Duration (year)	Level	Total Enrolment Plan	Quota to each provincial area						Tuition Fees
				Liao Ning	Tian Jin	Hu Nan	Jiang Su	Zhe Jiang	
International Business	4	UG	328	13	9	14	6			60,000 RMB/y
Financial Management	4	UG	157	5	4	5	3		56	

2.3.3.3 Education sovereignty and educational ideas

In addition to these issues regarding market orders and education quality, there are several more profound reasons regarding education sovereignty and educational ideas that motivate the central government to tighten up control. In the *CFCRS Regulations 2003*, CFCRS is defined as part of China's higher education system with the fundamental aim of cultivating "all kinds of talents for China's socialist construction" (Article 5, *CFCRS Regulations 2003*). Undergraduate students, as the Higher Education Law requires, have to "abide by laws and regulations, observe norms of conduct for students and the management system of the schools, respect teachers, work hard in their studies, build up their physiques and the concepts of patriotism, collectivism and socialism, diligently study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory, have sound ideology and moral character, grasp a comparatively high level of scientific and cultural knowledge and specialised skills" (Article 53, *Higher Education Law 1998*). Apart from the last sentence about knowledge acquisition, all other lines are contributing to defining what kind of citizens HEIs are supposed to cultivate for the society. Through the law, the Chinese government has explicitly determined the obligation of HEIs in terms of citizenship education in social, moral and political aspects. Therefore, UK TNE is also required to provide "courses on the constitution, laws, ethics of citizens and basic facts about China, etc. in accordance with the requirement by China for educational instructions of the same type at the same level (Article 30, *CFCRS Regulations 2003*)."

To ensure the preservation of educational ideas, *CFCRS Regulations 2003* requires that no foreign educational institutions, organisations or individuals are allowed to run schools independently in Chinese territory (Article 62) and that Chinese and foreign co-operators are not allowed to offer a "compulsory education service or special education service such as military, police and political education services" (Article 6) or "religious education" (Article 7). Such cooperative programmes and/or institutions have to be managed by either "a board of trustees"/ "directors" (cooperative schooling with legal person status) or "a joint managerial committee" (cooperative schooling with no legal person status) with no less than half Chinese members and led by a Chinese chairperson (Article 21). The president or principal administrator should also be a Chinese "loving the Motherland" (Article 25). As for the language of instruction, standard Mandarin should be the basic instruction language and

foreign languages can be used if “necessary” (Article 31). This language requirement seems to be contradictory to the intentions of engaging foreign education, which is an interesting question that will be explored further in the empirical research. The intention of the regulation is clear: to ensure the decision-making authority is held by the Chinese institutions, which are subject to the authorities of the multiple-governmental administrative system as mentioned in the discussion of the decentralisation of higher education system.

Since the enforcement of the *CFCRS Regulations 2003*, the Ministry of Education has taken a series of actions of enforcement. In 2004, it issued a *Notice on Rechecking all the Chinese-foreign Cooperation in Running Schools and Programmes* (Ministry of Education, 2004). The top two of the ten aspects to be checked were whether they were involved in primary, military, policing and political education and whether they held any religious activity.

In 2006, the Ministry of Education circulated the document, *Opinions on Some Current Issues Concerning Chinese-foreign Cooperation in Running Schools*, giving seven directing orders (Ministry of Education, 2006). This document re-stressed that CFCRS should not be for-profit and its quality is assessed against the principle of introducing quality educational resources, so as to assist the capacity building for the Chinese domestic HEIs. It specified the preferred co-operators as reputable research-oriented universities, HEIs advanced in disciplines which are urgently needed in China. It made clear that educational services were not normal commodities and the education system should not be commercialised (Opinion One). Meanwhile, it attached great significance to the leadership of Chinese institutions in the operation of CFCRS and required them to keep “political sensitivity and the consciousness of education sovereignty” (Opinion Two).

In 2007, The Ministry of Education again published a *Notice on Further Regulating Chinese-foreign Cooperation in Running Schools*, which pointed out major problems and methods to cope with them (Ministry of Education , 2007). Following the previous documents, *Notice 2007* highlighted the non-profit making nature of CFCRS and the necessity to "strengthen political sense and responsibility". It also clarified the definition of "quality educational resources" as introducing disciplines that China urgently needs, such as mining, energy, environment protection, etc. and discouraged programmes that aim at exporting students to foreign countries, such as preparatory programmes (foundation programmes before the degree education).

All these laws and regulations demonstrate the government's determination to tighten up the control of CFCRS, stressing the main purpose of CFCRS as a way to introduce advanced educational resources, meanwhile not casting a threat to the socialist public service nature of higher education. Under such circumstances, the partnership becomes an increasingly important factor in the sustainability of UK TNE in China. On the one hand, UK TNE needs to rely more on its partners to communicate with the authorities. On the other hand, UK TNE also needs to make more effort in localising a foreign education to address local needs through closer educational cooperation with the partners. New challenges will arise during the process of localising educational programmes. One ultimate challenge is to deal with different ideas of what kind of citizens to create and how to prepare students to be responsible citizens in a globalising world. The next chapter will address the challenges of citizenship education in UK TNE in China with a review of literature in citizenship education in both societies.

Endnotes of Chapter Two:

¹ In 2011, the market share of the leading export countries were: the US (16.5%); UK (13%); Germany (6.3%); France (6.2%), Australia (6.1%) and Canada (4.7%). Data came from 2013 UK government's International Education Strategy Infographics (BIS, 2013b).

² All the review reports of UK TNE in China can be found in QAA website:
<http://www.qaa.ac.uk/InstitutionReports/types-of-review/overseas/Pages/China-2012.aspx>

³*Socialist Market Economy* is a concept proposed by Deng Xiaoping, the inspirational architect of contemporary China, and was established as the guiding principle for China's future economic development in 1993 on the Third Plenary Session of the 14th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (*A number of Decisions made by the CPC Central Committee on the Establishment of a Socialist Market Economic System, 14th Nov. 1993*). The main idea is to incorporate market economy into the socialist political system, replacing the outdated planned economy, while not letting China slip into a capitalist system. As it is in contradiction to the traditional interpretations of socialism, therefore, socialist market economy has often been referred to as "Socialist with Chinese characteristics", a term often used by the Chinese government and its media. The detailed explanation of socialist market economy can be found on the official website of the Communist Party of China: <http://cpc.people.com.cn>.

⁴**The Cultural Revolution** or **Proletarian Cultural Revolution** (*wuchan jieji wenhua da gemin*) was launched in 1966 by Chairman of the P.R.C. at that time, Mao Zedong, under the name of eliminating disturbance factors in the way of China's socialist revolution. The threatening elements included: a) feudalism or traditional thoughts; b) capitalism or the western ideologies; c) revisionism or the threats from the Soviet Union. It lasted ten years until 1976 when Mao died in the post as the head of the state. The Cultural Revolution has often been described as the "dark age" of China's modern history, during which time economic development and education was stopped and all people were dragged into the nation-wide political struggles. Mao's political power and the people's worshipping of his authority had both reached a historical peak at that time (Tang, 2008, pp. 5-7).

⁵**The First Opium War (1840-1842)** was usually marked as the beginning of China's modern history and the commencement of China's one-century war with different foreign invaders. , which ended with the surrender of the Japanese army in 1945.

⁶ The last dynasty in China was the **Qing Dynasty**, whose rulers adopted a foreign policy of "Close Door (*biguan suoguo*)", isolating itself from the world. Not until the defeat in two Opium Wars in the mid-19th century did Chinese people realise how much they had fallen behind in science and technology. The Qing Dynasty began to send students to study abroad and set up several western institutions to learn western technology in the hope of catching up with the West and saving its regime. Since then, not only science and technology were introduced into China, but also western thoughts of democracy and constitutional rules. When the feudal regime ended in 1912, all sorts of political powers, foreign and internal, struggled to assume ruling power in China. In 1937, Japan invaded China and forced China into an eight year long (1937-1945) war against the Japanese. In the process, two political camps were formed; the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Chinese National Party, which eventually led China into a civil war (1945-1949). In 1949, the civil war ended with the victory of the CPC and the establishment of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese National Party retreated to the Taiwan.

⁷**Mao Zedong** was the leader of the CPC and the first chairman of the CPC-led P.R.C. His death in 1976 put an end to the Cultural Revolution, a watershed of China's modern history. Politically, China entered into a new era, which is often referred to as "Post-Mao". From Mao's death to the breakup of the USSR, the actual power was in the hand of Deng, Xiaoping, the designer of China's Reform and Opening-Up. The presidency of the state was then assumed by three people, all of whose ups and downs had represented a certain kind of political change or crisis. Mao's chosen successor, Hua Guofeng (1976-1981), was replaced by Hu Yaobang (1981-1987), the first chosen leader by Deng who was forced to resign and was replaced by Zhao Ziyang (1987-1989), Deng's second chosen leader. Zhao was soon removed from his post after the Tiananmen Movement in 1989 (Tang, W., 2008, P17).

⁸Approval of Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools: the Chinese government adopts a certifying system to regulate CFCRS, especially those in running degree programmes. Only degrees certified can be recognised by the Chinese government. More details can be found on the website of China Academic Degrees and Graduate Education Development Centre (*CDGDC*):<http://www.chinadegrees.cn/en/>

⁹**RMB:** *RenMingBi*, the official currency of China. The exchange rate to British Sterling in 2011 is about ten RMB to one pound.

¹⁰In a **planned economy**, the central government identifies social needs and develops industries accordingly. The product prices are not decided by the demand-supply market rule, but by the government's recognition of people's living standards. Such system assisted economic development and production efficiency in the early years with limited available social and economic resources (Tang, 2008, p. 8)

¹¹In China, the national higher education entrance examination (*gaokao*) has been used as the selective system 1952. The central government strictly controlled the enrolment plan and applied "uniform regulations for each step of the admission procedure" (Zheng, 2008, p. 138).

¹² The *single-log bridge* (*dumuqiao*) was a term to describe the access to higher education in China. Only a small percentage of the total population could go to the universities and the university degree was valued highly in the society. Therefore, the entrance to the universities was seen as the "single-log bridge" over the river to go for success.

¹³The first regulations of such was *Contemporary Regulations on the Operation of Higher Education Institutions in Co-operation with Foreign Partners* (1995), which was further revised into the *Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Chinese-foreign Cooperation in Running Schools* in 2003.

Chapter 3 Citizenship and Citizenship Education: in the Context of Transnational Education

The last chapter described the history and current status of UK TNE in China, identifying different incentives and strategies of the UK and China to engage in TNE. It pointed out that the Chinese government has been tightening up its control on CFCRS, aiming at making it in line with its overall educational agenda. The message sent from the central government in China was clear: CFCRS should not be for the purpose of profit-making, but for public good and for educating Chinese citizens to meet China's needs. Through analysis of the political, socio-economic and educational contexts, the chapter concluded that the differences in educational ideas could be the ultimate challenges for the future development of UK TNE in China. This challenge can be well reflected in dealing with citizenship education, one culturally and politically sensitive and one fundamental educational task of education. This chapter follows this argument and reviews theories in addressing the role of higher education in preparing students to be future citizens, and perceptions of citizenship and citizenship education in the UK and in China.

In addition to the review of citizenship at national level, the growing influence of globalisation has also brought in new thoughts of how citizenship should be defined in the globalising world (Cogan, 2000, p. 1). An increasing number of researchers have started looking at new conceptions of citizenship, which challenges the "territorial borders" (Law, 2006, p. 597) of the nation state and traditional citizenship conceptions at the national level. Academically, it reflects on the growing attention to a global dimension of citizenship education, creating ideas such as education for global citizenship. For practitioners of TNE, such discussion is both challenging and unavoidable. TNE involves at least two political communities in the discussion of its role in citizenship education. Therefore, the discussion of the political communities and global civil society transcending the national frame, which challenge the states' normative policies of citizenship education are also of great importance

in the review. The chapter ends with research questions for the empirical enquiry of UK TNE practice in China.

3.1 The Role of Higher Education in Citizenship Education

Aims of education can be argued differently from different perspectives. Davies (2005) regards the fundamental purpose of education as to “help people to live a better individual life and also to contribute to the improvement of a wider society (locally, nationally and globally)” (Davies, 2005, p. 113). Higher education on the top of the education system shares the responsibilities of preparing students to achieve personal values and to contribute to society. Barnett (1990) considers the influence of higher education on individuals with a scale between the “conservative” and the “radical” interpretations. The conservative interpretation defines higher education as character formation for students, through which students become independent and establish their own character. The radical conception adds up to be a total transformation of the individual personalities of the students (Barnett, 1990, p. 191). Regardless where the students end up on the scale between “conservative” and “radical”, the impact of university experience on the students’ preparation to be members of society could not be overlooked. All students, within limited university time, have to get themselves best prepared to live independently with acceptable attitudes and appropriate abilities to contribute to a wider society (locally, nationally and globally). As for what the “attitudes” and “abilities” are, different education providers and those sponsoring or controlling authorities (such as government and society at large where all the social and cultural conventions are formed) may give different interpretations, which reflect their aims for education.

The Chinese government’s guidance on the fundamental aim of higher education, which CFCRS should also legally abide by, is to educate the students into “builders and successors for the socialist cause” (Article 3, Higher Education Law, 1998). The higher education system is seen by the government as the social mechanism to shape an individuals’ relationship with society, which is to cultivate desired citizens under the guidance of “Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory” (Article 3, Higher Education Law, 1998). Personal pursuits and characters of the individual citizens are not particularly emphasised, but are put in the context of attributing to the collective good of the “socialist cause”. Under this national guideline phrased by the government, the fundamental

task of higher education, together with other levels of school education in China, is to create the desired “citizens” for the society. The term “citizen” is actually not used in the *Higher Education Law 1998* (The Standing Committee of the People's Congress, 1998) to describe the member of the society. Rather, students are described as “builders” and “successors”, indicating kinds of attitudes, values and ethics imposed by the government into the educational system. Accordingly, modules related to educating the desired “citizens” are compulsory for all university students in China. The conceptions of citizenship and relevant education in China will be discussed in section 3.4.

In the UK higher education discourse, education for creating citizens is also discussed, but from a more liberal perspective. Liberal interpretation of citizenship in higher education encourages a “neutral stance towards competing understanding of the good” with emphasis on “the virtues of tolerance, the insistence on inclusion and the appreciation of different cultural and moral perspectives” (Arthur, 2005, p. 3). In 2002, citizenship education was introduced into the national curriculum for secondary education (Key Stage 3 and 4) in England (the largest one of the four countries in the UK). In higher education, there is no national requirement for citizenship education. The citizenship education in the UK, especially in England will be reviewed in section 3.3.

Different from national higher education, where universities educate citizens and contribute to the development of the nation state they are located in, TNE engages the educational conventions and values of both countries. With a few exceptions of recruiting international students, most UK TNE in China is exclusively for Chinese citizens. Being regarded as part of the Chinese higher education system, TNE is required to “abide by the laws of China, implement China’s educational policies, comply with Chinese public ethics [...] and make an effort to train all kinds of talents for China’s socialist construction”(Article 5, *CFCRS Regulations 2003*). Therefore, TNE is required to “offer courses on the constitution, laws, ethnics of citizens and basic facts about China, etc. in accordance with the requirements by China for educational institutions of the same type at the same level” (Article 30, *CFCRS Regulations 2003*).

As foreign institutions are not allowed to deliver educational programmes independently in the territory of China (Article 62, *CFCRS Regulations 2003*), partnership with Chinese counterparts is inevitable in setting up TNE in China. Different educational values, ideas and

conventions are brought together in the practice of TNE. In such circumstances, what are the challenges for implementing citizenship education in TNE? How has citizenship education been approached in UK TNE in China in practice? From the perspective of preparing students for a globalising world, how should citizenship education be incorporated in TNE? These questions will be addressed firstly through a review of literature in how citizenship has been defined historically, and then to analyse the policies of citizenship education in the UK and in China. In this research, citizenship education is broadly understood as the preparation of students for their roles as citizens particularly through formal school education (Kerr, 1999, p. 2), providing an analytical angle to explore the educational ideas and practice of UK TNE in China.

3.2 The Conceptions of Citizenship

In a broad sense, citizenship could be understood as the citizens' *membership to a political community* (Giddens, 1993, p. 749; Delanty, 2000, p. 9; Bottery, 2003; Leydet, 2006; Banks, 2008, p. 129). Three aspects of such membership are generally discussed in existing literature: citizens' legal status of rights and duties, citizens' political participation, and the formation of the citizenship identity (a sense of identity and the acceptance of certain basic societal values). The contested conceptions of citizenship hence come from the argument over the definition of each element as well as the complex relationship among them (Delanty, 2000, p. 9; Leydet, 2006). Traditionally, there is one consensus among the classical conceptions of citizenship: the central role of the political community and its modern form of nation state in defining citizenship.

3.2.1 Nation state and the construction of citizenship

Citizenship is defined within a certain *political community*. The concept of *community* prevails among human societies with countless types of communities existing in the modern world, each of which indicates a certain "sense of affiliation and loyalty" among their members (Sen, 2006, p. 20). Most people belong to more than one community, defining their identities through different sources. A person can have a political identity of being a Singaporean, ethnically being a Chinese, and professionally being an accountant. Community boundaries, real or imagined, separate members and non-members in different aspects. Citizenship in the contemporary world usually refers to the membership of a specific political

community in the form of a **nation state** (Giddens, 1993, p. 311; Fulcher & Scott, 1999, p. 451).

“Nation” and “state” are not synonymous terms. Their amalgamation indicates different contributions to and possible variation in the formation of a political community (Bottery, 2003, p. 102). A nation is a people sharing common cultural and/or ethnic identity, which distinguishes them from others. Anderson (2006) suggests that “nation” is an “imagined community” with certain boundaries and self-determination (sovereignty). Most members will not know the majority of their fellows, but still share a common sense of comradeship (Anderson, 2006). A state is more of a politically defined entity (Fulcher & Scott, 1999, p. 452; Miscevic, 2010), based on a “rational-legal legitimacy, expressed above all in its complex laws” (Bottery, 2003, p. 102). Hence there is “a spectrum of possibilities for nation states” between two extremes: “state-less nations” (nation-based communities where no independent sovereign states have been established) and “nation-less states” (states established through “incorporation and assimilation of multiple ethnic, linguistic and religious groups”) (Bottery, 2003, pp. 102-103).

In some cases, national identity and political identity were formed interdependently. For example, there are 56 different ethnic groups living in the territory of the People’s Republic of China. For a long time in history and nowadays, the majority of the people (of different ethnic groups) living in this range of territory (within the current border of P.R.C.) have been governed under the same central regime, which has led many of them to self-identify as members of the Chinese nation (a cultural/political, not an ethnic identity). In such case, as argued by Giddens (1993), national identity doesn’t exist until people from different communities are unified and governed under the same state administration (p.311-312). In return, national identity can assist political integration, especially when the nation is facing foreign invasions. Such interdependence may provide an explanation of China’s cultural continuity and relatively secure territory integration in its long history. The cultural dimension and political traditions of Chinese citizenship will be further discussed (section 3.4.1).

Some other cases show that different nationals are unified under the same state government, while people keep strong ties with their national identities. For example, people living in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland are unified under the same state of the United

Kingdom. However, at an individual level, they may rather be referred to as English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish (Giddens, 1993, p. 312). The political identity of the UK, therefore, includes a respect for the four national identities (English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish). Despite the differences, in both cases, the national identity is valued as an important basis for political identity, even the foundation for it. \$

There are also cases when the national identities are downplayed and even replaced by state-centred political identity. In Singapore, a mix of Chinese, Malays, Indonesian (all in the national sense) and many other ethnic groups are living together in a relatively small territory (Martin & Feng, 2006, pp. 47-49). Before independence from the federation of Malaya in 1965, the majority ethnic group, the Chinese (over 75%) in Singapore were considered politically inferior to the Malaysians, a policy established and kept during both British colonisation and the period of the Japanese invasion (Martin & Feng, 2006, p. 48), which resulted in hostile relations between the two ethnic groups. To pacify rivalry, the Singaporean government has to create a state-centred identity, with no favouritism toward any ethnic or cultural identity. English is also kept as the official language to be neutral to all ethnic groups.

The process of forming Singaporean citizenship highlights the essence of citizenship as a state-centred identity securing civic integration, a political relationship between individuals and the state. Citizenship could embrace a “potentially limitless scope” since “almost every problem in political philosophy involves relations among citizens or between citizens and the state” (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994, p. 353). For the sake of current discussion of TNE, it is crucial to identify the aspects of citizenship conceptions more closely linked to education.

3.2.2 Outlooks of citizenship education

Grossman (2000) pointed out that any conception of citizenship “implies a set of knowledge, skills, values and dispositions that citizenship should possess” (Grossman, 2000, p. 80).

Citizenship education, especially in formal school settings, aims at providing students with this relevant knowledge, skills and values “for functioning and leading responsible lives in the community” (Law, 2006, p. 598). Citizenship education is highly contextualised and can vary greatly from one state to another. However, there are common components of citizenship education arising from the common attributes of citizenship conceptions.

Based on a multinational research project of Citizenship Education Policy Study (CEPS 1993-1997) for the coming 21st century, Cogan and Derricott (1998) summarise five categories of attributes of citizenship conceptions (Cogan & Derricott, 1998):

- sense of identity
- the enjoyment of certain rights
- the fulfilment of corresponding obligations
- a degree of interest and involvement in public affairs
- an acceptance of basic societal values

The five categories echo the three dimensions of citizenship: the legal status (rights and duties), political participation and identity discussed at the beginning of this section. Different outlooks of citizenship will result in different focuses being given to these attributes and hence the differences in citizenship education. In Europe-originated political traditions, there are two major outlooks of citizenship, contributing to different conventions in citizenship education: the republican and the liberal (Zhu & Feng, 2008; Kim, 2010).

3.2.2.1 Republican citizenship

The republican idea of citizenship originated from the democracy of the ancient Greek city state, where the core of citizenship was to perform public service and serve public interests (Crittenden, 2007). Aristotle began his book *Politics*, with the following words:

“Every state is a community of some kind, and every community is established with a view to some good; for mankind always act in order to obtain that which they think good. But, if all communities aim at some good, the state or political community, which is the highest of all, and which embraces all the rest, aims at good in a greater degree than any other, and at the highest good”. (Aristotle, Book I 1252a).

Through a review of the natural growth of sorts of relationships and unions among mankind, Aristotle considered that “the state is a creation of nature” and the defining characteristic of the state is self-sufficiency and to obtain the highest good (Book II, 1253a). Following this logic, human beings are naturally considered as political animals, assuming the political identity of being citizens only to realise the natural status of human beings. Aristotle also suggested the path to become citizens was to use the gift of reason, and through speech and actions (Kim, 2010, p. 439). Therefore, with people’s natural inclination to the good, the state formed through citizens’ collective contributions also naturally creating the public good.

Through active participation in political decision-making, individuals become citizens, not subjects. Good citizens fulfil their public duties, willingly prioritising public interests. Hence the essence of citizenship lies on the dimension of political participation. The purpose of education then is to equip individuals with virtues and abilities of “speech” and “action”, so as to be good and active citizens (Kim, 2010, p. 439).

Of the five attributes mentioned above (Cogan & Derricott, 1998), the republican outlook of citizenship education would put greater emphasis on cultivating students’ knowledge and skills in fulfilling public obligations and on their interests in public affairs. One issue raised from the Republican citizenship conception is why people should / are willing to commit themselves to civic activities. Simply assuming that people are political animals is not sufficient to argue for active participation in modern states. In the big states of the contemporary world, how could citizens to be motivated when their personal impact on politics is close to nil? Moreover, is it even practical to let the public make every decision of the state? These questions remain valid to ask in the current promotion of active citizenship in an era of global interdependence, which will be discussed later in more detail.

3.2.2.2 Liberal citizenship

In contrast to the republican tradition was the liberal outlook of citizenship and citizenship education, which has been prominent in the West since the 17th century (Leydet, 2006). The essence of citizenship under liberal influence focuses on its dimension of legal status: “political liberty is important as a means of protecting individual freedom from interference by other individuals or the authorities themselves.” (Leydet, 2006). Compared with republicanism, which prioritises public common interests, liberalism puts more emphasis on the individual, taking a more passive attitude towards political participation. Moreover, the state as a mechanism to provide public goods should not interfere with individual’s privacy and the legitimacy of the government needs to be granted by the citizens (Zhu & Feng, 2008, p. 4). Such outlook is well presented in T. H. Marshall’s rights centred conception of citizenship (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994, p. 354; Zhang, 2002, p. 315).

Marshall considers citizenship essentially as a mechanism to ensure equality among all members of a society. Marshall (1992) distinguished three domains of rights in citizenship, namely civil, political and social rights. Such division was inducted by Marshall through his

examination of the development of civil society in the UK since the 18th century. Civil rights are the basic rights of individual freedom granted by laws such as freedom of speech, and property rights, which arose in the 18th century. Political rights are citizens' rights to exercise political power, such as voting, which was dramatically extended in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Finally social rights refer to the minimum social and economic welfare needs, such as public education and health care, which were established in the UK in the 20th century (Marshall, 1992, p. 8). Marshall also suggested the sequential development of citizenship, from civil rights, individual rights, to political rights, the collective exercise of power, and eventually the social rights, which extend individual rights in the social domain (Marshall, 1992). Therefore his conception of citizenship is associated with the growth of citizenship within a state. Meanwhile, the state itself is also developing towards a liberal-democratic welfare state to ensure all citizenship rights. To some extent, this argument of rights in citizenship indicates "a form of exchange" that the state offers to citizens in return for "identification and loyalty" (Bottery, 2003, p. 104) as well as the fulfilment of duties. Political participation is seen as citizens' entitled rights, rather than a determining factor in realising citizenship. This is often regarded as "passive" or "private" citizenship (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994, p. 354). Citizenship education, in the liberal ideal, aims at cultivating citizens' critical thinking and "fair argument" without imposing specific public opinions (Zhu & Feng, 2008, p. 4). Of the five attributes of citizenship mentioned above (Cogan & Derricott, 1998), liberal citizenship education focuses more on letting students know of their rights and on equipping them with skills to protect their rights.

3.2.2.3 Citizenship education in contexts

Various conceptions of citizenship in different countries at various historical times have shown that citizenship is not a static but an evolving concept. Citizenship education also needs to be analysed in specific contexts (Kerr, 1999, p. 5; Nelson & Kerr, 2006, p. 6). Kerr (1999) summarises five major broad contextual factors: historical tradition, geographical position, socio-political structure, economic system and global trends. Only with examination of the contexts could citizenship education in a particular nation state be understood. The detailed examination of these factors and how they influence citizenship education deserves a separate comparative research across many countries. Here the history factor is used as an

example to demonstrate contextual relevance to citizenship education. These factors will be revisited in the review of citizenship education in the UK and in China.

There are two different dimensions in the historical tradition factor: the history of a particular country and the evolving historical tradition in the same society. Within the continuous stream of political evolutions in Europe, the historical changes in perceptions of citizenship can be noticed. In his celebrated lecture- *the Liberty of the Ancients compared with that of the Moderns* in Paris, Benjamin Constant (1819) made clear distinctions between liberties of different historical times and political backgrounds:

“First ask yourselves what an Englishman, a Frenchman, and a citizen of the United States of America understand today by the word “liberty”...the liberty of the ancients consisted of carrying out collectively but directly many parts of the over-all functions of government...the aim of the ancients was to share social power among the citizens of a single country... the aim of the moderns is to secure their private benefits”.

The liberty of the ancients in Constant’s account was close to the republican conception of citizenship, centralised in political participation. Its prevalence could be better understood in the historical context where “all the ancient republics were geographically small” (Constant, 1988[1819]). The close contacts among its citizens and the possibility for each to “come together in the public square” to make individual impacts on decisions of the legislations, wars, relationship with the other states, etc. (Constant, 1988[1819]). In this context, citizens needed to know how to participate and perpetuate the political integrity of the community, which could lead the citizenship education to be focused on knowledge, skills and attitudes for political participation.

In contrast, the complexity and size of modern nation states leads to the centrality of individuality and the declining stress on the civic participation (McLaughlin, 2000; Heater, 2001; Nelson & Kerr, 2006). This inclination intensifies as history moves into an era of global interdependence. Individuals can easily move globally, working and living outside the country they were born or their citizenship belonged to. When people consider their future in a global arena, how relevant could national citizenship be in their day to day lives? The following section will project citizenship beyond the national contexts and review cosmopolitan theories of global community and emerging concepts of global citizenship.

3.2.3 Citizenship in a globalising world

So far the discussion of citizenship has been carried out within the framework of the nation state, the territorially defined political community with independent sovereignty. However, with the growing impact of globalisation, the relevance of the nation state has been challenged in dealing with various regional and global issues. The conception of citizenship, be it legal status or activities of political identification and participation, may also need adjustment in the new era of global interdependence. Various views considering a global community beyond the national borders and promoting an idea of common humanities beyond “the political affiliation” contribute to the discussion of cosmopolitanism and global citizenship (Kleingeld & Brown, 2006).

3.2.3.1 Cosmopolitan views of global community

For years, globalisation has been a dominant theme in many discussions of human societies and has attracted attention of a large the number of commentators and researchers (Davies et. al., 2005, p.69). No matter how penetrating and prevailing the concept of globalisation is, it is still of great importance to ask why it is necessary to look at citizenship beyond the national borders since citizenship is traditionally defined within a specific political community. How relevant is the idea of global community to people’s lives? In a research of TNE, this question cannot be avoided. As a cross-border educational activity, TNE brings the students virtually (when the entire TNE programme is taught in students’ home countries) and physically (when the TNE programme is delivered in more than one country, such as joint programmes, or in an overseas campus outside students’ home countries) across the national borders. Students of TNE are exposed to at least two different social and educational systems. The issue of how to help students relate to both their national community and to the communities beyond their national borders are of great importance. This question may be addressed from two approaches: one seeking the commonalities among all human beings and the other emphasising the necessity of global governance beyond the state governments to address emerging global issues.

Universal Humanity

From birth, everyone has been given a citizenship, with no personal will and choice involved. If particular citizenship entails certain rights and duties exclusively to a particular group of

people, does that mean that people's lives have been defined or confined by their citizenship? *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* states that "everyone has the right to a nationality and no one shall be arbitrarily neither deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality" (Article 15, UN, 1948). In this sense, citizenship of one particular political state should be second to the common humanity to define people's lives. While the borders among states separate and classify people across the globe, the idea of a "common humanity" should be respected above the interests of the states (Leydet, 2006). The "moral" commitment to humanity echoes with one most common idea in cosmopolitanism: the recognition of the need for a moral community to realise justice and human rights across the world (Kleingeld & Brown, 2006). In this spirit, floods in Pakistan are not just its own domestic problem for the Pakistanis, but a disaster of concern to human beings, a test for global humanity. Similarly, rich countries have moral obligations to fight global poverty and to help people from poor regions (Bader, 1995, p. 31).

Global Governance

The success of the nation-state system in the past has strengthened its legitimacy to be the appropriate mechanism to bring "the economic well-being, the physical security and the cultural identity" to its citizens (Axtmann, 2002, p. 101). Now people are living in a world interconnected via the internet and through global transportation. Many people work outside their own countries (where they hold citizenship) and many companies operate across the globe. In other words, we are living in an era where parts of our lives are influenced by "global process" (Hirst & Thompson, 2003, p. 98). *The UNDP Report 1999* commissioned by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) argues that "globalisation offers great opportunities for human advance, but only with stronger governance" (UN, 2003, p. 421). The governance mentioned here isn't limited to national governments, but a "framework of rules, institutions and established practices" at "local, national, regional and global level (UN, 2003, p. 421).

The pursuit of sustainable development, which can be "shared much more widely", through "stronger governance" (UN, 2003, p. 422) reflects some cosmopolitan views of seeking global justice and equality through "some form of world government or supranational institutions" (Van den Anker, 2002, p. 162). It should be noted that the term "institutions" may be defined differently, from physically established organisations to "all the rules and

social practices present in a social system” (Van den Anker, 2002, p. 162). Here the focus is on the physically established institutions, including state governments, sub-state organisations (such as universities) and supranational institutions (such as The United Nations), which can make argumentative distinctions to the moral cosmopolitanism mentioned above. The account of the institutional requirement and global governance is well presented in Held’s famous argument of “cosmopolitan democracy” (Held, 1995a; Held, 1995b; Held, 1996). Cosmopolitan democracy attaches great importance to the international norms, legal frameworks and institutions, which make cosmopolitanism more than “a remote utopia” (Held, 2003). An agenda of global governance and world order proposed by Held includes different dimensions of internal arrangements, ranging from international laws and “multi-layered” political governance to economic cosmopolitanism (reframing market mechanism, taxation and resource distribution) and the socio-cultural consideration (diversity in human cultures, identities and other aspects of social lives) (Held, 2003).

There are also sceptics and critics against the ideas of global governance and cosmopolitan democracy. One objection is to claim that it is too optimistic to think that it is possible to realise democratic governance in international organisations (Dahl, 2003). For stronger defenders of state sovereignty, the cosmopolitan scheme of global governance violates the fundamental principles of “the autonomy of states or the principle of democratic self-determination of the citizens” (Kleingeld & Brown, 2006). Reviewing the history of each nation state, they were not arbitrarily defined, but formed with commonalty shared by their members, such as culture, language, political ideology, etc. Replacing the states’ roles in ensuring justice and distributing resources by global actions and institutions may not be as effective or justifiable as the cosmopolitans have claimed.

Regardless of these arguments, the establishment of supranational institutions, such as The United Nations (global governance) and The European Union (regional governance), has recognised and been practicing the same values of global governance and cosmopolitan ideas. Some emerging challenges, such as global warming, deforestation, the enlarging gap between the rich and poor, do need to be tackled through more global cooperation. Returning to citizenship education, the question would be: what kinds of citizens are needed in such a globalising world? Various ideas of global citizenship provide attempts to answer this question.

3.2.3.2 Global citizenship

Global citizenship is a highly controversial concept with debates over its validity and over the nature of the term (Dower, 2002, p. 30). If citizenship is traditionally conceptualised in a certain political community, then “global citizenship” would be defined as membership of the global political community. The subsequent question would be what exactly a global political community is. Since everyone lives in the globe and is a member of the global community, then global citizenship could become a vacuous concept. Citizens of anywhere would be citizens of nowhere (Dower, 2002, p. 32). One significant attribute of citizenship is to differentiate the citizens of one particular state from those of another state. In other words, what is the significance of having a global citizenship which includes everyone on the planet? A cosmopolitan response could be that the recognition of the global community and a shared identity could make people aware of and committed to a universal humanity. Global citizenship could be thought of as the common identification beyond the borders of nation states, regardless of race, class, or cultures. To become a global citizen is to respect this common identity, doing nothing immoral at the cost of rights of other political communities and activating global dialogues to address commonly concerned issues (Crittenden, 2007). Additionally, it is hard to overlook the fact that people’s daily activities are increasingly influenced by and are having impacts on the events happening beyond the national borders (Held, 2002, p. 94). Therefore, the recognition of and the commitment to the global community has much practical relevance beyond morality.

Citizenship also describes the relationship between the citizens and the state, which consists of various institutions including the state government and the legal system. The concept of global citizenship then could be questioned since forming a world government has not and may never be realised, which is the similar objection to the idea of cosmopolitan democracy. A follow-up argument would be how global citizens could participate in the global decision-making process. Within the camp of cosmopolitanism, most theorists promoting the idea of global governance do not deny state sovereignty or favour a “world state” (Kleingeld & Brown, 2006): the institutional relationship underlying global citizenship is reflected in a variety of institutions such as NGOs, inter-governmental organisations, rather than one world government (Dower, 2002, p. 34). There is no intrinsic link between a global citizenship and an established global government (Van den Anker, 2002, p. 166). There are issues of global

concern, such as poverty, international justice, and global warming, which need to be addressed globally. However, global issues couldn't often be addressed globally and the functions of nation states should not be undermined. In other words, global issues could be addressed globally with actions being taken locally. Similarly for individuals, their contributions to global issues could be realised through actions taken in local communities.

Comparing different conceptions, global citizenship would be more meaningful if being approached from a moral and participatory perspective. Global citizenship can fall into a vacuous concept if merely being seen as an identity shared by all human beings. It will also become problematic if being discussed as a legal status for rights and duties since it inevitably brings up the feasibility of a global government. Advocates of education for global citizenship also tend to define global citizenship in terms of the awareness and knowledge of the world, the skills in participating in addressing global issues and the values of respecting diversity and common humanity. For instance, Oxfam defines a Global Citizen as someone who is (Oxfam, 2008, p. 2):

- aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a world citizen;
- respects and values diversity
- has an understanding of how the world works
- is outraged by social injustice
- participates in the community at a range of levels, from the local to the global
- is willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place
- takes responsibility for their actions

The panellists (182 experts from nine different countries) in a research project reviewing the conception of citizenship in the 21st century (the multidimensional citizenship beyond the nationalistic conceptions of citizenship) summarise eight characteristics of citizens as the following (Karsten, et al., 2000, p. 113):

- the ability to look at and approach problems as a member of a global society
- the ability to work with others in a cooperative way and to take responsibility for one's roles/duties within society
- the ability to understand, accept, appreciate and tolerate cultural differences
- the capacity to think in a critical and systemic way
- the willingness to resolve conflict in a non-violent manner
- the willingness to change one's lifestyle and consumption habits to protect the environment

- the ability to be sensitive towards and to defend human rights (e.g. Rights of women, ethnic minorities)
- the willingness and ability to participate in politics at local, national and international levels.

Embracing various perceptions, global citizenship generally implies a set of values, such as respect for cultural diversity and human dignity, the sense of belonging and commitment to a global community as well as the knowledge, skill and active attitude to participate in addressing global issues (Imber, 2002; Pigozzi, 2006; Dower, 2002).

3.2.4 Education for national and global citizenship

The relevance of global citizenship to the current discussion of UK TNE in China is that it highlights the “changing nature of citizenship” and the global dimension of citizenship (Davies, 2005, pp. 72-73), which could potentially bring ideas to discussions of how citizenship education could be conducted in cross-border educational contexts. However, global citizenship is not a replacement for national citizenship. A globalising world requires education to address citizenship at two different levels: national and global. Provided that global citizenship indicates a set of values, sense of belonging and commitment to the global community and attitudes to participate in global issues, education for global citizenship is to teach students knowledge of values and global issues as well as attitudes and skills in participation.

3.2.4.1 Content of education for global citizenship

In recent years, various governments (such as the UK), international institutions (such as UNESCO), and organisations (such as Oxfam) have showed great interests in promoting education for global citizenship, putting forward curricula and teaching materials.

UNESCO stresses that education for global citizenship should be based on commonly held values of “tolerance, universality, mutual understanding, respect for cultural diversity and the promotion of a culture of peace” (UNESCO, 2001; Pigozzi, 2006, p. 2). It requires a new vision of quality education for overall human development of values, knowledge, attitudes and skills (Pigozzi, 2006). Leading the United Nations Decade for Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014), UNESCO notes that education needs to implement the “future-oriented” thinking and sustainable vision to help students understand the complex global

issues of “poverty, wasteful consumption, environmental degradation, urban decay, population growth, gender inequality, health, conflict and the violation of human rights” (UNESCO, 2005a, p. 10).

The Oxfam Curriculum for Global Citizenship (2006), first developed in 1997, is built based on the key elements for responsible Global Citizenship, which forms three components of the curriculum (Figure 3.1). The three areas are interlinked with each other: knowledge of global issues is the premise of critical thinking, which also demands an examination of values of self and the others (Davies, 2006, p. 11). Oxfam (2008) also proposes that global citizenship should be well locally relevant, not isolated from students’ lives and communities (Oxfam, 2008, p. 3). The curriculum of global citizenship therefore needs to be localised, not “mostly or all about other places and peoples” (Oxfam, 2006, p. 3).

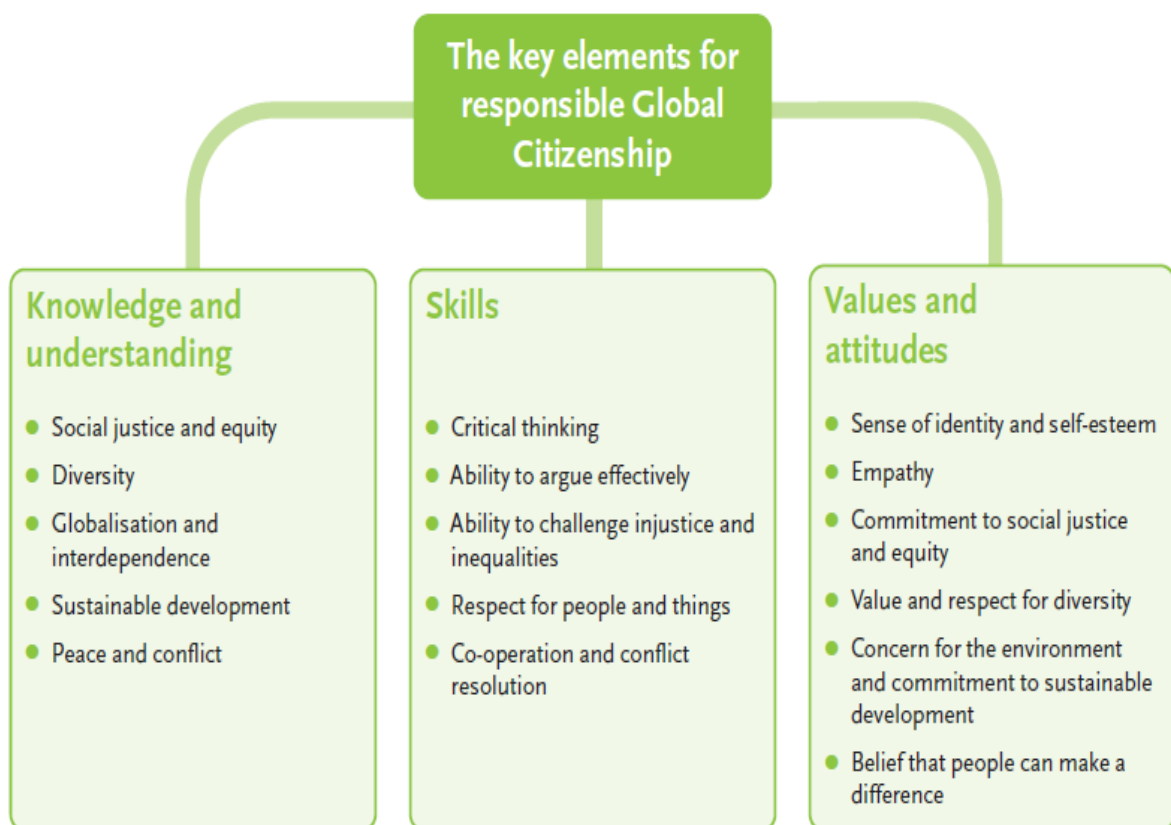


Figure 3.1 Three key elements of responsible global citizenship proposed by Oxfam (Oxfam, 2006, p. 4)

3.2.4.2 Approaches to education for global citizenship

As a value-embedded and participatory process, education for global citizenship is suggested to be realised through “a whole school” approach (Oxfam, 2007). A whole school approach considers different elements of school life, focusing on creating a school ethos that encourages students to learn about the values, attitudes, understanding and skills (DCELLS, 2008, p. 4). Therefore, education for global citizenship is a process in which both students and teachers should participate. To better promote the UN Decade for Education for Sustainable Development, UNESCO suggests that teacher education needs to be reoriented to meet the new educational needs (UNESCO, 2005a). Highlighting learning through participation and actions, Oxfam (2007) seeks the benefits from equal school partnership. Through direct communication with the schools from other countries, students can develop “self-awareness”, “respect for others, skills of enquiry and critical thinking and the ability to apply these to local and global issues”, “the ability to communicate in different ways and settings”, “an appreciation of diversity”, “a sense of injustice and a commitment to tackling it”, “an understanding of how local and global are interconnected, and of the impacts those actions have at both levels” (Oxfam, 2007). In summary, education for global citizenship needs to be approached as a holistic school process, creating stimulating school ethos for students to learn both in and outside the classroom and through active participation in local community activities.

3.3 Citizenship Education in the UK

Under the influence of liberal thought, the UK had never made any state-led national requirements for citizenship education until the end of the 20th century. The UK consists of four countries: England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Each country has different policies in terms of citizenship education. It is hard to generalise how citizenship education is conducted in the UK due to the devolution of power to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, all of which have their own regional governments (Derricott, 2000, p. 25). This section of review focuses on the policies of England because all the four cases studied in this research project happen to be universities in England. Citizenship education was formally introduced into schools’ statutory national curriculum for Key Stage 3 (11-14 years old) and Key Stage 4 (14-16 years old) and non-statutory guidelines for citizenship and personal, social and health education at primary level (Key Stage 1 and 2) in 2002 (House of Commons Education and

Skills Committee, 2007, p. 7). However, there is still an absence of citizenship education at national level beyond secondary education in tertiary, adult education and training (House of Commons Education and Skills Committee, 2007, p. 4). Therefore, there is no formal national curriculum for citizenship education in the universities in England (or in any other countries in the UK). To grasp the traditions and trends of citizenship education in England, it is crucial to answer questions as to why citizenship education was left out in the past and why it was introduced recently.

3.3.1 The absence of national citizenship education in the past

The initiation of citizenship education in schools was pledged in a White Paper by the then Labour Government, titled *Excellence in Schools to strengthen education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy*, in 1997 (House of Commons Education and Skills Committee, 2007, p. 6). The issues then had been through a series of consultations and debates led by the Advisory Group on Citizenship, which was established in the same year and was chaired by Professor Sir Bernard Crick (McLaughlin, 2000, p. 541). In September 1998, the group produced the final report: *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools* (also known as *the Crick Report*), which was largely adopted by the government to formalise citizenship education in the National Curriculum in 2002 (House of Commons Education and Skills Committee, 2007, p. 7). Clearly, citizenship education was not a tradition in national schooling in England. What were the reasons for its absence?

Through a survey of some influential writers' comments on the lack of citizenship education tradition in the UK, Heater (2001) summarised three categories of reasons for this phenomenon: the political causes including the limited nature of democracy, the lack of consciousness of citizenship and the fear that the schools may turn into "forums of destabilising indoctrination"; the social causes including the young people's "general apathy" even "antipathy" towards politics; and the pedagogical causes such as the absence of specialist in the field and the teachers' lack of confidence in handling the subject-matter "that might provoke accusations of bias or indoctrination" (Heater, 2001, p. 104). The political causes appear to be the primary factors, which indirectly result in the other two. David Kerr (1999) observed that "the avoidance of any overt official government direction to schools concerning political socialisation and citizenship education can almost be seen as a national trait" (quoted in McLaughlin, 2000, p. 543). Under such political ideas and concerns about

bias and indoctrination in handling the issue, in the education sector, it was widely accepted that citizenship education didn't need to be achieved through a nationalised curriculum, but rather through general processes of schooling, such as “school ethos” (McLaughlin, 2000, p. 543). However, since the early 1990s, there has been a revitalisation of interest in citizenship and citizenship education in the UK (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994, p. 352). Similar to that of England, Canada introduced *civics curriculum* in 1999 and Australia distributed the curriculum kits *Discovering Democracy* in 1998 (Davies & Issitt, 2005, p. 390).

3.3.2 Active citizenship

The resurrection of citizenship education was not plucked out of thin air. It was a response to the changes in “the political relationships within and between states” and the desire to educate citizens with “more knowledge and active participation within existing social norms” (Davies & Issitt, 2005, pp. 389-390). Globalisation challenges the traditional state-centred citizenship by providing individuals with greater mobility and through reducing the significance of national borders (Held, 1996; Law, 2006). Crick warns that a state with no tradition of active citizenship may be “running great risks” with diminishing support from its citizens (Crick, 1999). The promotions of citizenship education in England draw many references to the notion of “active citizenship” (Nelson & Kerr, 2006, p. 1).

For modern states, facing a time when national boundaries are blurred with globalising power, they are taking great risks of losing the loyalty of their citizens. The extreme case is the lack of support in difficult times such as wars or economic crisis, “but the more obvious risk is lawlessness within society; perhaps not general but at least the risk that sections of young people may feel alienated, disaffected, driven to or open to strong degrees of anti-social behaviour”(Crick, 1999, p. 338). Moreover, a series of events¹ which occurred in the 1980s and 1990s made it clear that “the health and stability of a modern democracy” depends greatly on “the qualities and attitudes of its citizens” (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994, p. 352). The society, therefore, needs to create opportunities for citizens to know how to acquire relevant knowledge and skills (Benn, 2000, p. 241).

For individual citizens, are there benefits for accepting citizenship education? Referring to Aristotle’s comment that people are political animals, in modern societies, citizens are also involved in political, civil and social activities in one way or another. Even those who are not

interested in political participation nevertheless need to know how to protect their rights legally and perform unavoidable duties, such as paying taxes. Since it is an unavoidable aspect of life, it needs to be learned like other skills (Benn, 2000, p. 241).

3.3.3 Citizenship education in England

Since the fundamental aims of introducing citizenship education in England was to promote active citizenship and community involvement, the curriculum design, teaching-learning methods and intended educational outcomes were all set up accordingly. The Crick Report and national curriculum framework addressing the aims, learning contexts and educational outcomes of citizenship education are summarised in Figure 3.2 (Keating, et al., 2010, p. 3)

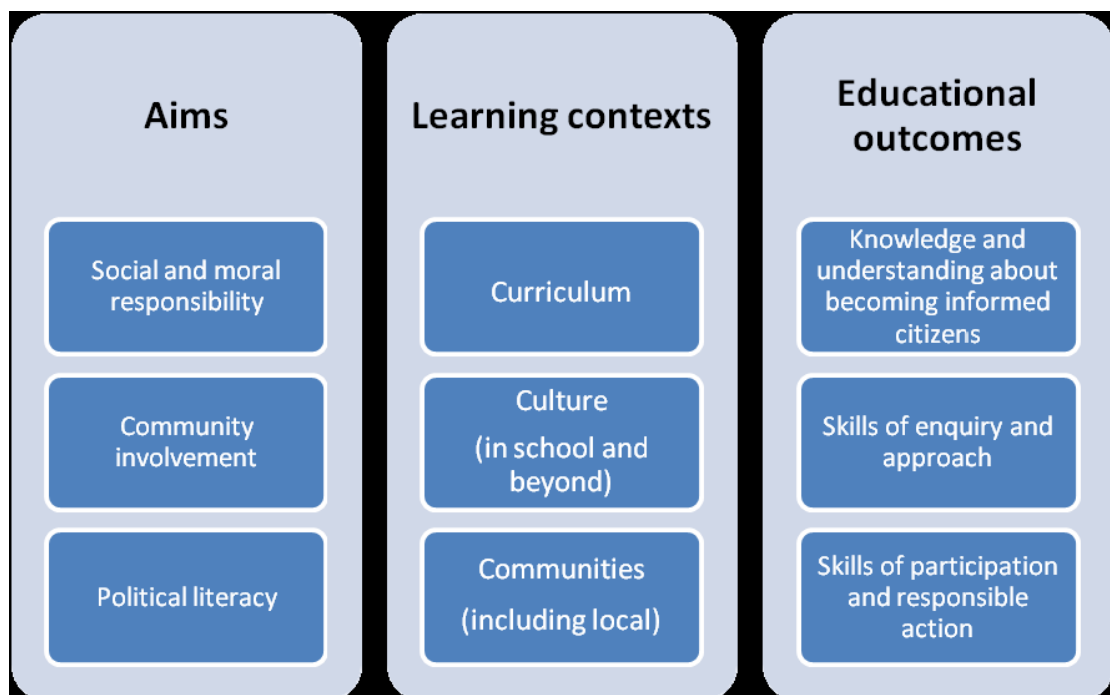


Figure 3.2 Aims, learning context and outcomes of citizenship education in England (Keating, et al., 2010)

To elaborate on the three aspects of aims for citizenship education (House of Commons Education and Skills Committee, 2007, p. 7):

- social and moral responsibility: learning self-confidence and socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom, both towards those in authority and each other;

- community involvement: learning about and becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their communities, including leaning through community involvement and services;
- political literacy: learning about the institutions, problems and practices of our democracy and how to make themselves effective in the life of the nation, locally, regionally and nationally through skills and values as well as knowledge.

The three key aspects of intended educational outcomes of the National Curriculum for Citizenship are further explained as the following (House of Commons Education and Skills Committee, 2007, p. 7):

- Knowledge and Understanding about becoming informed citizens: issues including legal and human rights; national, regional, ethnic and religious differences in the UK; key characteristics of parliamentary and other forms of democracy; the world as a global community (information about role of supranational organisations such as the EU);
- Developing skills of enquiry and communication/approach: learning to think about topical political, spiritual, moral, social and cultural issues, problems and events by analysing information and its sources; learning to take part in discussions and debates;
- Developing skills of participation and responsible action: negotiating, deciding and taking part responsibly in school or community activities; reflecting on the process of participating.

The learning contexts suggest three channels or stages in achieving the goals: formal class-based learning and teaching (curriculum), school and social ethos (culture) and communities. A strategy of “learning outcomes” rather than a detailed description of contents were adopted in implementing citizenship education, which was intended to give more freedom to individual teachers to design their paths towards the outcomes (Crick, 1999, p. 340). The particular involvement of the local communities and the school ethos also differ from one school to another. The tri-channels (curriculum, culture and communities) in conducting citizenship education also provide a useful framework for analysing citizenship education in the current research of TNE.

3.3.4 Global dimension to citizenship education in the UK

In the UK (in all four countries), there is also growing interest in taking a global perspective in citizenship education. Relevant teaching and learning materials can be found from government-led official documents, such as the Department for International Development document *Developing a Global Dimension in the School Curriculum* (2005) and Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills) 2008 Document *Schools and Sustainability: A Climate for Change?* In Wales, the curriculum booklet *Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship: Why? What? How?* (ACCAC, 2002) was first introduced to schools in 2002 (DCELLS, 2008). In practice, UK schools are free to follow different focuses on relevant issues with no unified curriculum imposed (Dives, 2006, p. 14). With an examination of different curricula related to global citizenship education, Lynn Davies (2006) summarizes four approaches (Davies, 2006, pp. 14-15):

- Global citizenship + education (global citizenship is defined with an educational framework to promote it)
- Global + citizenship education (adding a global perspective to citizenship education)
- Global education + citizenship (international awareness plus rights and responsibilities)
- Education + citizenship + global (introducing “dimensions” of citizenship and of international understanding into the school curriculum, but not necessarily connected)

There are many overlaps between citizenship education in national contexts and global citizenship education, especially in cultivating students' critical thinking skills, values and attitudes, such as respect for diversity. In general, citizenship education is promoted as an active process through the curriculum, school and social ethos and community engagement in the UK. Both national and global issues are taken into consideration with special emphasis on active citizenship. The following section will focus on China and its traditions and contemporary discourse of citizenship and citizenship education. Through reviews of both countries, the potential challenges and difficulties of implementing citizenship education in UK TNE in China could be revealed and better analysed.

3.4 Citizenship and Citizenship Education in China

In China, the concept of citizenship was introduced from abroad and has become increasingly prominent in the argument over political democratisation (Zhu & Feng, 2008, p. 2). The “imagined community” of the Chinese nation had existed long before the concept was brought in. China had its own outlook on “members of a nation” and their relationships to the ruling power and the institutionalised representative of the state government, without directly using the term of citizenship. To understand how citizenship is defined in the contemporary political discourse of China and how it is reflected in citizenship education, one has to refer back to China’s evolving political traditions (the contextual significance in the conceptions of citizenship, section 3.2.2.3) in particular the Confucian account of citizenship.

3.4.1 The conceptions of citizenship in China

3.4.1.1 Reviving Confucian ideas in socialist China

Since the beginning of recorded history, the geographic area which was considered as China had been in constant change. Fitzgerald (1986) commented that “Chinese are less a nation than a fusion of people united by a common culture, and the history of China is the record of an expanding culture, more than that of a conquering empire²” (Fitzgerald, 1986, p. 1). In this sense, it is the unifying power of the Chinese culture that keeps the entity of the Chinese nation, which also helps foster and consolidate political unification of the Chinese states in history and at the current time. Ding, Wangdao (1997) in his book *Understanding Confucius* described the unique relationship between Chinese culture and the ruling states in the history of China (Ding, 1997, p. 7):

“the cultural development of the Chinese nation has never been interrupted, something that cannot be said about many other ancient civilizations. Although border ethnic groups³ more than once ruled all or a part of China, they nevertheless failed to alter Chinese culture in any fundamental way. On the contrary, the conquerors were themselves conquered by Chinese culture. This serves to show that military occupation and political control eventually had to give way to cultural superiority.”

The unifying power of the Chinese national culture has also been seen as a significant element to “maintain social order and encourage productivity” by the current Chinese state (Keane, 2001, p. 4). Although the current state is based on socialist political ideologies

(Article 1, Constitutions of P.R.C, 1982, latest amendments in 2004), what lies at the heart of China's continuous cultural and political traditions is Confucianism⁴ (Tang, 2008, p. 4). Evolving political ideologies in China's recent history, including decisions of discarding and reviving Confucianism to influence public opinions, gradually lead to contemporary conceptions of citizenship in China.

When the Qing Dynasty was overthrown by the republican revolution in 1911, Confucianism, as representing traditional thoughts was blamed for China falling behind the West and Japan which in turn had led to a series of foreign invasions (Chaibong, 2004, p. 97). Western political ideologies, such as communism and republican democracy, were spreading as advanced ideologies to save China (Chaibong, 2004, p. 95). When the People's Republic of China (PRC) was founded, the Communist Party of China (CPC) claimed to be the revolutionary force that could save the vulnerable working and peasant classes, who were the majority of the Chinese population. In contrast to the old and vicious feudalist regime, the new ideology of communism won the favour of the people and consolidated the legitimacy of the CPC-led government. Meanwhile, a politicised Chinese identity was put forward which intended to draw a partition line with the old Chinese national identity. To further strengthen its determination to pursue communism, the central government began the movement of eliminating the "four olds" (*chu sijiu*): old ideas, old values, old customs, and old traditions in the 1950s (Zuo, 1991, p. 101) and held a decade long Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), when criticism towards Confucianism was one major theme.

Significant social and political changes have taken place since the end of the Cultural Revolution and the adoption of reform and opening-up policy in the late 1970s. Law (2006) notes two sorts of state-centred identity crisis since then, the socialist identity crisis as a result of social and economic changes and the party (CPC) identity crisis with a weakening legitimacy of communist ideology (Law, 2006, p. 640). Similar remarks are made by other researchers (Fairbrother, 2003, p. 605; Bell, 2007, pp. 20-22). The state has been seeking new unifying ideologies, which lead to a revival of Confucian values and promotion of Chinese national identity⁵ (Bell, 2008). The growing importance of China's national identity and "state-led nationalism" has aroused many research interests (Zhao, 1998; Zheng, 1999; Karl, 2002; Gries, 2004; Hughes, 2006).

Applying a theory of “choice and constraints” to explain the relationship among different yet intertwined identities of a member of society, a person might prioritise one identity or one affiliation of identities over others in certain contexts (Sen, 2006, pp. 29-32). This might be a conscious choice, but constrained by reality and feasibility. For example, an African American can choose a political identity to be a Republican or Democrat, but she/he can’t make a choice in her/his ethnic identity of being black. Similarly, in a nation state such as China, the cultural identity of being a Chinese is much more solid and less flexible than the political identity of being a socialist. In this sense, if citizenship of the P.R.C is more inclined towards Chinese national identity, then people will face more constraints to be detached from their citizenship identity, or against the state authority. Recent policies in citizenship education in China have shown this tendency, such as *The Outline for Implementing the Ethos Education in Primary and Secondary Schools* issued by the Ministry of Education in 2004, which emphasises the “teenagers’ identity consciousness of the Chinese history and national cultural heritage” (Zhu & Feng, 2008, p. 10). Confucian moral teachings, such as “honesty and unity” and political values, such as “harmony” are also included in the teaching curriculum (Bell, 2007, p. 23).

Projecting this argument into global contexts, in his famous argument of “the clash of civilizations”, Huntington (1993) points out that differences among civilizations (civilization as “cultural entity” and the “highest cultural grouping” as defined by Huntington, 1993, p.23-24) are far more “fundamental than differences between political ideas and political regimes” (Huntington, 1993, p. 25). In this sense, compared to over two thousand years of Confucian political traditions, the communist and socialist ideologies of the recent decades are too narrow as the single lens to review the social and political context of China and of the conceptions of citizenship in China. Moreover, through the analysis of the Confucian accounts of individual-state relations and of education, the “attractions” of reviving these traditions by the current state may be better understood. The following section looks into the Confucian account of citizenship and its impacts on education.

3.4.1.2 Confucian “citizenship” and education

In the previous discussion on citizenship in the UK, the democratic system was taken for granted as the presupposition of citizens and citizenship. The word “democracy” originates from the Greek term “*demokratia*” consisting of “*demos* (people)” and “*kratos* (rule)”,

indicating a basic meaning of rule by people (Giddens, 1993, p. 330). Certain Confucian traditions have been seen as incompatible with democracy by many scholars. One of most influential arguments of such is from Huntington. According to him (Huntington, 1991, p. 24):

“Classic Chinese Confucianism ... emphasized the group over the individual, authority over liberty, and responsibilities over rights. Confucian societies lacked a tradition of rights against the state; to the extent that individual rights did exist, they were created by the state. Harmony and cooperation were preferred over disagreement and competition. The maintenance of order and respect for hierarchy were central values. The conflict of ideas, groups, and parties was viewed as dangerous and illegitimate.”

What could be the theoretical basis for Huntington’s judgements? How does Confucianism describe the connections among individuals and between individuals and the ruling power?

Confucian accounts of individual-state connections

The Confucian conception of social structure is based on five hierarchic social relationships: ruler-subject, father-son, husband-wife, older-younger brothers and senior-junior friends (Hofsted & Bond, 1988, p. 8; Tang, 2008, pp. 2-3). Individuals are seen as “in reciprocal relations to and integrated with others” in social contexts (Yung, 2010, p. 1922). The word for relationship in Chinese is *guanxi*, which is a key concept in understanding Chinese society and individuals’ social behaviours (Hwang, 2001, p. 156). Social stability is established based on the respects to these relationships and the mutual understandings of the obligations within the relationships: the junior’s respect and obedience to the senior and the senior’s protection and care for the junior (Hofsted & Bond, 1988, p. 8). There is little room for the development of individualism in the western sense⁶ (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 25; Yung, 2010, p. 1922; Kim, 2010, p. 441). On the surface, Huntington’s comment on Confucian emphasis on “the group over the individual” and “authority over liberty” (1991, p.24) seems to be right. However, it is crucial to distinguish Confucianism as social ethics and Confucianism as a political doctrine. In other words, there is no simple application of Confucian social ethics to make sense of the Chinese political traditions.

Fukuyama (1995) considers Confucianism as “an intense *familism* that took precedence over all other social relations, including relations with political authorities” (p. 26). The “*familism*” used by Fukuyama refers to the fundamental Confucian moral obligations of individuals

towards families, which is prioritised more than individuals' obligations towards the political authorities (p.26). Built upon the basic social unit of families, people's loyalties extend to relatives and intimate friends before reaching to the wider political community (p.26). Individuals' political participation is not essential in the individual-state relations (Yung, 2010, p. 1924), a very different idea from Republican citizenship. Meanwhile, the stress on social relations requires individuals to be closely engaged with the family and the immediate social communities they are living in, but not as wide as state political community (Yung, 2010, p. 1924), which is also different from the Liberal stress on individual privacy and equality. Individuals' obedience towards collective interests and a hierarchic superior is closer to personal ethics for social lives, rather than guidance of political connections with the state.

When Confucius was asked why he didn't engage in the government, he answered:

“You are filial; you discharge your brotherly duties. These qualities are displayed in government. This then also constitutes the exercise of government. Why must there be THAT—making one be in the government?”⁷

This statement presents two central ideas: filial piety as the fundamental value of Confucian ethics and peoples' exercise of family duties as a mean for indirect political participation. Unlike the evolving political ideas in Europe (such as argument over the sacred and secular power: “city of God” vs. “city of man”), Confucianism questions little of the legitimacy of the state⁸. Instead, the attention was given more to the balance of interests of family and the state (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 26; Chaibong, 2004, p. 99). Individuals contributing to and bringing honour to the family can be transmitted to their performance in state affairs, such as becoming state officials through imperial civil service examination (Chaibong, 2004, pp. 98-99). The emperor's primary duty is also to maintain the ruling power of his family, which can be challenged by other families.

As for how to maintain the power, Confucius said:

“He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the North Polar Star, which keeps its place and all the stars turn towards it”⁹

Reviewing the succession of dynasties over centuries in Chinese history shows that there is no permanence of the Chinese state authority and the ruling parties' authorities could be

challenged if their own moralities were deteriorated (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 27). The idea of governing by virtues is closer to account of leadership (how to rule the subjects) and fellowship (agreement to certain social rules) rather than conceptions of citizenship (state legitimacy given by citizens and citizens' rights and guaranteed by the laws). The connection between individuals and the state is built upon the mutual respects of common moral principles. Confucius considered that virtues rather than laws were the fundamental power for governing and unifying the state:

“if the people be led by laws, and uniformity sought to be given them by punishments, they will try to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame. If they be led by virtue, and uniformity sought to be given them by the rules of propriety, they will have the sense of shame, and moreover will become good¹⁰.”

Confucian individual-state relationship is very different from either republican or liberal citizenship. The stability of society relies on the mutual respects to the Confucian ethics. Therefore, ethics has always been put at the central of education.

Confucian accounts of education

Although Confucianism admits social hierarchy, it also thinks that individuals are born equal by nature (Yung, 2010, p. 1922). Confucius says: *“By nature, men are nearly alike; by practice, they get to be wide apart.”*¹¹ Here “practice” (*xi*) mainly refers to the individuals' moral self-cultivation. In principle, everyone can become morally superior and improve their social status through education. In this sense, Confucianism has promoted an equality of opportunities through the promotion of education. However, at the same time, it makes education a means to an end (better social status), rather than an end itself. This is especially true with the establishment of the imperial civil service examinations (*keju*¹²). On one hand, it provided fair opportunities for everyone to become government officials. On the other hand, it stifled creative and progressive thinking. Candidates were tested on their knowledge of the Confucian classics and standardised essay writings¹³ (Hoi & Yu, 2006, p. 48). Education became exam-oriented and rote-learning of the words of the classics (Yung, 2010, p. 1920), which had been against Confucius' ideas of education¹⁴.

The legacies of Confucian education can still be seen in contemporary China: the great significance attached to education, exam-oriented talent selection model¹⁵, learning conventions (such as rote learning) and the central role of moral education. Bearing the

Confucian ideas in mind, the next section will bring the discussion back to the current Chinese state and its conceptions of citizenship.

3.4.1.3 The conceptions of citizenship under the CPC leadership

Keane (2001) quoted a survey published in 1995, which showed “a widespread lack of understanding” of citizenship among the people and even a tone of “suspicion” of the concept (p. 2). What could be the reasons for the concept of citizenship not being well recognised in China?

Ogden (2003) argued that “whether imperial, republican or communists, the Chinese seemed bound by their history and culture to favour a powerful elitist government at the expense of popular democratic rule and individual rights” (Ogden, 2003, p. 226). Through an analysis of the Chinese republican thinkers/revolutionaries¹⁶ thoughts, Keane (2001) commented that these reformers also thought that a strong state and limited political rights for citizens was better for China (p.2). Keane quoted Sun Yat-sen’s famous remarks that “the Chinese had always enjoyed an excessive amount of it (freedom to run their own affairs)” and “the State was not strong enough, and did not penetrate deeply into society” (p.2). Therefore, even with the application of western democracy, “the leadership” should be allowed to “elevate the interest of the nation over the rights of the individual” (Keane, 2001, p. 3). In this sense, citizenship with the individual as an independent agent for political participation was not well recognised before the CPC took power in 1949.

When the current state of China was founded, the term “people” (*renmin*) rather than citizen was used in most official documents (Zhu & Feng, 2008, p. 7). *Renmin* is a highly politicised concept, referring to the social classes which the CPC considered as trustworthy: “working class in cities, the poor peasant class in the countryside” and other trusted “patriotic elements in the society” (Feng, 2006, p. 89). Clearly, not all people living in China were entitled to the same rights since there were at least two opposing social groups: the “people” and the “enemies”. The social exclusion and “class struggle” reached a peak during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) with five social groups being considered as “antagonistic”: “landlords, rich peasants, anti-revolutionaries, evildoers (mainly intellectuals) and the rightists” (Keane, 2001, p. 6).

The concept of citizenship was first used in the *1954 Constitution of P.R.C* (Law, 2006, p. 600). However, in the current *Constitution of P.R.C* (People's Congress, 1982), *renmin* rather than citizens is legally defined as the “master” of the state: “all power in the People’s Republic of China belongs to the people...the people administer state affairs” (Article 2, *the Constitution of P.R.C., 1982*). *The Constitution (1982)* also defines the current Chinese state as a “socialist state” (Article 1) and implements “socialist economic system” which is based on “socialist public ownership of the means of production, namely, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership by the working people” (Article 6). It is the collective ownership rather than the individual’s private ownership that is prioritised by the state. From the citizens’ perspectives, the rights were seen as benefits granted by the government (Keane, 2001, p. 2). The state also invented the *Household Registration System*, or *hukou*, which classifies Chinese citizens into two big citizenship camps: the urban and the rural. This policy, which is the fundamental basis for citizenship in contemporary state of China, has legally promoted inequality among Chinese citizens.

Urban and Rural Citizenship Division: *hukou*

The Household Registration System, or *hukou* (户口), was established in 1958 with the aim of controlling the population’s mobility (the “undesirable” rural to urban migration) within China by giving each person a *houkou*, classified as “rural” or “urban” in a specific administrative region (Chan, 2010, p. 358). Since then, it has been “the principal basis” for establishing citizenship identity in China¹⁷ (Cheng & Selden, 1994, p. 644). Under this system, all Chinese citizens are born with different social status. It creates an institutionalised social stratification which divides the urban and rural populations in general and makes unequal resources and opportunities distribution among all citizens in particular. Li Zhang (2002) commented that under *hukou* policy, “social equality is often sought within either of two spatially demarcated realms (rural and urban), not between them” (Zhang, 2002, p. 313). Such artificial social division had been well managed under planned economy when people were assigned jobs and lived where they were supposed to stay. However, as the economy turned to market rules, no longer could a rigid *hukou* system control the distribution of social resources and benefits. It may also cause some new emerging social problems.

There are an increasing number of rural migrant workers now permanently working and living in the cities, where they have no entitlement to state-subsidised housing, medical and even access to local educational resources which only opens to local urban citizens (not even the urban citizens of another city). A lot of them cannot afford to pay for the extra fee that the local schools charge for those who don't have local *hukou* (*the charge is known as jiedufei in Chinese*) and have to live separately with their children. Even if the parents are wealthy enough to pay such a fee, their children have to go back to their *hukou* provincial region to attend the national higher education entrance examination (*gaokao*) there.

For the *non-local-hukou* residents (those who live in a city where they don't have the local *hukou*, including both the rural migrant workers and urban migrant citizens from another city), they could encounter the unequal treatment anywhere in the city. Meanwhile, for the local *hukou* citizens, they would feel that their rights were violated by the "outsiders." The superior feeling of being urban citizens has also been diminishing because the financial achievements of the "outsiders" could purchase social benefits and resources that once only the urban citizens were entitled to.

These new social tensions and challenges which were brought in through marketisation are crucial factors in modern conceptions of citizenship in China. The Chinese government has also been making an effort to adjust its official narratives of its political system and definitions of citizenship. Such adjustment is principally reflected to its increasing references to democracy in formal political documents and the idea of a harmonious socialist society.

Increasing references to democracy

In the 16th National Congress of CPC (2002), new reform requirements of the political system were put forward, which intended to "improve the systems of democracy, develop diverse forms of democracy, expand the citizen's participation in political affairs in an orderly way, and ensure that people go in for democratic elections and decision making, exercise democratic management and supervision according to law and enjoy extensive rights and freedom, and that human rights are respected and guaranteed" (Zhu & Feng, 2008, p. 8). The statement of the aims of political reform seems to have presented a positive picture of the CPC's support for democracy and citizens' political participation. While reading between the lines, there are many vague claims which are subject to different interpretations. What are the

“different forms of democracy”? What is “an orderly way?” What do “democratic elections and decision making” refer to when the leaders of the governments are not selected through general election (Tang, 2008, p. 13)? Many more similar questions can be raised.

In a 2005 government *White Paper on Political Democracy (in English)*, the CPC’s definition of democracy was further explained in detail (the State Council, 2005). Democracy was openly declared to be the “desire of people all over the world”. However, it should be “generated internally, not imposed by external forces” (Preface). In other words, political reform of China should be a matter of internal affairs, which is not supposed to be judged or interfered with by others. Under this precondition of internal reform, democracy should also be defined in context, not universally.

The document argued that “because situations differ from one country to another, the paths the people of different countries take to win and develop democracy are different” (Preface). Under this argument, “China’s democracy” “under the leadership of the CPC” can be justified as one variety of democracy. It further explains that the kind of “political party system” is “determined by the nature of the country, the national conditions, as well as the demands of national interests and social development.” The system adopted by China is “multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC, which is different from both the two-party or multi-party competition system of western countries and the one-party system practiced in some other countries” (Preface). The justification for this system is that it is suitable for China and it can “avoid both the problem of insufficient supervision commonly under one party rule, and political chaos and a lack of stability and unity that may be caused by the disputes and strife of several parties” (Preface). The White Paper also provides more detailed interpretations of “democracy” with references to different social and political aspects, such as the legal system, minority communities etc.

Democracy appears frequently in the official documents and mass media. However, one cannot overlook the underlying principle of any political reform and democratisation proposed by the Chinese government, which is the absolute leading power of the CPC. To ensure its legitimacy, the state has also drawn references to traditional Chinese political and moral doctrines, and re-packaged the socialist political ideology to represent a wider social, economic and cultural interest.

Socialist Harmonious Society

The first decade of the 21st century under the leadership of Hu Jintao (2002-2012), the CPC invented the idea of “socialist harmonious society” (*shehuizhuyi hexie shehui*) (Zhu & Feng, 2008, pp. 8-9). In October 2006, the 16th Central Committee of the CPC passed a strategic document: *the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China’s Resolution on Major Issues of Building a Socialist Harmonious Society*, which officially defined the directions of the political development of the current Chinese state (Zheng & Tok, 2007; Han, 2008).

“Harmony” (*hexie*) is one central goal of Confucian social and political philosophy (Li, 2008, p. 426). Confucian harmony takes collective goods in the family, the society and the world as the fundamental goals, whereas the individual’s values are realised in these processes (Li, 2008, p. 433). On one hand, “harmony” fits well with CPC’s political ideas, without overly reminding people of the declining political ideologies of the Communist indoctrination. On the other hand, there has also been an urgent need for the state to bring up a new political ideal to tackle emerging social problems, including (Han, 2008, pp. 144-148; OECD, 2012):

- The widening economic gap among different regions
- The increasing population mobility and the out-dated *hukou* policy and inadequate legal protection of the migrant workers’ rights
- Money-driven social ethos and the declining morality
- Corruption of government officials
- Decreasing trust, honesty and compassion among people
- Safety of public infrastructure
- Pollution and misuse of natural resources
- Food, medicine and water security

All these social problems severely threaten people’s daily lives, which can turn into dangerous factors challenging the legitimacy of the CPC-led state, which was gained from a victory in the Civil War (Law, 2006, p. 604). Since founding the state in 1949, the CPC has never held a general election to further confirm its legitimacy (Tang, 2008, p. 13). Reviewing the history of China, legitimacy was usually maintained via people’s recognition of the virtues of the leadership and performance of the governing bodies (Law, 2006). In this sense, Chinese people might not be eager to gain voting rights, but they would not hesitate to overthrow a government if it fails to safeguard people’s welfare.

Emerging Platform for Civic Participation: the Internet

Thanks to the development of the internet, different social problems could be revealed and spread quickly and widely. In comparison to the public media of TV, Radio and Newspapers, the internet is a flat and democratic platform where anyone could initiate and take part in public debates. However, the government has spotted the potential “damaging” power of the internet: freedom of speech leading to political riots. Therefore, the government has built, “upgraded and reinforced” forms of various censorship to monitor the content of the internet (Mackinnon, 2008, p. 36). To launch a nation-wide comprehensive internet censorship, the government delegated “the censorship and policing” duties to most Chinese websites to block and delete any inappropriate and politically sensitive messages (Mackinnon, 2008, p. 38). Certain phrases, such as *6-4 Tiananmen shijian* (*Tiananmen Movement on the 4th June 1989*) are automatically blocked and redirected to *4-5 Tiananmen Event* (*Tiananmen Gathering on the 5th April, 1976* to pay tribute to the late Premier Zhou Enlai).

Figure 3.3 shows the search result of “*6-4 Tiananmen shijian*” by the largest search engine *Baidu* in Mainland China. On the top of the screen, a warning message was given: some contents were blocked in accordance with the relevant laws and regulations. The top searching results were all related to *Tiananmen Gathering* in 1976 rather than the *Tiananmen Movement* in 1989.

Similarly, at the time when a massive demonstration broke out in Hong Kong against the implementation of National Education (*guominjiaoyu*), the term “National Education” was defined as a politically sensitive term and was censored by the search engines in Mainland China. Figure 3.4 shows the alert messages given in *baidu*. The search result was empty. The warning message states that “search results for the typed term may not meet the requirements of the relevant laws, regulations and policies, therefore not displayed. Please try to use other relevant terms. ”



Figure 3.3 Snapshot of search engine result of internet censorship over 1989 Tiananmen Movement

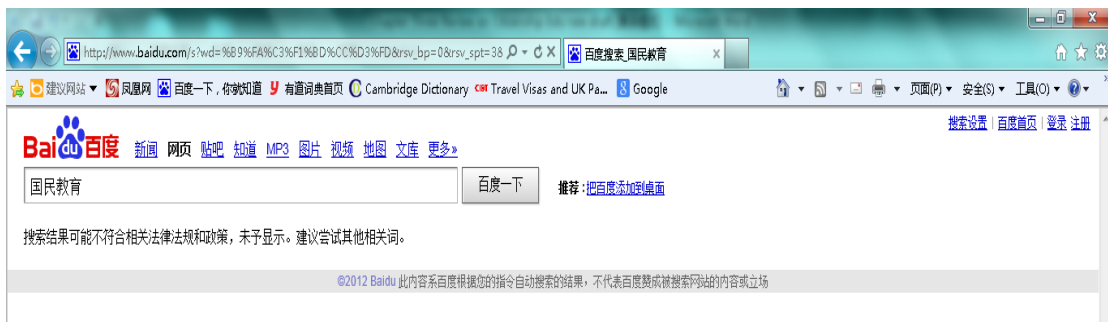


Figure 3.4 Snapshot of search engine blocking alert over “national education” during Hong Kong’s protest against the implementation of national education in 2012

After three decades’ (1980s to 2010s) economic development under market principles, changes in social structures and relationships, have inevitably taken place. The old social relations organised through highly centralised and politically controlled social orders have been challenged by emerging economic powers. In many social sectors, the market has become one “lever of diversification, pluralisation, and the relocation of power and resources” (Law, 2006, p. 602). Through economic empowerment, people are eager to build a

“democratic civil society, especially from the intellectual and grassroots sectors” (Zhao & Fairbrother, 2010, p. 37). The internet is a good example. Though being severely censored, it has become a prominent public platform for grassroots citizens to discuss and monitor social and even political development. In the field of higher education, the growing number of students studying abroad and the expansion of TNE practice in China have both broadened the channels for students to be exposed to new information and ideas.

Emerging Identities

Through wealth accumulation, people once of lower political groups (such as farmers in the countryside) could pave their own ways to achieve better social status. The new social relations and identities emerged through citizens’ economic lives have brought new dimensions to Chinese society, which is less manipulated by state politics (Law, 2006), for instance, the increasing accounts of consumerism and consumer rights (Keane, 2001, p. 8). Moreover, as China opens its door to the outside world, foreign products and brands become easier to access and people can go abroad seeking education and employment, which has all brought new flexibility into the conceptions of Chinese citizenship, and even increased individualism (Chen & Reid, 2002).

3.4.1.4 Section conclusion

This section has reviewed the main elements contributing to the conceptions of citizenship in China. There is little agreement over how to best define Chinese citizenship. If only looking at the cultural factors, it could be too philosophical and end up vague and irrelevant to current society. If only looking at the official accounts, it could be too superficial and narrow to reflect the cultural continuity of Chinese society. The transitional society which the CPC-led Chinese government manages may be seen as socialist by name, but in reality a variety of factors (cultural, economic, and foreign ideas imported through increasing international communications, TNE included) could contribute to the evolving conceptions of citizenship. Additionally, most literature was limited either for scholarly discussion or for political agenda. Little research has been done with regard to how Chinese people from different social groups perceive their roles as citizens. In current research of UK TNE in China, students, who are the most important stakeholders in higher education, will be included in the discussion of how citizenship education should be carried out. Therefore, students’

perceptions of citizenship and their future roles as citizens will be explored in the empirical investigation.

3.4.2 Citizenship Education in China

The above review of the official discourse of citizenship since 1949 (the year the P.R.C was founded by the CPC-led government) shows that the government has never relaxed its stress on the socialist nature of the state. Therefore, schools of all levels in China have always been required to serve the socialist cause defined by the state and to deliver political and ideological education (Law, 2006, p. 606). Meanwhile, certain changes in citizenship conceptions could be identified at different stages of national development. These changes are well reflected in the development of citizenship education in China: from class-struggle centred political brainwash to stress on ideology indoctrination and moral education and to the contemporary introduction of citizenship education (Law, 2006).

3.4.2.1 Citizenship Education: a recent version of political education

When the P.R.C was founded, Chairman Mao (in power between 1949 and 1976) clearly stated the purposes of school education: to cultivate talents and to “serve as a mechanism for political indoctrination” (Zhao & Fairbrother, 2010, p. 37). Up until today, the political indoctrination (under different names) still serves as one prominent aim of education, which is carried out through both curricular and extracurricular activities. Schools and HEIs have been the primary institutions to “shape citizens’ knowledge, attitudes and behaviours” through compulsory courses including ideological-political education (*sixiang zhengzhi jiaoyu*), moral education (*daode jiaoyu*) and patriotic education (*aiguo zhuyi jiaoyu*) (Fairbrother, 2003, p. 53).

At tertiary education level, the current principal guiding policy is the *Opinions on Further Strengthening and Improving the Development of Ideological-Political Education among University Students* (hereinafter referred to as *Ideological-Political Education Opinion 2004*), which was jointly published by the Central Committee of the CPC and the State Council in 2004. This document proclaimed the central government’s stand and ideas of the desirable qualities of Chinese citizens. It stresses that *ideological-political education* is not an extra teaching provided for students, but the foundation of higher education in China, so as to

realise the socialist cause (Opinion 1). This *Ideological-Political Education Opinion 2004* confirms that the fundamental guiding ideologies are “Marx-Leninism, Mao Zedong’s Thoughts, Deng Xiaoping’s Theories and the important thoughts of the Three Representatives¹⁸” (Opinion 5). Patriotic education is regarded as an essential means to cultivate students’ national spirit (Opinion 8) and the students’ “ideological and moral construction” is taken as the foundation for ideological-political education” (Opinion 5).

While addressing the issue of moral cultivation, “citizens’ ethics education” is used to illustrate the moral standards (Opinion 9). It also refers to another policy: *the Implementation Outline of the Construction of citizens’ ethics* (Central Committee of the CPC, 2001) as the principal guide for moral construction. This is the only place where “citizen” is used to represent students’ identities. It seems to indicate that citizenship is linked with a set of moral standards, not the rights for political participation. For instance, the 11th point made in *the Implementation Outline of the Construction of citizens’ ethics 2001* is that:

“Based on the history and contemporary situations in China, socialist morality aims at achieving the core aim of serving the people (here is “remin”, rather than “citizen”), based on the principle of collectivism, following the requirements of loving the country, loving the people (again here it is” remin”, rather than “citizen”), loving working, loving science and loving socialism, and focusing on improving social morality, professional ethics, and family virtues. All above requirements need to be applied in the construction of the citizen ethics, which become the social consensus and behaviour guidelines, which are voluntarily observed by all citizens. ”

It appears that introducing “citizens” is closer to a change of terms rather than an inclination to democratic citizenship. As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, the fundamental guidelines of higher education publicised by the government is to educate the students into being “builders and successors for the socialist cause (Article 3, Higher Education Law, 1998)”. It remains the same with or without using the term “citizenship education.”

3.4.2.2 Ideological and political education curriculum and educational approach

A series of ideological-political modules were implemented into the compulsory curricula in higher education by the central government through the administration of the Ministry of Education (MOE). In 2006, after a nation-wide review, the MOE made several amendments to ideological-political education in higher education, publishing a set of authorised textbooks

for the three compulsory components of the modules: *the principles of Marxism, the Mao Zedong's thoughts and the socialist theories with Chinese Characteristics, and Modern and Contemporary Chinese history* (Tu, 2011, pp. 430-431).

Within each HEI, a CPC leadership (the Committee of the CPC, *dangwei*) and its youth work committee (the Youth League Committee of CPC; *tuanwei*) are required to be set up, taking the responsibility for implementing ideological and political education and leading/monitoring students' activities. In this way, a national network for carrying out ideological political education, from the central government to individual HEIs has been established.

In the process of education, three compulsory ideological-political modules are taken as the prerequisite to obtaining bachelor's degrees. For students who want to pursue masters' education in China, they need to pass the national postgraduate entrance exams (*kaoyan*), which includes a compulsory subject of "politics". The exam guideline of *kaoyan* is an important reference for the module design of the ideological political education. Table 3.1 shows the content of the subject of Politics in *kaoyan* of 2012.

Table 3.1 The content of ideological-political education in the exam guideline of the national postgraduate entrance exam in China

Content	Percentage
The principles of Marxism	22%
Mao's thoughts and the socialist theories with Chinese characteristics	30%
The post-opium war history of China	14%
The moral cultivation and the basics of the Chinese laws	18%
The current global situation for China and the major Chinese policies & Global politics and economy	16%

Over half of the teaching and learning of the compulsory subject is devoted directly to political indoctrination (Marxism, Mao's thoughts and the socialist theories with Chinese characteristics). Another one third is allocated to the knowledge of contemporary China and moral teachings. Global politics and economy is addressed with the aim of informing students of the current global situation for China.

In contrast to the national curriculum in the UK, Chinese citizenship does not intend to cultivate active citizens for political participation. The aim is to cultivate loyal citizens who

are patriotic supporters of the current political system and ruling party. Through mainly knowledge-based passive learning, students are expected to accept the chosen political ideology and to become “builders of the socialist cause.” Although analytical thinking is also listed as one crucial learning outcome, it is still fundamentally different from cultivating students’ critical thinking. Because the chosen ideologies, including Marxism and Mao’s Thoughts, are regarded as the authoritative and correct views of the world, analytical thinking is nothing but an exercise to check how the presented scenarios should be analysed in accordance with the “correct ideologies”.

Multi-channel Approach: Curriculum, Campus Ethos and Extra-curriculum Activities

In *Ideological-Political Education Opinion 2004*, a whole school approach is adopted for educating the desired Chinese citizens. Teaching in a formal class setting is regarded as the primary channel. Therefore, the compulsory Chinese Citizenship modules are required to be strictly implemented in all higher education institutions. In terms of teaching, ideas which are “against the Constitution and Guiding policies published by the Communist Party” are “not allowed to be publicised in class” (Opinion 14).

Additionally, *Ideological-Political Education Opinion 2004* also stresses the importance of expanding other channels for effective ideological-political education, especially in organising extra-curriculum activities for students under the leadership of the Communist Party Committee and creating “campus ethos with socialism characteristics” (Article 16). The primary student organisations are the Youth League of the Communist Party and the Student Union, which are both under the guidance of the Communist Party Committees in each Chinese university (Article 20). The politically correct campus ethos is constructed through various on campus publications and media, including campus bill boards, broadcasting channels and campus newspapers (Article 16). All the “harmful culture and decayed life style” have to be banned on campus (Article 16). From reading the official policies, a multi-channel approach is adopted by the central government to create the ideal citizens, who are “hard working, creative, and willing to contribute” and will become “a new generation of socialists with ideals, morality, culture and discipline” (Article 10).

3.4.2.3 Citizenship Education in CFCRS

For CFCRS, the term “ideological-political education” was not directly used in relevant policies. Instead the *CFCRS Regulations 2003* describes related modules as the “courses on the Constitution, Laws, ethics of citizens and basic facts about China, etc., in accordance with the requirements by China for educational institutions of the same type at the same level” (Article 30, *CFCRS Regulations 2003*). Apparently, “courses on the Constitution, Law, and ethics of citizens” do not reflect the main component of ideological-political education. Does this indicate freedom in designing citizenship education in TNE? Meanwhile, the attributive phrase of “in accordance with the requirements by China for educational institutions of the same type at the same level” seems to suggest that ideological-political modules should be taught in TNE since they are required in ordinary Chinese universities. If ideological-political education is what the government intends to impose on TNE, why didn’t they clearly say so in the law? No one except those drafting the laws could know the real reasons. Based on the collected data, the researcher could only assume a possible explanation.

The primary purpose of CFCRS is to welcome world reputable educational institutions, mainly from the western democracies, to come to China. The government didn’t want to legally set up ideological barriers and academic interference to discourage them. Another example is the title of the Department of Ideological-Political Education under the Ministry of Education (MOE). Rather than using a direct translation from its Chinese title as other departments within MOE, its English title is shown as the Department of Moral Education on the MOE official website. As for its practice, how much freedom CFCRS could actually have, might only be established through empirical investigation. The legal gap has also provoked relevant discussion in academic circles in recent years.

Some Chinese researchers initiated the discussion of citizenship education (mainly in the name of political and moral education) in CFCRS. The mainstream arguments from Chinese scholars over citizenship education in CFCRS, TNE included, are normative based on the studies of government documents and educational requirements from the state, with little empirical investigation.

In 2009, one monograph on *Theories and Practice of Moral Education in Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools* edited by Professor Liang, Lvqi and Hu, Jun from Beijing

Youth Politics College was published (Liang & Hu, 2009). The book gathers mainstream arguments from a group of Chinese scholars who have been actively involved in Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools (CFCRS). Most writers hold positive views on the benefits of CFCRS, especially in terms of cultivating “global talents”: people with global vision, communicative skills (languages), culture and knowledge (Liang & Hu, 2009, p. 14).

From the perspective of citizenship, many scholars think that there is an urgent need to strengthen political and moral education within CFCRS so as to protect educational sovereignty (Liang & Hu, 2009, p. 14). Zhou, Yin argues that the fundamental task of CFCRS is to cultivate talents for socialist developments and it is crucial to not let western ideologies, such as individualism, influence students’ thoughts (Zhou, 2009, p. 31). Zhang, Guojun analyses main challenges to moral education in CFCRS, especially the cultural and ideological conflicts in the multi-cultural campuses of CFCRS (Zhang, 2009). Through an analysis of the characteristics of contemporary Chinese university students enrolled in CFCRS, Qi, Zhigang suggests three levels of aims in moral education: a primary level of making “qualified university graduates”, a secondary level of educating “good citizens” and the highest level of cultivating “communist leaders” (Qi, 2009, pp. 61-67). Because of these challenges, to realise the fundamental goal of creating ideal citizens, Jing, Haijun argues that the required Ideological-political Modules by the Ministry of Education needs to be taught in CFCRS (Jing, 2009).

In addition to teaching in class, Hu, Jun and Song, Manyun address the issue of creating ideal citizens in CFCRS from the perspectives of the campus ethos. Hu summarises five functions of campus ethos: the guide of thoughts, the code of behaviour, the emotional inspiration, the inheritance of the value system and the unification of spirits (Hu, 2009, p. 162). Therefore to build a healthy campus ethos in Chinese-foreign cooperative institutions, three principles need to be applied (p.164):

- adhering to mainstream socialist ideologies while being critical towards the negative ideas from the west, such as individualism;
- seeking a balance between national and international cultures: cultivating students’ national pride while developing cross-cultural communication competence;
- letting the teaching staff become the moral examples while engaging the students in the process of creating the campus ethos.

To ensure that both the staff and the student are well guided, Sun, Hailiang (2009) stresses the significance of confirming the CPC leadership on campus. In practice, Tong thinks that all the teaching staff needs to be “morally self-disciplined”. For the Chinese lecturers in the CFCRS, they need to adhere firmly to the ideological and patriotic principles, so as to set good examples for the students (Tong, 2009, p. 209). In terms of the foreign lecturers, Tong thinks that a specific management team needs to be established, so as to select a high quality foreign teaching staff (Tong, 2009, p. 210). Meanwhile, the foreign lecturers need to be notified that they are required to obey the Chinese laws, “not to participate and interfere with the political activities in China” (Tong, 2009, p. 210).

With the “healthy campus ethos”, and the “morally self-disciplined” lecturers, the students also need to be motivated to participate in extra-curriculum activities and to be engaged with the communities, so to develop an “emotional attachment to the country” and to confirm their “future roles in contributing to the prosperity of the motherland” (Jing, 2009, p. 183).

These arguments have clear political orientation, which panders well to the policies from the central government. They generally echo the government’s policies of tightening up controls of CFCRS (as discussed in chapter two, section 2.3.3.3). How has TNE coped with these policies and requirements for citizenship education? There is little empirical research addressing this question. The existing literature could not provide a satisfactory answer. This research, therefore, designs and conducts an empirical investigation of citizenship education in UK TNE in China.

3.5 Towards an Empirical Research of Citizenship in TNE

So far the literature review has provided various analytical views of both citizenship and citizenship education at national and international levels. Based on these theories, some factors influencing citizenship education in TNE and can be identified as:

1. Citizenship is a highly contested and complex concept which is interpreted distinctively by each nation state in different historical contexts. The social, cultural and political contexts of the host countries and their policies in citizenship education need to be taken into account.

2. Citizenship education mingles with different aspects of education, even education beyond schooling. Hence citizenship education is a dynamic process of developing students' knowledge, skills and attitudes of their roles as citizens. Borrowing the tri-channels (curriculum, culture and communities) of citizenship education in the UK, the empirical research needs to gather data of curriculum, campus ethos and community environment (the social, culture and political environment where the TNE is located).
3. Pedagogically, citizenship education is reflected in the aspects of curriculum design, teaching and learning methods, and assessment.
4. Despite different definitions of desired citizens in the UK and in China, both governments recognise the significance of student activities and school ethos in preparing students to be citizens, which need to be taken into consideration in exploring how citizenship education has been approached in the UK TNE in China.
5. Fundamentally, citizenship reflects the relationship between individuals and their countries. Citizenship education, as a process of letting students know about their roles in the future, also depends largely on the students' reflective learning. Therefore, students' perceptions of citizenship also play a role in process of citizenship education.

Based on these understandings, the major research inquiry can be defined as: How has citizenship education been conducted in UK TNE in China? The major question is answered through two sub-questions:

- **How is citizenship education being perceived and incorporated in UK TNE?**
 - How has UK TNE defined their roles in citizenship education?
 - How has citizenship education been implemented in the pedagogical process?
 - What is the campus ethos in relevance to citizenship education?
- **How do the students perceive and evaluate citizenship education in UK TNE?**
 - How do students perceive citizenship?
 - How do the students evaluate UK TNE in preparing them to be citizens?

After clarifying the focus of this research, the next chapter will explain how to turn these questions into an empirical investigation, providing detailed descriptions of the research process.

Endnotes of Chapter Three:

¹The author here referred to a number of political events including “increasing voter apathy and long-term welfare dependency in the United States, the resurgence of nationalist movements in Eastern Europe, the stresses created by an increasingly multicultural and multiracial population in Western Europe, the backlash against the welfare state in Thatcher’s England, the failure of environmental policies that rely on voluntary citizen cooperation, and so forth.” (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994, p. 352).

²More details regarding the development of the Chinese culture history can be found in C.P. Fitzgerald (1935, 1950, 1961, 1976, 1986): *China: a short cultural history*, London: The Cresset Library.

³The border ethnic groups: here refers to the minority ethnic groups that lived around the Chinese borders in different times in history. Some ethnic groups such as the Mongolians, and the Manchu, had once conquered the Chinese territory and set up central states in China. However, as they ruled the states, their cultures were deeply influenced by the existing Chinese culture and eventually integrated into Chinese civilisation. This is how the Chinese culture and nation has been expanding in its history.

⁴Confucianism, an English term first appeared in around 16th century, refers to the traditions and thoughts from China and some other East Asian countries, with Confucius (*kongzi*) as the founding father (Yao, 2000, p. 17). In the Chinese language, it is referred to as *ru*, *rujia*, *ruxue*. One thing to be noticed is that Confucianism is not the sole invention of Confucius himself, but a tradition that is “generally rooted in Chinese culture and nurtured by Confucius and his disciples and other Confucians in Chinese history (Yao, 2000, p. 17). In other words, Confucius inherited the traditions before his time, and developed them in his teaching which has been carried forward and evolved in the following history of China. For more details about Confucianism refer to *An Introduction to Confucianism* by Yao, Xinzhong (2000) and *Understanding Confucius* by Ding, Wangdao (1997).

⁵Daniel, A. Bell (2008) provides a critical review of the reviving Confucianism in China in his book *China’s New Confucianism: politics and everyday life in a changing society*, Princeton University Press.

⁶ Individualism is a very ambiguous term with vast definitions and interpretation. For some scholars, such as Kateb, individualism is closely associated with liberal democracy, where the equality, freedom and uniqueness of each individual are valued above their social associations (Kateb, 2003; Chaibong, 2000). There are also critics of individualism. Communitarian critiques, for instance, stress that the community and the “fraternal sentiments and fellow-feeling” are part of the individuals’ identity (Sandel, 1982, p. 62). In

current writing, individualism is used in a general sense of emphasis on individuals as equal political agents above social restraints.

⁷Analects II: 1. James Legge's Translation (2004). 《论语·为政篇》 2.21 “子曰：书云[孝乎唯孝，友于兄弟，施于有政]，是亦为政，奚其为为政”。

⁸Rulers of ancient Chinese had made concepts, such as “Mandate of Heaven” (*tianming*) to justify their sacred ruling power. However, the dominant understanding of the state legitimacy, as argued by Zhao Dingxin (2009), is “performance-based.” Zhao (2009) uses two famous Confucian teachings to exemplify this idea: “The King is a boat and the people are water. Water can carry the boat and overturn it, too (君者，舟也；庶人者，水也。水则载舟，水则覆舟)” by Xunzi (《荀子·哀公》) and “the people are the most crucial and important, the next is the state, and the least is the king (民为贵，社稷次之，君为轻)” by Mencius (《孟子·尽心下》).

⁹Analects II: 1. James Legge's Translation (2004). 《论语·为政篇》 2.2 “子曰：为政以德，譬如北辰，居其所，而众星共之。”

¹⁰Analects II: 1. James Legge's Translation (2004). 《论语·为政篇》 2.3 “子曰：道之以政，齐之以刑，民免而无耻。道之以德，齐之以礼，有耻且格。”

¹¹Analects XVII: 2. James Legge's Translation (2004). 《论语·阳货篇》 17.2 “子曰：性相近也，习相远也。”

¹²Imperial Civil Service Exam (*Keju*) was originated in Sui Dynasty in the year of 606 and was officially ended in Qing Dynasty in the year 1905 (Hoi & Yu, 2006, p. 48).

¹³ Candidates were tested on their knowledge of the Confucian classics, including the *Four Books and Five Classics* (四书五经), poetry, official document writings and essays on national policies. The writing style was standardized as an eight-legged essay, or *Baguwen* (八股文) consisting of eight required components (Hoi & Yu, 2006, p. 48). Four Books refer to The Great Learning 《大学》, the Doctrine of the Mean 《中庸》, the Confucian Analects 《论语》 and the Works of Mencius 《孟子》. Five classics include the Book of Songs 《诗经》, the Book of History 《尚书》, the Book of Changes 《周易》, the book of Rites 《礼记》 and the Spring and Autumn Annals 《春秋》. More reading refer to Li, Chenyang (2008); Elman (1991) and Hoi & Yu (2006).

¹⁴Confucius didn't encourage rote learning, rather he thought that “learning without thought is labour lost; thought without learning is perilous” (Analects II: 1. James Legge's Translation (2004). 《论语·为政篇》 2.15 “子曰：学而不思则罔，思而不学则殆”).

¹⁵ Two major exams in contemporary China: the national college entrance exam (*gaokao*) and the national civil-servant exam (*guojia gongwuyuan kaoshi*), with the former determining

which universities students can attend and the latter selecting civil servants for the state government. In the year 2013, more than 1.5 million people took part in the national civil servant exam to compete for 20,000 posts (Xinhua News Agency, 25th November, 2012, http://news.xinhuanet.com/renshi/2012-11/25/c_123999628.htm)

¹⁶The republican thinkers and revolutionaries refer to the leading and founding fathers of the Republic of China, such as Sun Yat-sen.

¹⁷Tiejun Cheng and Mark Selden provide a detailed account of the development of *hukou* system in their article: *the Origins and Social Consequences of China's HuKou System* (1994), the China Quarterly, (Cheng & Selden, 1994, pp. 644-668).

¹⁸ President Jiang Zeming (in power from 1993-2003) brought up the concept of “*Three Representatives*” (三个代表), which promotes the CPC as the “the developer of advanced productive forces, the promoter of China’s advanced cultures, and the defender of the greatest public good” (Law, 2006, p. 605).

Chapter 4 Methodology

This chapter introduces the methodology employed in this research, discussing the appropriateness of the choice, and explaining the advantages and disadvantages of the chosen research methods. Research questions formed in the light of the literature review are further examined with regard to the methods chosen. Sub-questions are raised to decide the kinds of data to collect. It also presents the rationale and description of the research design. It then moves on to an account of the process of the pilot studies and developments of individual research instruments. Methods of data analysis, ethical considerations and limitations of the research methods are also addressed.

4. 1 Negotiating Methodology

Kumar (2008) describes methodology as “a way to systematically solve the research problems”, that is, the overall approach to research (Kumar, 2008, p. 5). The choice of methodology follows the principle of “fitness for the purposes” of the research (Cohen, et al., 2007, p. 78), answering the identified research questions. The main purpose of this research is to explore ideas and potential practice of citizenship education in UK TNE in China. The literature review in the first two chapters has highlighted some challenges in conducting citizenship education in UK TNE in China and in the approaches to investigating it. As the nature of the research is exploratory, good understanding of the context and issues was crucial for the choice of methodological approach.

Firstly, UK TNE in China has been and will continue to be influenced by educational policies at both international and national levels. The global trends of higher education, the international competition for talents as well as the liberalisation of the global trade have all contributed to its current status and future development. The introduction of foreign education is the inevitable challenge to the established domestic educational ideas, conventions and practice. Such a challenge is well reflected in citizenship education, which has traditionally been discussed within the context of a nation state. Although a new global dimension is assumed to have been added to the conception of citizenship, it is almost meaningless to address such an issue without taking into account the political, socio-

economic and educational context of a nation state. Therefore, the research data and findings have to be interpreted within the social, cultural and political context of mainland China. The researcher needs to rely on the participants' narratives and interpretations to construct the "realities". Therefore, the research in nature is value-laden and the data is socially constructed.

Secondly, since UK TNE in China is the focus of the research, the target population of the research could be those involved in any of the programmes jointly run by UK and Chinese universities in the territory of mainland China. The policies may change from time to time. The research could only aim to find out educational ideas and practice at one period of time (the valid policies at the time when the data was collected). As it is impossible to discuss the whole population and only a small number of programmes could be investigated, it is important to choose samples with good representativeness. Therefore, the selection of case studies needs to be based on good knowledge of the educational models of TNE and relevant policies in China.

Thirdly, citizenship is the core concept of this research, providing research lenses to explore the educational ideas and practice of UK TNE in China. The literature review in Chapter 3 shows that citizenship means different things to different people in different countries. In the context of China, in the public domain of schools and mass media, people are exposed to the official interpretation of citizenship which is closely linked to the central government's political ideology. Meanwhile, as China opens its door to the outside world, people may get to see citizenship in different perspectives. Students of TNE have more opportunities to communicate directly with foreign lecturers and students. Their perceptions of citizenship may not match any established theories of citizenship conceptions in China. Additionally, this research is not to find out whether the citizenship education in UK TNE fits the Chinese government's agenda or follows the western republican or liberal principle. The aim is to explore the TNE providers' and students' perceptions, so as to reach an in-depth understanding of how different educational ideas interact within TNE. Therefore, while referring to the existing literature to design the research instruments, it is equally important to try to be flexible and open to new ideas during data collection. It is crucial that the researcher keeps an open mind and immerses into the study environment of TNE.

This research is exploratory with no pre-established propositions. From the above understandings, the appropriate methodology should be naturalistic, interpretive and constructive, based on the total rather than fragments of the educational phenomenon, which will be explored in its “natural occurring” (Cohen, et al., 2007, pp. 167-171).

These understandings meet the ontological (what is the nature of reality?) assumptions of the qualitative approach: “the reality is subjective and multiple, as seen by participants in the study” (Creswell, 2002, p. 17). Understanding citizenship education in TNE needs to be generated from the words of the participants, including students, teaching and management staff. Qualitative data regarding the “attitudes, behaviour and experiences” and “in-depth opinion from participants” (Dawson, 2002, p. 14) can best answer the research questions.

In addition to the in-depth accounts from different participants, the researcher also wants to reach a larger sample, conducting a survey regarding the general attitudes towards citizenship education in TNE. Quantitative data of the survey results can provide supplementary information for the research questions. Many researchers, such as Robson (2002) and Cohen et al (2007), argue that the division between qualitative and quantitative research is getting blurred as more and more research projects employ multiple methods which are derived from both paradigms. The generalised conclusions will be made through the researcher’s work with details of the data in various forms and sources so as to construct the “reality” of citizenship education in UK TNE in China.

4.2 Operationalising the Research Questions

Research questions were formulated based on the aims of the research and the literature review. Each of the two main research questions embraced a diversity of aspects of discussion, which needed to be expanded into more detailed enquiries. For each detailed enquiry, or the sub-question of the main questions, relevant data was collected so as to make the research questions operationalised throughout the process of the empirical investigation.

1. How is citizenship education being perceived and incorporated in UK TNE in China?

1.1 How have UK TNE institutions defined their roles in citizenship education?

- 1.1.1 How has citizenship been perceived in relevance to the overall educational goals of UK TNE?

- 1.1.2 What are the strategies and tactics employed in UK TNE to reach the educational goals?
- 1.1.3 What are the factors influencing approaches to citizenship education? (such as regulations in China)

1.2 How has citizenship education been implemented in the pedagogical process?

- 1.2.1 What is the curriculum for citizenship education?
- 1.2.2 What are the teaching, learning and assessment methods used in citizenship education in UK TNE?

1.3 What is the campus ethos in relevance to citizenship education?

- 1.3.1 What kinds of student organisations have been set up on campus?
- 1.3.2 What kinds of extra-curricular activities relevant to citizenship education have been organised on campus?

2. How do the students perceive and evaluate citizenship education in UK TNE?

2.1 How do students perceive citizenship?

- 2.1.1 How do the students understand the term citizen?
- 2.1.2 How do the students relate to the social, cultural and political developments in China and influences of global development?

2.2 How do students evaluate UK TNE in preparing them to be citizens?

- 2.2.1 In students' opinions, what are effective methods for citizenship education?
- 2.2.2 How do students evaluate their experiences of UK TNE in terms of preparing them to be citizens?

These sub-questions served as guidelines for making research plans and designing research instruments. They were also subject to changes as the research progressed.

4.3 Research Design

When the research questions and overall approach were decided, it came to the stage of “turning research questions into projects” (Robson, 2002, p. 79). Generally speaking, research design is to identify the “logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study’s initial research questions and, ultimately, to its conclusions” (Yin, 2008, p. 26). This research is exploratory. There is little literature which can directly answer the research questions. The dichotomy of inductive or deductive doesn’t fit the design of this research since the progression of the research could not entirely rely on the existing theories or solely on the data gathered through field research. On the one hand, the literature could help define the research questions and identify kinds of data that might contribute to “reality”

construction. On the other hand, the data gathered through empirical research needs to be analysed and discussed with reference to the existing literature. It is the dialogue between the existing literature and the gathered data that can contribute to a better understanding of citizenship education in TNE. Therefore, a flexible design, rather than a fixed one could better serve the research purpose.

A fixed design is typically related to social phenomena that can be quantified and the prominent feature of the fixed design is that it is “theory-driven” (Robson, 2002, p. 96), which can be easily understood as the design is finished and derived from the existing theories prior to data collection. A flexible design is more adopted in a qualitative approach, allowing the researcher to be open-minded and to develop themes or to generate theories from the collected data (Creswell, 2002, p. 21). The current research fits better with the second description, hence a flexible design.

Under the umbrella term of UK TNE in China, there are over a hundred individual programmes. Each TNE project (institution or programme as the result of the cooperation between the UK and Chinese HEIs in delivering undergraduate degree education) could be investigated as a case for this research. Existing research on TNE suggests that there are major models of provision and cooperation adopted by participating institutions, which can categorise TNE into different groups with shared characteristics in their teaching and learning activities. The chosen analytical angle of citizenship requires multiple sources of data which can only make sense when it is analysed against the particular educational contexts. In other words, data regarding the contexts where the case (one TNE programme/institution) is taking place is as important as the data describing the case itself. Taking all these factors into consideration, this research chose multiple case studies to approach the research questions. Yin notes that the uniqueness of case study is to assume that “the context and other complex conditions related to the case(s) being studied are integral to understanding the case(s) (Yin, 2008, p. 4).” The characteristics of a case study method meet the requirements of this research. Four cases were chosen for this representativeness of the major TNE models (this will be taken up again in section 4.5).

Based on the above considerations, the research followed a flexible design, adopting a variety of qualitative instruments, supplemented by one quantitative method of questionnaire survey, and gathering data from four TNE cases representing three major categories of the TNE

model. A flexible design does not equate to going into the field without any preparation. Decisions over which research instruments to use and the sequence of using the research methods would have significant impacts on the research findings. Creswell (2002) summarises four main factors related to a mixed method design: a. the implementation sequence of the qualitative and quantitative data collection; b. priority given to qualitative or quantitative data; c. at which stage will the two sorts of data be integrated; d. the overall theoretical perspective used (Creswell, 2002, pp. 213-215). As theoretical findings were to be generated from the data, this research was inductive rather than deductive in relation to the existing theories. Priority was given to qualitative data. The quantitative data was to serve the purpose of triangulation (different data source with a similar focus) and complementary (a different data source bringing in a new perspective) to the qualitative data. The initial qualitative data collected from pilot studies would guide the design of the quantitative instrument. In the main data collection, due to the time and financial restriction, the qualitative and quantitative data was gathered concurrently.

4.4 Research Methods

For each of the research questions and sub-questions, the researcher listed the possible source of data and methods of acquiring the data. Most research questions required multiple sources of data. For instance, for question 1.1 (the role of TNE in citizenship education), the researcher firstly needed to consult the officially published development strategies by the TNE programme (desk-based research / documents as the source of data). These educational ideas would also be asked by the researcher during interviews with the head of the TNE programme for further explanation. The main data collection method was in-depth interviews for question 2 (the students' evaluation of citizenship education in the case of TNE). A questionnaire was used as triangulation to supplement the qualitative data from the interviews. To test how findings from the interviews were agreed or disagreed (and to what extent) by a bigger population, the questionnaire became a useful instrument to identify the "frequency or prevalence of particular attributes or variables, or about the relationships between them" (Oppenheim, 1992, p. 5). Additionally, some questions needed to be answered through the researcher's observation. For example, in question 1.2 (the pedagogical process of citizenship education), the researcher attended the relevant classes and took notes of the teaching methods as well as the interactions between the students and the lecturers. Similarly, for

question 1.3 (the campus ethos), the researcher could observe the students' study and learning environment and the information in public places (such as billboards). The function of each instrument is subsequently explained. Details of how each instrument was designed and used will be explained in section 4.6.

4.4.1 Desk based research

Citizenship education in this research is broadly approached as the preparation of students for their future roles as citizens. The desk research was conducted at two levels of analyses: the macro-level of portraying the research contexts and the micro-level of citizenship education policies and pedagogical designs implemented by each individual programme under the research.

4.4.2 Interviews

Seidman (2009) points out that in-depth interviews can explore "lived experience" of the group of people under research and "the meaning" they make of that experience (Seidman, 2006, p. 9). As this research tries to explore citizenship education from participants' experiences in UK TNE, interviews became the vital method to explore the answers to these research questions. Interviews were used as the main exploring tool as well as a data collection method in this research. As this research adopted a flexible design, the interview questions developed as the research progressed. Meanwhile, interviews also played important roles in designing the students' questionnaires.

4.4.3 Questionnaire survey

A survey involves a systematic collection of data, which can be in different forms, such as questionnaires or structured interviews. With restricted time and resources, only a limited number of interviews could be conducted by the researcher. To verify some of the general information obtained in a larger sampling population, a questionnaire becomes an effective method. There are two broad categories of surveys: descriptive and analytical (Gray, 2004, p. 100). Descriptive surveys work straightforwardly to measure "what occurred" rather than "why", and to identify "attitudes, values and opinions", while analytical surveys are employed to test "theories" and to explore "associations between variables" (Gray, 2004, p. 102). The questionnaire used in this research was mainly for descriptive purpose, collecting

“generalised information”, such as “attitude, values, beliefs and motives” in quantity but in a short period of time (Robson, 2002, p. 233).

4.4.4 Observation

Individuals’ personal accounts of what they do may differ from what they actually do.

Observation could provide a kind of “reality check” (Robson, 2002, p. 310). In this research, observation was used as an important source of data, describing the students’ studying/living environment (campus ethos) and class dynamics (teacher-student relations, student engagement), which can all contribute to the development of their citizenship perceptions.

4.5 Case Description

One important principle of choosing an appropriate sampling method is to maximise the representativeness of the samples. The first step is to analyse the population, identifying the main relevant variables that may influence the research findings.

4.5.1 The purposive sampling and name coding

Purposive sampling was used to choose the cases for this research. The total population of this research consists of all UK TNE in China at the undergraduate level. The focus is to investigate the educational ideas and practice in preparing students to be future citizens. The literature review of Chapter 3 suggests a variety of factors which can influence the design of citizenship education, including the conceptions of citizenship education in contexts (national policies in education and social, cultural and political contexts), pedagogic factors (curriculum, teaching and learning) and extra-curriculum factors (the campus ethos and the culture of the local community). Amongst these factors, the pedagogic process and campus ethos varies from one TNE model to another, which became major considerations for selecting cases. The review on models of TNE (Chapter 2, section 2.1.3), UK TNE in China (Chapter 2, section 2.3.2.3) and policies in China (Chapter 2, section 2.3) shows that there are commonalities in educational practice within the same cooperative model. To select cases, table 4.1 was made to categorise UK TNE in China.

Four cases were selected for the main data collections. Compared with the joint venture models, each joint programme is small in scale with less available information. Therefore, in

addition to the main case of a joint programme (Case C), another case (Case D) was also used to seek more information about joint programmes. Considering the UK universities' TNE engagement (Chapter 2, section 2.3.2), both research-led and post-92 universities were sampled in the cases (more details in the case description).

Table 4.1 Models of UK TNE in China

Cooperative Models	Characteristics Description
Joint Venture as an independent TNE University	As a legal requirement, TNE institutions, even as an independent entity, have to be established with a Chinese partner. Therefore, the joint venture as independent TNE University enjoys the highest level of possible self-management and autonomy under current Chinese legal environment.
Joint Venture as an affiliated college to a Chinese University	Joint ventures of this category have been created as an affiliated institution or college to the Chinese partner university, under which they are managed.
Joint programmes	Depending on the specific arrangement, most joint programmes either require, or given an option for students to study part of the programmes in the UK (dual-campus arrangement).

All the chosen cases have gained CFCRS licences from the Ministry of Education in China. There were three major reasons for this choice. First, the Chinese government has been actively tightening up the regulations of the TNE market in China. Although there are still programmes operating without a licence, the policy is clear: to develop a sustainable and healthy educational relationship with China, UK HEIs need to abide by the Chinese laws and get their TNE programmes certified by the authority. The research findings of the certified TNE can be more valuable for prospective readers.

Secondly, this research looks at citizenship education, which is an essential academic requirement for obtaining a CFCRS licence. For TNE programmes running without a valid licence, citizenship education may not even be included. This point was supported by the findings from the pilot studies, which will be discussed later in this chapter. Choosing certified programmes can better suit the research needs.

Thirdly, all certified programmes are listed on the website of the Ministry of Education (Monitory Platform of CFCRS, 2010). As part of the licensing requirements, these programmes have to make their information available online for public access. Therefore, these programmes could also potential provide richer data for analysis. The four cases were coded as the following (table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Name codes for the four TNE cases

Cooperation Model	Case Code	TNE Code	The UK Partner	The Chinese Partner
Joint Venture as an independent institution	CASE A	University A	UK-A University	PRC-A University
Joint Venture as an affiliated institution to a Chinese university	CASE B	College B	UK-B Universities (more than one UK universities are involved)	PRC-B University
Joint Programmes in two campuses	CASE C	Programme C	UK-C University	PRC-C University
	CASE D	Programme D	UK-D University	PRC-D University

All interview participants were also assigned name codes to disguise their identities, which were systemically linked to the TNE Cases associated to them (Table 4.3. The detailed demographic information for all participants can be found in Appendix 10).

Table 4.3 Name Code for all interview participants

TNE Case Code	Interviewees' Name Codes			
	Leaders	Lecturers	Students	
			Pattern	Example
University A	Leader A	TCT-H TCT-T	A-pseudonym	A-Zhao
College B	Leader B	-	B- pseudonym	B-Yu
Programme C	-	TCT-M	C- pseudonym	C-Li
Programme D	-	-	D- pseudonym	D-Duo

4.5.2 Case description

4.5.2.1 Case A: An independent institution

University A was established jointly by the UK-A University and the PRC-A University. Both institutions are research-led HEIs. The two universities had been working cooperatively

in research for many years before the joint venture was established. Legally, University A has independent legal person status. It normally recruits Tier One students through *gaokao* and some students from the higher end of Tier 2, whose *hukou* are from the local province^①. As an independent institution, University A has followed the requirement of the *CFCRS Regulations 2003* (Article 21), setting up a board of directors, with one co-operator as chairperson (from PRC-A University) and one as vice-chairperson (from UK-A University). In accordance with the *CFCRS Regulations 2003* (Article 25), the Executive President of the joint venture has to be “a person with the nationality of the People’s Republic of China, domicile in the territory of China, loves the motherland”. University A also has one President and three vice-Presidents assigned from both partner universities. It has 11 academic departments and three teaching centres (English teaching, Chinese culture teaching and physical education).

The undergraduate education in University A was validated as four-year degree programmes with two progression routes (4+0 or 2+2). Students were enrolled into University A, taking a common first year which was designed to meet the requirements of the Chinese degrees, including citizenship education, and to improve students’ English proficiency. In terms of the three-year UK degree, Year One was equivalent to a foundation year. Apart from three programmes (which only offer 4+0), all the other programmes provided students with two progression routes: an articulation route of two years in China and two years in the UK (2+2), or four years in China (4+0). Students will graduate with two degrees: A Certificate of Regular Higher Education Institution (made under the supervision of the Ministry of Education of China) and a Bachelor’s degree from the UK-A University. The 2+2 arrangement is similar to other 2+2 joint programmes. Therefore, the researcher chose to interview the 4+0 students, exploring further their study experiences on the Chinese campus.

4.5.2.2 Case B: An affiliated college

Case B is a joint venture institution (College B) affiliated to the Chinese partner university, PRC-B. There are nine participating UK universities, a mixture of research-led and post 92 universities. As early as the 1980s, these UK universities had established a consortium to facilitate their collaboration in overseas educational activities. This consortium (hereinafter

^① *Gaokao* and the recruitment system in China has been discussed in chapter 2, section 2.3.2.2.

referred to as the UK-B consortium) had represented these universities to explore overseas markets in over ten countries. The nine universities (coded as UK-B universities) participated in College B in China, working together to provide a variety of different programmes for students enrolled in College B. Currently, the college has two schools including five divisions (for five programmes) and two teaching centres (Centre of English for Academic Purpose and Centre of Physics & Mathematics).

Compared with University A, College B is much more flexible in its progression routes. There are two enrolment channels: student recruitment within the National Recruitment Scheme (*On Quota students*) and the independent student recruitment or *Off Quota recruitment* (Students not reaching the minimum recruitment *gaokao* score and enrolled through the independent exams organised by College B). It is detailed in table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Progression Route in College B

Progression Routes	Full-time UG programmes within National Recruitment Scheme (<i>On Quota</i> Students)	Full-time UG programmes outside the National Recruitment Scheme (<i>Off Quota</i> Students)
Four Years in China	Events Management ; Industrial Electronics & Control Engineering ; Manufacturing Systems Engineering	
Split Degree (2+1+1)	Business Management	Business Management; Events Management ; Industrial Electronics & Control Engineering ; Manufacturing Systems Engineering
Split Degree (2+2)	No programme	
Split Degree (3+1)	No Programme	Events Management ; Industrial Electronics & Control Engineering ; Manufacturing Systems Engineering
<i>On Quota</i> students will be awarded both UK and Chinese degrees. <i>Off Quota</i> students will only be awarded UK degrees.		
Students, who will spend four years' studies in China, will be provided visiting opportunities to the UK for four to six weeks, so as to obtain overseas study experience and know the UK culture.		
<p>Split Degree (2+1+1) Students finish the first two years' studies in China and go to the UK for the third year and come back to finish the final year in China.</p> <p>Split Degree (2+2) Students finish the first two years' studies in China and go to one of the UK universities for the final two year.</p> <p>Split Degree (3+1) Students finish the first three years' studies in China and go to the UK for the final year.</p>		

There were more choices for *Off Quota* students, who paid much higher tuition fees (65, 000RMB per year) than the *On Quota* students (15, 000RMB per year). The module design and educational resources allocation was also different between the two groups. There were two sets of modules: the UK modules and the Chinese modules. All the students were put through a two-year preparatory programme (Year 1 and 2) of either business or engineering pathways, which were designed by the UK-B consortium. After the preparatory stage, students were given the option of continuing their studies in the UK, choosing one of the programmes detailed in Table 4.3. Alternatively, if they wanted to stay in China, they could continue with one of the three available programmes at College B. The Chinese modules were designed by the PRC-B University. Only *On Quota* students were required to take the Chinese modules, including citizenship education, so as to be qualified for a Chinese degree. These Chinese modules were not open to *Off Quota* students, who could only be awarded the UK degrees. On the website of the Ministry of Education (Monitory Platform of CFCRS, 2010), only *On Quota* recruitment details were available.

4.5.2.3 Case C & D: Joint programmes

Programme C: transplanting the UK programme

Case C is a joint programme (Programme C, English for International Business, 1+2+1), based on a franchise agreement between UK-C University and PRC-C University. The UK-C University is a poly-tech post-92 university in England, which has been engaged in TNE activities in China for over two decades. Currently it has three offices in two cities in China, managing all its TNE programmes in the country. Joint Programme C has been running for more than ten years. Similar to College B, it has two parallel recruitment schemes: *On Quota* and *Off Quota* recruitment. For *On Quota* students, they could choose to study four years in China or finish their final year in the UK. Either way, they will graduate with two degrees (both UK and Chinese bachelor's degrees). For *Off Quota* students, they were registered for a Diploma rather than a Bachelor's degree. They would be awarded a Diploma of Higher Education by both universities when they successfully finish three years' studies. If they were qualified to progress to the final year, they would go to the UK-C University to top up their diploma to a Bachelor's degree. They would not get the bachelors' degree from the PRC-C University.

Similar to College B, there were UK modules and Chinese modules. The first year is designed as the foundation year for all the students to improve their English and for *On Quota* students to take the required Chinese modules so as to be qualified for a Chinese degree, citizenship education included. Based on a franchise arrangement, the curriculum in Year 2 and 3 is designed by UK-C University, in order to be accredited with a UK-C degree and prepares students to progress to the final year in the UK. The main teaching staff consisted of Chinese lecturers from the PRC-C University, who were given the detailed module instruction and overseas training offered by the UK-C University (Chinese staff were invited to come over to the UK-C University for a period, ranging from a couple of months up to a year). For *Off Quota* students who have successfully finished the first three years, they would be admitted to the final year of the UK-C University. The *On Quota* students are given the option of going to the UK for the final year or staying in China. If they decided to stay in China, they would take the modules designed by the PRC-C University for the final year.

Programme D: mutual recognition and cooperation

Case D is a dual award joint programme (Programme D, Electronic and Electrical Engineering, 2+2), offered by PRC-D and UK-D. Both universities are research-led universities. Programme D was run in the international college of PRC-D. Programme D is promoted as one additional academic route for students who are recruited to the PRC-D University through *gaokao*. After completing two years of studies in China, the students were given three progression choices: to progress to the UK-D University (reaching the entry requirement of IELTS 6.5), or to another UK university (lower entry requirement of IELTS 6.0), or to stay in the PRC-D University. Such cooperation was sometimes referred to as dual awards (DIUS, 2008, p. 91), when the partner universities recognised the academic credit of one another. During the students' first two years' studies in China, the UK partner universities would only provide one or two modules to let students have a taste of teaching in the UK. The PRC-D University played the leading academic role. The credit and education recognition is the prominent features of this programme. UK-D and PRC-D are considered as equals in the partnership.

4.5.3 Negotiating permission for campus visit and interviews

The researcher started making contacts with the sampled TNE institutions and programmes while conducting pilot studies. In total, it took five months to gain permission and finalise the visit arrangements with all four cases. Samples of invitation emails can be found in Appendix 1. Through the contacts and negotiations with the TNE institutions and participating universities, the researcher gained first-hand information of the administrative structure, management efficiency and level of information transparency and openness of each case.

For University A, the initial contact was made directly to one of the executive leaders, who showed a positive attitude towards the research and asked the researcher to contact his personal assistant. The researcher was asked to submit a full research proposal, including the planned time of visits, departments to visit, activities (student and staff interviews, in class observations, etc.) The research proposal then went to each department the researcher intended to visit, including the Registration Office, the Department of Language and Culture; the Department of Electrical and Electronic Engineering, the Department of Mathematical Sciences, Chinese Culture Teaching Centre, English Language Centre and Student Union. Further email communications with each departments lasted over three months and all relevant documents were also collected through the communications. Compared with the other three cases, Case A was the largest in scale and therefore provided the richest data. The following table lists all the documents used for the data analysis of Case A.

Table 4.5 List of documents collected for Case A

Departments	Name of the Documents
Registration	University Prospectus
	Student Numbers
	Term Timetable
Department of Language and Culture; Department of Electrical and Electronic Engineering, Department of Mathematical Sciences	Programme Specifications Teaching Staff Contacts
Student Union	Student Union Constitutions Student Activities On Campus Magazines and Newsletters
English Language Centre	Staff Contacts
Chinese Culture Teaching Centre	Staff Contacts

For College B, the negotiation was simpler. The research plan was submitted directly to one executive head of the institution and was approved within two days. However, there were not

as many available documents for review. For Programme C, the initial contact was made to the teaching staff in the UK-C University, with whom the researcher had an informal discussion regarding the research. The research proposal was submitted to the administrative staff in PRC-C and was approved within two weeks. The programme also didn't provide comprehensive documents to specify the details. University D was used as an additional case study, providing more information for the joint programme model. Student interviews with Programme D were carried out in the UK. All the participants for Case D had just graduated from the programme at the time of the interviews. A campus visit to PRC-D eventually was not arranged as the formal contacts on the website could not be reached.

4.5.4 Research procedure

The researcher visited the Chinese campuses of Case A, B and C in September and October, 2011. In accordance with the scale of the TNE programmes, the researcher spent four weeks on Campus A, two weeks on Campus B and one week on Campus C. During the stay in each campus, the researcher observed the campus environment, attended the classes and interviewed both students and staff. Consent was obtained before the interviews, which were all recorded. All participants were also informed in advance that their names would not be revealed in the research. Staff interviews were all conducted in the offices of the interviewees with appointments. The length of the staff interviews varied from 30 minutes to one hour. Student interviews were conducted mainly in groups (mainly two students in one group), lasting from 30 minutes up to one hour and 15 minutes. To choose group interviews over one to one interview was based on the students' feedbacks from the pilot studies. Participating students showed far more enthusiasm in the group interview than those in the one to one interview. Students were well encouraged and got interested in the relatively unfamiliar topic of citizenship when they were among their peers, rather than facing the interviewer alone. Only one interview was done with a single student, who was very out-going and was actively involved in different social activities. The interview lasted for 75 minutes. Three group interviews involving three to four students each were from Case D. This was due to limited time slots^②. All participating students responded positively to the process, considering the

^②The students interviewed for Case D were just graduated from Programme D and were studying for postgraduate degrees in the UK at the time. The researcher was introduced to all the participants through one contact from Programme D, therefore, needed to travel to their UK universities to conduct the group interviews.

interview as an interesting and even educational experience. Questionnaires were distributed and collected ten minutes before the end of the class sessions in University A and Programme C. Consent was obtained from the lecturers, who introduced the researcher and stated that the questionnaire was voluntary, not compulsory. The lecturers left the room soon after the introduction. Due to the smaller class sizes in College B (up to 15 students in one class session), the questionnaires were distributed and collected by the college administrator. The research process was based on a designed research plan, which was influenced by the pilot studies.

4.6 Ethical Consideration

Before carrying out any research activity, the researcher submitted the research plan to the Ethics Committee of the College of Education and Lifelong Learning (now the College of Business, Law, Education and Social Sciences) for approval. Referring to the list of ethical concerns given by Cohen, et al.(2007), the main ethical considerations addressed in this research were listed below:

- Access and acceptance to the research field (p.55-59);
- Informed Consent from participants: voluntary participation, full information given in advance, open for question to ensure full comprehension of the research process by the participants (p.52-53);
- Reducing potential tension: dignity of the participants, being flexible to the participants' schedule and personal preferences, including the interview locations, choice of language etc. (p. 59-61);
- Privacy of the participants: anonymity, confidentiality and data security (p. 63-66);

To negotiate the access to the field, the researcher had submitted a detailed research outline and planned visit schedule to each TNE institution for approval. When no response was heard from case D, the researcher didn't go there without official acceptance. During the communications with all three cases (A, B, C), the researcher stated clearly the purpose of the study and answered all the relevant questions and prepared all the required documents. Copies of the interview questions and questionnaires were also submitted to the visited institutions in advance. While gaining consent from individual interviewees, the researcher always made appointments in advance and arrived at the location earlier. Questions were welcomed before the interviews. To make the interviewees at ease, the researcher conducted the interview in the participants' preferred language (either in English or in Chinese). All the

audio files were stored with a password secured laptop with single access by the researcher. Similarly, all the questionnaires completed in class sessions were given to the lecturers in advance. When the questionnaires were distributed to the students in class, the researcher was present to explain the purpose of the research. Students were also reminded that participation was voluntary. All collected questionnaires were stored in a locked file cabinet by the researcher. As the research involves participants' personal values and ideas, the principle of anonymity of both the researched programme and the interviewees (both staff and students) was kept throughout the research. While reporting the research findings, the researcher assigned name codes to each programme and each interviewee. All the data organisation, transcription, translation and analysis were handled by the researcher independently. Only the supervisors had access to the raw data (with coded names) for the purpose of supervision.

4.7 Pilot Studies, Analysis and the Research Instruments

A series of pilot studies were carried out to develop and test the research instruments for this research. Table 4.6 records the sequences of the pilot studies.

Table 4.6 Processes of the pilot studies

Sequence of the Pilot Studies	Description
First round of student interviews	Four students were invited to join the first round of interviews.
Second round of student interviews with revised questions	Another four students were invited to join the second round of interviews.
Pilot the questionnaire	Five students in two groups were invited to fill in the questionnaire. The total completion time was recorded on each occasion. Students' feedback was also asked in terms of the wording and content of the questionnaire.
Class Observation	One supervisor was invited to join the observation with the researcher. Feedback was given after the joint observation. To further testify and practice the observation procedure, a three-week class observation was carried out by the researcher.

4.7.1 Student Interviews

The student interviews played significant roles in this research, providing essential data to the listed research questions, which were modified into interview questions. At the pilot stage, the student interviews were designed to initiate the whole research process, reaffirming the

research focus and identifying the emerging themes related to each research question, so as to finalise the interview questions for the main data collection and the questionnaire design.

Which questions to ask?

Four participants in the first round of pilot interviews were the final year students of different UK TNE programmes. One student was from 3+1 (three years' studies in China and a final year in the UK) and three were from 2+1 (two years' studies in China and final year in the UK). At the time of the interview, they had just begun the second semester of their final year in the UK. They were recruited through the researcher's personal contact with the staff involved in these TNE programmes. The students participated voluntarily. Details of the student's profiles can be found in the Appendix 10. The interview followed a semi-structured design, with main interview questions/areas printed on the interview sheets, which were given to the students 10 minutes before the interview. The sequence of the questions is illustrated in Figure 4.1.

As a semi-structured interview, the sequence of the questions was flexible, depending on students' responses. The general process of the interviews was the same, following Robson's (2002) suggestion:

- 1) **Introduction:** the researcher greeted the interviewees and introduced the purpose of the interview. A sheet of interview questions was given to student (Appendix 8).
- 2) **Warm-up and non-threatening questions:** the researcher started with the first block of the interview questions (question 1 to 4 in Figure 4.1), which were mainly about the students' study experiences in TNE.
- 3) **Main body of interview:** the researcher moved to the second block of the interview questions (question 5 to 8 in Figure 4.1), asking about students' perceptions of citizenship and citizenship education.
- 4) **Cool-off:** the researcher finished the interview with the final question asking about how the students think TNE could help them to be future citizens. The final question moved the focus back to the individual students and their personal expectations of TNE.
- 5) **Closure:** the researcher thanked the students for their participation and asked for feedback after switching off the recorder.

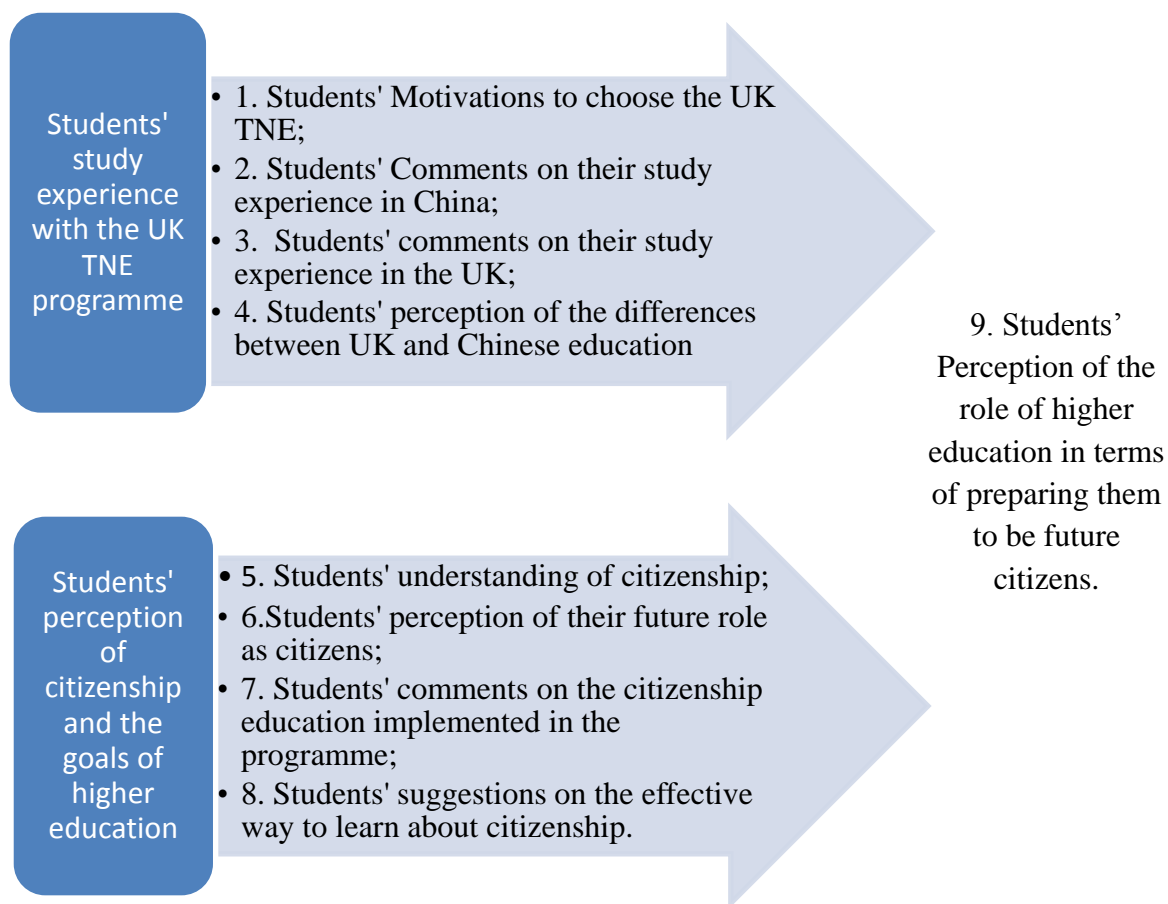


Figure 4.1 Student interview questions used in pilot studies

Each interview lasted between 20 to 25 minutes with no third party observing the process. All the interviews were conducted in Chinese to ensure that students could express themselves freely and at ease. A recorder was used but notes were not taken during the interview to keep the conversation carrying on naturally. As the interviewee only met the researcher for the first time at the interview, a couple of interviewees showed a certain level of nervousness and reluctance to talk. Students, in general, had more to say about the programmes and their study experiences than questions in citizenship and citizenship education. All students had heard about citizenship, however, they had never thought much about it and were very vague about how to define it. It became clear to the researcher that it was significant to find out a better way to keep students interested and really ponder upon the questions. Therefore, at the second round of interviews, another four students were invited and interviewed as two separate groups, two from 2+1 Electronic Engineering and two from 2+1 Accounting and Finance. As they were given time to think and were inspired by each other, each group

interview lasted more than 40 minutes. Some changes were made to the wording of the questions for the second round of pilot interviews. Instead of asking directly how they define citizenship, the researcher used transitional sentences, such as “after finishing studies in the universities, you will all enter into society and take up different social roles, one of which is citizenship.” By setting up this context and making “citizenship” personal to the students, the researcher found that the students felt less nervous and less threatened by the question. After two rounds of interviews, the researcher analysed the data, in order to further refine the interview questions and to design questionnaires.

4.7.2 Analysis of the pilot data

All the interviews were transcribed and translated. A content analysis was carried out to identify the main themes within each main question. Several levels of analysis were integrated. The first step was to define the units of analysis. For each main question, a table was formed to list all students’ relevant narratives and their translations. The second step was to conduct the basic content analysis, which involved “counting concepts, words or occurrences” in the narratives and “reporting them in tabular form” (Anderson & Arsenault, 1998, p. 102). As the pilot interviews were aimed at identifying relevant concepts and further modify the questions, some notes and comments were made to interpret the data. This analysis process also helped to identify codes and categories for the main data analysis. Table 4.7 is an example presenting the analysis process.

Many students showed uncertainty of how to define citizenship. They all acknowledged that they had heard the term before, but had not often thought about its meaning. As they were encouraged to describe their own accounts of citizenship and relevant concepts, some codes emerged from their narratives. The emerging codes are listed in the following table 4.8.

After all the questions were listed and analysed, a summary Table 4.9 was formed to summarise the initial findings and emerging codes.

Table 4.7 One example of the interview data analysis for the pilot studies

Student Name Code	请问你是如何理解公民这个概念的？	How do you understand the concept of citizenship?	Key Words	Analysis
PLT 001	<p>公民来讲的话，我们从小就是要做义务吧，为祖国做贡献。来英国一样感觉更民主一些，不像国内，在英国，他们强调的都是自己的权利，在我们国家强调的是一个义务。并不是从课堂上得到的吧，从来了英国之后对社会的观察，以及随着年龄的增长，看一些新闻啊，报道啊，比如说我们国家的新闻报道和这边是不一样的。循序渐进对这个公民的概念有一个理解。</p>	<p>From a young age, we have been told that as citizens, we have to make contributions to our motherland. I feel it is more democratic in the UK, where greater stress has been put on individuals' rights. Since I arrived in the UK, I have been observing society, watching news and noticing the differences between the UK and China. Gradually, I am getting to know more about citizenship.</p>	<p>Duties rather than rights; Unlike democracy in the UK; Patriotism; not learned from class but from real life experience</p>	<p>-Duties rather than rights: this matches with the literature review of the concept of citizenship (citizenship based on ethnics, putting stress on individuals' contribution to the socialist cause); -democracy in the UK: this student links this democracy with individuals' rights -patriotism (very nation state oriented citizenship idea; together with the focus on duties, could we say current Chinese idea of citizenship education is very much Republican? How about political participation?); -not learned from class but from real life experience (student's awareness of the difference between knowledge from books and knowledge from experience)</p>

Table 4.8 Emerging codes of the students' perceptions of citizenship in pilot studies

Question	Codes	Frequency
The Conception of Citizenship	Obey the Laws	4
	Duties	4
	Rights	4
	Contribution	3
	No Harm to the Society	3
	Patriotism	2
	Residency Rights	2
	Taxation	2
	Vague Concept	2
	Voting	1
	Decision Making/Participation	1

Table 4.9 Summary table for data analysis of the pilot student interviews

Research Questions	Analysis	Codes
Motivations and Expectations	<p>All eight students uniformly mentioned the factor of <i>lower gaokao</i> requirement as one major drive to choose their programmes. Parents played important roles in the decision making process. Parents had two major considerations: children were too young to go abroad right after graduation and TNE provided a transitional period from China to the UK. They also thought the foreign education was better than the Chinese education. Students also emphasised that the study abroad arrangement is also an attraction.</p> <p>The main expectations were: improving their English and overseas learning experience to enhance their competitiveness in the job market.</p>	<p>Lower Entry Requirement; Parents' Support; Better Education; Study Abroad Arrangement; English Medium Teaching and Learning; Employability</p>

Table 4.9 Continued (1)

Research Questions	Analysis	Codes
Study Experience in China	<p>The students recalled of their learning experience in China, the first part of the TNE joint programmes.</p> <p>Most modules were delivered by Chinese lecturers.</p> <p>The staff from the UK partner universities only taught one or two modules during the students’ studies in China.</p> <p>Although claimed to provide English medium teaching and learning, the actual teaching was delivered using both English and Chinese. In some cases, only English textbooks and terminologies were used in class. Chinese remained the main language of teaching and learning. Therefore, a bilingual (Chinese and English) teaching and learning practice was used in the practice of TNE in China.</p> <p>The Outside Plan students were not registered with the Chinese partner university, therefore excluded from the educational activities provided by the Chinese university.</p>	<p>Chinese Staff; Bilingual; Outside Plan Students Exclusion</p>
Study Experience in the UK	<p>As the pilot study was conducted in the UK, the interviewed students were all in (or had completed) the final part of TNE studies.</p> <p>The TNE joint programme students came to the UK partner university as a group. They tended to study and live together with their classmates and friends. All the students thought that there were too many Chinese in their class. Some commented that they didn’t feel that they were studying abroad.</p> <p>The UK partner universities seldom made special cultural or social activities to integrate the Chinese into the local communities. It was not easy to make friends with local students. The main communication was restricted to group work or in class discussion.</p> <p>Although students had been following the UK programme, many still found it difficult to follow the UK teaching styles.</p> <p>To some students, English remained a problem for their learning progress. Most say that they became more independent.</p>	<p>Too many Chinese; Lack of cross cultural communication; Change of teaching styles; independent</p>

Table 4.9 Continued (2)

Research Questions	Analysis	Codes
Students' Comments on the educational differences between China and the UK	<p>As students were mainly taught by Chinese staff in China, they could make a comparison of the different teaching styles.</p> <p>Chinese lecturers acted more like authorities in China, who were in control.</p> <p>Teaching was uni-directional, where the students followed the orders.</p> <p>Students used the term “exam-oriented” to describe Chinese education. The selective system in China has made competition among students become severe and established for the sake of competition, not education.</p> <p>UK lecturers gave more freedom to individuals, not acting as the authority in class. Students felt that study became their own responsibilities in the UK.</p> <p>They felt that their independent thinking was strengthened in the process.</p>	<p>Exam-Oriented; Competition; Teacher-Student Relationship (authority or equal); Own responsibilities; Independent</p>
Students' perception of citizenship	<p>Generally speaking, students were not very enthusiastic about the question of citizenship. Most showed a lack of interest.</p> <p>Most students didn't come up with a clear idea of citizenship when asked.</p> <p>After being encouraged to talk freely, they would mention some relevant concepts, such as rights, duties, patriotism, and contribution to society.</p> <p>Students paired interviews would talk more about citizenship, as they were inspired and supported with each other, rather than merely facing the researcher.</p>	<p>Obey the laws; Patriotism; Rights & Duties; Contribution; Taxation; Not harm the society; Voting; Decision Making for the Country / Participation</p>
Citizenship Education	<p>All the interviewed students in pilot studies were in TNE programmes which were not certified by the Ministry of Education. These programmes do not teach political-ideological modules as do other Chinese universities do.</p> <p>Students showed a lack of interest in these modules and felt lucky that they didn't have to take them.</p>	<p>Boring; Wasting Time; Unpractical; Only theory; Personal Choice;</p>

Table 4.9 Continued (3)

Research Questions	Analysis	Codes
Students' ideas about preparing to be future citizens	<p>All students thought that political-ideological education (referred as <i>politics</i> by the students) would not help them to become informed citizens. Most students stressed the important of keeping informed of the development of the outside world, watching news and keeping up with the current affairs of China and of the world.</p> <p>Several students mentioned the importance of life experience, including overseas experience, in understanding the Chinese society and citizenship. Several students also mentioned the benefits they got from extra-curriculum activities, which could help them to become a member of the society in which they live.</p>	<p>Keep informed; Life experience; Extra-curriculum Activities</p>
Students' comments on the role of the university to prepare them to be future citizens.	<p>Students were very practical about the functions of the universities. Their focuses were on the universities' role in preparing them for jobs. Most students thought that to be competitive in the job market, they had to be more international, with good English and the ability to work globally. Except one student who mentioned about the rights to be actively participating in the decision making of the country, most students considered citizenship as a passive role, not an active one. Therefore, if the university could help the students to get good jobs they would be good citizens.</p>	<p>Jobs; Global Talent; Impassive Citizenship;</p>
Future Plan	<p>All students wanted to take or were taking a master's degree programme in the UK. Most students want to gain some work experience before returning to China. Students considered family as the main drive for them to go back to China</p>	<p>Overseas study and work experience; Return to China; Family</p>

4.7.3 The revision of the interview questions

How to modify the questions?

Reflecting on the interview process and the analysis, several points were made for revising interview questions.

Firstly, the students' motivation to choose UK TNE and initial expectations served as an important reference for interpreting their comments on their study experience. Some motivations such as the attraction of English instruction were shared across different TNE programmes. Therefore, to better understand the shared attractions of UK TNE among Chinese students, this question was kept as the opening one for all future interviews with students taking different models of UK TNE.

Secondly, rather than having a separate question about the citizenship education curriculum, it would seem more natural to the students to discuss all the curriculum of the programme, concurrently commenting on the citizenship relevant modules. Additionally, citizenship relevant modules were generally referred to as "politics", which could restrict the interviewees' perception of citizenship into purely political discourse. A follow up question can be raised again about citizenship education while asking about students' ideas of how to prepare to be future citizens.

Thirdly, once being asked directly about the concept of citizenship, students tend to seek a textbook definition. It would be useful to lead the question of their study experience towards citizenship with transitional remarks, such as "after graduation, you will enter into the society, becoming a member of the society". The researcher could open the discussion by asking the students about their perceived relationships with the society, from the regional, national to international scope. Their ideas of citizenship could be identified through the discussion of "me and the country" and "me and the world". In this way, students would be able to address citizenship in a broader and more meaningful sense.

The revised interview questions can be illustrated in Figure 4.2. At the time of the interviews, the researcher didn't give the question sheet (Appendix 9) to the students in advance. Rather the researcher kept these questions in mind and developed a discussion with the interviewees, rather than a rigid progression from one question to another. Right after each interview, an

interview session summary sheet (Appendix 11) was filled in and coded in the same name as the audio file.

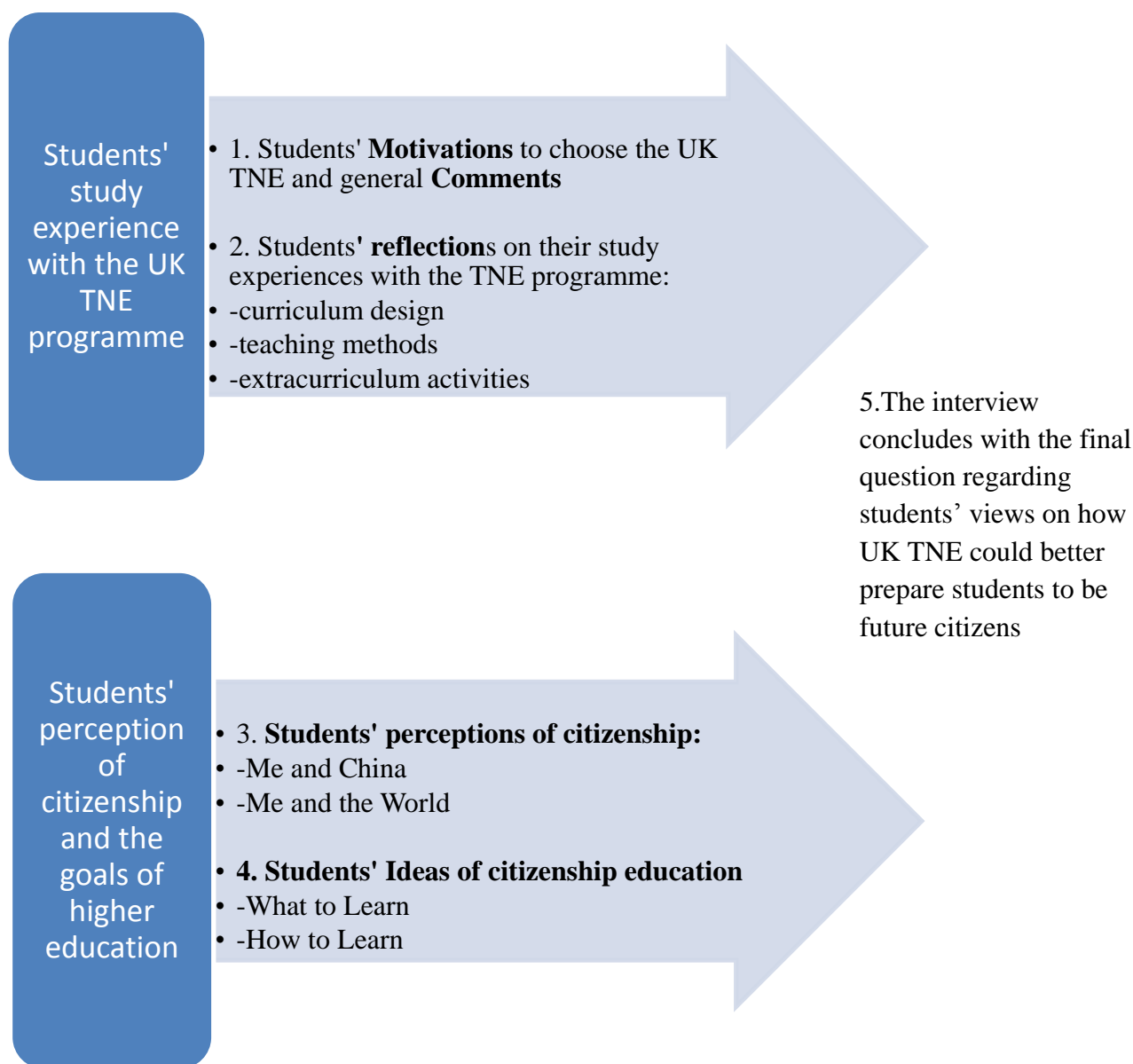


Figure 4.2 Student interview questions used in main data collection

4.7.4 Interviews with the teaching and administrative staff

In addition to student interviews, leaders of TNE institutions or programmes and some teaching staff were also invited for interviews. Due to programme diversity and various positions of the interviewees, no fixed interview schedule was made to suit all. Therefore, the

researcher adopted an open-ended interview method to tailor make an interview schedule before each arranged staff interview.

Interviews with leaders of the TNE institutions or programmes included: the overall educational ideas implemented; the educational inputs from both sides; their interpretation of *the CFCRS Regulations 2003* and the policy implication on TNE operations; and the future development. To form some student-staff conversations, the researcher tried to arrange the staff interviews after student interviews, so that some of the feedback from the students could be raised during the interviews. Such arrangement generated some very interesting data, indicating different interpretations of the nature, procedure and outcomes of TNE between the educator and the students.

Interviews with lecturers mainly focused on their personal lecturing experiences. TNE joint programmes, which involved teaching at both campuses in China and in the UK, were delivered by lecturers from both partner institutions. When the UK institution led the programme design, lecturers from China were usually given some training, such as an overseas visit and class observation in the UK. In the interviews, Chinese lecturers were asked about their training experience and comments on differences of teaching methods in two educational systems. TNE joint ventures at their own campuses employ lecturers globally. These international lecturers were asked in particular about their previous teaching experiences before and after joining TNE.

4.7.5 Questionnaire design and pilot

As mentioned above, a descriptive survey questionnaire was developed to provide information about students' attitude and values regarding the main research questions. Questionnaire items were based on the main research questions and the initial findings from the pilot interviews. It was then piloted and revised. The purpose of the questionnaire was to measure students' attitudes towards three main areas of discussion: assessment of their TNE programmes in terms of whether the proclaimed educational ideals were reflected in educational practice; students' perception of international talent with regard to how the students weigh the different aspects of the concept; and students' perception of citizenship education from the perspectives of teaching content.

As the questionnaire was intended to measure students' rating of different aspects of the three main areas, a likert-type five point ordinal scale was used in designing individual items. A statement was written in respect of each item in the questionnaire, which was to be rated by the students in accordance with their level of agreement or disagreement. A five-point ordinal scale was adopted (Cohen, et al., 2007, p. 326).

For items rating the level of agreement, the following ordinal scale was applied:

5=strongly agree
4=agree
3=neutral
2=disagree
1=strongly disagree

For items in part two and three, where the students were asked to rate the importance of different aspects in creating "international talent" and "citizenship education", the following ordinal scale was adopted (Cohen, et al., 2007, p. 326):

5=very important
4=important
3=not sure
2=not important
1=not important at all

Two rounds of pilot studies were carried out to pre-test the questionnaire, so as to increase its validity, reliability and practicability (Cohen, et al., 2007, p. 341). The first round of piloting involved three groups, with two students in each one. The students were asked to give feedback after completing the questionnaire. The questionnaire was then revised in accordance with their suggestions.

It was then piloted again with another group of three students before the final draft was handed to the supervisors. The questionnaire was written in Chinese, the students' native language, so as to minimise any misunderstanding of the intention and wording of the survey. A consent form (Appendix 3) was included on the first page of the survey. Students were given additional information regarding the research and asked to sign the forms before filling in the questionnaire. An example of a filled questionnaire can be found in Appendix 7.

4.7.6 Observation

Both interviews and survey questionnaires were designed to directly get subjective information from the participants, listening to their interpretation of the events. The observation, on the other hand, involved the notes of the facts and the researcher's interpretation of a situation. Two types of observation were used for data collection: campus observation and class observation. The former was used to describe the studying and living environment for the students and the latter used to observe educational activities taking place in classes. Pictures were taken whenever appropriate and possible to supplement the observation notes.

(1) Campus Observation

Main items to be observed are listed in Table 4.10

Table 4.10 Campus observation items

Campus Ethos	Distance to the City
	Surrounding Community
	Number of Students
	Accommodation
	Places for Social Activities
	Scheduled Social Events
	Student Union
	Students' Organised Societies
	Internet
Citizenship, Patriotic, Moral and Political Education	Billboards & Slogans
	Activities for Moral and Political Education
	CPC Committee organised events

After each campus visit, a Contact Summary Sheet (Appendix 5) was filled in to record the information regarding this particular contact with the TNE case. All the contact summary sheets were stored at the file folders for the relevant case.

(2) Class Observation

Classes are the most prominent places where educational activities are carried out.

Pedagogical activities have a profound influence on the educational results of the students.

Citizenship related modules were observed to describe the pedagogical process of citizenship education. Main items to be observed are listed in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11 Class observation items

Stages	Items	Notes
Pre-class Preparation	Approval from the lecturer	Explain the purpose of the class observation & have the consent form signed
	Module Specification	Gain a copy of the module specification if available
	Textbook	Gain a copy of the textbook
	Assessment	How the module is assessed
Physical Environment	Classroom	Size of the classroom & number of Student attending
In Class	Class organisation	How the lecturer organises the teaching content
	Lecturer-Student Interaction	How the lecturer delivers the class session
		How do the students respond

4.8 Method for Analysing Data

Both qualitative and quantitative data was collected in this research, which would be analysed using different strategies. Qualitative data of interviews and observation were the main sources of data, while quantitative data from the questionnaire served as the supplementation and triangulation to the research findings. Data analysis has been an on-going process in this research, which was carried out concurrently with the data collection. The qualitative analysis software QSR NVivo 8 and SPSS 16.0 were used for the main data analysis.

4.8.1 Qualitative data analysis

During the preparation stage for the main data collection, the researcher made several data record forms to organise different sources of data, which was suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994). For each document, a *Document Summary Sheet* (Appendix 4) was used to summarise the core information. A *Contact Summary Sheet* (Appendix 5) was filled in to record the notes for each visit to the field. An *Interview Session Summary Sheet* (Appendix 11) was made to take quick notes right after each interview. A *Class Observation Sheet* (Appendix 6) was used for recording notes during the class sessions. A *Research Preparation Check List* (Appendix 2) was filled in to guide each research visit. The benefit of using the forms was to keep a record of all the data at the time of collection and to simultaneously transform the data into written forms, which would be easily used for data analysis. All the data record forms together with the original documents and the transcribed (and translated if in Chinese) interviews were uploaded to the qualitative data analysis software QSR NVivo8 as the raw data waiting to be analysed.

The Coding Process

Seeking answers to the main research questions from the collected documents, interview transcripts and observation notes, the researcher had to read carefully and make sense of the raw qualitative data, which would not “speak for themselves” (Denscombe, 2007, p. 287). Two more steps were needed before interpreting the data, which were “preparation of the data” and “familiarity with the data” (Denscombe, 2007, p. 288). The adoption of the data record forms made different sources of data into individual Microsoft word files, which simplified the process of data preparation. Additionally, when all the files were imported into NVivo as internals, they were put into different folders including:

- Case Summary Documents: collected files regarding the general information
- Document Summary Sheets and Original Documents
- Campus Class Observation Sheets and Pictures
- Staff Interviews: transcripts
- Student Interviews: transcripts

The second step was to get familiar with the data, “becoming immersed” in the details of what was said in the documents and by the interviewees and what was shown in the pictures and observation notes (Denscombe, 2007, p. 290). The purpose was to identify all the relevant data for each research question and to cross-reference the data with different sources. For instance, the students’ narratives of citizenship learning experience in class could be put into context and interpreted with reference to the class observation notes. Only through thorough understanding of the data could the researcher identify the codes to categorise the data. References for qualitative analysis provide a variety of suggestions on how data should be coded (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Creswell, 2002; McLellan, et al., 2003; Denscombe, 2007), based on which the researcher developed a coding procedure that could also utilise the functions of NVivo 8.

Free Nodes and Tree Nodes

NVivo 8 uses the term “node” to represent concept/themes/ ideas (codes) or categories which are identified from the data. While analysing each imported document, the researcher started making a “free node” to each identified code. These free nodes were not yet connected to each other, but standing alone to store all the relevant data under the same code. For instance, for the free node of “citizenship conceptualisation”, data from 11 different sources were found related to this node, which included 34 references. Each reference represented one particular chunk of data which was relevant to the node. If clicking into the node of “citizenship conceptualisation”, all the source data and references could be allocated.

After several rounds of initial coding to identify all the free nodes, the analysis entered into the second stage of identifying relationships among these free nodes. NVivo 8 uses a tree structure to categorise the nodes. Some free nodes, such as “citizenship conceptualisation” was found to embrace other free nodes, such as “rights” “duty” and “nationality” ect. There were also nodes which were found to contribute to the same theme. These umbrella terms were identified to become the headings of different categories, each of which included a number of free nodes (codes). At this stage, all the free nodes were allocated into the tree structure, going into various categories.

Arriving at Results and General Findings

After the process of coding and categorising, the researcher began to organise the identified themes to answer the research questions. The following three result chapters will present the analysed data in the order of the research questions listed at the beginning of this chapter.

4.8.2 Questionnaire analysis

One questionnaire was used in this research to supplement the qualitative data. The questionnaires were distributed and collected during the field visit to the three TNE cases. The response rate was high. Students were told to voluntarily participate in the survey. The lecturer was not in class when the questionnaires were distributed. In Case A (136) and C (60), all questionnaires were collected back since participation was voluntary. In Case B, the questionnaires were distributed to students via administrative staff from the institution and a large percentage of questionnaires were collected (142 out of 150). However, not all the questionnaires could provide valid data, as some were obviously not filled in with serious consideration. For instance, there were occasions when the students were just ticking the same number for all the statements. The researcher could only rely on personal judgement in selecting the valid questionnaires. After picking out the apparent invalid ones, the total number of questionnaires used for analysis was presented in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12 Statistics of student questionnaires

Case Code	Number of Distributed Questionnaires	Number of Collected Questionnaires	Number of Valid Questionnaires
A	136	136	128
B	150	142	128
C	65	65	58

There were three sections in the questionnaire mainly consisting of statements for the students to rate. Table 4.13 gives an example from the questionnaire.

Table 4.13 One example of the five-point ordinal scale item in the student questionnaire

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am very satisfied with my study experience with the TNE programme.	5	4	3	2	1

All the data from the valid questionnaire was imported into the quantitative analysis software of SPSS 16.0 (the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences).

Entering the data into SPSS

SPSS opens with the “data view” showing columns and rows. Each column represents a variable, which was one statement in this research. Each row records one case, which was the data from one student. Creating a data set in SPSS involved defining the attributes of each variable and inputting data for each case. The ratings from the five-point scale are ordinary data, with each rating integer (1 to 5) assigned a label as shown in Figure 4. 6. Each statement (variable) was given a name with the format of “**PT + Number (the section number)_Number (statement number)**”, such as P1_01 representing the first statement from section one. In addition to the name, each statement was also given a label which was to summarise the content of the statement. The label for P1_01 was “satisfaction” representing the statement of “I am very satisfied with my study experience with the TNE programme.” In order to perform certain statistical tests among the three groups, all the data was entered into one file, with a nominal variable designed to categorise three different cases. To keep the original data safe, and free from the risk of being distorted during the analysis, three separate excel files (one for each case) storing the original data were created as records.

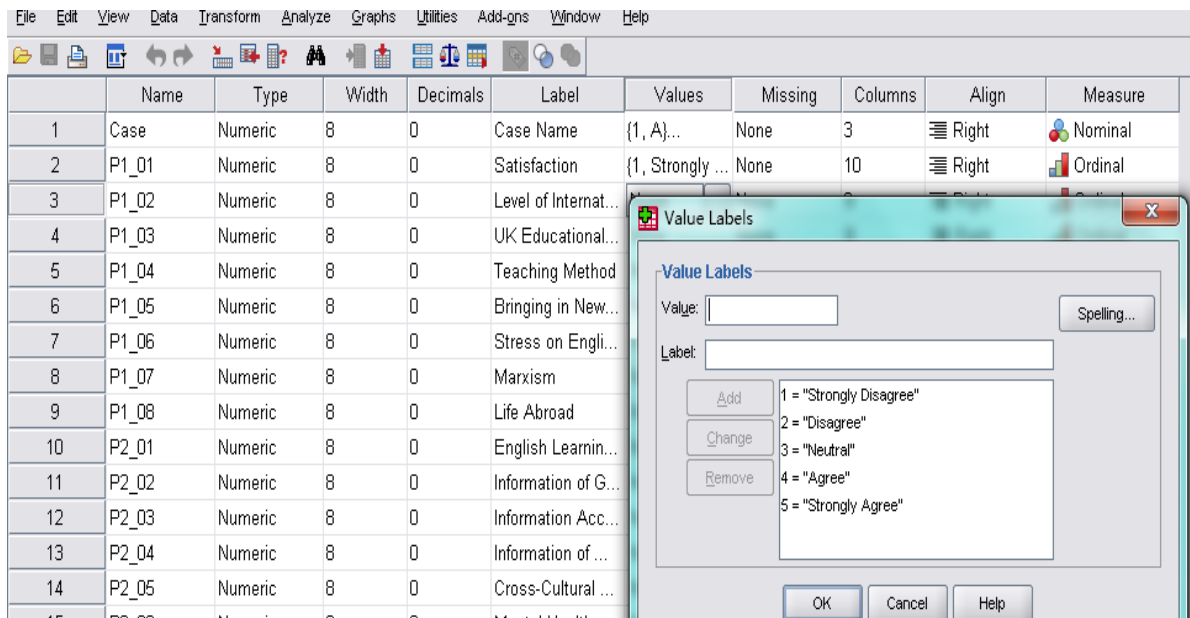


Figure 4.3 Defining variables in SPSS

Analysing and Exploring the Data

The questionnaire was designed to assist the investigation of the research questions. The five-point scale in this research produced ordinary, non-parametric data. The primary purpose was to explore the frequencies and percentages of the rating for each item, which was descriptive statistics. To present the differences among the three cases, the cross-tabulation function in SPSS would organise all the relevant data. Table 4.14 showed the cross-tabulation result of the first item in the questionnaire: I am very satisfied with my study experience with the TNE programme.

Table 4.14 Cross-tabulation of questionnaire results of the item regarding students' satisfaction rating

I am very satisfied with my study experience with the TNE programme.		Ratings					Total	
		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree		
Case Name	A	Count	0	0	16	86	26	128
		% within Case Name	.0%	.0%	12.5%	67.2%	20.3%	100.0%
	B	Count	1	1	29	81	16	128
		% within Case Name	.8%	.8%	22.7%	63.3%	12.5%	100.0%
	C	Count	0	1	12	35	9	57
		% within Case Name	.0%	1.8%	21.1%	61.4%	15.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	1	2	57	202	51	313
		% within Case Name	.3%	.6%	18.2%	64.5%	16.3%	100.0%

The questionnaire results will be presented as complementary information for the exploration of the research questions.

4.9 Role of the Researcher and Potential Bias in the Chosen Research Methods

The researcher has impacts on the research progress and findings in four aspects in this research: a) the design of the interview and questionnaire, b) the observation and recording of campus culture and citizenship class procedure c) the facilitation of all in-depth interviews, and finally d) the analysis of all data. As this research relies heavily on qualitative data, the researcher's impacts on the research findings were unavoidable.

The quality of the data had a determinant influence on the results of the research. Therefore, pilot interviews were undertaken before the main data collection to improve the interviewing techniques and class observation was practised with guidance by the supervisor to produce effective notes. Thanks to previous work experience as an education consultant, the researcher had personally consulted over 400 students. Therefore, conducting student interviews was not an unfamiliar task. Additionally, as the researcher is a qualified translator and interpreter, the exercise of note taking in observation and translation of data analysis was also well practised.

Chapter 5 Educational Ideas and Citizenship Education in TNE

This chapter presents educational ideas implemented in the four TNE cases under research, exploring how citizenship education has been perceived and approached in TNE practice. It considers answers to research question 1.1: “How have the UK TNE institutions defined their roles in citizenship education?” It addresses the following sub-questions:

- 1.1.1 How has citizenship been perceived in relevance to the overall educational goals of UK TNE?
- 1.1.2 What are the strategies and tactics employed in UK TNE to reach the educational goals?
- 1.1.3 What are the factors influencing approaches to citizenship education? (such as regulations in China)

This chapter lays the foundation for Chapter 6, which addresses citizenship education in terms of the pedagogical process and campus ethos.

5.1 Educational Goals and Implementation Strategies

From the perspective of preparing students to be future citizens, educational goals set by the four UK TNE cases were analysed with the focus on characteristics which these TNE institutions and programmes believed their students should cultivate. It then discusses strategies and tactics employed by them to achieve these goals.

5.1.1 The proclaimed educational goals

Three of the four cases (A, B, C) provided explicit vision and mission statements describing the desired characteristics of their graduates. Two interrelated themes emerged from these statements: **international talent** and **global citizens**.

International Talent

University A defined its mission as “*to educate technical and managerial professionals with international perspectives and competitive capabilities*”. College B claimed to be “*fully*

committed to help our students become highly successful professionals with a modern international outlook". Programme C (English for International Business, 3+1) defined its mission as *"to enhance opportunities of international exposure to our students so that they can have a global vision in their future business practice, and after graduation they can have a real sense of language, culture and communication."* Programme D was under the administration of the College of International Education at PRC-D University. The college managed TNE programmes in cooperation with different countries, including the USA, France, Australia, and Germany etc. The mission of the college was to develop international educational cooperation and to create international talents. There was no specific mission statement for Programme D alone. **International** was the key word across all cases, which was defined from three aspects: international capacity, international competitiveness and international vision.

- International capacity with regard to students' cross-cultural communicative competence, both in their language proficiency and in cultural understanding;
- International competitiveness in terms of their professional knowledge and advanced skills which would give them a competitive edge in their future careers;
- International vision was concerned with their ability to identify (professional/business practice) opportunities beyond the national borders.

In their educational practice, to create international talent was to help students acquire these attributes, which will be further discussed in the next section of strategies in achieving these educational goals.

Global Citizen

The idea of international talent puts emphasis on students' knowledge and skills to be successful in the future and how TNE could best help them to thrive in a globalising world. Global Citizenship implies certain values and a participatory attitude towards the development of the global community. Among the four cases, University A and College B used the term "global citizen" to describe the desired graduate their institutions intended to create.

Leader A explained that “global citizen” could best describe the desired graduate who would be “competitive in the globalising world.” Therefore, University A adopted the term to remind students of their future living and working environment.

“We want our students to be competitive in the globalising world, wherever they decide to live and work. In the future, even when students live in China, they will be facing international competition. If we think of the world as a global community, then each one of us is a member of that community. We want our students to be well aware of the global environment they will be living in.”

In addition to global awareness, students also needed to adopt the right attitudes to cope with the environment. Leader A considered that citizenship, which indicated rights, duties and participatory attitudes, could best describe the relationship to the global community.

“There are two embedded meanings in citizenship. Firstly, it indicates a legal status. Being a citizen means to obey the laws and understand your rights and duties. Secondly, a citizen needs to have the participatory attitude to contribute to the development of the community. We hope that our students can identify themselves in the global community. We want them to be competitive and responsible citizens of China and of the world.”(Leader A, University A)

Assuming that Leader A spoke on behalf of the authority and University A did actually follow these perceptions of global citizens, these ideas would be reflected in different aspects of its educational process. Further discussions would gradually provide answers to this question.

College B also used “global citizens” in their official promotional material.

“We know we need to keep improving to provide great value for money and also to produce successful, socially concerned global citizens who we hope will make their country and College B proud and also to make their parents proud” (one publicity leaflet from College B).

It’s interesting to note that College B used “great value for money” and “make parents proud” in this statement. College B adopted a practical interpretation of “global citizen”. It sounds closer to a business promotion: to make the customers satisfied. Even the parents, who paid for the students’ education, were acknowledged. Leader B from College B admitted in the interview that borrowing this term was a slogan for promotional purposes. “I am not so bothered about the mission statement...the term of global citizens is nothing more than a

slogan”. What was more crucial, he explained, was to let Chinese students understand their roles in the future.

“Firstly, we think there is one globe, facing the future global issues together, such as environment, war etc. Another thing is about global mobility. You can move easily around the globe, doing whatever you want and wherever you want. Maybe the third meaning is that people are responsible to let their country be understood by the rest of the world... For students, they wouldn’t think too much about it. Their understanding of citizenship will only gradually come into form when they fully enter into society. The term of global citizens is nothing more than a slogan. We want our graduates to understand cultural diversity and to care about the globe.” (Leader B, College B)

Using the term “global citizen” or not, both University A and College B acknowledged the global dimension of the future citizen. Whether this acknowledgement had any impact on citizenship education would only be found through in-depth investigation of the educational process. The concepts of **international talent** and **global citizen** were not mutually exclusive, but complementary to stress different educational aspects. The knowledge and skills defining international talent were also crucial for educating the global citizen. To present the following analysis of educational strategies and tactics systematically, different attributes of the desired graduates from each case are summarised in the following table (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Summary of the attributes of the desired graduates proposed by the four TNE cases

Attributes of the Desired Graduates	Cases Upholding the Educational Goals
Possess professional knowledge and skills	A; B; C; D
Become cross-cultural communicative competent	A; B; C; D
Develop international vision	A; B; C; D
Creating Global Citizens	A; B

5.1.2 Strategies and tactics in achieving the defined educational goals

Following the proclaimed educational goals, this section analyses the educational strategies and specific tactics adopted by different cases to reach them.

5.1.2.1 Strategic landscape: Models of higher education

Four cases represented different TNE models. Programme C and D represented the mainstream TNE models. University A and College B were institutions offering a variety of TNE programmes.

University A: China's international university

University A identified itself as “China’s international university”, an independent university rather than a branch campus of the UK-A University. This message was more than once stressed during interviews with institution leader and lecturers. University A attempted to “blend the essences from both Chinese and Western Societies during its unique efforts to explore a new model of higher education.” (Vision, mission and brand identity statements) UK-A and PRC-A universities were regarded as equal partners, which indicated that neither side dominated in practice. However, by reviewing the programmes, it was clear that University A had adopted many features of the UK higher education system, so as to be accredited for issuing UK-A degrees. Meanwhile, University A also issues its own degrees which are recognised by the relevant Chinese authorities. The double-degree arrangement could be seen as one positive feature, which gave students more confidence in their qualifications. Leader A explained the rationale behind the effort to design the new model of higher education:

“Due to the development of information technology, people can have access to the best education online. You don’t have to go to university to get the knowledge or the skills. So it is the time to rethink and redefine university. It is crucial for us to explore how to develop a university for the future, utilising what has been achieved both in the western and eastern universities.”

He further explained what was new about the educational model at University A:

“We are unique in terms of educational ideas, different from the UK, US or China. We are trying to establish a unique educational model of our own, not as copycat of the UK system, but an international university in China.”

To be a unique Chinese university, Leader A stressed that it was crucial to understand the differences between the two educational systems. What was suitable for the UK students might not be appropriate for Chinese students.

“We can’t simply copy the UK model. UK universities treat students as adults, who are assumed to be responsible for their actions. However, considering the education which the Chinese students have been through before joining us, we can’t make that assumption. We can’t give students an equal amount of freedom as the UK universities have given to their students, at least, not at the beginning.”

Meanwhile, he accentuated that it would be meaningless to simply follow the conventions of traditional Chinese universities, where students were monitored closely as children.

“We consider our students as young adults, who will gradually grow into responsible adults under our guidance. To realise that, we introduced the topic of *Self-Management* into our *Chinese Culture Module* for all Year One students.”

The *Chinese Culture Module* was designed to meet citizenship education requirements asked for by the Chinese government. Details of this module will be addressed in chapter 6.

College B: 1+N Multi-university Model

College B presented a unique cooperative model of UK TNE. There were nine different UK universities contributing to the undergraduate degree programmes offered by College B, which was affiliated to PRC-B University. It was based on a well-established educational consortium among nine UK universities, seven of which have been contributing to the programmes in College B. The committee of the consortium acted as the bridge which could mobilise educational resources from member universities together to cooperate with PRC-B University in the operation of College B. 1+N model was regarded as a reflection of the “strategic co-operation in higher education between China and the UK and between China and the rest of the world”, as declared in the mission statement of College B. Similar to University A, College B was also self-identified as an international university, but with one specific focus: “a global village where Chinese and international students can integrate and build relationships for the future. Its focus was on recruiting more international students on campus, which was both regarded as a long-term development strategy and a short-term tactic in tackling particular educational targets.

Programme C and D: Joint Programmes as Importation vs. Cooperation

Although both were joint programmes, Case C and D were different with regard to the partner Chinese universities’ educational contributions. Programme C was based on a

franchise arrangement between UK-C and PRC-C. UK-C University had been running several franchise joint programmes in China for years, which were all based on the basic 2+1 model with first two years of its degree programmes being delivered by partner HEIs in China before progressing to the final year in the UK. Programme C could be seen as one variant of the 2+1 franchise model, with one year added to form a 1+2+1 arrangement. The additional year (Year 1) was added to meet requirements for the recognised Chinese degrees (including citizenship education) and served as the foundation year to improve students' English. Under the franchise arrangement, although the first two years' teaching of the UK degree (Year 2 and 3) were delivered by the Chinese partner HEI, the curricula had to be based closely on the equivalent course delivered by UK-C University in the UK (Year 1 and 2). When the students finished their first three years' studies in China, they were issued with the transcript which only recorded their marks for Year Two and Three. The researcher also noticed that the transcript only had the logo of UK-C University. When the students graduated from UK-C University, they would be given a final transcript of the last three years, which were written chronologically. The heading of each section of the academic year was one sentence stating the delivery institution: "Programme Delivered by: PRC-C University/UK-C University." By reading the transcript alone, one could not know that this was a four year programme rather than three years.

UK-C University played the leading role in the design of Programme C (in particular Year 2 and 3), although it was delivered mainly by staff from PRC-C University in the first three years. Only a couple of modules were delivered by fly-in staff from UK-C University. The presence of the UK staff in China seemed to be insufficient during the first two years (Year 2 and 3) of the UK degree education. All the Chinese lecturers were given detailed instructions on what to teach and how to assess. Additionally, they were given opportunities to stay in the UK-C University for several months to shadow the teaching and learning process in the UK. LCT-M, a lecturer from PRC-C University described her experience in the UK and commented on this arrangement:

"I went to the UK-C University early this year with my colleague, staying there for four months. We attended the modules, which we were expected to teach. One module I attended was *Cross-Cultural Communication*, which consisted of both lecturers and seminars. This kind of teaching and learning arrangement was not common in China, at least not in my university. The combination of teacher-led lectures and student-oriented seminars was really effective. However, it is hard to

quantify how much it can be actually used in my teaching in the future. Their ideas of planning teaching and methods are very different from ours. We are asked to follow their teaching methods while teaching their designed modules. Each UK module is given a booklet including all the contents to be covered. You are not asked to get any extra materials. Meanwhile, you can't miss any required content.” (LCT-M, Chinese lecturer from PRC-C University)

From her accounts, the UK experience appeared to have only limited benefit. It was enlightening for her to see the effects of different teaching and learning approaches, which seemed very difficult to be fully utilised in her own teaching. Meanwhile, as she was required to follow the teaching booklet strictly, she appeared to have lost the freedom in her teaching. The educational model of Programme C could be generally described as the importation of UK educational programmes into the Chinese campus.

Programme D was based on a 2+2 dual awards arrangement, with UK-D and PRC-D as equals in the partnership. In the first two years, PRC-D University was leading the curriculum design and teaching. At the end of Year 2, a progression assessment (both academic achievement and students' IELTS score) was to be conducted to decide whether students were qualified or not to continue their studies in the UK. Those who successfully progressed and completed their studies in the UK would graduate with dual degrees (one from PRC-D and one from UK-D). Those who failed to achieve the minimum progression requirement would stay in China and join the other Chinese students to finish their education in China and would only be given a degree from PRC-D University. During the first two years, students were also asked to take the compulsory modules offered to all Chinese students on campus, including citizenship education. Similar to Programme C, only a small number of modules were taught by UK lecturers. The following comment from students was typical.

“A couple of lecturers from the UK came to our university to give us some lectures. In the summer of Year One, we started our semester two weeks earlier. One UK lecturer gave us several lectures, just to give us a taste of English teaching. Opportunities of this kind were very rare though, only these two weeks. Other lecturers were just for introduction to the UK life and promotion of the UK universities.” (D-Duo, Programme D)

PRC-D University and UK-D University were both research-led universities. Several cooperative research projects were conducted by both institutions before Programme D was carried out. To some extent, Programme D was the by-product of the long-term research

cooperation between the two institutions. The operation of Programme D was based on mutual academic recognition, rather than importing education from the UK.

The analysis of different educational models provided a strategic understanding of each case. To explore further how the educational goals were approached in practice, only detailed tactical analysis can provide relevant information. The analysis will address each educational goal summarised at the end of the last section. As the first educational goal of cultivating students' "professional knowledge and skills" involves teaching of special subjects, which falls outside the confines of this research, the tactical analysis will not include this aspect.

5.1.2.2 English Proficiency, cultural understanding and international vision

The common educational goals shared by all four cases were to improve students' cross-cultural communicative competence and international vision. In practice, these goals were translated into more specific targets of improving students' English proficiency, enhancing students' understanding of other cultures and developing their international outlook.

English Medium Teaching and Learning

All cases provide specific modules to improve students' English proficiency in Year One. University A, College B and Programme C followed the UK convention offering the module of EAP (English for Academic Purposes). Programme D offered an additional English language module to all Year One students, which included specific sections to introduce subject-related terminologies. Among the four cases, University A had the most systematic approach to improve students' English. In addition to EAP, subject-related teaching in English was also included in Year One. The staff in the English Language Centre provided continuing language support across a four-year degree, not limited to Year One. Students choosing the 2+2 route were not required to take the IELTS test to make progress in their studies in the UK. Previous study at University A was regarded as sufficient to satisfy the English language criterion for academic progression in the UK. University A also implemented a strict language policy which defined English as the lingua franca for all formal communications on campus. Leader A stated the reasons for this policy.

“Some students wrote to me in Chinese. I replied to them and required them to write back in English. There are two major reasons. Firstly, English is the official language

for communication in our university. Secondly, I may ask other staff to read the emails in order to answer their questions. A great majority of our staff can't read Chinese. Students' English proficiency is an essential goal of our education."

As described in the Case Description of the Methodology Chapter, College B provided a two-year pathway programme, which was developed by the UK-B consortium and included two components: the International Foundation Year (Year 1) and the International Diploma (Year 2). Year 1 mainly covered EAP and study skills for a UK degree, similar to the foundation/access course in the UK. Year 2 was equivalent to the first year of a UK bachelor's degree (Level 4 under the UK framework for higher education), which could bring students to progress to Level 5 and Level 6 (Year 2 and 3 in the UK bachelor's degree education) when they continued their studies in the UK. College B followed a mission of "creating a global village", putting a great effort in recruiting more international students. Leader B of College B explained this idea.

"Do you think Chinese students would use English to hold meetings in the Student Union? No. But when the international students come, they have to speak English... All the societies have to be open to international students.... I also created an English cafe, which means you have to speak English to get tea or coffee. I can't prevent people from speaking Chinese. By bringing in more international students, the Chinese students are forced to use English more, which improves their English proficiency and cultural understanding."

Students' feedback from both cases also reflected the stress on students' English proficiency.

"The first year is to make the new students improve their English and get used to the new environment. I had been attending bilingual schools (English and Chinese) since primary education. I was quite used to an English environment. However, I still felt the language pressure when I started my studies here. All the emails were in English, which I was really impatient to read at the beginning. Now I am quite used to it and can grasp the main content with a glimpse."(A-Zhao, University A)

"As soon as we started our studies, we were exposed to the English environment, where almost all the modules were taught in English. EAP: English for Academic Purposes was offered to improve our academic English in Year One."(B-Yu, College B).

Independent campuses of University A and College B assisted their efforts to create an English language environment. For Programme C and D, which were operated on Chinese campuses, the English environment could hardly be formed beyond the classroom. Compared

with the feedback from case A and B, students from C and D gave more negative comments on the English instruction provided in their programmes.

“Most modules were taught by so called UK trained Chinese lecturers. I didn't feel that I was accepting UK education. Both English and Chinese were used in instruction, varied depending on the lecturers' English level.” (C-Li, Programme C)

“We joined the other non-programme Chinese for most of my profession-relevant modules, such as electricity circuits. Even for the modules designed for our programme, the main teaching language was still Chinese with some English terminologies being introduced.” (D-Lei, Programme D)

“We only had limited resources to support English medium education. I only recall one Chinese lecturer with good English, who graduated from America. Her English was excellent. We had most professional modules taken together with other Chinese students, such as the electrical motor. So in reality, the university didn't really provide a full English medium education. Some outsiders might assume that our English was excellent, but I didn't feel a great difference.” (D-Duo, Programme D)

Table 5.2 presents the survey results regarding students' rating on the programme's stress on improving students' English. Across all three cases, students generally believed that their programmes stressed on students' English proficiency. University A has the highest percentage of rating for “strongly agree”. Compared with Case A and B, Programme C has a relatively lower rate on this issue with almost one third of students staying neutral or not agreeing with the statement.

Table 5.2 Questionnaire survey result of the item regarding the stress on students' English proficiency

Stress on students' English proficiency		Rating					Total
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Case A	Count	45	66	13	2	0	128
	Percentage within the case	35.2%	51.6%	10.2%	1.6%	0	100%
Case B	Count	32	71	23	2	0	128
	Percentage within the case	25%	55.5%	18%	1.6%	0	100%
Case C	Count	10	30	16	2	0	58
	Percentage within the case	17.2%	51.7%	27.6%	3.4%	0	100%

According to staff and student interviews, University A and College B had provided substantial resources to create the English teaching and learning environment. Walking on the campus of University A and College B, the researcher noted that the posters, bill boards and even student club advertisements were all prepared bilingually or even merely in English. Compared to the normal Chinese campus environment, students would have more exposure to English. Meanwhile, as English is the dominant academic language on campus, substantial educational resources are expected to be imported from the UK. Table 5.2 presents students' rating on the level of educational resources imported from the UK into their institution/programme. University A also leads among the three with over 90% of respondents agreeing to the statement. The result from Programme C shows a noticeable lower rate of agreement.

Table 5.3 Questionnaire survey result of the item regarding the educational resources imported from the UK

Resources from the UK		Rating					
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Case A	Count	44	69	14	1	0	128
	Percentage within the case	34.4%	53.9%	10.9%	0.8%	0	100%
Case B	Count	27	68	25	7	1	128
	Percentage within the case	21.1%	53.1%	19.5%	5.5%	0.8%	100%
Case C	Count	8	29	17	4	0	58
	Percentage within the case	13.8%	50.0%	29.3%	6.9%	0	100%

However, it would be too presumptuous to jump to the conclusion that the English environment would certainly improve students' English proficiency. The time students spend with friends or participate in student activities is usually longer than their in-class time. How could students be encouraged to use English outside the class settings? While visiting University A and College B, the researcher noticed that there were some international students on campus. However, the number was too small to form a substantial international student community. Among the students who were interviewed, none of them mentioned anything about benefiting from interactions with other international students. The researcher

arranged one group interview with the international students at College B. One American student described her experience of group work with the Chinese students:

“The school certainly makes much effort to make us (the foreign and the Chinese students) work together. Like, in group work, it was really difficult. If there were more than one western student in a group, then the Chinese would talk to each other and the western students would talk among themselves. I did one group work which was all Chinese and me. That was really difficult to get them to speak English to me. Because they would only speak Chinese to each other and they would fill me in a little bit about what they were saying. It’s not like a group discussion in English which I was a part of. That was difficult.” (B-Jowett, College B)

This was what was happening in academic settings of a group work for assignment. Even under such circumstances, English was not used as the working language. It would be over optimistic to think that as soon as international students arrive, the English speaking environment would be automatically formed.

Cross-cultural Competence: multi-cultural campus and mutual understanding

In addition to the English proficiency, University A and College B also recognised the significance of students’ cross-cultural competence. Two tactics were adopted by both cases to enhance students’ cross-cultural competence: creating a multi-cultural/international campus and offering modules in cultural studies.

University A considered “the *internationalized teaching and learning environment and faculty*” as a prominent feature of the university. It further defined three major attributes to the “*international environment*”: “*350 academic staff from 40 countries*”, “*around 150 overseas students from over 20 countries*” and “*all courses using English as the medium of instruction*”. While being asked about the recruitment criteria of lecturers in University A, Leader A emphasised that they would prefer lecturers who had “international teaching experience”, which was defined as “teaching international students and/or teaching in a country rather than their own.” The rationale was that “any educational idea is merely an idea until it is accepted and practised by its staff”. Therefore, University A preferred to work with lecturers who were used to working in a multi-cultural environment, and who were “culturally sensitive” and “willing to help students to enhance their cultural understanding.”

The researcher interviewed two lecturers from University A, both with substantial

international experience. LCT-H was born in Hong Kong and grew up in Canada and obtained his first degree in Australia. Before coming to China, he was teaching in Hong Kong.

“I had Hong Kong, Canadian and Australian educational experiences. I was teaching at one university in Hong Kong before coming here. Actually, one of my degrees obtained in Hong Kong was delivered by a UK university. Different from the UK TNE in China, the Hong Kong one was entirely delivered by the UK staff and the Hong Kong institution only took administrative responsibilities. So I had a personal experience of UK TNE.”

LCT-T was born in Syria and had been educated and worked in different countries.

“Before coming here, I was teaching in Italy. Then I went to Korea to teach there and experienced the Asian culture...globalisation has provided students great opportunities to move around, even myself being educated and worked in different parts of world.” (LTC-T, lecturer from University A)

While communicating with different lecturers, students were exposed to and subconsciously learning to behave professionally in a multicultural environment. Most students were quite positive about the learning experience with international staff. As they felt the differences in the choices of teaching methods, benefits of learning from international staff went beyond the specific knowledge learned in class. For example, A-Jiang showed appreciation of foreign lecturers' encouragement to critical thinking and their recognition of individual values.

“We have lecturers from different countries. Their teaching method is different from the Chinese way of teaching. They won't spoon you with knowledge. They would expect us to think critically and acknowledge individual differences.” (A-Jiang, University A)

The cross-cultural communication was not a unidirectional process. While students were learning about other cultures and educational ideas, lecturers were also developing a better understanding of the Chinese cultures and Chinese students, which would benefit them to adjust their programmes and teaching for a better learning outcome.

“I think Chinese students are good at preparations. Their background knowledge is very solid. They are also very hard working. However, if you expose them to a new way of teaching or exploring information, they would have some difficulties in adapting. I think that may be because of their past experiences in school, where you have 40-60 students in one room. And you can only teach with one main stream method. You have no time or possibility to explore different ways. So that's why we adjust our teaching methods and make more effort to encourage students to seek alternative approaches to the same problem.” (LCT-T, lecturer from University A)

In addition to recruiting international lecturers, University A and College B also intended to increase the number of international students, which was particularly stressed by Leader B of College B.

“You can have international staff and an international curriculum, but that does not create a true cross-cultural environment. So that’s why as soon as I arrived, I asked: where are the international students? Where is the international strategy? So we created an international office last year. As a start, (we recruited) 50 students from 21 countries. The aim is to create a Sino-foreign University”.

Leader B pointed out two direct benefits of adding more international students on campus: promoting English to become the real lingua franca on campus and getting the Chinese students to learn from other cultures. He gave an example.

“Since we enlarged the international students’ numbers, several lecturers came to me and said that because of the international students, especially those from western educational systems, who were used to raising questions in class; Chinese students became more active as well. So it (the bringing together of international students) has influenced their classroom behaviour.”

In addition to the indirect method of enhancing students’ cross-cultural exposure, University A and College B had also provided modules of cultural studies. University A integrated comparative cultural studies (Chinese and western cultures) into their citizenship related module of Chinese Culture. This module will be analysed in detail in Chapter 6. It also included the studies of western culture in the English language module in Year One.

“The western culture was taught in the English language modules. We learned the UK culture and life there, including different accents, local food etc. I heard a lot about fish and chips and different Indian dishes. Language and culture are interlinked to each other. Such combined teaching makes the class more interesting and knowledge more meaningful.” (A-Zhao, University A)

Leader B of College B, himself being a cross-culture researcher, explained the rationale of culture learning through a variety of elective modules, such as movie studies.

“What do I suggest to put in? *Film and Society in Contemporary Britain*, I suggested. A lot of UK lecturers teach here assuming that everyone knows the UK well. No. So we use film to talk about gender, minority, and class etc... *Bend it like Beckham*, it’s a wonderful film. Because it confronts two things: ethnicity and gender, a girl playing football, a girl from a more traditional society than Britain, India, right? So it’s terrific for students. So I am saying that to internationalise the curriculum...we can put more useful things into the curriculum. The more you know about British society, the

quicker you will adapt to the British university system.” (Leader B, College B)

In contrast, Programme C and D were only open to Chinese students. The lecturers were also mainly Chinese. Apart from the occasional lectures given by visiting UK staff, students had few opportunities to communicate directly with people from other cultures. The international element of their programme was the cooperation with the UK and the pathway to send students out, rather than the internalised learning environment of their own. Table 5.4 presents the survey result of students’ rating on the level of internationalisation of their programmes, which shows a noticeable lower percentage of students from Programme C (58.6%) agreeing to the statement that “this programme has a high level of internationalisation, which is different from ordinary Chinese universities” than the other two cases (both reaching over 91%).

Table 5.4 Questionnaire survey result of the item regarding the level of internationalisation

Level of Internationalisation		Rating					Total
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Case A	Count	53	64	10	1	0	128
	Percentage within the case	41.4%	50.0%	7.8%	0.8%	0	100%
Case B	Count	43	75	9	1	0	128
	Percentage within the case	33.6%	58.6%	7.0%	0.8%	0	100%
Case C	Count	9	25	21	3	0	58
	Percentage within the case	15.5%	43.1%	36.2%	5.2%	0	100%

International Vision: definition and educational approaches

All four TNE cases considered “international vision” as one essential attribute of the desired students, putting forward different interpretations and educational approaches. Programme C and D didn’t put forward any additional elements apart from improving students’ English proficiency and cross-cultural competence. University A accentuates students’ willingness to go beyond China and compete in the global arena and College B brought up the idea of international vision based on an in-depth understanding of the local culture.

Based on the educational mission of improving students' competitiveness in the future, University A stressed the cultivation of the students' vision to go beyond the national borders and the willingness to compete in the global arena.

“We want to make students subconsciously feel that they want to have international vision and want to compete in the global arena.”

The emphasis on the students' vision beyond China could also be found in student interviews. Many students expressed their eagerness to see the outside world and commented that the study experience with University A had encouraged them to go global.

“Our university is a good place to cultivate students' international vision. We have teaching staff from different cultures. We are encouraged to communicate with them and to explore different perspectives. Three years ago, I only looked at China. I was restricted to our own culture. Now I have opened my eyes, becoming interested in other cultures. English is the crucial language for global communication. Confidence in English also opens the door to see the world.” (A-Jiang, University A)

The interpretive perspective of international vision given by Leader B from College B was slightly different with particular emphasis on students' local knowledge.

“We want to create graduates who are broadly educated, not narrowly educated. I will give an example. If you do a four year degree here, I wouldn't want students to accept Chinese medium teaching. Meanwhile, I would want them to obtain sufficient knowledge about China. Their English might be better than other Chinese, but what about their Chinese? What we really want are graduates who can work both overseas and in China with an international company. What people are always forgetting is their own. What good can it be if the graduate knows nothing about China? If you work for an international company in China, how can you change anything that you don't understand? People can go too far, by teaching only about how to be international.”

Leader B raised an interesting and challenging issue of the sustainable development of TNE: the balance between becoming internationally recognised and remaining locally concerned. This dilemma could be well reflected in the educational ideas and practice of preparing students to be citizens of the globalising world. Both University A and College B regarded “global citizenship” as an essential attribute of their desired graduates. How did they perceive the concept of a global citizen? To what extent had the Chinese laws and regulations influenced the design and implementation of citizenship education in UK TNE? These issues will be addressed in more detail later.

5.2 Citizenship Education in TNE

The literature review presents stark differences of citizenship conceptions and citizenship education in China and in the UK. Under the influences of both educational systems, how did the four UK TNE cases perceive their roles in citizenship education? What were the factors influencing their perceptions and practice?

5.2.1 Chinese Citizenship Related Modules: a legal requirement

The CFCRS Regulations 2003 requires CFCRS to “offer courses on the constitution, laws, ethics of citizens and basic facts about China, etc. in accordance with the requirements by China for educational institutions of the same type at the same level” (Article 30). The law is very vague in specifying what should be covered in citizenship education in CFCRS. If “in accordance with the requirements by China for educational institutions of the same type at the same level” is the benchmark, should all the political-ideological modules be taught in TNE? In the UK higher education system, there is no specified citizenship module. Does this mean that the Chinese partner is taking full responsibility for citizenship education? How has the legal requirement been interpreted and directed the practice of UK TNE in China?

The CFCRS Regulations 2003

Before asking how UK TNE has met the legal requirement to incorporate citizenship education, it is useful to ask another question: how important the *CFCRS Regulations 2003* is in regulating the operations of TNE in practice. How effective or literally has this law been enforced in practice?

Leader B is a British citizen, who had been working in different UK TNE programmes before and after the *CFCRS Regulations 2003* was issued. He thought that this law was not drafted through thorough consultation. Therefore many articles in the law should not be read literally and could not be strictly enforced. He illustrated with an example related to the teaching language of CFCRS: “a Chinese-foreign cooperatively-run school may, if necessary, use foreign languages in teaching, but shall use the standard Chinese language and standard Chinese characters as the basic teaching language”. (Article 31)

“I have to say that this was a very hurriedly drafted law. It was done very quickly, straight after WTO. So clearly the requirement that the main teaching language has to

be Chinese is a mistake. It should be read as: it doesn't rule out teaching in Chinese. In fact, the language relationship between Sino-foreign joint venture and Ministry (of Education) is Chinese because these (Sino-UK joint ventures) are not overseas campuses... These are Chinese institutions, Sino-Foreign joint ventures. What they really should have said was that the sovereign language of the joint venture is Chinese, not for the teaching. That would have defeated the whole purpose."

If the main teaching language had to be Chinese, then all the English medium education would have been against the law. It was clearly not the case. If the law could not be literally interpreted, how could the "legally correct" decisions be made in practice? Leader B explained this with a reference to another article: "the president or the principal administrator of a Chinese-foreign cooperatively-run school shall be a person with the nationality of the People's Republic of China, domicile in the territory of China, love the motherland, possess moral integrity, and have work experience in the field of education and teaching as well as compatible professional expertise". (Article 25)

"Now we have a law which requires further interpretation. The Chinese bureaucrat will always go for safety and the safety is the Higher Education Law, which is an old established law. So it takes a long time and actually a very painful excise. You need a sophisticated person to deal with all that. So you will want a Chinese person in charge of the joint venture. The President has to be a Chinese person... What they are actually saying is that we are not looking for people who spent the last 35 years overseas, like a returning Chinese. They want someone who is ultimately responsible within China and can be trusted by the Chinese government. That's what I think they mean. It is not just China that does this. This person is really a figurehead. The executive president makes all the decisions, not having to interfere with the Ministry. In formal relationships, you have to depend on the Chinese to deal with the Chinese. Otherwise, it's a difficult task."

According to Leader B, there was a substantial gap between *the CFCRS Regulations 2003* in the book and the law in action. The interpretation of the laws could be different from one case to another, which would largely depend on how the leaders of the particular TNE programme manage communication with the Chinese authorities. The subsequent question would be: why did the government make a law which itself or the universities could selectively not abide by? Was it simply because it was "hurriedly drafted"? Or was it intentional so that a certain level of deviation could be tolerated in the implementation of the law? These questions could not be fully answered in this research, which would require further analysis of the legal system in China. However, it was worth considering as it reminds the researcher to be more critical while reading laws and regulations in China.

Chinese Citizenship Related Modules

The compulsory modules of ideological-political education are part of the degree requirement for Chinese universities. In other words, students have to take these modules to obtain a Chinese bachelor's degree. Leader A (University A) explained it in the interview.

“It (whether to include Chinese citizenship modules) depends on what kind of degree your university wants to issue. According to the regulations of the Ministry of Education in China, the university has to include the required compulsory modules if you want to award Chinese degrees. Currently, our university awards two degrees, both the UK university degree and our own degree. So we have to meet the legal requirement.”

Among the four cases, both College B and Programme C had *On Quota* and *Off Quota* recruitment (details in case description in Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2). *Off Quota* students were not qualified to be awarded a Chinese bachelor's degree. They could therefore be exempted from the required citizenship education.

“Actually not all students are taking civics, only the *gaokao* students (*On Quota* students recruited via *gaokao*) are taking them. I told the Chinese that they were making a mistake. The Ministry would not like it. But they said no. That's ok because they are Chinese and they said no.” (Leader B, College B)

Whether or to what extent the Chinese government allows *Off Quota* recruitment could not be fully revealed through this research. Interviews with the policy makers might provide more satisfactory answers. One thing for certain was that as long as the programmes want to be certified by the Chinese authorities, Chinese citizenship education has to be included. How do the UK HEIs interpret such policy of academic interference?

“The way I get around this is: a British degree takes three years and a Chinese degree is four years. So we go for the four year's degree. There are many purposes for the first year: first is to get their English up to a level, real English and academic English; second is to change their way of studying; and thirdly to teach civics. Once you put civics in the first year, there is no objection. If you say, you have to teach civics as compulsory in the degree, and then all the foreign universities would have to stop (coming to China to delivery their degree education). But it also seems that they are saying that you can't graduate without civics. That is interfering with that degree. So there is a slight complication. I try to explain it in this way: passing civics is a campus regulation, not a degree regulation.” (Leader B, College B)

The “degree regulation” he referred to was the UK degree regulations. The interpretation was that Chinese citizenship education was a “campus regulation” in China, hence not a

compromise from the UK side. As long as Chinese citizenship modules were delivered only in the first year, the UK universities would not have to worry about it. The separation between the first year and the rest of the three years was rather abrupt and not based on any educational consideration. Scanning the four cases, this argument did provide an explanation to the arrangement of the citizenship modules. University A, College B and Programme C all provided citizenship related modules only in the first year. Programme D was slightly different from the rest because the Chinese partner university was fully responsible for the teaching and learning in the first two years. Programme D students joined other Chinese students in all the compulsory modules for two years. In the other three cases where the UK partners took leading academic roles, Chinese citizenship modules were only implemented in the first year. However, this explanation would not be sufficient to understand the attitude of the UK universities. Putting the technical explanation aside, Leader B expressed his personal opinions regarding this issue:

“For the issue of Marxism teaching or relevant modules ...of course, there will be resistance from the people in the UK. The way I look at it is that it is civics. It is citizenship training, like what the American are doing, like what the British are doing for immigrants. You have to know about your own country, right? Because we must remember that this is a Chinese institution, so you are subject to the same regulation as everyone else...Similarly, in Malaysia, you have to teach Islamic education as compulsory. So what the British universities have to understand is that it is civics. What the law also says is that you must obey the law of the land. You can't have British laws enforced in a Chinese campus. It has to be Chinese law... It doesn't matter whether I agree with what Mao said or Deng said. If you say that all the Chinese institutions have to do civics then they have to do civics.”

From the accounts of those actively involved in TNE, it was not hard to see the compromise from both sides on the issue of citizenship education: the UK universities must allow the Chinese citizenship modules to be part of the degree and the Chinese have to reduce the content of citizenship modules. More detailed findings of the pedagogical process of the citizenship education will be presented in the next chapter.

To summarise, it appears that what is written in the laws has great symbolic meaning. Many regulations, including citizenship education requirement, the leadership arrangement and the teaching language issues, have repeatedly declared the Chinese legislative and monitoring power over TNE. However, in practice, levels of flexibility in enforcing the regulations could be achieved. As for degrees of freedom, larger scales of empirical research at different

geographic locations (local policies can vary from one administrative district to another as a result of decentralisation of higher education in China, more details reviewed in Chapter 2). For the UK universities, it was advisable not to read the Chinese laws literally, while keeping the awareness that a certain level of compromise has to be made to achieve a sustainable development in China.

“A successful joint venture is the British university of the mind and academic teaching. Meanwhile it is crucial to admit that the social environment is Chinese and that includes civics training”. (Leader B, College B)

This comment seemed to separate “civics training” from the “mind” of the university. However, as discussed in the literature review, citizenship education is an essential aspect of educational values, part of the “mind” of the university. It seems self-deceiving to stress the separation between citizenship education and the overall educational ideas. However, his comments also demonstrated his understanding of the educational challenge of TNE: the conflicting educational ideas of the two sides cannot be avoided. Both the UK and Chinese universities have to recognise the differences in their educational ideas if a sustainable development of TNE is desired.

5.2.2 The Chinese and Global Aspects of Citizenship Education

The review on citizenship education indicates that there are multiple channels for people to learn about citizenship. Within the school setting, citizenship education is not limited to formal teaching in class. The school ethos, extracurricular activities and even the social environment of the local communities would all contribute to preparing students to be future citizens. Moreover, in a globalising world, an international dimension has been gradually added to the traditional conceptions of citizenship within a national context. Therefore, learning of other cultures and developing an understanding of global issues could also contribute in preparing students for their future roles in the world.

Chinese Identity

Broadly speaking, educating students to be future citizens is to prepare them to understand their roles in the world and to equip them with the necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes through education. All four TNE cases had set up the goal of cultivating students to develop international talents. Meanwhile, they also stressed their “Chinese identity”. Both University

A and College B declared themselves to be China's international universities, not just branch campuses of the UK institutions. Programme C and D were also under the administration of the Chinese universities. In the interviews, many lecturers consciously stressed the importance of bearing China in mind while designing their programmes.

“We are a start-up university and we need the educational support and resources from the UK. However, our advantage is not about sending students out (to the UK for studies, such as the 2+2 programmes). Our ultimate goal and advantage is the innovation of our educational ideas and procedures, which are evolutionary in China and inspiring for other Chinese universities to consult.” (Leader A, University A)

Based on the comments of Leader A, University A had been trying hard to disassociate itself with the idea of importing UK education into China, making effort to establish a new educational model which is suitable for sustainable development in China. Translating this idea into citizenship education, University A designed the Chinese Culture Module to meet the legal requirement of citizenship education. The knowledge of China's history, culture, laws and the basic social, economic and political conditions were the four fundamental parts of the Chinese Culture Module. More details will be presented in Chapter 6 in the curriculum analysis of all citizenship modules of the four TNE cases.

Leader B stressed the importance of bearing China's needs in mind while designing the programmes more than once in the interviews. If his views fairly reflected the stand of the college, College B leaned towards the idea that students need to recognise their Chinese identities first.

“China wants graduates who can help China compete globally and Chinese people want to be employed internationally. That takes you beyond China. The global talent again is not just about how to internationalise Chinese companies in China, but also how to operate overseas. The Africans aren't going to speak Chinese. So if you are graduates from the UK educational system, with brilliant English and understand both China and the west, you can then help China's global competition. So, I think that global talents are about China first.” (Leader B, College B)

Programmes C and D were treated as parts of the Chinese institutions. When the students were studying in China, they were part of the Chinese student bodies, hence subject to the overall educational ideas of the Chinese institutions.

Educating global citizens: anything beyond a slogan?

While embracing Chinese identity, University A and College B also mentioned about creating global citizens. Previous discussion had presented different interpretations of the term. Referring back to the educational ideas and strategies adopted by both institutions, it was not hard to find the focus on English speaking countries. Therefore, their perceptions of a global citizen had a narrower scope than how it was discussed in the literature review. The emphasis was not put on developing an awareness and wider concern for global issues, or a participatory attitude. Rather, the stress was on identifying the opportunities beyond China and becoming competitive in a globalising world. As previously mentioned, College B, in adopting the term global citizen, was closer to a promotional slogan than an accurate reflection of the educational belief. In the literature review (Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3) of citizenship in a globalising world, it was already clear that there was no agreed approach towards the global influence on citizenship and citizenship education, let alone a universal perception of global citizenship. Therefore, the fact that these TNE institutions adopted the concept of global citizen in their educational missions could not be simply understood as their acceptance of certain educational values embedded in this highly contested concept. Therefore, an in-depth investigation of their pedagogical process is needed to reach a better understanding.

The main data presented here came from interviews with lecturers of University A and College B. Compared with TNE joint programmes, these TNE institutions had more systematic educational ideas. While the joint programmes could leave citizenship education to the Chinese partners to take care of, TNE institutions had to face this issue directly, mingling different and even conflicting educational ideas together in one system.

5.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented proclaimed educational goals and perceptions of citizenship education in four UK TNE cases. All the TNE cases recognised the importance of cultivating students' international visions, which were intended to be achieved and assessed through quantified indices, such as increasing the percentage of international staff and students. Compared with the two joint programmes, University A and College B as TNE institutions had set up more ambitious educational goals of exploring new models of higher education. To triangulate how

these publicised educational ideas were translated into actions in the educational practice, both the staff and the students' interviews were taken into consideration. In addition to promoting the international dimension of their education, great emphasis was also given to honouring Chinese values and local needs, so as to achieve sustainable development in China. The challenge was to find a balance between the national and international values. Such a challenge was well reflected in the field of citizenship education. On the one hand, all the TNE programmes and institutions were under the legal requirement of implementing Chinese citizenship modules. On the other hand, some educators in TNE were keen to promote the educational goal of "educating global citizens". The struggle to reach a balance between national citizenship and global citizenship is not unique in the educational contexts of TNE. As the review of citizenship education in Chapter 3 has shown, many educators have been actively promoting a global dimension into traditional nation-centred citizenship education. Many countries, the UK included, have reformed their citizenship education to accommodate the education for global citizenship. The next chapter will explore the pedagogical process of citizenship education in these TNE cases. It will also present findings of other channels for students to learn about their roles in the world, including the campus ethos and extracurricular activities.

Chapter 6 Citizenship Education in the Practice of UK TNE in China

The last chapter focused on how citizenship education was perceived and approached in the four TNE cases, analysing the adopted educational goals and ideas. This chapter looks at the pedagogical process of citizenship education, campus ethos and extra-curriculum activities. It directly answers research question 1.2 and 1.3.

1.2 How has citizenship education been implemented in the pedagogical process?

- 1.2.1 What is the curriculum for citizenship education?
- 1.2.2 What are the teaching, learning and assessment methods used in citizenship education in UK TNE?

1.3 What is the campus ethos with relevance to citizenship education?

- 1.3.1 What kinds of student organisations have been set up on campus?
- 1.3.2 What kinds of extra-curricular activities relevant to citizenship education have been organised on campus?

6.1 The Pedagogical Process of Citizenship Education

6.1.1 The Curriculum of Citizenship Education

The official curriculum of citizenship education in higher education in China adheres closely to the legally defined objective of cultivating “socialist builders and successors” (Zhao, 2010, p. 134). This fundamental goal of education has been explicitly written in relevant educational laws, such as the *Higher Education Law 1998* and also in the *CFCRS Regulations 2003*. All four TNE cases were all formally certified, which means that they all have to include the citizenship relevant modules required by the Chinese authorities. Representing different models of TNE, their experience could well reflect the general status of the citizenship curriculum in TNE.

The Ideological-Political Modules: College B, Programme C & D

Chapter 3 reviewed the Chinese government's current policies in citizenship education at tertiary education which focuses on ideological-political education. Relevant ideological-political modules are compulsory for all university students. As students usually either take the postgraduate entrance exams (*kaoyan*) or start job hunting in the fourth year, the ideological-political modules are taught within the first three years. Three TNE cases made arrangements for their students to learn the ideological-political modules, which were taught by lecturers from the Chinese partner universities. Through a review of the relevant documents, five modules were found to be compulsory in all three Chinese universities (PRC-B, PRC-C and PRC-D):

- The principles of Marxism
- Mao's thoughts and the socialist theories with Chinese characteristics
- Outline of modern history of China
- The moral cultivation and the basics of the Chinese laws
- Marxism of political economy

However, due to the cooperative arrangements, not all the ideological-political modules were included in TNE programmes. College B and Programme C only scheduled ideological-political teaching in Year One and Programme D provided relevant modules in both Year One and Two. Table 6.1 summarises all the ideological-political modules taught in the three cases. During the interviews, these modules were universally referred to as "politics" by the Chinese students. The textbooks used by all three cases were the suggested official textbooks which were written by the Ministry of Education and published by the Higher Education Press. The aim of these modules were clearly expressed as being consistent with the aims of higher education to create patriotic supporters of the socialist political system and loyal followers of the current state and the ruling party of the CPC, "socialist builders and successors".

In the principal guiding policy of ideological-political education, *Opinions on Further Strengthening and Improving the Development of Ideological-Political Education among University Students* (hereinafter referred to as *Ideological-Political Education Opinion 2004*), ideological-political theories (*sixiang zhengzhi lilun*) is regarded as the principal channel to establish the "correct world view, life view and value system" among students (Opinion 11).

Table 6.1 Ideological-political modules taught in Case, B,C and D

Modules	Content of the Modules	Aim and Requirement of the Modules	Cases which include the module
The principles of Marxism	This module is a systematic introduction to the principles of Marxism, consisting of three aspects: Marxist Philosophy, Marxist Political Economy and Theories of Scientific Socialism.	This module aims at cultivating students' systematic comprehension of Marxism, so as to equip them with a Marxist worldview and methodology to observe, perceive and solve problems. Students are expected to develop a Marxist understanding of human history, knowing that Capitalism will be replaced by Communism, and upholding the belief in Communist ideologies and socialist theories with Chinese characteristics.	B, C & D
Mao's thoughts and the socialist theories with Chinese characteristics	This module introduces the history, social and political contexts of the leading contemporary political ideas, including Mao Zedong's Thoughts, Deng Xiaoping's Theories of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, the Important Thoughts of Three Representatives and Scientific Development.	This module aims at helping students to understand that Mao Zedong's thoughts and the socialist theories with Chinese characteristics were the successful application of Marxism into Chinese social and political development. Students are expected to firmly believe in the political ideas and guidelines upheld by the CPC.	B, C & D
Outline of modern history of China	This module introduces the recent history of China (1840-1949), letting students learn about the Chinese people's struggles against foreign invaders.	This module aims at cultivating students' national pride, confidence and dignity, and strengthening their determination to follow the leadership of the socialist ideologies and the Communist Party of China.	D
The moral cultivation and the basics of the Chinese laws	This module introduces theories in political cultivation, moral cultivation, cultural cultivation and legal cultivation.	The module aims at cultivating students' love for the socialist country, for study and life, so as to gain good public ethics.	D

The module on *the principles of Marxism* is to serve this purpose. This module will be described in more detailed in the next section as an example of the teaching, learning and assessment of ideological-political education in Case B, C and D.

Another two modules, *Mao's thoughts and the socialist theories with Chinese characteristics* together with *Outline of modern Chinese history* articulated the legitimacy of the current state and argued that only the CPC-led state and its political ideologies could bring prosperity to the Chinese people.

The official textbook of *Outline of modern Chinese history* introduces the history of China between the post-Opium War and the founding of the People's Republic of China (1840 to 1949), and describes the failed attempts carried out by different political groups/parties to fight for the independence of the Chinese Nation (*zhonghua minzu*). Eventually it was the CPC that led China out of the century's humiliation and revitalised the pride of the Chinese nation. As the Communist Party claimed to represent the interests of the working and peasant classes (the proletariats), who were the majority of the Chinese population, the CPC-led state became the choice of the people. Therefore, the origin of the legitimacy of the current state came from the CPC's winning of the revolutionary wars more than then six decades ago. Since then not a single general election was held. How is legitimacy of the current state justified? The module of *Mao's thoughts and the socialist theories with Chinese characteristics* was devoted to answers to this question.

In the official textbook, *Mao Zedong's thoughts* were defined as the collective thoughts of the leadership of the CPC during the Chinese revolution, which led to the end of the foreign invasion and the liberalisation of the oppressed social classes (the proletariats). Mao Zedong's thoughts were derived from the ideologies of Marxism, Leninism and collective theories of the Socialist political system, which directly led to the victory of the CPC in the anti-Japan and domestic wars. Since then, the CPC has been actively creating and adjusting its official narratives of socialist theories to tackle emerging social problems and ideological-political crises. The CPC stressed its uniqueness in the process of applying socialist theories into practice, which differentiates China from the failed socialist states. Therefore, the failure of the Soviet Union and the dissembling of the Socialist Camp will not presage the destiny of the CPC-led state. The *Socialist theories with Chinese characteristics* was the systematic theoretical interpretations of a shift to the socialist market economy, "the adoption of the

market principles” into a socialist state and the justification of the leadership of the CPC in a more “diversified and pluralistic” society (Law, 2006, p. 602). People’s desire for a better life and the recognition of individuals’ interests and personal values were acknowledged in the updated narratives of the socialist theories (Law, 2006, p. 603). The latest theoretical development of the “socialist harmonious society” was also taught in the module. As reviewed in chapter 2, “harmony” was one fundamental goal proposed in Confucius political philosophy (Li, 2008, p. 426). The incorporation of the traditional Chinese philosophy into the contemporary socialist theories was commented by many researchers as utilising the unifying power of the national culture to gain the loyalty of the Chinese people (Kezar, 2007; Zhu & Feng, 2008; Bell, 2010b). Several students expressed their preference to learn more about traditional Chinese philosophy and moral teachings in citizenship education. In their opinions, such knowledge represented the spirit of the Chinese nation, hence more relevant to people’s lives and more effective in unifying the nation. The students’ perceptions of citizenship will be elaborated on further in Chapter 7.

The module *Moral cultivation and the basics of Chinese law* introduced the two fundamental normative systems maintaining social orders: morality and law. The *moral cultivation* was not simply an introduction to ethics, but also formulated ideas of making sense of the world and establishing the “correct values system” to plan the future. The main content of moral cultivation included the following aspects:

- Scientific worldview and the relationship between dream and practice
- Patriotism and National Spirit
- The value of life
- the moral traditions of the Chinese nation
- Socialist moral construction and the integrity of university students
- Public ethics and relevant regulations
- Professionalism and career choice
- Love, marriage and family values

The teaching of *the basics of Chinese law* started with one introductory session: the principles of the “socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics”. In line with *the socialist theories with Chinese characteristics*, the legal system was developed and justified from historical, contextual and developmental perspectives: “the institutionalisation and codification of China’s practice in its economic and social development since the founding of the PRC in 1949, especially since the adoption of the Reform and Opening Up Policy 30

years' ago." This introductory session set the tune for the subsequent sessions regarding specific laws including *the Constitution 1982*, the administrative laws (the collection of legal norms on the granting, execution and supervision of administrative power), the basic principles of the civil laws (adjusting property and personal relationships between civil subjects with equal status), *Contract Law and intellectual property laws (the Patent Law, Trademark Law etc.)*, *the Marriage Law*, main crime types and judicial procedure. Compared to pure theoretical studies, this module taught students more practical knowledge and skills in accessing the legal system. However, the teaching of morality and laws was highly normative, serving collectively with other modules to create loyal and obedient citizens whose behaviours and values were guided and judged by the established moral and legal systems.

Chinese Culture Module: University A

The students of University A were required to take the citizenship related modules in Year One.

“Students are required to take a range of modules covering *Chinese culture, English, mathematics, physics, and physical education* in years 1 and 2 of their studies, laying the broad foundations expected for a Chinese undergraduate degree programme. Year 1 of the degree programme, in which the majority of these modules will be delivered, has been accredited by PRC-A University and its content takes into account the Chinese Ministry of Education requirements for undergraduate degree programmes”. (Excerpt from one programme specification in University A)

The module, which was designed to meet the citizenship education requirement of the Ministry of Education, was under the title of *Chinese Culture*. It was designed and delivered by the Chinese Culture Teaching Centre (CCTC) in University A. Examining the publicity material of CCTC, it appeared that University A played down the political side of citizenship education and replaced it with other educational goals, with emphasis on cultivating students' skills, not merely on certain knowledge and values.

“The teaching and research work of CCTC falls into these areas such as *Culture, National Conditions, History, Law and Management*... We give great emphasis to the interaction and practice part in their learning, guide students to cultivate themselves in three basic qualities, “learned in knowledge”, “the ability to think”, and “the ability to express themselves”, and four principles consciousness, “humanistic consciousness”, “legal consciousness”, “patriotic consciousness” and “self-managing consciousness”. (Publicity material about CCTC)

The Chinese Culture Module was jointly taught by several Chinese lecturers through the medium of Chinese. Unlike the ideological-political modules in the three Chinese universities, where the module specifications and teaching arrangements were publicised on the websites, there is little information about the teaching arrangement of the Chinese Culture Module. To develop a better understanding of the educational ideas and teaching arrangement of CCTC, the researcher mobilised a variety of information channels (especially through monitoring the online forum) during a period of 15 months (from the beginning of data collection in September 2011 till the end of the data analysis in December 2012). In general there were five themes covered by the Chinese Culture Module:

- The National Conditions of China (*guoqing*)
- Culture Studies
- Chinese Laws
- Brief Introduction to Modern Chinese History
- Self-Management

Leader A explained the aim of the module design during the interview:

“I have been working in the higher education sector in China for over three decades. I know very well that the ideological-political modules are not welcomed by most Chinese students. However, it is legally required. So when we designed this course, we tried to make it more inclined to our central educational idea: to teach students how to launch a happy life and a successful career.”

It appeared that the educational idea of “happy life and successful career” is different from the legally defined educational idea of becoming a “socialist successor”, shifting the focus from collective needs to individual needs. If the individual needs are truly prioritised in the educational process, the curriculum should also be serving the purpose. Leader A further explained:

“We are China’s international university, so we think anyone who studies in China needs to know at least the modern history of China. So we teach Chinese modern history, which surely includes the wars between the Communist Party and the National Party and the establishment of the PRC by the CPC. We also cannot avoid the issue of the CPC leadership, Marxism, and the implementation of the political and economic policies in China. The development of each individual and the whole society could not and should not be understood out of context. In addition to that, we want the students to learn about Chinese culture and the Chinese laws. These four components are essential for the students to become responsible citizens. We recently added another component to the module: self-management, which teaches students how to better utilise the university experience for a successful career and happy life.”

In Year One, students had to finish 50 credits, 8 of which were for the Chinese Culture Module. There were 13 teaching weeks per semester. In addition to teaching weeks, they also had several reading weeks (the actual length of the academic semester depends on the time of the Chinese New Year) and two exam weeks per semester. For each teaching week, two classes were arranged for the Chinese Culture Module. Each class lasted around two hours. In total, there were 52 classes of Chinese Culture Module in Year One. In each class, one topic from the five main themes was covered. Based on the data collected over three academic semesters, the researcher found that the curriculum was different from one year to another. Out of the five, only the theme of cultural studies matched with the title of the module, which accounted for a quarter of the teaching time. There was no fixed curriculum. The actual teaching content was suggested by the lecturers at the beginning of the academic year, which was publicised on the discussion forum. The students were invited to give their comments on the curriculum, which was then used for the actual teaching and learning. Table 6.2 is a sample curriculum of cultural studies.

Table 6.2 A sample curriculum for the theme of cultural studies within the Chinese Culture Module offered by University A

	Topics of Cultural Studies
1	Introduction to Comparative Studies of Western and Chinese cultures
2	The Origin of Spirit: traditions of Chinese poetry
3	Literature in the Golden Ages: Poetry in the Tang Dynasty and the Song Dynasty
4	Icons of the Theatre Play Writers: Tang Xianzu and Shakespeare
5	Portraits of Ordinary Life: Novels in the Ming Dynasty and the Qing Dynasty
6	Set your Spirit Free: Pop music
7	Hovering between Real and Virtual Life: the internet culture
8	Understanding your Body: a modern consumerism interpretation
9	Reading into Commercial Movies
10	Dialogues with the Wise Men of the Past
11	Marco Polo: Exploring the history of west-east communication
12	Wisdom of Science and Wisdom of Poetry: Comparing two thinking patterns
13	The Development of Higher Education in China: a review

By reading the titles, the themes of *the National conditions of China (guoqing)*; *Chinese laws* and *Introduction to the Chinese modern history* (post-Opium War history of China) appeared to be in line with the ideological-political education in normal Chinese universities. Three themes together accounted for half of the teaching hours, 26 topics in 26 classes: ten for laws, ten for history and another six for national condition. The actual number of topics changed slightly every academic year. Among the three, the topics of law and history were relatively fixed from one year to another. The topics of national conditions were related to current affairs, hence different every year. Table 6.3 is a sample topic list for the theme of national condition of China.

Table 6.3 Examples of topics for the theme of national conditions of China within the Chinese Culture Module offered by University A

	Topics of National Conditions of China
1	The Era of Globalisation: Conflicts and Dialogue among Civilisations
2	The Distance between Made in China and Made by China
3	The Soft Power of China and the Cultural Security
4	Golden Mountain vs. Green Mountain: China's Ecological Concerns
5	The Distant Hometown: the migration issue in China's era of urbanisation
6	The Inflated Desire for Material Well-off: the Chinese customers' behaviour

Topics covered in the theme of laws were similar to the law components in the module of *moral cultivation and the basics of the Chinese laws* taught in other Chinese universities. General content and several important articles of the major laws in China were introduced, such as commercial laws, and criminal laws etc. Topics covered in the theme of modern Chinese history concerning a period from the Opium War to the recent history of the Cultural Revolution and the Cold War. No textbook was assigned to these themes. Students were asked to follow the notes in class and consulted some references in preparation for their exams.

The last theme of *Self-management* covered various topics, which were related to different aspects of students' lives, such as how to plan a successful career, how to keep a balance between work and life and how to develop a global vision etc. Many lectures on the theme

were delivered by invited speakers, including the leaders of University A. Lectures on this theme were to communicate with students regarding the educational ideas of the University from the commencement of their studies. The researcher noticed that all the interviewed students could cite precisely the missions of the university and reference to terms such as global citizen.

Teaching Components for Global Citizenship

The last chapter pointed out that University A and College B had both claimed to educate global citizens. There was no specific module in either case to address this idea directly. However, there were teaching components which may potentially contribute to students' global awareness.

Many topics in the Chinese Cultural Module made comparative studies of the Chinese history and cultures with other civilisations (mainly European countries). Through comparison, students were exposed to different world views. For example, one topic under the theme of cultural studies was a comparative study of the formation of the different political traditions in China and in Europe. Through reviewing a series of historical events which happened in the 4th century BC in China and in Europe, the lecturer introduced two different forms of political cultures: monarchy-subject society (*chenmin shehui*) and citizenship society (*gongmin shehui*).

Additionally, in the second semester of Year One, students of University A were required to choose either *International relations* or *Information technology for business* as an optional module. The module on *International relations* was taught in English by a non-Chinese lecturer. Three main themes were covered in the module of International Relations:

- Part One: International Actors
 - The origin of the idea of sovereignty: 1648 the Westphalia Treaty
 - Nation States
 - Sub-State Actors
 - Non-governmental Organisations and International Organisations
 - ...
- Part Two: History and Conflicts
 - The Cold War
 - The China-Soviet Relations

- The China-India Relations
- ...
- Part Three: Globalisation and Risky Society
 - The process of globalisation
 - Causes of globalisation and its impact on international relations
 - The BRICS Countries: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
 - ...

In College B, there were several elective modules, such as *Film Studies* and *An Introduction to European cultures*, which were related to cultivate students' awareness of other cultures. Between the two, University A provided more formal learning opportunities for its students to obtain knowledge of other cultures and events happening in other parts of the world. However, considering the different dimensions of global citizenship education (knowledge, skills, values and attitudes), both institutions had only included knowledge aspect of educating global citizens, not much in encouraging students to develop consciousness of becoming responsible members of the global communities or acquiring skills in approaching global issues (reviewed in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3).

6.1.2 Teaching, Learning and Assessment of Citizenship Modules

The teaching, learning and assessment process for the ideological-political modules were similar in College B, Programme C and D. As these modules were compulsory for all Chinese university students, big lectures addressing an audience of 200 to 300 students from different departments were commonly adopted. Due to the size of the class, there were little lecturer-student interactions in class. The assessment methods varied slightly from one module to another, but generally consisted of two parts: daily performance (typically 50% including class attendance and assignments) and the final exam (typically 50%). It was interesting to notice that class attendance was also counted as part of the assessment. Lecturers were responsible for keeping track of students' attendance and conducted random roll call in class. Therefore, students were strictly required and forced to take these modules.

The Chinese Culture Module in University A was also compulsory for all students. Year One students from different departments were put together to attend large lectures. There was little opportunity for lecturer-student interaction in class. However, to create an additional platform for communication, an online forum was set up where the lecturers would post topics or relevant teaching materials for discussion. Final assessment was based on a variety of

different performances: online discussion, essay assignments, social practice assignments and final exams. Class attendance was not counted as part of the assessment.

Class Observation of Ideological-political Modules

Based on the class observation and the data of the students' description, the teaching method of the ideological-political modules were similar in College B, Programme C and D. The *principles of Marxism module* from Programme C is used here as an example to provide more detailed account of the teaching, learning and assessment process. There were in total 34 teaching hours for this module, with two hours each week.

Table 6.4 The teaching content of one lecture of the Principles of Marxism Module offered in Programme C

Weeks	Teaching Content
1	Introduction: Marxism is the science of the proletariat and the liberation of human beings
2-5	Chapter One: the material nature of the world and its development
6-8	Chapter Two: Understanding and transforming the world
9-11	Chapter Three: Human Society and its development
12	Chapter Four: the formation and nature of Capitalism
13	Chapter Five: the historical progression of Capitalism
14-16	Chapter Six: Socialism and its development
17	Chapter Seven: Communism is the ideal human society

The textbook was *the principles of Marxism*, which was written by the Ministry of Education and published by the Higher Education Press in 2008. The aims of this module as written in the module specification were:

- To cultivate students' understanding of the principles of Marxism, so as to develop a holistic view of Marxism
- To use the Marxism world view and methodologies to observe, to analyse and solve problems
- To understand the developmental rules of human societies, so as to fully grasp the idea that Capitalism will be eventually replaced by Communism
- To reaffirm the absolute guidance of Communism theories and the faith in constructing socialism with Chinese characteristics

The researcher visited PRC-C University in the fourth week of their academic week and attended one *principles of Marxism* lecture. It was held in a big lecture theatre where over 200 students attended. The topic of the session was *internal dialectical contradictions in dialectical materialism* in Marxism. The lecture lasted around 2 hours with a 15 minutes break in the middle. The main arguments listed on the PowerPoint Slides were:

- Internal dialectical contradictions are the primary cause of development in the world
- World view based on Materialism believes that matter precedes thoughts
- The world is in a state of constant development
- All the things in the universe are interdependent, not isolated from each other
- Development is a process where quantitative changes lead to fundamental qualitative changes

The teaching content was very philosophical, discussing mainly the theories with little reference to social realities. Many students were not listening, but doing other things, such as reading other books or playing with their phones. During the break between the two class sessions, several students left the theatre through the backdoor. As an observer, the researcher noticed that most students showed no interest in the class. The high attendance rate might be due to the fact that it was part of the assessment. Students' feedbacks on these classes will be presented later.

Class Observation of Chinese Culture Module at University A

The researcher observed one lecture of the Chinese Culture module during the visit of University A. It was the third week of the new academic year. The class was held in a lecture theatre with over 200 students attending. The topic of the class was about the cultural history of the local city. No textbook was required for this module. The lecturing language was Chinese. The lecture lasted around 110 minutes with a 15 minutes break in the middle. The researcher selected a back seat in the lecture room so as to observe the teacher-student interaction in the class. The lecture was recorded as an audio file for reference.

As the lecture started, many students took out some books, which were not relevant to the class. More than thirty students opened their laptops on the desk. The lecturer spent two minutes asking students not to make any noise in class or to play with their laptops. Her tone was not very solemn. She even made jokes with the students.

“Please do not use your laptop in class. This is not promotion for the Apple. I notice that there is one male student with two Apple laptops. Are they couple-laptops? ”

She explained that attending the class was not forced, but voluntary. Because the module would consist of different topics, there would be different lecturers leading the class. The students could choose not to attend the lecture if they were not interested in the topic. Instead, they could participate via an online forum. Part of the final assessment was from the students’ performance in the online discussion. Since those students decided to attend the class, she suggested that they should not do things irrelevant to the class. However, many students didn’t really take notice of her words. It appeared that the students didn’t take the class seriously.

She then proceeded to the teaching and began by showing a film clip from a Hong Kong comedy. This immediately caught students’ attention. All students became quiet and started to watch the video. As the video stopped, she asked if the students knew anything about the main character of the movie. The students’ participation level became very high at this point and they were actively giving their answers. The lecturer then explained that the famous historical figure was from the local city. That particular lecture would review the history and the cultural heritage of the city. Throughout the rest of the class, the lecturer showed the students many pictures and videos to keep them engaged. At one point, she listed ten most well-known figures from the city. Before continuing, she asked the students to vote for five of the characters, about whom they wanted to know more. She then followed the students’ choices and spent more time on the selected five historical figures.

Online Forum of University A: Creating new public space

It was noted that the students in University A were given an interactive platform to participate in the learning of the Chinese Culture module: online discussion. How did it work? The researcher visited the online forum to find answers to this question. One housekeeping instruction post published by the forum manager explained the rules of the online forum:

- 1) the topic could only be created by the lecturers;
- 2) the students were free to post replies to the topic;
- 3) the replied posts from the students would be assessed by the lecturer who created the topic;
- 4) copying other students’ ideas would be seen as plagiarism and would be penalised.

There were three general steps in the process of complementing one round of discussion. Firstly, the lecturer would create a topic in the forum. Then students replied with their opinions as posts to the topic. Finally, the lecturer would mark individual post when it was published. After hundreds of replies, when no more new opinion was issued, the topic would be closed to new replies by the lecturer who created the post.

To have a better understanding of the operation of the online forum, the researcher decided to follow the forum closely for a period of time (one year since December 2011 till December 2012). The data was gradually collected and analysed alongside the main data analysis. For some reason, the forum was closed to “visitors” (those who were not registered with the forum, i.e. those who were not students or staff of University A) from December 2012. The data collection and observation therefore ended in December 2012. Based on the data collected throughout the year, over two hundred topics were discussed online. On average, there were 150 to 200 replies to each topic. Topics covered a spectrum of hot topics in current Chinese society, which also matched with the main themes of the Chinese Culture Module. Table 6.4 presents the main categories of the topics and some examples.

Table 6.4 only presents the titles of the topic, which was always explained in detail by the lecture with a topic post (or initial post). The following was an example of a typical topic post created by the lecturers. Due to the length of the original post (888 words in Chinese), only the key content reflecting the structure of such topic post is presented here.

“A recent report published by an overseas think tank discussed the images of Chinese people in foreigners’ eyes. Over two thousand adults between the age of 18 to 55 from six countries were interviewed. . .*happy, modest, rational, and mysterious* were selected as the typical characteristics of the Chinese people. . .around 30% to 40% interviewees considered China as a mysterious country. Over half of the interviewees were curious about the everyday life in China. . .based on the findings of the report; please address the topic of how China should build a good national image in the world”.

For this topic, there were 205 replies. Most replies were written in the format of an argumentative essay, presenting their ideas over the issue. Due to the limit in research length, the researcher could not provide a detailed analysis of all the replies. Here the focus is on the format of this online discussion. As an open online forum, all the posted ideas could be publicly viewed by all students and lecturers. It used to be available for the wider public. Now it has been closed for internal access only. It was not prudent to conjecture reasons

behind this. Compared with the pedagogical process of citizenship education in other cases, University A did show its uniqueness.

Table 6.5 Categories and examples of topics for online forum of University A

Political Issues	Social Issues	Cultural Issues	Moral & Legal Issues
The political Role of the “First Lady”	Have you eaten the “fast grown chicken”? a concern for food security	In your opinion, what are the essential characteristics of a good film?	The balance between judicial independence and media supervision
What kind of motions/proposals would you raise if you were the representative of the People’s Congress?	What’s your opinion on the phenomenon of parents accompanying their children to attend universities?	Will you watch the Spring Festival Gala on CCTV (Chinese Central Television) this year?	How much do you know about the voting rights granted by the Constitution?
Is <i>weibo</i> (the social media) a better decorated cage? (rather than a platform for public speech)	What’s your opinion on the phenomenon of the growing number of rich Chinese migrating to other countries?	Do you agree with the rating system of films?	Will the traditional Chinese moral teaching prevent corruption?

6.1.3 Student Comments on Citizenship Education

Table 6.6 presents the survey results of students’ rating on the statement that “UK TNE should offer compulsory modules required in ordinary Chinese universities, including *Marxism, Mao Zedong’s theories* etc.” The result shows that over two thirds of students chose neutral (34.7% in total) or “strongly disagree” (14.3%) and “disagree” (23.9%) to the statement, leaving only 27.1% of students agreeing to include ideological-political modules into TNE. Why was the supporting rate for ideological-political education so low? It is also

interesting to notice the high percentage of students selecting “neutral”. What does this result indicate?

Table 6.6 Questionnaire survey result of the item regarding students ‘rating on ideological-political modules

Ideological-political Modules		Rating				
		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Case A	Count	22	26	52	19	9
	Percentage within the case	16.2%	20.3%	40.6%	14.8%	7.0%
Case B	Count	15	33	40	28	12
	Percentage within the case	11.7%	25.8%	31.2%	21.9%	9.4%
Case C	Count	8	16	17	12	5
	Percentage within the case	13.8%	27.6%	29.3%	20.7%	8.6%
Total	Count	45	75	109	59	26
	percentage	14.3%	23.9%	34.7%	18.8%	8.3%

During student interviews, the researcher asked students to describe and comment on the relevant citizenship modules. As students of Case B, C and D were taking the same ideological-political modules, their comments were analysed together. The student comments from University A were separately presented.

Ideological-political Modules: Cases B, C & D

The ideological-political modules were universally referred to by students as “politics”. Students’ attitude towards these modules was quite negative. Some students commented that they were forced to take similar modules since primary school. After years’ of repetition, they had developed a very negative attitude towards these modules. For this reason, regardless of what was taught, the ideological-political modules would not be welcomed.

“Politics in China now has a very negative connotation. It has become very emotional word. No matter what is taught, students just refuse to hear”. (D-Pan, Programme D)

“Indeed, we had these political modules such as *Marxism*. However, I don't think any student was actually willing to take it...all the students were forced to learn it since we were little and it has developed negative emotions against these modules. Additionally, we were constantly told to learn these great ideas and to be successors of the socialist cause. The brainwashed indoctrination method has made these ideas sound really hypocritical and distant from social reality”. (D-Gao, Programme D)

In addition to the accumulated negative emotions against these modules, many thought that the content was not practical and of no use to them. By “practical”, students had two different judgements. The first focus was on the usefulness of the knowledge to assist their future work and life.

“These courses were very theoretical. Unless I decide to study humanities or philosophy, I can't see any practical value in these modules (C-Gu, Programme C).

Based on this approach of judging the practical values, some students thought that the module introducing the basics of law was more useful than the rest.

“I think the most relevant content of the politics modules was the basics of law. The module introduced us to the basic knowledge of the legal systems in China as well as the major laws. There were many case studies in the module, hence more interesting than the others”. (D-Pan, Programme D)

The other judgment of the practicality of the modules was based on the students’ understanding of Chinese society. They thought that citizenship education would be useful in a democratic society where political participation was part of life. Since most Chinese people’s political participation in China was close to nil, there was no practical value to learn about politics at all.

“China is not a real democracy yet. Knowing anything about politics has no real meaning to me personally. We can't even choose what to learn at schools. From primary school till university, all the politics modules were exam-oriented. There was

nothing practical but all theories, irrelevant to our lives... Citizenship education in the west may teach students about their rights and duties. They learn how to vote because they will be participating in national elections or voting in the future. In China, we can't participate in political activities. Why bother?" (D-Lei, Programme D).

However, there were a couple of students who were less negative about these modules. Their reasoning was that these modules were part of the Chinese educational system. To learn these modules could help students understand the current political environment.

"Teaching the ideological-political modules has become part of the tradition in our education system. It is no difference from the teaching of Christian values in the US. It's the same. The foreigners may feel strange about our learning of Marxism. However, they have to understand that it is part of the education traditions in China. Similar modules have been taught in primary and secondary education. University is the last stage before we join in the society. I think that the government just wants to solidify these ideas in students' minds". (B-Ling, College B)

This passive acceptance of ideological-political education reflects one stream of students' attitudes towards the social realities: being passive towards the mainstream political ideologies since you cannot change them anyway. Such an attitude could be reflected in the survey result of a high percentage of students choosing "neutral" to the statement about whether to include ideological-political modules. This idea will be further discussed in the next chapter regarding students' perceptions of citizenship.

Chinese Culture Module: University A

University A offered students the Chinese Culture Module rather than the universally adopted ideological-political modules in other Chinese universities. Provided that all these Chinese students had experiences of learning ideological-political modules in primary and secondary education, many students made comments based on comparative notes.

"We have had these politics modules since we were little. It was the most boring subject I could think about. We had enough. If we had to learn that again in university, it would be like nothing but a waste of time and energy...the Chinese Culture Module was not the same as the traditional politics education. Firstly, we only had it for one year. Secondly, the content was not just about politics in China. There were many interesting topics covered in the module". (A-Song, University A)

One student accepting the interview was a member of the Communist Party. She also thought that learning about Marxist theories was not practical. The primary reason for her to join the CPC was because it would be advantageous for job hunting in the future.

“Politics is boring. There is no content of practical values, concepts such association with Chinese characteristics...just meaningless. By the way, I am a Communist Party member. I joined it last year. The main consideration was that I would come back to get a job in China eventually. It is good for job hunting in the future. It is useful. In terms of learning, I feel that we are lucky not to learn the ideological-political modules for four years.” (A-Li, University A)

Similar comments were made by other students interviewed from University A. The different approach adopted by University A towards citizenship education was welcomed. However, these comments were based on the comparison with the political-ideological education in Chinese universities. Therefore, the researcher probed further to ask the students to comment on the educational significance of the Chinese Culture Module as part of the UK TNE in China. The immediate response from almost all the students was that it was a requirement by the Ministry of Education in China, so even the foreign educators had to compromise if they wanted to develop in China. Three out of the seven interviewed students of University A thought that it was not necessary to have a compulsory module of this kind. One thought that it was necessary and the other three thought that this module should become elective rather than compulsory. With regard to the different aspects of the Chinese Culture Module, the comments were quite divided. A-Zhao showed great appreciation to the efforts made by University A to design the Chinese Culture Module.

“Yes, we had to study the required politics education set by the Ministry of Education. However, it was not the same political indoctrination as traditionally offered in Chinese universities. It was wrapped up into the module under the title of *Chinese Culture*. The content of the modules was actually very flexible, including culture, philosophy etc. The module was taught by different lecturers, each of whom was responsible for different topics. Unlike other Chinese universities, where the political indoctrination extends to four years, we only have one year's relevant module, and was taught in a very active and relaxing environment. It is, therefore, not as boring as the other universities”.

While the researcher shared the class observation experience, A-Zhao responded:

“Yes, that’s quite normal for this module. Last year, the lecturer even showed us *Avatar*, analysing the cinematography and psychology behind the movie. These kinds of teachings and module design are the shining points of our university, standing out from the crowd.”

Not all the students were so positive about the teaching content. A-Yu thought that since University A were trying to break the tradition and establish itself as the vanguard for new

model of higher education and to become China's international university, more effort should be made to bring real citizenship education on campus.

“I understand that it is a legal requirement from the Ministry of Education, but I am not fully convinced that University A has made its enough effort to design this module to meet its educational mission of creating global citizens. For instance, the theme of basics of the Chinese laws only taught students the detailed articles of the major Chinese laws, without telling students anything about the spirit of law or the meaning of rule by law. What are the laws? They were nothing but the rules set up by the rulers. In the long history of China, all the monarchies had set up strict laws to oppress their subjects and secure their ruling power. The ordinary people were told to follow the laws and the government officials learned to benefit from the holes in the laws. Whenever, the ruling power went into decay, the laws became meaningless and society fell into chaos. When the new rulers came, new laws were published and enforced. There was no real social progress in the process. Therefore, teaching students the detailed articles of specific laws could not cultivate students' citizenship, let alone global citizenship”.(A-Yu, University A)

According to A-Yu, University A was still too conservative, not liberal enough to embrace the citizenship education offered in the western democracies. While agreeing with what A-Yu said, A-Wang stressed the feasibility of what could be done in the context of China.

“I agree with what he said. However, I want to stress that in the context of China, many things, especially with regard to reform and challenge the established bureaucracy, could not be changed overnight. The university only has limited power. It could only make effort within a certain range. There is indeed much space for progress”.

There were also students who thought that some lecturers went too far to pursue so called western ideas.

“I think the teaching in Chinese Culture Module was really unconventional. In general I think it is a good thing. However, I do feel sometimes that some lecturers went too far in terms of seeking so called alternative narratives. They kept stressing that students should jump out of the traditional thinking box and not to follow the mainstream ideologies in the society. One lecturer said in class that we need to discard the old school brainwashed messages. Then he talked about how the western democratic systems were advanced. However, I just felt that I was brainwashed again, just by a different ideology”. (A-Song, University A)

A-Jiang expressed a similar idea and explained further with his own observation of some students' behaviour in the online forum. In his opinion, the module didn't tell students how to think rationally, one-sidedly pursuing alternative narratives from the Chinese authorities.

“I think that the online forum of the Chinese Culture Module was a good platform for students to express their own ideas. However, as lecturers repeatedly pushed students to be critical, some students turned to the extreme, merely criticising any idea sent by the government. These students just want to show their differences and toughness, which was not based on rationality. I think the module didn’t teach students how to be rationally critical. Merely criticising the government will not lead China to progress.” (A-Jiang, University A)

Compared with the almost one-sided negative comments of ideological-political modules, the Chinese Culture Module offered by University A had won some applause. In general, all the interviewed students thought that it was progress from the traditional ideological-political education. However, as different students had different perceptions of citizenship and varied expectations from TNE, their assessment of the Chinese Culture Module also varied. Students’ comments from all four cases had already showed some of their perceptions of citizenship and the role of universities in citizenship education. These ideas will be more systematically presented and discussed in the next chapter.

6.1.4 Section summary

The Chinese government is determined to tighten up the regulations of CFCRS. The relevant regulations and laws are too important to be overlooked. This is especially significant for TNE institutions, such as University A and College B, both of which had put considerable financial and academic investments in return for long-term sustainable development in China. The above findings showed that all the TNE cases had followed the law to include relevant modules. Letting students take ideological-political modules along with the other Chinese students was the most common choice in TNE practice. The pedagogical process of these modules showed that the teaching was highly indoctrinated and exam-oriented. The student engagement in class was quite low. Both the questionnaire and the interview showed that the general comments from the students towards the ideological-political modules were very negative.

Findings from University A showed a different picture. Instead of following strictly the ideological and political modules, University A designed a Chinese Culture Module, covering a diversity of topics and playing down the political elements of citizenship education. Students’ comments and class observation showed that this approach was generally welcomed by the students although some suggested even more radical changes. It also

showed that there was a certain level of flexibility in meeting the legal requirement of citizenship. As long as the TNE institution or programme honours the Chinese laws and includes relevant modules, the Chinese government might not want to put a high ideological barrier for CFCRS. This also highlights the importance of TNE educators' effort in bringing changes to citizenship education. However, none of these can be clearly revealed in the published legal documents. This makes empirical research and sharing of experience particularly important in any future study of TNE in China.

6.2 Campus Ethos and Extracurricular Activities

The review of citizenship education suggested that other channels outside of formal class settings also contribute to citizenship education, especially through extracurricular activities and campus ethos (Chapter 3). The researcher also took both aspects into consideration in investigating citizenship education in the sampled TNE cases. Among the four cases, University A and College B had their own campuses and Programme C and D held at the campuses of the Chinese partner universities. What kind of campus ethos had each TNE case created? What kind of extracurricular activities were organised? This section addresses these two questions.

6.2.1 Campus ethos

Ethos is a collective concept, representing the fundamental characters of the culture which “connects individuals to a group” (Kezar, 2007, p. 13). It was noted in Chapter Three (section 3.4.2.2) that the campus ethos has been stressed by the Chinese government as a significant channel for ideological-political education. To create a “campus ethos with socialist characteristics”, on campus publications and media (bill boards, broadcasting channel and university newspapers) all have to be monitored so as not to let ideas of “harmful culture and decayed life style” get onto campus (*Opinions on Further Strengthening and Improving the Development of Ideological-Political Education among University Students*, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council, 2004). Pandering to the policies from central government, many Chinese scholars have argued and proposed ideas of constructing “healthy campus ethos” in Chinese-foreign Cooperative institutions (Hu, 2009; Song, 2009; Tong, 2009). Under the influence of such policies, how has the UK TNE been creating the campus ethos?

University Town

Both University A and PRC-C University are located in the university towns of the local cities. The idea of establishing university towns in the outskirts of a city has been very popular in China for the last decade. Under the national policy of massification of higher education, there has been an urgent need to expand campuses and set up new ones. Because it is difficult for universities to expand their campuses in the middle of a city, many set up new campuses in the outskirts of the city or even in another city. Many comprehensive universities in China now have many campuses around the same city or in different cities (Ma, 2009, pp. 120-121).

All four partner Chinese universities in this research have multiple campuses. University A was set up on a campus in a city far from the main campus of PRC-A University. In the same university town where University A is located, PRC-A University also built a small campus for its postgraduate education. College B was established on one of the campuses of PRC-B University. PRC-C University has three campuses around the same city, where Programme C is held in the main campus. PRC-D University has two main campuses in two different cities where Programme D was operating on both campuses.

There were two prominent characteristics of the two university towns (University A and PRC-C University), which the researcher visited. Firstly, both university towns were relatively far from the city centres, especially for PRC-C University. Through public transport (subway and bus), it took at least an hour and a half to go from the city centre to the campus of PRC-C. It took about 40 minutes to reach the city centre from University A on the bus. Therefore, students in the university towns were living in academic-oriented local communities. The campus of College B was very different. The campus was very small and located in the midst of a commercial district.

Secondly, within the academic communities of the university towns, most public space and facilities were shared by all the institutions. This was especially true for University A. During the field visit, the researcher was staying in the accommodation of the university town, which was arranged through the administrative staff of University A. However, this accommodation was not owned or managed by University A, but by the central administration of the university town which was set up by the local government. Such administrative arrangement

was very common for most facilities in the university town, such as dining halls, sports centre and the main library. A free bus service was also operated within the university town going through all institutions. There was no wall around the campus of University A. Therefore, students of University A were actually living and studying on a campus much larger than the campus range of University A. Activities arranged by other universities could also be seen and participated in by University A students. The university town for PRC-C was different. All the HEIs inside were established relatively isolated from one another, with walls built around each campus. The campus of PRC-C University was very spacious with massive buildings, green landscape, gardens and a big artificial lake in the middle. All the essential facilities for living and studying were provided on its own campus, including dining halls, library, sports centre, and shops. There were shared public facilities and spaces among the universities in the town, such as shopping centres.

PRC-C University: a Chinese University

The campus where Programme C was held was the new campus of PRC-C University in a university town. The teaching building and campus decoration were quite impressive. A very long and wide road leading to the main teaching building was lined with trees and different sculptures. The layout of the campus looked tidy and in order. All the hanging banners were red in colour with white characters. The ideological-political influence was quite prevailing on campus, with banners and posters announcing the leadership of the CPC. For example, outside the main dining hall stood a big promotional board, which said “the joint recruitment of the Youth League Committee of the Communist Party of China (*tuanwei*), the Student Union and the Association of the Student Organisations”. All the banners and posters on campus were considered as important parts of creating campus ethos and were under the general management of *tuanwei*. According to the relevant policy from the *tuanwei*, banners needed to meet the following requirements:

- Before printing, the content of the banner needed to be approved by the Department of Publicity of the *tuanwei*.
- The content of the banners must be about different activities and lectures on campus.
- The content was not allowed to include any commercial advertisement.
- The colour of the banners could only be red, blue, green or white and the colours of the characters could only be yellow, white or blue.
- All the banners could only be hung on the road before the main supermarket. When big events were held, the banners could be hung in other places.

- Before hanging out the banners, a relevant form needed to be filled, which would need to be approved by the Department of Publicity. The banners would be hung up by the Department of Campus Facilities.

This publicity policy explained why the campus looked very tidy and why all the banners were of the same colour and style. It was quite difficult to describe the unique characteristics of the university. Having visited many Chinese universities, the researcher could see the similarity of this campus with many other Chinese universities. The CPC leadership and the ideological exposure to the students had promoted PRC-C University to meet the requirements of good campus ethos as defined by the Chinese government.

College B

The campus of College B was an old campus of PRC-B University, located in the central area of the city. Though not big, the campus had all the essential living facilities, including accommodation, dining halls, and sports centre etc. Hidden behind the walls and covered by green trees, the campus was quiet in comparison to the prosperous surroundings. The foreign lecturers were easily spotted on campus. All the logos and posters were printed in both Chinese and English. As an affiliated college to PRC-B University, College B was equipped with all the required management departments of a Chinese higher education institution, including the *tuanwei*, which is under the leadership of the *xiaoqu dang zhibu* (branch campus committee of the Community Party of China). The functions of both committees, especially *tuanwei*, were the following:

- to be responsible for the students' ideological, moral and behaviour education;
- to recommend and cultivate student cadre to join the CPC;
- to organise various social activities for the students to improve students' overall quality;
- to maintain the security and harmony on campus, etc.

Compared to the campus of PRC-C, the ideological propaganda on College B was not overwhelming. During the visiting week, the researcher only spotted one newspaper board, which had a direct link to political education. The newspaper board was for the display of *jiefang ribao* (*Liberalisation Daily*), which was the main political publicity newspaper of the local central committee of the CPC. *Jiefang ribao* covers the main political, economic, social and cultural news in China. As College B was geographically separated from the main campus of PRC-B University, its campus enjoyed the freedom to create its unique character.

One student described the relationship between College B and PRC-C as “one country, two systems.”

“Our campus is unique, like the relationship between Mainland China and Hong Kong, one country, two systems. The main campus of the Chinese university is the mainland and we are Hong Kong. We are small, but we are very different from the normal Chinese universities. You won’t find the loud ideological propaganda on campus. As we are far from PRC-B University, we enjoy great freedom of our own to organise our own activities.” (B-Wang, College B)

University A

As part of the university town, University A didn’t stand out from the crowd in terms of architecture style or the atmosphere outside the teaching building. Stepping inside the main academic building, the researcher’s attention was immediately caught by the two big national flags: the Union Jack of the UK and the Five Star Red Flag of the P.R.C. Inside the building, all the bill boards, posters, and logos were printed in both Chinese and English. On campus, there were sculptures of famous figures in the past, from both China, such as Confucius and from the west, such as Plato. On the top floor, where the offices of the executive staff were located, there was a display of flags of all the countries which staff and students represented. The multiple identities, of being a Chinese and an international university was strongly expressed. Most interviewed students thought that the direct exposure to ideological-political education was quite limited despite the fact that a CPC committee was set up on campus.

“Our university is a joint venture between the Chinese and the UK, therefore, the political ideas are not overtly promoted among students. We do have the Communist Party Committee on campus, but not as influential as it is in other Chinese universities”. (A-Song, University A)

The campus observation showed that at a typical Chinese university, the political influence from the CPC was permeable in different aspects of campus ethos. Therefore, for a TNE joint programme, where the students stay on the campus of the Chinese partner university, they are still exposed to the overwhelmingly ideological and political environment under the control of the CPC committee on campus. For a TNE institution on its own independent campus, the ideological and political influence from the CPC is less overwhelming. It appeared that a certain level of freedom for TNE institution to create a less political, more international campus culture was granted by the central government.

6.2.2 Student organisations and activities

The above findings described the general campus ethos where the students were studying and living. Taking one step further into the students' lives, this section investigates the extra-curriculum activities and the student organisations. Before fully entering into the society as independent citizens, students were learning how to think and behave in the way which was accepted and appreciated by the accepted rules. For many students, their initial social involvements were different activities organised on and off campus.

6.2.2.1 The management of the student organisations and activities

Under the leadership of the CPC: Programme C & D

So far the data of ideological-political education and campus ethos for Programmes C and D has shown that citizenship education in both programmes was in line with mainstream Chinese universities. A similar finding was made in terms of students' activities and organisations, which were largely controlled by the CPC. On the recruitment notice of the Student Union of PRC-C University, the Student Union was self-described as an organisation "for all the students on campus, under the leadership of the University Committee of the CPC, and operating under the direct guidance of the *tuanwei*." In principle, all the students were encouraged to compete for the Presidency of the Student Union. However, on the recruitment notice, the ideal candidate was described as someone meeting the following requirements:

- excellent ideological-political quality, willing to pursue ideological progression, and popular among the general public;
- loving the work of the Student Union, willing to serve others, and having a strong sense of responsibility;
- having been the head of the departments within the Student Union or the Committee of the Youth League of the CPC;
- and studying hard with an excellent academic record.

The document also said that candidates who were the members or the probationary members of the CPC would be prioritised. There were three paths of participation: 1) recommended by the *tuanwei*; 2) recommended by each academic department; or 3) self-recommended. There were four steps of selection:

- first round of interviews and application review by the Student Union;
- second round of interviews by the Committee of the Youth League of CPC;

- monitoring the candidate's daily performance (two days);
- public speech regarding the blueprint for future work;

The final decision would be made by the *tuanwei*. The Student Union was the central organisation for all the student activities on and off campus. From the selection criteria and the process of its presidency, it was not hard to understand how the leadership of CPC was confirmed even in extracurricular activities and how the ideological-political education was conducted outside the classroom. D-Gan compared the differences in student activities in both countries.

“In most Chinese universities, even the student union is under the Communist Party Leadership. A lot of activities are to promote the Communist Ideology or the love for the state. Students are not given the freedom to do what they actually want to do. The Student Union in UK universities, on the other hand, is really led by the students. Students are active on their own stage. In these circumstances, students can truly develop their leadership, not following some political instructions. (D-Gan, Programme D)

Student-oriented Organisations and Activities: University A & College B

Students of University A and College B had much more freedom for their extracurricular activities. For College B, the Student Union claimed to be directly operated by the students. Its main aim was to organise different events on campus for students. On its publicity materials, the focus had been on the different clubs in the Student Union, which were categorised in four groups: commercial practice, arts & culture, sports, and academic. The Committee of the Youth League of CPC (*tuanwei*) didn't interfere greatly with the Student Union. On various publicity or promotional notices of student societies and organisations, *tuanwei* was not frequently mentioned. *Tuanwei* occasionally appeared as the sponsor (rather than organiser) in some event posters. The relatively high percentage of international staff (80 out of 200) and international students (130 out of 2000) contributed to creating an international environment.

A similar case was identified at University A. The Student Union of University A published a *Constitution* as the ultimate guidance for its activities. The *Constitution* was written in both English and Chinese. It defined the nature of the Student Union as “an autonomous organisation of the students in University A.” The three major tasks of the Student Union were:

- “Representing and safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests, and the demands of the majority of students; serving the students with enthusiasm; connecting the students with the relevant department; assisting and promoting the education and management of the university.
- Carrying out a variety of self-management, self-education and self-service activities according to the needs of members to create good condition for members to improve the quality of democracy and foster a scientific spirit and develop in an all-round way.
- Enhancing good relationships between students of all ethnic groups in China and between Chinese and foreign students”.

According to the *Constitution*, the organisation and operation of the Student Union was based on the simplified model of a democratic government.

“ All the rights of the Student Union belong to the students of University A...the Student Congress of University A is the highest authority of the Student Union...the Congress is held once a year...the Student representatives can be self-recommended or recommended by teachers, adopted by democratic decision and election...the Student Union Presidium Conference is the implementing agency of University Student Congress...the method for the selection of the Student Union Presidium members takes democratic centralism as the organisation principle, using multicandidate and general election. The Presidium personnel are elected through all members’ democratic election”.

The CPC was almost unmentioned in the *Constitution*, except one sentence:

“Under the guidance and the help of the Youth League Committee, the Student Union connects the students and the university, improves campus culture and cultivates the students to have an integrated development.”

The “Youth League Committee” refers to the *tuanwei* although CPC was not explicitly mentioned. Compared with the absolute control of the CPC in PRC-C University, University A appeared to have granted more freedom to students to organise their own activities. In the interviews, many students spoke highly of the self-managed Student Union and student-oriented activities.

“Compared to other Chinese universities, where the CPC Committee is leading different students’ activities, the CPC Committee in our university doesn’t step into many of the activities, but remains invisible most of the time. This makes us a really relaxing and international environment to explore different possibilities and lead all sorts of activities by ourselves”. (A-Zhao, University A)

A-Yu, a final year student of University, who had been actively involved in the operations of the Student Union analysed the factors contributing to the diversity of the student activities.

“I have been actively involved with the Student Union. The diversity of the student organised activities is really an outstanding characteristic for this university. There are many factors contributing to the extremely dynamic students’ activities...the student activities here are very different from other Chinese universities, with great influence from the western educational systems. To many new students, these activities are new and interesting, encouraging them to participate. The platform is great in this university, with most students’ events organised merely by students with little intervention from the bureaucracy, such as the CPC Committee in other universities”. (A-Yu, University A)

In addition to the freedom which the students felt, they also thought that “foreign flavour” was a character of student activities.

“I would say that the soil for the students’ activities in this university is very rich and free. Students can organise any innovative activity with little interference from the bureaucracy. Another feature of the students’ activities here is the foreign flavour and global vision embedded, which is different from traditional Chinese universities, such as English plays and theatre club. Maybe there are some minor problems, but in general I would say it’s very liberal and in great diversity”. (A-Wang, University A)

Similar to the situation of campus ethos, students of TNE joint programmes enjoyed less freedom in terms of managing student organisations and extracurricular activities. Along with the less influence of the CPC in TNE institutions, students were also given more space to develop their own organisations and activities. The subsequent question would be to what extent could such freedom in student activities contribute to citizenship education. The next section will tackle this issue.

6.2.2.2 Student activities and contributions to citizenship education

This section looks at two student-managed activities in details, analysing their potential impact on the students’ understanding of citizenship. The two activities were Model United Nations (MUN) and the English Debating Club. Both University A and PRC-C University had an MUN Club. However, the active members of MUN in PRC-C University were not from Programme C. Through casual chats with the students from PRC-C University, the researcher realised that the TNE students, especially *Off Quota* ones, were marginalised in various campus activities in PRC-C University. There were two prominent reasons which were given by the students. Firstly, as the above quoted selection criteria for the President of the Student Union demonstrated that the students would be assessed in accordance with their performance in ideological studies, many TNE students felt discouraged to join the Student

Union. Many were not keen on gaining favour of the *tuanwei*, hence were less cooperative with the established rules.

“We knew that we would go abroad after two years’ studies in China. I didn’t really want to pretend that I had interest in joining the CPC. I was not interested. However, to become leaders of the Student Union, we had to gain the favour of the Youth League Committee of the CPC. So I just wasn’t that interested in these activities.” (D-Yu, Programme D)

Secondly, the *Off Quota* students were not registered students with the PRC-C University, as they didn’t reach the minimal *gaokao* recruitment score. They were excluded from many benefits granted by the government to registered university students, such as medical insurance. Therefore, as one student revealed to the researcher during an informal chat, many of them felt like “second class citizens.” These students were also seldom considered by the *tuanwei* as the good candidates to lead student organisations or activities.

As for the English debating activities, University A, College B and PRC-C University all had this activity. However, only the English Debating Club in University A was organised as a student-managed activity on a substantial scale. In PRC-C University, the English debating was organised by *tuanwei* to select the best players, so as to form a university team to participate in the national competition. In College B, due to the small number of students, it could only be held as an annual event on a rather small scale.

Moreover, among the four cases, the students from University A were most positive and enthusiastic about their extracurricular activities. For College B, although certain freedom was given to them, they could only organise activities on a small scale due to the small campus and small number of students. As for the students of Programme C and D, they didn’t contribute much to the activities. In comparison to the whole student body of the partner universities, the programme students only accounted for a rather small percentage. Taking these situations into consideration, this section focuses on the data from University A.

English Debating Club

The English Debating Club was a student organisation in University A. As it was entirely organised by the students, an administrative team was formed to organise all the relevant events. A-Yu was head of the administrative staff in his first year.

“I joined in the English Debating Club two weeks after I came here. I wanted to improve my leadership skills. I self-recommended becoming the manager of the club, responsible for recruiting new members and arranging events for the members. This was a quite a demanding job, but very rewarding. In the second year, when the study schedule became busy, I retreated from the manager post. However, I was really interested in English debate and decided to stay in the club, but only as a member”. (A-Yu, University A)

In the first year when A-Yu was the manager, the club attracted 50-60 students within the university. A-Wang was one of the initial participants. He explained the activities of the club.

“At the beginning, we held an inner campus competition. That was the first English debate competition held in the history of University A. Among the initial 50 or so students, we formed ten different debating teams. Within each team, the members would hold individual meetings and organise different materials to train the members. We would also provide training for all the members. For the inner campus competition, the best performers would be selected and awarded. Later on, these students were invited to form a university team. A-Yu was the greatest contributor to this club. Not only did he organise the events on campus, he also actively contacted other universities. We could then finally get the chance to join in national competition”. (A-Wang, University A)

As a student-managed club, the English Debating Club had to sort out all the funding, training and administrative issues by themselves. With minimum interference from the university, they also received limited support, hence encountering difficulty in expanding their activities to a greater scale. A-Yu used the participation in national competition as an example.

“When we finished the inner campus competition and formed a university team, we decided to join the national competition... We thought that our English was probably better than the others. However, as soon as we went to Beijing and met other students, we realised that we were too optimistic about ourselves. There were so many students with excellent English, especially those from Beijing and Shanghai. Moreover, we realised that their universities all had given them all additional resources for training. We did not do too well in the national competition”. (A-Yu, University A)

Although the result was not ideal, the experience was still considered as beneficial. The experience made them reflect on what went wrong and what could be improved in the future. A-Yu thought that one lesson learnt from the experience was that University A needed to increase communication with other universities in China.

“My reflection of the experience was that we had too little communication with the other universities. Maybe our university was opening to international ideas and

visions. However, we were definitely not doing too well to learn from the top universities in China. Maybe we thought we were unique and different, ignoring the excellence of these Chinese universities. When we found out how frequent these universities were communicating with each other, we realised that we had missed out a lot". (A-Yu, University A)

A-Yu also thought that the unsatisfactory performance was also because they were student-managed activities, which were not well supported by the university.

"While the student activities from other Chinese universities were monitored by the authorities, they also receive more support. We could only rely on ourselves. While many debating teams had expert coaching staff to provide training, we could only do everything by ourselves. Additionally, as student-managed clubs, its development relies heavily on who are managing it. Every year, as new students join the club, everything seems to start from the beginning again because there is no systematic design and support from the university. This is especially true for the English debating club, which was about who the team members are and how much time are they willing to invest in it. We are students. We have limited time, energy and resources. That's why we feel that we could only stay on a relatively low level of performance". (A-Yu, University A)

It was interesting to note the dilemma which the students recognised in their experience. On the one hand, they were very pleased to be granted the freedom with minimum interference. On the other hand, they were well aware of the power of the bureaucracies and the challenges of organising and managing events on their own.

The researcher brought this issue up during the interview with Leader A. The researcher wanted to know the university leadership's views on the students' concern.

"I think the students are worried about the wrong things. We have to understand the intentions of these so called supports in other universities. The aim was only to make their students get better results. This was a *saving and earning face* issue in China. Some universities may give support to activities, such as English debating, and pick the best students to participate. We won't do that. We encourage everyone interested to participate. From an educational point of view, it didn't matter what the results would be... We think that students learn more from the process of exploration and learn, not being trained mechanically to achieve the best results. Of course, we are happy to see their excellent results and praised them for it, but not merely focusing on the results... If they can achieve good results without deliberate training, but relying on their own, it would be even more impressive and encouraging. "

Since the extracurricular activities were not to be used by the University for "*earning face*" and were used to supplement educational experiences for the students, he stressed that these activities should not be interrupting the normal teaching and learning on campus.

“We also think that any extra curriculum activity is supplementary. They should not interrupt the ordinary teaching and learning schedules. When the English debating team asked for support from the teaching staff, I gave them three principles:(1) they can’t just not go to class for the competition; (2) any achievement in the competition will not be the excuse to fail any academic performance; (3) all lecturers in our university have their own duties, so they have to get their own coach. So they found a foreign student to help them”.

Leader A considered that their attitudes towards these student activities also made them different from normal Chinese universities.

“This is why we are different from the others. Of course, they want to achieve great results, but we also have to let them do things on their own, doing it independently and learning throughout the process. What is university? It’s the experience, through which students can learn and grow. That’s the spirit of higher education. Some Chinese universities recruit professional athletes to be their students and represented their universities in sports competitions. Maybe these special students could bring some glory to the university. Personally, I think it is against the spirit of education. It is merely a marketing trick. If we could make students and their parents fully understand our education idea and change the old thoughts that would be real accomplishment for us. ”

Despite the differences in interpreting the role of university in the students’ extracurricular activities, both the students and the TNE leadership recognised the benefits of these activities in developing students’ critical and independent thinking and in cultivating their leadership and responsibilities in managing their own activities. These are essential attributes of becoming a responsible citizen in the future.

MUN: Model United Nations

The MUN is an academic simulation of the conference sessions in the United Nations, which are held in many educational institutions world-wide. The discussions in these simulated sessions were mainly about global issues, which could be or would have been covered in real conferences in the United Nations. During the first week during the researcher’s visit to University A, the MUN Club was recruiting new members. The researcher contacted the club and arranged an interview with its former executive president of MUN, A-Zhao, a second year student. She joined MUN in the first year and soon became the executive president of the club. At the time of the interview, she had just begun her second year and decided to step down from the post when the recruitment of new members finished.

“Our university is a little bit different from the others, as many of the students go the UK for the second half of their studies, which means that the most active participants of all on and off campus activities are the first and second year students. We have the chance to lead activities as soon as we join in the university. Where in other universities, the senior students are the leaders of the student clubs; we can do that as a freshman. I was the leader of the Model United Nations (MUN). When I arrived, the previous president of the MUN was about to leave for the UK, so I put myself forward and was elected as the organiser of the MUN”. (A-Zhao, University A)

Comparing her comments with the presidency selection criteria in PRC-C University, which was reviewed above, the student organisations in University A were less concerned about the performance history be it in an ideological or in academic aspect, of the leaders of these activities. All the new students were given opportunities to lead the student organisations when they felt confident enough.

The idea of granting equal opportunity to all students was also specifically mentioned by Leader A of University A.

“In principle, we think that the ultimate goal of these activities is to encourage students to take the initiative and to be responsible for what they do. The opportunities to become leaders were equal for every student, even the new students. Similarly, we wouldn't just select the best students to join any competition off campus. For example, last year, we had 51 teams with more than 150 students participating in a national competition of mathematics. All the teams were organised by the students. If they wanted to participate, we would not interfere”.

A-Zhao explained the aims of MUN and the kinds of activities organised in the stimulated sessions.

“The MUN is actually an internationally recognised activity in schools and universities... Chinese universities have really fallen behind in terms of participating in MUN. Through the stimulating UN sessions, the participating students could learn how to handle international disputes and improve cross-cultural competence... there were two approaches to set up the contexts of the stimulated sessions: a historical context or a future context. The central topic was always a real international issue”.

She gave an example to demonstrate the process of organising a conference session based on an international issue.

“For example, now we have the problem of Somali Pirates, which was stimulated because of the inappropriate handling of the independence war in 1991. We could set up the historical context of the conference session in 1991. To discuss how to handle the event, the students were arranged in different teams which played as representative of different participating countries. The delegates were required to

follow strictly the procedure of the United Nations, which involved motions, negotiations, lobbies, and eventually reached a multilateral agreement among the representing countries.”

As the students were required to precede the conferences with facts and figures, they were learning a lot about the historical or contemporary situations of the country which they represented in the session. Moreover, the role play also made them to view different international events from the perspective of other countries, rather than China.

“To actually prepare for a session, we need to know the history and current situation of the issue, including the history, economic, social and political contexts of the countries involved, even the political stands of its leaders...As different participating teams represent different countries in the MUN session, we can role play diplomats of different countries and learn to see things from other countries’ perspectives, rather than China. Same as there are different political camps in the world, there is the power struggle in the UN. If we actually stand from US’s point of view, many of their actions can be better understood.”

In addition to learning about international politics and global issues, A-Zhao also talked about the benefits of improving their analytical skills in the process of searching and analysing literature, and the tactics of “climbing over the blocking walls” of the internet.

“We learned a lot in the process of preparing for each session. We devoted great time and energy in searching and analysing the literature. We even had to break the internet censorship to gain access to foreign websites, such as YouTube, CIA public database, etc. We used the so-called *wall climbing* software to visit these websites. Such software was not very stable and could be constantly disabled by the internet police”. (A-Zhao, University A)

Despite the difficulty, A-Zhao thought that the MUN experience was really rewarding and even provided them with the opportunity to go to other countries to join the debates with students from different countries. During her term as President of the MUN, they had sent eight students to an international MUN Conference in the US and seven students to another MUN event in Singapore. Based on her MUN experience overseas, she reflected that the global education had actually been missed out in current Chinese education.

“Las year, we went to Harvard University for an international MUN event, which over three thousand students joined. There were only 50 students from China. So you can see that China is still falling behind the others in getting students into such global activities, especially in the sphere of international politics”.

According to A-Zhao, the Chinese government and Chinese universities should not be over sensitive about the students' participation in international political debates.

“The major topics of the MUN are very international and global. They don't usually fixate on the political situation within a country, so it won't be very politically sensitive. If the Chinese government or the Chinese universities were worried about students' participation in international political debates, which would result in anti-government emotion, they might be too sensitive.”

Based on her communication with students from other Chinese universities, especially the top Chinese universities, she thought these Chinese universities' participation was still based on winning pride for China and promoting meritocracy, rather than educational inspiration.

“We met the students from the top Chinese universities, such as Peking University. I was surprised to find that they had teaching staff to coach them. These students were not there to experience, but to win a competition. I felt that their participation were not for educational inspiration, rather political or promotional for the sake of winning pride for China and of honouring meritocracy. We did everything by ourselves and were proud to do so. I do think our university is unique and advanced in terms of giving students space and encouraging us to take the initiative.”

From the student's self-reflection, gains from these activities were not limited to the accumulation of knowledge of international affairs and skills of cross-cultural communication. Through close contact and observation of the students from various universities and countries, A-Zhao developed her own critical views of different education approaches taken by these institutions. She thought that most traditional Chinese universities were falling behind and failed to bring the global dimension to their education. Based on her personal experience, she thought that learning about others would not undermine her emotional attachment to China. The government could be more relaxed in political controls over the students' thoughts.

“I think through learning about the world and seeing other countries, I am more proud than ever to be Chinese. If you participate in the discussion of UN, you will know the pride of being a Chinese. Many small countries want to join our alliance. Our words carry great weight in the international arena. These activities won't undermine my emotional attachment to China. It actually strengthened my will to be a Chinese.”

Although only a second year undergraduate student, A-Zhao showed great confidence and logic in presenting her ideas. She might be a unique case due to her personal interests in international politics and her previous learning experience in foreign language schools. However, her experience and reflection on the benefits of participating in activities aiming at

widening students' global knowledge, critical thinking and political participation did highlight the benefits of this kind of student activities in preparing students to be future citizens.

6.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter firstly looked at the pedagogical process of citizenship modules in four TNE cases. Except University A, the other three TNE institutions and programmes let their students take the ideological-political modules as all other Chinese university students. The general feedback from the students' questionnaire results and interviews showed that students were not in favour of the compulsory arrangement of these modules. Considering that the majority of the UK TNE was joint programme, it could be inferred that this could be the main approach adopted.

As an independent TNE university, University A enjoyed greater autonomy in designing the relevant modules to meet the citizenship requirement of the Ministry of Education. Based on the curriculum analysis, the class observation and students' comments, the researcher found that University A avoided the ideological indoctrination and took a culture-oriented approach in designing the relevant module. One unique feature of the teaching and learning process was the creation of an online public forum, where the students were encouraged to give critical comments regarding current social issues. Considering the vigorous monitoring mechanism installed by the Chinese government, the module in University A must have been approved. From this point of view, it could be interpreted as the flexibility granted by the Chinese government to TNE.

This chapter also presented the findings regarding the campus ethos and extracurricular activities, both of which were identified as important channels for citizenship education in the literature review. Through the campus observation and reviewing of relevant documents, the researcher noticed that there were limited resources and space for joint programmes to create the genuine international learning experience in their Chinese campuses. The independent TNE institution enjoyed much more freedom in this aspect. Similarly the extra-curricular activities in independent TNE institutions were less controlled by the authorities, represented by *tuanwei* and *dangwei*. From the students' self-reflections, these activities could benefit them more if they were granted the freedom to lead on their own merits. Based on these

findings of the in class and off class activities regarding citizenship education, the next chapter will explore further the students' perceptions of citizenship and evaluations of TNE experiences in preparing them to be future citizens.

Chapter 7 Students' Perception of Citizenship and Citizenship Education

The last two chapters described the ideas, pedagogical process, campus ethos and activities contributing to citizenship education in TNE. The spotlight was on the educators' perceptions and educational practice observed by the researcher and described by students. This chapter switches the focus to the receiving end, exploring students' perceptions of citizenship and TNE experiences with regard to citizenship education. This chapter directly addresses the second research question: "How do students perceive and evaluate the TNE learning experience in preparing them to be future citizens"? The main question is addressed through the following affiliated questions.

2.1 How do students perceive citizenship?

- 2.1.1 How do the students understand the term citizen?
- 2.1.2 How do the students relate to the social, cultural and political developments in China and the influences of global development?

2.2 How do students evaluate UK TNE in preparing them to be citizens?

- 2.2.1 In the students' opinions, what are the effective methods for citizenship education?
- 2.2.2 How do students evaluate their experiences of UK TNE in terms of preparing them to be citizens?

This chapter projects students' study experience onto the social screen, exploring their perceptions of citizenship and TNE experience. It also presents students' understanding of the relationship between themselves and the globalising world. Findings are organised thematically. This chapter starts from the students' linguistic description of citizenship, looking at terms and statements quoted in high frequency and analysing their immediate responses to the term "citizenship". It then moves on to review how they perceive the relationships between themselves and the outside world (national and global societies). The chapter finishes with the students' ideas on how should TNE prepare them to be future

citizens. All the Chinese students' interviews, except two group interviews of programme C[®], and questionnaire survey were data sources for this chapter.

7.1 Student Backgrounds

Different citizenship conceptions in the context of China were reviewed in Chapter 3, including the cultural attributes of Confucian traditions, the current political narratives under the CPC-led state (such as urban and rural citizenship division of the *hukou*, socialist democracy under the CPC leadership, and the idea of socialist harmonious society) and relatively new yet increasing influence from outside China. How do students relate themselves to these attributes in defining their roles as citizens? Considering the population of China and the complexity of its social structure, it is crucial to understand the students' social and economic backgrounds, which may have an impact on their citizenship perceptions.

7.1.1 The social environment for the post 80s and post 90s

Most student interviewees were from the same age group, ranging from 21 to 24 (except one second year student from University A, who was 19 at the time of the interview). In China, they were referred to as post 80s (people who were born between 1980 and 1989) or post 90s youths (people who were born between 1990 and 1999).

They have witnessed many affirmative historical events in China, including the handover of Hong Kong and Macau, access to the World Trade Organisation, and hosting the Olympics and World Exhibition etc. All these events were significant sources of national pride, which were promoted extensively in the mass media and through public education.

Meanwhile, this generation of young Chinese had also been growing up under considerable influence from the outside world, especially the major English speaking countries. They started learning English as early as primary school, being exposed to popular cultures of the English speaking countries, such as pop music and commercial movies. Their channels for information and communication have been greatly diversified through the spread of the internet, especially for those living in cities.

[®] One lecturer was present while conducting the two group interviews of Programme C. The students didn't talk too much about the issue of citizenship. Therefore, both interviews were not included in the analysis of this chapter.

Therefore, they have been living under a mixed cultural, social and political environment: the increasing national pride with China's growing economy; the increasing contacts with the world beyond China; and the access to the virtual public space over the internet.

7.1.2 Family Backgrounds of the interviewees

UK TNE, especially those including overseas experience (which involves much higher tuition fees and living expenses), has a financial barrier for its accessibility. Tuition fees of TNE are generally much higher than the national average (with the exception of some private HEIs). Through an informal conversation with one student of University A, the researcher heard a story of a student who was accepted by University A but had to withdraw because he could not afford the tuition fee. He thought the tuition fee (RMB 60,000 yuan per year) at University A was the same as the normal Chinese higher education (approximately RMB 6,000 yuan per year) and ended up not being able to pay the fees. In this sense, UK TNE has set up clear price discrimination. It has built a barrier between those who can afford and those who cannot, which is based on the family's economic status. Many students showed a certain level of self-identification in relevance to the socio-economic status of their families. For example, D-Gan described the extra entry requirement of Programme D:

“We were asked to provide a financial guarantee of 400,000 RMB (approximately 40,000 GBP at the exchange rate in 2010/11). This requirement has effectively eliminated a large number of possible students”. (D-Gan, Programme D)

Another student from Programme D described such requirement as “an incentive for the participating students” because it was a choice only for the “privileged minorities”.

“UK TNE has set up a high financial barrier, which only a small percentage of Chinese families can afford. Students attending the programmes are from financially comfortable families. Without any doubt, TNE can offer students a different life experience and learning environment, especially the overseas experience. Such barriers may be a motivation for the participating students since it is only for the privileged minorities. (D-Gao, Programme D)”

Socially, most students described their families as “middle class” with stable incomes (for those revealing more of their backgrounds during the interviews, none of them came from the countryside and many of the students' parents worked for state-owned enterprises or the government). Many students talked positively about the financial selection, which creates a relatively “comfortable” community for people from similar backgrounds.

“It is true that we are an expensive university, but not as expensive as studying abroad. The really rich people are sending their children abroad directly. We are mainly from financially comfortable families, maybe upper-middle class.”(A-Song, University A)

“Students in our university are generally from financially comfortable families. Students won’t judge each other on their family backgrounds. You can see students leaving their laptops and mobiles in the classroom without worrying too much that they might be stolen.” (A-Li, University A)

From students’ narratives, it was noticeable that many students were very conscious about their socio-economic backgrounds, or the social status of their families to be more specific. While being asked about their motivations to choose TNE and even their future plan for life and career, parents’ opinions and family’s preference very often came out as determinant factors in the process of decision making. The Confucian idea of social structure based on social relationships, especially the central role of family relationships could be identified in students’ perceptions of self and society.

7.2 The Linguistic Description of Citizenship

A general question asking students to define citizenship in accordance with their understanding was given at the beginning of the discussion. Three general approaches to describe citizenship were identified: **citizenship as a legal status; citizenship as a guideline for behaviour; citizenship as contributions to the country**. These categories were derived from the students’ initial responses to the term “citizenship” and their immediate linguistic descriptions. They were then asked to further elaborate on their ideas, and draw examples and references from society to support their ideas.

Citizenship as Legal Status

Citizenship was defined as a legal term by some students. Citizenship was seen as a legal parameter with definite rights and duties specified by laws. Referring to the five attributes of citizenship summarised by Congan and Derricott (1998), the approach focused on “the enjoyment of certain rights” and “the fulfilment of corresponding obligations”.

“Citizenship is not a concept which we often think about. Chinese citizens are people who have PRC passports. We heard this term in the class of *politics*. I think citizenship is about rights and duties”. (A-Song, University A)

“I have been living in China for over 20 years. My understanding of citizenship is to

have the rights to live in China”. (C-Gu, Programme C)

“The concept of citizenship is in contrast to a natural human being. All people were born as natural human beings. Then we begin to learn about the society we are living in, fulfilling duties and enjoying rights. That's citizenship”. (D-Gao, Programme D)

This approach of conceptualising citizenship shows little proactive interaction between self and the general public. Citizenship was considered by these students as a given social and political identity since birth with certain rights and duties. Whether to participate in public affairs or care about public affairs was not essential for citizenship. Some students commented negatively about public participation:

“Some people became really aggressive while talking about politics. I think they are cynical youngsters (*fengqing*). This is especially true in the virtue world of the internet. Many people like to criticise all government policies. I think it's too radical. I can't see any real benefits of doing this.” (A-Song, University A)

Her view was shared by many others. Why did students think that there was no value in political participation? This question will be better addressed after reviewing how students perceive their roles in China and in the world.

Citizenship as a Guideline for Behaviour

Compared to the previous category, the students taking this approach attached value judgement to citizenship, indicating that only with certain behaviours could one be qualified as a citizen. The emphasis is on the “acceptance of basic societal values” of the five attributes (Cogan & Derricott, 1998). There are different scales in the judgement, ranging from “not harming the society” to “being a good person”.

“In China, to be a citizen, you have to obey the laws and behave yourself and not do anything against the public and social morality. I think that's enough”. (D-Wang, Programme D)

“To be a citizen, first and foremost, two words are linked to it: rights and duties. To be a good citizen, you have to be a good person, to have high *suzhi* (overall quality of personal characteristics). Then you will have good potentials to be a good citizen. The bottom line is that you have to be a good person”. (A-Wang, University A)

Students taking this approach attached great importance to the socially agreed public virtues to define citizenship. To them, citizenship means more than just the legal identity, but also general acceptance by society. This view shows the tendency towards obedience/acceptance

rather than participation. There are assessments for the quality of citizenship, such as morality and *suzhi* (overall quality of personal characteristics). These terms will be discussed further in the next section. Generally speaking, citizenship indicates an awareness of public virtues, views and conventions. To be a good citizen, one has to make efforts in self-cultivation. However, one thing needs to be made clear is that they all defined citizenship with the assumption that it was about citizenship in China, not citizenship in general terms. For example, D-Wang expressed his understanding of the significance of stressing the Chinese political context based on his personal experience.

“Some foreign countries will allow its citizens to vote after a certain age. Of course their citizens would be more active in political participation. It's a different story in China. I am not saying that legally we have no voting right. We do have it, but the actual practice of such right is not possible. I participated in one election. We were given three names. I had no idea who they were. Following their names was some personal profiles. Voting was like playing a game. So we just voted for whomever we were told to vote for. Since people can't have any real political influence, why bother?”
(D-Wang, Programme D)

Citizenship as Contributions to the Country

The third approach considered citizenship as an active participation of the social development, considering the “contributions to the country” as the significant criteria of citizenship. Did “contributions to the country” mean the same as the fifth attribute of citizenship “a degree of interest and involvement in public affairs” (Cogan & Derricott, 1998)?

“I think as a citizen, first of all, we need to fulfil our obligations to contribute to the nation. It is not to show how great we are. It's about the attitude to put the interests of the country before our own. This is the right way to put it”. (D-Duo, Programme D)

Clearly, the emphasis was on the contribution to the collective goods, not on an individual's participation in public affairs or the political decision-making process. It was not the same as “active citizenship” proposed in the citizenship education in England. The focus was put on doing well in your own job, being obedient not being politically active.

“Currently, I consider myself as a student, not yet a citizen. A real citizen needs to take a certain responsibility including paying taxes and contributing to the technological, cultural development of the society.....For example, when you work for a company, such as a state-owned enterprise, you need to pay tax and do a good job. Everyone works hard to create values then the company and the society can develop”. (D-Gan, Programme D)

These initial responses given by students, to some extent, presented the conclusions they made about Chinese citizenship. Following these remarks, the researcher asked students to explain further their ideas with references from their own experiences and observations. As they discussed many social, economic, cultural, educational and political issues in China, factors influencing their perceptions of citizenship became clearer to the researcher.

7.3 China in Their Eyes

Though not all expressed this openly, the majority of the students defined citizenship within the context of China.

“I have the legal rights to live in This Society and I have to obey the laws of This Society. I am a citizen of P.R.C. No matter where I live or stay now, I am not part of that society and not one of their citizens”. (The underlined and capitalised words illustrate the tone emphasis made by the student C-Li, Programme C)

None of the students being interviewed had been working outside the school and had always been studying in a school environment. They acknowledged the differences between schools and the society beyond campus.

“I think the school environment is very different from the social reality. I feel that society is very far from my life. I don't think about it that much. The environment around me is relatively pure and nice”. (D-Lei, Programme D)

Not having substantial social experiences, their understanding of Chinese society was primarily derived from the information they received. In addition to the family influence, two public systems are often identified as major channels for information: **media and education**. Primary and secondary education in China are centralised in accordance with the guidelines issued by the Chinese government, and in particular communicating political messages from central government. Mass media in China is also under the government's censorship. Students have been immersed in ideological and political teachings imposed by the CPC-led state throughout their education. Meanwhile, as China opens its door to the outside world, a diversification of information channels, especially the Internet, provides students with different perspectives on Chinese society and alternative conceptions of citizenship. How do students pick up and make sense of the mixed information about Chinese society, based on which they form their own perceptions of citizenship?

The following sections present “China in their eyes” and attempts to explore the “official” and “alternative” sources, from which they formed their perceptions of the social and political “realities” of China.

7.3.1 The declining attraction of the official ideology

The 1982 *Constitution of the People’s Republic of China*^④ (hereinafter referred to as *the Constitution of China 1982*) defines China as a “socialist state” and the “socialist system” is the basic system of China (Article One, *the Constitution of China 1982*). *The Party Constitution of the Communist Party of China (CPC)*^⑤ regards “Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory and the Important Thought of Three Represents as its guide to action^⑥” (General Program, the Constitution of CPC, 2007). The aim of higher education is defined in order to cultivate “builders and successors for the socialist cause” (Higher Education Law, Article 4, 1998). These ideological teachings are delivered through the centralised educational system in China, which each interviewed Chinese student claimed to be familiar with. However, the general attitude given by the students towards the official ideologies was lukewarm and even negative. They observed a declining attraction of official ideology, which was perceived as responsible for China’s failed economy in the past.

“Currently, no matter what the official ideology is, in practice, communist ideology has been discarded. Too many social problems and pursuit for material profits has made most people not believe in the so called communist ideals”. (D-Gan, Programme D)

“Maybe in Mao's Era, people did worship communism and socialism, but not anymore. We are not even a real socialist country. We are a capitalist society in nature now. When Mao was in power, we marched into the communist dream, but it failed to develop the economy. China had to give up that ideology in practice and resolved to capitalist market economy to survive and develop. However, the Communist Party still has to stick to the official ideology, so they created the term: Socialism with Chinese characteristics”. (D-Wang, Programme D)

While the researcher asked how the students understood the idea of “builder and successor of the socialist cause”, many were surprised that this was even written in the Higher Education Law. Most students found it hard to identify themselves as “builders and successors” of the socialist ideology. Only one student expressed her appreciation of this idea. The same student

^④ Latest amendment on March 14th, 2004

^⑤ Latest amendment on October 21st, 2007

^⑥ “The Three Representative” was added to *the Constitution of China 1982* on March 14th, 2004

also defined the core of citizenship as “to fulfil our obligations to contribute to the nation.” (Quotation in section 7.2)

“Actually, I quite like this idea. In this way, I think we have a direction to cultivate a responsible citizen. Think about it, if I tell you that you will be a socialist successor, will you not work hard? Only working hard can make you a good successor and contribute to the country. For me, higher education or education of all levels, the aim is to strengthen ourselves and contribute to the development of the country. Regardless of how big or small, the contribution might be, the responsibilities of the successors are shared among all people”. (D-Duo, Programme D)

While being asked what they thought were the alternative or essential values of society, many students referred back to the traditional Chinese philosophies and moral teachings.

“Marxism and Leninism were imported from the former Soviet Union, a failed state. We need to consult back to our own wisdom in Chinese culture. It may be more relevant. I personally would say that we can learn more of the morality and traditional Chinese philosophy than the political indoctrinations. Japanese people are considered as polite, bowing in meeting with others. This greeting practice is actually from China. It is a shame that we don’t honour that any more”. (A-Jiang, University A)

A-Jiang’s understanding of the origin of *Marxism* (from the Soviet Union, rather than Germany) reflected the official interpretation of communism theories and their relevance to the CPC-ruled China. The emphasis on the “Soviet-derived” ideologies reminded the students of the “historical roots” of the Communist Party in China as an inspiration from the Soviet Union (Tu, 2011, p. 430). The reviving of traditional Chinese philosophies and political traditions has also been held by the CPC-led Chinese government. Facing the declining attraction of socialism and communism ideologies, some students commented that China had developed into a country with “no real faith”. The consequences were that China turned into a profit-driven society, valuing money more than morality.

“Chinese people have no real faith. In the history of China, the ruling power wasn’t challenged if they could provide a stable living environment for the people. The leaders would be followed if they were considered as wise, strong and moral, who were likely to provide a good life for people. In the West, when people have a religion and other beliefs, they can have a stronger will to stick to the principles. However, when you don’t have faith in life, people tend to follow whatever is beneficial or profitable. Sometimes regional influences or any faith can give people the strength and morality to do the right things.”(D-Guo, Programme D)

This student’s comments reflected one popular argument in China’s political tradition: the legitimacy of the state came from the virtues of the leaders and performance of the state. As

long as the ruling government could let the people feel the improvement of living standards, the people would support the state. The lack of “faith” (“the strength and morality to do the right things”) and practicality of the political philosophy (“follow whatever is beneficial or profitable”) may provide an explanation to the passive attitude towards political participation.

7.3.2 The profit-driven society

Coming out of a decade long disaster of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), the Chinese government turned its attention to economic development, initiating the process of Reform and Opening-Up Policy starting in the late 1970s. Some students thought that the encouragement of individual prosperity and the enlarging gap between the rich and poor has altered the social values system. One conversation between two students in one group interview addressed this topic, which revealed their observation and concern for this social problem.

“I think about 30 years ago, before the Reform and Opening Up, the public attitude towards the rich was not so positive. Those who were pursuing financial rewards were disregarded by the society back then. However, in the contemporary Chinese society, the pursuit of material well-being is well accepted and valued by the general public”. (D-Wang, Programme D)

While being asked why he thought so, he commented that:

“The encouragement of economic prosperity and idea of letting some get rich first”.

Another student followed his idea and added:

“There is no more limit or moral restraints for getting rich. There is an enlarging gap between the rich and poor in society”. (D-Lei, Programme D)

They thought that as the gap gets wider, money has become a core measurement of the social status. Financial resources created social classes, which favoured the rich and discriminated against the poor.

“China has this serious inequality issue, such as the discrimination against the farmers who come to the city for jobs. Such discrimination comes from the blind confidence and superiority of the rich. When money means social status, then money can turn people blind and look down upon the poor. Of course, there is a cultural reason here. For thousands of years, the labour workers were not at the same level as the intellectuals”. (D-Wang, Programme D)

“The lower social status will only make them poorer. The disappointment of the poor and the hatred towards the rich could provoke some anti-social activities.” (D-Lei, Programme D)

The value for money and focus on economic development is not a unique social phenomenon in China. It could be found in any country in the world. What the students thought was particularly problematic, in the case of China, was the fact that there was a system that did not grant people equal opportunities to climb the social ladders. Two prominent issues were raised by the students: the *hukou* Policy and *guanxi*.

7.3.3 Regional inequality: *hukou* policy

Hukou or the household registration system is a rigid division of urban and rural citizenship (Zhang, 2002, p. 312). However, in essence, *hukou* represents the entitlement to the regional social benefits, which varies not only from city to countryside, but also from city to city. It is also applied in *gaokao*. Students' *hukou* determines which regional exam paper they are allowed to take and even the chances to go to university (more details of *gaokao* and the recruitment process in Chapter 2 section 2.3.2.2). *Hukou* has actually created stratification among Chinese citizens, especially in terms of rights and social benefits. D-Gao regarded *hukou* as a “rogue policy” and explained why people wanted to get *hukou* of big cities, such as Beijing.

“*Hukou* policy is a unique Chinese social phenomenon. It is a rogue policy, creating regional disparity and classifying people into different social classes from birth. There is no equality between urban and rural citizenship. What *hukou* implies are the social benefits. Different *hukou* means different regional benefits policies. The reason that people want to get Beijing *hukou* or urban *hukou* in general is because these regions provide much more social benefits”. (D-Gao, Programme D)

A majority agreed that *hukou* was a highly unfair system, which defined people into different positions of the social hierarchy by birth. Such feeling of unfairness was more strongly expressed by those from smaller cities. D-Gan, coming from a small city, commented:

“People living in larger cities have more social resources. This can be reflected on education. Children growing up in big cities, such as Beijing and Shanghai, have wider visions and ability to think independently. I came from a small city. We started learning English in high school. What about the children in Beijing and Shanghai? They started in primary school, even kindergarten”.

Although the general consensus was that *hukou* was an unfair system, none of the students

were in favour of abolishing *hukou* policy. The typical explanation was:

“China is too big. We can’t let all the people get into Beijing, or maybe create another hundreds of city at the size of Beijing? That doesn’t seem to be possible. The control of mobility seems necessary.” (D-Yu, Programme D)

7.3.4 Unfair competition: *guanxi* society

Another social reality or barrier contributing to inequality, which was widely referred to by the students, was *guanxi*, or personal connections. This concept bears both Confucian inheritance of social relations and the modern connotation of social capital, which is generally referred to as “the investment and use of embedded resources in social relations for expected returns” (Lin, 2000, p. 786). In an empirical research of the connection between *guanxi* (“the Chinese variant of social capital” as referred by the authors), Knight and Yueh (2008) found that there is a positive correlation between *guanxi* (reflecting on the measurement of social network, associational social capital, and Communist Party membership) and personal incomes (Knight & Yueh, 2008). Similar ideas were brought up by the students during the interviews. Many students interpreted *guanxi* in relation to job hunting.

“If you (anyone) decide to live in China, then you need to understand the social ethos. You need to understand that Chinese society is based on *guanxi*. Some social conventions, such as sending gifts or seeking benefit through networking, which appear inappropriate to us at the moment, may need to be observed when we want to develop our career in China. You can't thrive without knowing and practising these social conventions.” (D-Yu, Programme D)

D-Yu further explained the importance of *guanxi*, making a comparison between the UK and China.

“My father works in pharmaceutical industry. He has a friend who got a job in the UK. During the interview, the UK employer just tested his knowledge and skills in pharmacy and offered him the job merely based on his ability. If it were a Chinese company, you may not even have a chance to step into the interview room if you have no *guanxi* with the company. Many barriers between us and the ideal jobs have nothing to do with our personal capacities.”

All the students acknowledged the importance of *guanxi* in personal achievement in China. However, their attitude towards it varied from negative acceptance to actively seeking an alternatively path, such as personal ability.

“For some unfair or unequal activities, which are so commonly practiced in China such as personal favouritism gained through *guanxi*. You can't change it”. (D-Lei, Programme D)

A-Li thought that some people might complain too much and overstated the effect of *guanxi*.

“There is no absolute equality in this world. As long as there are equal opportunities to create your own future, I think it is good enough. I think some people just complain too much because they haven't got what they want. But it is impossible to get everyone really equal. Sometimes, even luck can result in different outcomes”. (A-Li, University A)

In her opinion, *guanxi* was not simply an unfair selection in the recruitment process. In fact, the employer would favour a candidate with rich social capital because *guanxi* itself could be the valuable resources that would bring more benefits to the company.

“We also have to combine the social reality in China. China is a society that values *guanxi*. So people with great *guanxi* can help the employers to expand business, so I would hire this *guanxi* rich person rather than someone who is merely competent himself. It can actually help the company”. (A-Li, University A)

Meanwhile, students also showed appreciation of the growing opportunities for those who were really capable.

“We need to recognise the reality and cope with it. I also think that society is heading in the right direction, creating a better environment for equal competition. However, to fully implement a social system which is based on personal virtues and capacity is not possible, at least not at the moment”. (D-Yu, Programme D)

Generally speaking, most students agreed that the current Chinese society had provided good opportunities to those who were really capable. Since inequality was a fact and no immediate change could be made, the wise choice was to utilise the available social capital and improve personal capacity.

7.3.5 The role of the government

The current Chinese government is led by the Communist Party of China (CPC), which defines itself as “the vanguard of both the Chinese working class, and the Chinese people and the Chinese nation” (Article One, Constitution of the Communist Party of China, amended in 2007). There is “insufficient disintegration between the state and society” (Zhu & Feng, 2008, p. 10) in its citizenship education. In other words, there is integration of the love for the

nation (the ethnic and cultural identity) and love for the state (the political identity). Such an idea is implemented in the education system and the government controlled media. The interviews did show that the many students used the terms of nation, motherland, country, and even government interchangeably. However, among the students being interviewed, some students made a distinction between “loving the government” and “loving the country”.

“We need to separate the idea of *loving the government* and *loving the country*. The Government is the ruling machine, which people can choose to follow or not to follow. I think the real patriotism is based on the loving relationship with the country, Chinese nation and people, not the state. The immigration trend can only show that people are recognising the gap in living standards in China and some of the developed countries. They have the freedom and rights to go anywhere they like. They still can be patriotic even whilst living abroad, through their actions of caring about China and its people.” (A-Yu, University A)

He continued to explain why he thought the new generation of young people were different from the previous generations in terms of patriotism.

“Compared to the older generations, we are more critical in our thinking, learning to distinguish the idea of loving the country and loving the ruling party and government. It is probably harder for them to understand how people can be still patriotic but not necessarily love the government. I think such change is largely due to the widening access to information, learning about the systems of other countries and the wider definition of patriotism”.

His idea could be linked to the declining attraction of the official political ideology represented by the CPC-led government. One consequence of this crisis of ideology is the students’ obvious lack of interest in politics. Many students openly expressed that they were “simply not interested in politics”. In their opinions, it was a shared attitude of their generation, a difference from the older generations.

“Young people of my age don’t really care about politics at all.” (D-Wang, Programme D)

Some students thought that the older generations cared about politics because they were believers in socialist ideologies and the CPC-led government. Therefore, they trusted the government and felt that all social problems could be solved under the governments’ leadership.

“Older generations, such as my grandfather, have strong emotional attachments and belief in the government. My grandfather even wrote a letter to the president. He

watches news from state media and press every day. He really cares about the political development and believes that the government will help tackle these issues. (D-Yu, Programme D)

Being critical about the social issues, those students were actually quite aware of the social and political development of China. Meanwhile, they claimed not to be interested in politics. Why can't those critical ideas lead them to be active in their political lives? What are the sources for them being politically obedient? Bearing these questions in mind, the researcher found some possible answers to these questions from the students' own words.

Not a democracy: why participate?

Many students thought that political participation would only be meaningful in democratic societies.

“Politics is not of my concern. China is not a democracy. We know about politics, but there is nothing we ordinary people can do to change the social and political realities. Why participate?” (D-Lei, Programme D)

If politics is not for “ordinary people”, who should be participating? There are still people running the government and being involved in politics.

“Politics is for those ambitious people who want a political career and want to fulfil personal ambitions. They may care more about politics.” (D-Lei, Programme D)

The distinction between “ordinary people” and “ambitious” politician interestingly reflected the students' understanding of the relationship between individuals (the ordinary people) and the state (the ambitious politicians running the government): political participation was not for the ordinary people. In addition to the view that China was not a democracy, this argument that politics was not for ordinary people, could also find its root in the Confucian political ideas (review in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.1.2): political participation was not essential in individual-state relations (Yung, 2010, p. 1924). Therefore, some students went further and explained that western democracy was not the right system for China.

Western democracy is not for China?

“Sometimes, when westerners accuse China of not being democratic, I would say that democracy is not as straightforward as it seems. In a country with over 1.3 billion people, it can't be stable if the government keeps changing every five years or so. It can't be accepted by the Chinese people”. (A-Yu, University A)

If, as the student claimed, democracy is not generally desired by the ordinary people, what is the source of legitimacy for the government? In other words, what do Chinese people care about the most for them to support or simply be tolerant of the government's leadership? Similar to D-Guo's idea that Chinese people "follow whatever is beneficial or profitable" (section 7.3.1), many students thought the legitimacy of a state came from its performance, be it democratic or not.

"To me personally, I don't care if the state is democratic in its name, what I do care about is how people can benefit from the political system. The one party system may not be very democratic, but it is suitable for China at this stage". (A-Yu, University A)

The researcher could see the entangled emotions and ideas in the students' minds. Although they were thinking critically, they didn't think that Chinese politics was for every citizen to participate in, including themselves. They had awareness of democratic ideas, but not the strong desire and drive to participate. In the context of China's current booming economy, they thought that people's basic living rights and economic prosperity should be prioritised. If the centralised one party state could safeguard the social and economic stability, the pursuit for democracy could be put aside. Generally speaking, students adopted a defensive attitude towards the national policies and the political system.

7.3.6 Enlarging public space: free media and freedom of speech

From those students' comments, one could see that they were very active in mind, thinking critically about the social and political issues. Some of the ideas were not publicised in the centralised educational system or the government-controlled mass media. Although not being enthusiastic about political participation, the students showed great hunger for open access to information and freedom to communicate with one another and to the outside world. One common idea was shared among the interviewees that the Chinese government should release its strict media control. D-Yu thought that media censorship was imposed only because the government was not confident in people and its own governance.

"I think that the government doesn't have faith in its people. It will not open to public opinion. They lack the confidence to hear any opposing opinions". (D-Yu, Programme D)

In his opinion, the ruling power of CPC was overly concerned about the de-stabilising impacts of freedom of information and communication.

“The internet should be a place for public opinion and freedom of speech. However the government won't give people such freedom. They assume that people would react and disturb the social stability if they see any negative comment. This is a lack of confidence. People have their own judgements. They should be given more freedom CPC is the founding party of P.R.C. The historical significance and connections are there. People are not stupid. They won't overturn a government based merely on some words. This lack of confidence in people is actually a lack of confidence in its own governance.”. (D-Yu, Programme D)

Similar to D-Yu's idea, A-Wang also thought that a policy of preventing people from knowing the world was not an effective mechanism to ensure political stability.

“For a country as big as China, with such a huge population, the primary force of any turmoil is from the inner side of the society, not from the international forces. So to keep the prosperity and stability of the country, the crucial thing is to ensure the rights of people, not preventing them from knowing the world. If people can see the progress of the country, they would not go against it”. (A-Wang, University A)

A-Zhao pointed out that people were more eager to gain access to new information and trigger a move to express themselves in a suppressed social environment. She provided several examples of how people were creatively coding their messages online, so as to evade the internet censorship.

“Many students were also familiar with technique of coding phrases in online discussion. For example, instead of typing “国民党” (*GuoMingDang*, the National Party of China, in term under censorship) , a combination of *pinyin* (the phonetic system of the Chinese language) and Chinese characters might be used, such as “G民D”, so as not to be picked up by the word filters on the discussion forum. Similarly “集合” (*jihe*, assemble, gather together, another term under close scrutiny) could be replaced by JH, the initials of the *pinyin* of the two characters composing the term. Browsing any Chinese online forum, thousands of such examples could be found”. (A-Yu, Programme D)

A-Yu, who pointed out that western defined democracy or any radical political change was not suitable for China, thought that the government should let people feel free to participate in the decision-making process as they wish. The free access to information was the precondition for people to make wise decisions.

“People have the basic rights to education and free access to information. Any real progress can only be realised through better education and the progress of individuals living in society. The government, therefore should give people more freedom to participate in the decision making process. At least, the information should be free to be accessed by the people. As for the quality and appropriateness of the decisions, the

government can have a certain level of judgement.” (A-Yu, University A)

Although most students favoured free press and freedom of speech, there were also ideas that the government need to enforce certain censorship on what could be released to the general public. The purpose of such surveillance, as Nan suggested, should not aim at preventing people from knowing the truth, but to function as a moral guard to filter the immoral messages and incorrect information. She gave a couple of examples.

“I think the government needs to play a role of moral guidance. For example, several years ago, the movie star Tang-Wei, who had a nude scene in *Caution, Lust* was banned by the Chinese State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT). To a certain extent, I think it was the right decision. Maybe it was just acting, but on a social level, it has a negative influence. There are also similar examples in the entertainment circle, actively involved in media hype. Another example is the growing popularity of the TV talent shows, such as “super-girl singing competition” in recent years. It has resulted in very bad social and educational influence. What these programmes have shown to the young people is that there is a shortcut to fame and success. Only the control at governmental level could effectively eliminate these negative impacts.” (D-Nan, Programme D)

7.3.7 Mixed emotions: critical ideas with passive acceptance

The above findings have demonstrated mixed emotions of the students towards current Chinese society. On the one hand, they were very critical about the various social and political issues. On the other hand, they were generally passive about what could be done to change the situation. Reviewing each problem, some kind of explanation was given simultaneously. They seemed to seek excuses, both for the government and for themselves, as to why the status quo has to be maintained. The *hukou* system is not fair, but it has to be kept because of the huge territory and population of China. *Guanxi* is not fair, but it could be accepted as long as opportunities could be given to those who are capable. The one party political system was not ideal but suitable for China. As long as people have material comfort, democracy is not a necessity. It's better to gain free access to any information, but the government control could eliminate the chaos. There could be multiple factors contributing to the defensive attitude. Considering the socio-economic backgrounds of these students, one possible explanation could be that they were generally those who were favoured and who benefited from the unfair system.

The mixed emotions regarding these issues have given them enough reasons to be passive

rather than active citizens. Although being critical, the obedient self seems to be stronger in their minds. In comparison to the alternative narratives, the official teachings of citizenship have created a dominant influence on their perceptions of their relationship with Chinese society. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism may have become a failed anachronism in their minds, but remains a symbol that holds the regime together. Additionally, there is also a hint of the influence from traditional Chinese philosophies and political ideas, which have been prioritised by some students as the alternative unifying ideology over western democracy. Compared with an unpredictable multi-party democracy, they would prefer a one-party state that unifies the nation. This idea is even better demonstrated in the students' arguments of the relationship between China and the world. The following section expands the scope of discussion from China to the world, asking the students' opinions on the influence of globalisation on the conceptions of citizenship. It addresses two main questions: the impact of globalisation on individual Chinese citizens and China's role in global arena.

7.4 In a Globalising World

7.4.1 Global mobility for individuals

Most students approached the issue of globalisation firstly at an individual level, addressing its impacts in terms of employment and life experience. Globalisation has brought more opportunities for the students to choose where to work and live.

“From the employment point of view, in the past, people mainly choose to work locally, preferably in a state-owned enterprise. What people pursued was the stability of life. Now we have many more choices, like foreign companies and even working abroad. So being global means global mobility and opportunities. It may also mean that we hear more about what's going on in other parts of the world, like the earthquake in Japan.”(A-Song, University A)

Globalisation accelerates global mobility. Many students pointed out that one needed to be prepared with necessary skills, such as English and globally recognised professional skills to be able to benefit from it. In other words, the opportunities are for those who are capable and prepared.

“Students like us, have many more choices for our future. You can stay abroad or go back to China, depending on your personal capacity and wish. You can stay in the UK, or travel to other countries, such as Canada or the US. English has certainly enabled us to seek global employment and life possibilities. Even if we decide to go back to

China, English will help us to get better jobs, working for global enterprises, such as ABB, Siemens”. (D-Gan, Programme D)

As previously discussed, one big attraction of TNE is the English medium teaching and learning. Currently, English is widely taught in all levels of education in China. In the past ten years, the central government has circulated a series of documents to promote English teaching in schools and English medium instruction in tertiary education. Regarding the penetration of English into Chinese society, all the students thought positively about such spread. They thought that it would not be a threat to the Chinese language or culture.

“It is not a threat to Chinese culture or language. English is used by people from different countries, not just English-speaking countries. It is very much a skill that people acquire to participate in a global economy. Now children in China start learning English in kindergarten, but they are still living in a Chinese cultural environment”. (D-Lei, Programme D)

However, such “exponential spread” of English is not equally conducted in different regions in China due to the unequal distribution and availability of educational resources (Feng, 2009). Immersive English medium education, such as TNE, and studying abroad could only be accessed by an even smaller group. Therefore, genuine global mobility, for the majority of the Chinese people, is a dream that cannot be easily realised.

7.4.2 Global consumer market and cultural influence

In addition to the increasing global mobility, many students also discussed the impact of globalisation on Chinese people’s domestic lives. This mainly reflects on people’s material and spiritual consumptions. China has gradually emerged into the global consumer market. This is especially true in the big cities, where foreign products and global brands can be easily accessed.

“China is getting closer to the world. One example is the availability of the global products and brands. Many years ago, it was so hard to buy products of world brands. It is so easy now. I think, at least the cities in China are getting closer and alike to big cities in other countries. Shanghai is like New York now. You can't feel much difference”. (D-Guo, Programme D)

In addition to the material consumption, many students also mentioned cultural and spiritual influences. Some western festivals, such as Christmas and Valentine’s Day, are also celebrated in China, especially among Chinese young people. Many shopping centres and

restaurants in China make special offers or arrangements for these festivals. Foreign movies and music can be easily accessed. As to whether the imported culture would be a threat to the local culture, similar to their attitude towards English, most students thought that it would not be a real threat to the Chinese culture.

“Now in China, people celebrate Christmas, not because it is a cultural celebration. It's only a commercial time. The real festival is only when we are truly emotionally involved such as the Chinese New Year”. (D-Lei, Programme D)

D-Lei also thought that globalisation could be a stimulus to the Chinese economy as China emerges into the global market.

“Globalisation can stimulate the Chinese economy. China has become a world factory. Many Chinese who go abroad and learn new knowledge and skills abroad will eventually come back to China and contribute to a stronger economic ties between China and the foreign economies.”

There were also more critical views. D-Gao analysed the globalising market from a historical view.

“In my opinion, globalisation was pushed by the developed economies as they were seeking to sell their overly produced commodities to the overseas markets. So globalisation started from economic globalisation. It then merged into other social and cultural aspects. For the developing world, they were pretty much being globalised”. (D-Gao, Programme D)

Therefore, in his opinion, the global market was not a fair trade market, but was more favourable to the developed world.

“It will certainly have some negative impacts. The initiators of globalisation were the developed countries. They didn't think about the developing countries. They would only think about their own profits. If we look at the less developed regions, their local economy relies heavily on western investment and control. They have no independent healthy economic system”. (D-Gao)

Similarly, in terms of cultural influence, there was a clear power disparity. D-Gao thought the culture at the receiving end could be under severe threat if not being properly preserved.

“Culturally, there is also a power disparity..... There is no definite negative or positive impacts on the receiving culture. In today's world, the cultural influence and invasion is inevitable. All cultures will be tested. It's like a plague. If the receiving body recovers from the disease, it could develop an immune system that strengthens its own identity and even global recognition. However, if it fails, the consequence is

fatal. For example, the Maori music, the native New Zealand music, was in serious danger when they were invaded and ended up as the minority”. (D-Gao, Programme D)

7.4.3 China in the global political arena

Negative or positive, the economic and cultural impacts of globalisation were considered as inevitable. Generally, students thought that globalisation provided great opportunities for China’s economy to grow bigger and stronger. Meanwhile, it was widely agreed that China should focus on its economic growth and not overly be involved in global issues, especially political affairs.

“Subjectively and emotionally speaking, most Chinese people feel that the Chinese government needs to prioritise the domestic problems. Of course, morally, it is good to help other poor countries. It is good to publicise such actions. However, people need their government to help its own people first”. (D-Wang, Programme D)

“China is a developing country, so China is predominantly focusing on its own development. The western countries are more active in international affairs. It is because they are very developed domestically. They want to expand overseas”. (B-Ling, College B)

A-Wang thought that the Chinese government was not willing to take any proactive role in global politics. The Chinese government, as he commented, “wants to keep a low profile” and concentrates on “developing its own economy”. He thought it was a wise choice for the current government to do so.

“I have a strong feeling that China’s government tends to be neutral in international politics. In other words, China doesn’t want to go against anyone, not America or any third world countries. You will notice that China constantly abstained in the decision making processes in the UN. China wants to adopt the Confucius philosophy of the Golden Mean (zhongyong) in international politics. China is not confident in dealing with international affairs. China wants to keep a low profile and focusing on developing its own economy.” (A-Wang, University A)

A-Yu expressed a similar idea and made an analysis from the perspective of China’s economic development. He thought that as China’s economy grew interdependently in the international market, it was against China’s wishes and interests to go against anyone politically.

“There is always a deep connection between economy and politics. China relies heavily on international trade. A large percentage of the GDP comes from exporting,

not domestic consumption. As a consequence, China tries hard to be the good guy in dealing with international relations. Therefore, China has to compromise in its political influences. As the world factory, China needs to please the clients, regardless of the political stands they are taking. To change such circumstance, China has to reform its economic structures inside, enlarging the domestic consumption, reducing the manufacturing and exporting in the low end market. China has to be profit-driven, not sticking too much to political principles". (A-Yu, University A)

Some students thought that China's active participation in some international events, such as hosting the Olympic Games, was not to show off to the world, but to raise national pride domestically. D-Lei commented that the government knew well the methods to unify the people under "the flag of nationalism". She gave the example of the Taiwan issue.

"When hosting a global event, such as the Olympics, national pride was well stimulated among the people within China. People are very easy to be motivated in these international events. People may be critical about domestic issues, but the Chinese were much unified whenever facing foreign interference. For example, the Taiwan issue. The majority of mainland Chinese students would be passionate against the independence of Taiwan though they were not personally involved in the issue. This is the unification under the flag of nationalism. Such national emotion gets stronger whenever the old "enemies" were involved, such as the USA or Japan. The government knows that the people would be unconditionally unified under these issues. They would easily win the support of its people." (D-Lei, Programme D)

In D-Yu's opinion, the national pride stimulated from these international involvements would not last long. To win support from its people and be a real power in the world, in his opinion, China should firstly solve all the domestic problems. In other words, it was wise for the Chinese government to keep a low profile in international issues.

"If China has ground breaking innovation in technology and science or if the government can eliminate regional poverty, the people would truly support the government. The national pride should come from there. The high national pride among the Americans comes from the great power of their country. When the US was strong enough and rich enough, they could then spare their energy to deal with global issues, such as the Marshall Plan to help Europe after World War Two. Of course, they can then win political favour from Europe. It is not because they have hosted so many global events". (D-Yu, Programme D)

7.4.4 Global issues

Looking from China's perspective, the students thought that it was wise for China to keep a low profile and to focus on domestic development. Considering their impassive attitude towards domestic political participation, it was not surprising that the majority of the students

admitted that they had very little interest in global current affairs.

“Honestly, we don’t care too much about the international issues. There is little chance to talk about it among friends. We will talk more about Chinese news, like the speed train accident. We may pay more attention to the country where we will visit in the future, like the UK. Most international news is not relevant to our life, so we are not interested.” (A-Li, University A)

A-Wang expressed a similar idea and said that he would only pay more attention to the events that might have an impact on his life. He gave the example of the riots in the UK.

“I think I would be more interested in events, which are closer to my own life. For example, when the riots took place in the UK, I was following the news closely and also trying to understand the social, cultural and political reasons underpinning these riots. Because I will go abroad, such events are closer to my personal life.”(A-Wang, University A)

Students’ lack of interests in global issues reflected how they perceived their relationship with the global community. If students are only concerned about events relevant to their own lives, they would not care much about the Taiwan issue or Tibetan riots, which had no more relevance to their lives than the Syrian conflicts. However, most students passionately argued for national unity and against the independence of Taiwan or Tibet. Their concerns for the Taiwan issue were derived from their recognition of national identity, which indicates a “national consensus” of how the Taiwan issue should be dealt with. Similarly they would only be concerned about global issues when they truly identified with the global community.

7.4.5 National and global identities

The researcher followed their thoughts and asked their opinions of the possibility of a global identity together with or replacing the national identity. Referring back to their ideas of the cultural influence, most thought that national identity would not be undermined, let alone be replaced by a global identity. In A-Zhao’s opinion, increasing contacts with other cultures could actually strengthen people’s national identities.

“I think going abroad can actually strengthen students’ self-identity and the concept of motherland and nation. For example, when the Olympics Game Opening Ceremony was held in 2008, I was in Singapore. I was so excited and proud when I was watching TV with other Chinese students. We were crying from that pride and excitement. Such mobility and interconnection happened to provide new opportunities

for the Chinese who are living outside China to still contribute to and participate in the development of China.” (A-Zhao, University A)

Similar comments were given by many other students. Meanwhile, some students pointed out the danger of nationalistic ideas and stressed the benefit of becoming cross-cultural competent so as to truly embrace global opportunities.

“To embrace global opportunities, we need to liberate ourselves from the nationalistic ideas, which restricted our visions. Increasing contact with different cultures can make us understand that there are different perspectives, all of which have their rationales to interpret the world. It doesn’t mean that we need to give up our national identity. We just need to see the world through different lenses.” (D-Gao, Programme D)

Depending on how individual students perceived their scope of the future, the community with which they were primarily concerned was also defined differently. For example, many of the students interviewed were born in big cities, such as Shanghai and Beijing. When they talked about their future roles, they had always pictured themselves in big metropolitan cities, with little consideration of what life might be like in the countryside of China or outside China. Their priority was given to the metropolitan community where they would be living in. There were also some students who had projected their futures abroad, considering a career and life opportunities in other countries, such as the UK. To these students, a wider community concern beyond China might gradually influence their citizenship perceptions.

7.4.6 Survey results

The final question in the questionnaire survey asked students to select global issues which they cared about. It was a multiple choice question, which gave students freedom to choose as many as they liked. In this way, each item was assessed independently, not competing with each other for students’ selection. All questionnaires (in total 314 valid ones) were analysed together. The result is presented in table 7.1.

The top three items selected by students were all related to the global economy, which matched with the finding that students spoke of globalisation mainly in economic terms and opportunities outside China. Three items at the bottom of the list were issues which were not directly related to students’ personal lives but certainly among the top concerns for the global community. The results echoed the finding that there was a lack of interests in global current

affairs or concerns for global community.

Table 7.1 Questionnaire survey result of global issues of students' concerns

Ranking	Item	Number of students selected
1	Global Economic Integration and Economic Crisis	215
2	International Trade and Cooperation	179
3	Inequality of Global Economic Development	152
4	Diversity of Social Development	142
5	Environment Protection	136
6	Cultural and Religious Conflicts	101
7	Regional Conflicts and World Peace	90
8	Scarcity in Educational Resources in Underdeveloped Regions	86
9	Racial Discrimination	70
10	Terrorism and Global Security	67
11	Poverty in Underdeveloped Regions	56

7.5 Citizenship Perceptions under Multiple Influences

Students understood the concept of societies (from local to global) through various channels, including their families and friends, school education, mass media and interactive media of the Internet. Students' citizenship perceptions concerned with how to identify themselves with regard to the nation, the state and the global community were found to be under multiple influences.

Citizenship education in China, which was reviewed in Chapter 3, placed the interests of state government (the political identity of being a Chinese citizen) and the Chinese nation (the cultural and national identity of being a Chinese) as the lens to view the world. Despite their criticism of social realities, students were generally found to be patriotic with defensive attitudes towards governmental policies and high recognition of Chinese national identity. The influence of political propaganda through school education and mass media could be identified.

Meanwhile, students were very open to new ideas, taking a global vision in planning their future. Through communications with other cultures and via the Internet, students became aware of a world beyond China. However, a nation-oriented and pragmatic world view was generally adopted by students. Global citizenship was interpreted mainly with references to global mobility, international employment opportunities and the global consumer market

rather than concerns for global issues. Moreover, attention was given primarily to certain developed countries, rather than seeing the world as an entity. Nevertheless, there was a growing awareness of the global community among the interviewed students.

A concentric circle of multiple communities could assist the understanding of students' citizenship perceptions and the gradient of weakening impacts from immediate communities to the global community (Figure 7.1).

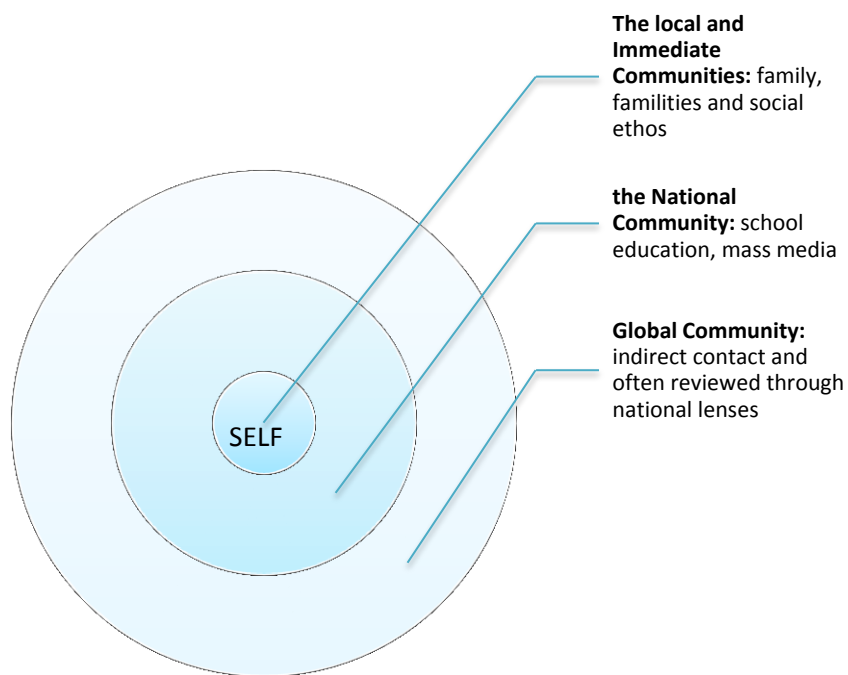


Figure 7.1 Students' multi-community perceptions of citizenship

7.6 Students' Evaluation of TNE in Citizenship Education

So far the discussion has been on students' perceptions of citizenship and citizenship education, this section looks at students' opinions on what was ideal citizenship education for them and how TNE has prepared them to be future citizens. Most students described university education as a transitional period for personal development.

“University is the bridge to the society. University is not only an institution for learning, but also a social community. Unlike pre-university life, university life requires us to be independent, being away from the protection of the parents. It is a crucial transitional stage for all students before entering into the society” (A-Li,

University A).

During this transitional period, there were many educational goals to achieve, which were set up differently by individuals. However, one fundamental aim of education, which was frequently brought up by students, was to enhance their *suzhi*.

7.6.1 Citizenship education and education to enhance *Suzhi*

Suzhi implies internalised overall quality of one's characteristics, which are affected by one's upbringing (Kipnis, 2006, p. 297). *Suzhi* indicates a measurement of one's values to society and marks a hierarchical scale from low to high. Many students spoke of the value of education in relevance to *suzhi*.

“China is a highly stratified society. Migrant workers from the countryside living in the cities are often accused of being low in *suzhi* and are looked down upon by urban citizens. This is because education in rural areas is not as good as in the cities.” (D-Pan, Programme D)

The interpretation of education as a means to distinguish personal values and even moralities could find its origin in Confucian views of education (reviewed in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.1.2). Confucianism stresses social hierarchy and thinks that education makes some people morally superior to others, hence more valuable to the society than others. Meanwhile, an examination-oriented education system (imperial civil service examination or *keju* in feudal states and *gaokao* in the current state) has been implemented in China, which links education to socio-economic and political power. In contemporary discourse, *suzhi* as a general measurement of overall quality of one's characteristics (especially in moral and intellectual aspects) has often been justified as the determinant for one's position in the social hierarchy (Kipnis, 2006, p. 310). Therefore, universities were expected to enhance students' *suzhi* and subsequently improving their social hierarchy.

“I think that university education is a general education to enhance students' personal *suzhi*”. (A-Li, University A)

“University education representing the highest level of moral and intellectual cultivation should be aiming at enhancing students' *suzhi*, so as to bring them better material and spiritual lives and high social status.” (D-Duo, Programme D)

Some students linked *suzhi* with citizenship and commented that good citizens were those with high *suzhi*. In this sense, citizenship education in higher education should be focusing on

enhancing students' *suzhi*.

“To be a good citizen, you have to have high *suzhi*. Then you will have potentials to be a good citizen.” (A-Wang, University A)

“Universities are different from professional training colleges, where students are trained to perform in a certain job. University is a place for educating future citizens. Citizenship education at universities should also contribute to enhancing students' *Suzhi*”. (D-Gao, Programme D)

To enhance students' *suzhi*, two aspects were specifically stressed by students: morality (*daode*), and independent personality (*duli renye*). UK TNE was particularly evaluated as beneficial to enhance students' independent personality, which reflected on its attention to individual merits, putting emphasis on independent thinking and encouragement for independent decision-making.

7.6.2 Citizenship education for developing independent personality

Independent personality (*duli renye*) reflected a set of interrelated qualities to describe one's personality: independent thinking/critical thinking, independent decision-making and individual merits valued by society. It was well noticed that students were eager to be recognised as individuals based on their personal merits, not merely measured against the same standard, such as academic achievements.

“Education needs to recognise individual value and needs. If education is for passing the exams, then everyone is measured against the same standard. Individual differences need to be acknowledged in education and the aim of education should be set up so as to tap the individual potentials, and to improve the *suzhi* of the particular person. *Suzhi* is a collective concept including a diversity of qualities, not limited to academic achievements.”(D-Gao, Programme D)

The recognition of individual merits was seen as a positive feature of UK education, which would enhance students' *suzhi* and cultivate good citizens.

“UK education puts more weight on diversity and the uniqueness of individuals. Students have more freedom to choose what they want to learn. Actually in the future, many jobs look at different individual qualities. To fully develop *suzhi* education, society needs to accept different models of success, and then students can choose one that suits them the best. To create good citizens, education needs to acknowledge and encourage such diversity. ” (D-Pan, Programme D)

Based on the recognition of individual values and uniqueness, university education was

expected to let students learn how to think independently and critically, so as to make their own decisions.

“I think the top task of a university is to teach students how to think independently. The UK universities lay much more stress on this aspect. In Chinese universities, what is taught in class and written in the textbooks represents the authoritative source of information, the so called correct answers. While in the UK, plagiarism is very seriously penalised. We are required to think and work independently. Only through independent thinking could we become real citizens of the society”. (D-Pan, Programme D)

“In our university (University A), the teaching method encourages independent thinking. The ability to think independently is the crucial step to cultivate an independent personality. Students are given a lot of freedom to design study schedules and their future career. The world in the future doesn't want everyone to act uniformly. It requires each individual to be unique and with an independent personality. Ideally, citizens should not have to act simply according to instructions, but act with free will.”(A-Xu, University A)

This question of what should be included in citizenship education came at the end of the interview. When students had been exploring the conceptions of citizenship, social realities in China and individuals' lives projected in a global context, they became clearer on the topic and began to give more insightful comments than those initial definitions. Students' ideals of citizenship education based on individual merits and independent thinking and decision-making reflected students' eagerness to break through the evaluation of personal worthiness based on collective and communist conceptions of citizenship.

7.6.3 Teaching Content for Citizenship Education

The final section the questionnaire asked students to rate 15 aspects of potential teaching content in citizenship education. The results were presented in the following table (Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 Questionnaire survey result of students' selection of preferred content of citizenship education

Statements		Rating				
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. Teaching the political and legal system of China.	N	49	170	67	23	5
	%	15.6%	54.1%	21.3%	7.3%	1.6%
2. Teaching the political and legal systems of other countries	N	42	162	88	20	2
	%	13.4%	51.6%	28%	6.4%	0.6%
3. Teaching traditional Chinese culture and philosophies.	N	58	152	83	20	1
	%	18.5%	48.4%	26.4%	6.4%	0.3%
4. Teaching contemporary Chinese ideologies of Marxism, Mao Zedong's Thoughts.	N	23	90	139	44	18
	%	7.3%	28.7%	44.3%	14%	5.7%
5. Teaching philosophies of other countries.	N	42	136	117	18	1
	%	13.4%	43.3%	37.3%	5.7%	0.3%
6. Teaching students about citizens' duties.	N	108	142	54	7	3
	%	34.4%	45.2%	17.2%	2.2%	1%
7. Teaching students about citizens' rights.	N	132	142	35	4	1
	%	42%	45.2%	11.1%	1.3%	0.3%
8. Cultivating students' legal awareness.	N	158	132	20	3	1
	%	50.3%	42%	6.4%	1%	0.3%
9. Cultivating students' national pride and patriotism.	N	128	144	34	7	1
	%	40.8%	45.9%	10.8%	2.2%	0.3%
10. Cultivating students' concerns for democracy and human rights.	N	157	126	30	1	0
	%	50%	40.1%	9.6%	0.3%	0%
11. Cultivating students' public moralities.	N	171	123	18	1	1
	%	54.5%	39.2%	5.7%	0.3%	0.3%
12. Cultivating students' independent personalities as adults.	N	193	106	14	1	0
	%	61.5%	33.8%	4.5%	0.3%	0
13. Cultivating Students' concerns for the globe, such as environment protection.	N	153	138	15	6	2
	%	48.7%	43.9%	4.8%	1.9%	0.6%
14. Providing modules or activities to let students know about international organisations, such as the UN.	N	107	147	54	3	3
	%	34.1%	46.8%	17.2%	1%	1%
15. Providing modules or activities to let students know about international political issues, such as regional conflicts.	N	118	143	46	6	1
	%	37.6%	45.5%	14.6%	1.9%	0.3%

Table 7.3 presents the order of the statements in accordance with the percentage of agreed or strongly agreed students.

Table 7.3 Questionnaire survey result of students' selection of preferred content of citizenship education in descending order

Statements	Percentage of Students Agree or Strongly Agree
12. Cultivating students' independent personalities as adults.	95.2%
11. Cultivating students' moralities.	93.6%
13. Cultivating Students' concerns for the globe, such as environment protection.	92.7%
8. Cultivating students' legal awareness.	92.4%
10. Cultivating students' concerns for democracy and human rights.	90.1%
7. Teaching students about citizens' rights	87.3%
9. Cultivating students' national pride and patriotism.	86.6%
15. Providing modules or activities to let students know about international political issues, such as regional conflicts.	83.1%
14. Providing modules or activities to let students know about international organisations, such as the UN.	80.9%
6. Teaching students about citizens' duties.	79.6%
1. Teaching the political and legal system of China.	69.7%
3. Teaching traditional Chinese culture and philosophies.	66.9%
2. Teaching the political and legal systems of other countries	65%
5. Teaching philosophies of other countries.	56.7%
4. Teaching contemporary Chinese ideologies of Marxism, Mao Zedong's Thoughts.	36%

Survey results further confirmed the finding that students were eager to be recognised as independent individuals: 61.5% selected strongly agree and in total 95.2% agreed that citizenship education should cultivate students' independent personality. With all other items

being agreed by over half of the students, at the bottom of the table lays the curriculum of ideological-political education with only a third showing willingness to learn. It is also interesting to note the items where a high percentage of students selected neutral. At the top of the list was the ideological-political module with 44.3% of students choosing not to give an opinion. This result also ties in with the rating result of whether TNE should include ideological-political education or not (34.7% choose neutral, refer to table 6.5). Teaching of other countries' philosophies and other countries' political and legal systems was also given a relatively high percentage of neutral rating, with 37.3% and 28%.

Does that indicate that students do not care about these issues? Or could it be that students were very clear about the Chinese government's stand on these issues and decided not to give an opinion since policies wouldn't be easily altered? Answers to these issues reach beyond the scope of this research. An in-depth empirical investigation into students' perceptions, especially qualitative research of interviews and focus groups, may provide more satisfactory explanations.

7.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter focuses on students' perceptions of citizenship and citizenship education, exploring how they perceive their relations with local, national and international communities and how they evaluated TNE in preparing them to be future citizens. After years of exposure to the official ideological-political indoctrination, students were generally negative about the existing citizenship education implemented by the CPC-led government. They were aware of the state's intention to create obedient and loyal citizens through public education and mass media. They showed a certain level of critical thinking in addressing social and political issues. Meanwhile, there was a general reluctance for political participation or substantial alteration to the status quo. Despite the criticism and passive participatory attitudes, students also showed patriotic affection and defensive attitudes towards the CPC-led government and a strong recognition of Chinese national identity.

Having been brought up in an era of economic globalisation and having accepted UK education, students had become aware of the global community. However, such awareness was generally referred to as global mobility, global consumer market and cultural influences, rather than concerns for global politics, such as the regional conflicts. It was widely argued

that China should prioritise its efforts in solving domestic problems. With regard to citizenship education, students related university education closely to the cultivation of personal *suzhi*, which was seen as an important measurement of personal values to society and determinant of one's position in the social hierarchy. In this sense, UK TNE was evaluated highly by students with its emphasis on cultivating independent personality based on recognition of individual merits, attention to independent thinking and decision-making.

Chapter 8 Discussion

This study explores the practice of UK transnational education (TNE) in mainland China, with special attention given to illustrate how different educational perceptions and ideas interact in the cross-border educational process, something which has not been extensively explored in the existing literature. In this research, citizenship education is used as an analytical angle to reveal the educational challenges and potentials of TNE, exploring how citizenship education has been perceived and dealt with. This chapter starts with a graphical representation of a model holistically describing the major TNE practice in China on the basis of the findings from this research. It then presents a critical discussion by linking the existing literature in TNE (reviewed in chapter 2), citizenship education (reviewed in chapter 3) and the findings of this study (chapter 5, 6 and 7). In this way the research findings can be interpreted in relation to established academic fields and their potential use for educational theory and practice.

8.1 Synthesising Research Findings

8.1.1 The descriptive model of citizenship education in UK TNE in China

On the basis of the findings presented in the previous chapters, a descriptive model as shown in Figure 8.1 was drawn to reflect the complex and dynamic relationships between the concepts of citizenship reviewed, the financial and political imperatives of key stakeholders of TNE and the real practice on the ground. The top level of the chart lists different conceptions of citizenship, which have impacts on citizenship education at the second level. The third level describes how citizenship education has been carried out in different models of UK TNE in China: increasing influences from UK education can be expected from joint programme, colleges affiliated to the Chinese partner universities to TNE universities with independent legal status. The students' perceptions of citizenship are shown at the bottom of the chart, indicating multiple influences. All these critically elaborated in the following pages.

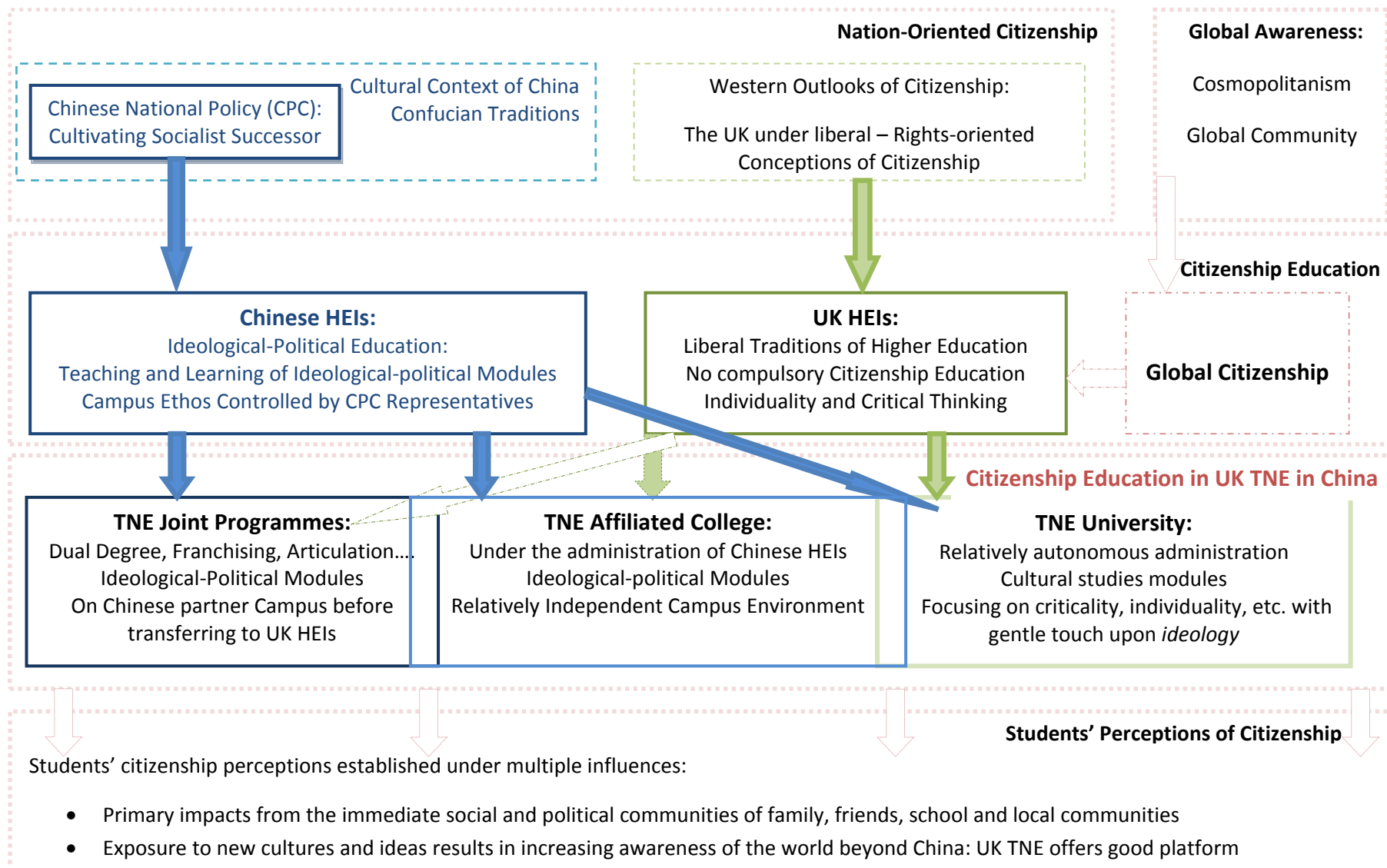


Table 8.1 Citizenship education in the four TNE cases

8.1.2 Linking to the knowledge area of TNE

UK TNE in China is part of an expanding educational phenomenon in the world: cross-national education delivery through personnel mobility and knowledge transfer. From the very start, several leading exporting countries have been driving the development of TNE. The global geographic map of TNE and movement of educational resources presents a global web with a handful of exporting centres, three leading ones of which are English-speaking countries, US (16.5%), the UK (13%) and Australia (6.1%), which together take over a third of the global TNE market (BIS, 2013b). The leading exporters have also been directing the definition, regulation and investigation of TNE in the global platform. There has not been sufficient attention given to the host countries of TNE and even less regarding the interactions with and impacts on the educational system of the host countries. This research provides a detailed account of the incentives of one exporting country (the UK), the regulatory power and expectations of the host country (mainland China) to engage in TNE. It brings the discussion of TNE back to its educational foundation: how citizenship education has been perceived and incorporated in its educational process.

The development of TNE: a market-driven process

UNESCO forecasts an increase of 21 million enrolments to tertiary education between 2011 and 2020, most of whom will be in the developing world (British Council, 2013, p. 7). The sheer growing demand for higher education may not be met domestically in many countries, which creates substantial market opportunities for countries rich in educational resources to tap into. The World Trade Organisation (WTO) has provided a regulatory framework to encourage free trade of higher education services under the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). The UK, as a leading global provider of higher education, has openly acknowledged the economic benefits of exporting education services and has been actively engaged in the evolving educational model of TNE (BIS, 2013a). In 2011/2012 in the higher education sector, the number of UK TNE students (570,000) has surpassed that of international students studying in the UK (488, 000), expanding its footprint in more than 200 countries (British Council, 2013, pp. 5, 37). On the receiving end, China introduced market mechanism into its higher education reform and opened its domestic market for foreign HEIs.

As no substantial public funding is devoted to TNE, either from the exporting or from the host countries, the market will remain the main driver for the future development of TNE.

Quality: key to success

While the exporting countries are attracted by the economic benefits, countries at the receiving end are more likely looking into the educational values entailed in TNE and its added educational benefits to their own domestic higher education. This research of UK TNE in China provides a good case study of such disparity of interests in TNE.

Higher education reform in China entering into the 21st century shifted its attention from massification and marketisation to quality assurance for CFCRS and capacity building for Chinese HEIs. CFCRS merely accounts for a small part of the higher education provision in China. The values of CFCRS, as perceived by the Chinese government, are assessed in terms of introducing high quality and advanced educational resources (Ministry of Education , 2007). Therefore, quality assurance is one of the main concerns in the current governmental policies of CFCRS. Since *the CFCRS Regulations 2003* was published, the Chinese government has tightened up its regulations through the licensing system to evaluate and certify or disqualify different Chinese-foreign cooperative programmes or institutions. Without a valid CFCRS licence, the TNE programme could soon find itself discarded by the market as its degrees are not recognised by the Chinese government.

Quality is also of core interest for UK HEIs. The growth in the quantity of UK TNE is attributed to the global recognition and reputation of UK higher education (BIS, 2013a, p. 4). The richness of educational resources in the UK should be broadly understood as the advanced quality of its higher education (such as the curriculum, teaching methods and research excellence). Under liberal traditions, UK HEIs enjoy great autonomy in designing their own programmes, which also indicates the responsibilities of individual HEI in safeguarding education quality, including TNE. While each HEI has a private interest in ensuring quality of its overseas activities, all UK HEIs are, to some extent, linked together globally under the brand of UK Education, hence share the responsibility to maintain the good reputation of the brand with high quality TNE. The UK government also started to put pressure on each HEI to maintain high standard of TNE quality with the auditing carried out by the Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (QAA). So far, the QAA has carried

out two mainland China-focused TNE reviews in 2006 and 2012 (QAA, 2006; QAA, 2013a). Different from the review in 2006, QAA liaised with and jointly visited several of its counterpart, China Academic Degrees and Graduate Education Development Centre (CDGDC), over the period of review in 2012 (QAA, 2013a, p. 4). The communication and cooperation with quality assurance agencies of the host country suggests a growing awareness of the different interpretations of education quality and the importance of taking host countries' needs into consideration.

Identity of TNE

Under the current policy in China, CFCRS is considered as one part of Chinese higher education, which needs to develop under the overall national educational agenda. The government stressed the identity of *CFCRS* (Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools) as China's cooperation with foreign partners, not foreign HEIs selling to the Chinese market. At an institutional level, all CFCRS are set up as joint ventures / cooperative projects between foreign HEIs and their Chinese partner HEIs. All educational policies from the central government, including those of citizenship education, are circulated via governmental bureaucracies and operationalised and monitored through CPC teams on campus (CPC Committee, *dangwei*, and its Youth League Committee, *tuanwei*). The president or the principal administrator of CFCRS is legally required to be a Chinese national, "living in China and loving China" (Article 25, *the CFCRS Regulations*, 2003).

All these legal requirements to ensure the government's control over CFCRS were easily identified in all four UK TNE cases. University A and College B both self-identified as China's international universities. Programme C and D were under the direct administration of the Chinese partner universities, both of which were promoted as additional routes provided by the Chinese universities for their students to choose. Meanwhile, variations on how specific requirements were applied in each case and differences between law in book and law in action were noticed in this research. Leader B, a British national working in UK TNE in China for many years, pointed out the symbolic meaning in honouring the Chinese regulations and the benefit of having a Chinese principal administrator for TNE: dealing with all the legal and political issues with the Chinese authorities and leaving the British HEIs to focus on academic affairs. In other words, to successfully operate TNE in China, the foreign

HEIs need to cooperate closely with their Chinese partners and even rely on them to maintain a good relationship with the Chinese authorities.

Research findings of the educational expectations, quality assurance and policy environment are unique in the host country of mainland China. However, questions initiating the research and issues covered throughout the discussion are also universally relevant to TNE in different contexts. While TNE grows into a global phenomenon, each TNE programme requires customised design and delivery to achieve sustainable development. This type of country-specific and empirical investigations can form good reference to inform and review TNE practice in different contexts at different levels.

8.1.3 Linking to Research Area of Citizenship and Citizenship Education

Citizenship: theoretical conceptions and individual perceptions

As one fundamental concept of modern social and political studies, citizenship is widely explored in academic discussion. Citizenship is also one commonly used term in people's everyday language. Most academic discussions and curriculum suggestions are normative, based on theories of ideal citizens. Less research addresses the issues from students' perspectives. Consequently, students might find it hard to associate with the theoretically defined aims of citizenship education, which could be too ideal and less relevant to their own lives. This research presents the differences between the scholarly debated conceptions of citizenship and the citizenship perceived by individual students. Most Chinese students interviewed were not familiar with the concept of citizenship. However, once released from the terminological constraints, many students presented thoughtful ideas of how they understood Chinese society and their connections and interactions with the state government. Students growing up in an era of China's social transition hear different voices to establish their citizenship perceptions, including but not limited to the political teachings from the central government, cultural cultivation from families and wider society as well as foreign ideas from abroad.

Findings of students' perceptions show a synthesis of ideas and values identified in different theoretical streams, some of which could be found as contradictory with one another. For example, governmental attempt to impose political indoctrination via educational system

seems to be treated with scepticism by many students which could be seen as a sign of favouring freedom of speech and liberty of thought. On the other hand, active public debate and political participation were not favoured by most students. While most students considered China's one party system as not democratic and unfair, not a single student showed any great desire for China to become a western democracy. In other words, no single established school of thought could provide a satisfactory description of how citizenship was perceived by the Chinese students. Although exploring what contributes to students' perceptions is not of primary concern for this research, empirical data of their perceptions of citizenship can lead to future research into the area.

Citizenship Education: Practical Values and Locally Concerned

As social and economic inequality becomes increasingly visible in contemporary China, the anxiety to stand out from fierce competition has motivated students and their parents to mobilise all possible resources to prepare for their future. Therefore, students' expectation in UK TNE and suggestions for citizenship education also largely derived from such consideration. One primary criticism of the ideological-political education was its lack of relevance to social reality and practical values. Among all ideological-political modules, only the module introducing current Chinese laws received some positive comments.

The research found that the students were concerned about the future of China and generally perceive their futures through national lenses. They chose UK TNE to improve their English and to study abroad because they generally agreed that personal capacity determines one's future wealth and social status in China. Their understanding of globalisation was also generally related to China's economic connections with the world, global consumer market, and global opportunities for travel, study and work. For political issues which did not seem to be directly related to China, students generally agreed that China should stay out of them. In their opinion, China's primary concern should be on its own economic performance and domestic affairs.

8.1.4 Answering Research Questions

The final step of the empirical data analysis is to synthesise the findings, so as to approach the research questions holistically. The first research question is concerned with perceptions,

ideas and practice of citizenship education in TNE. This investigation was exploratory and aimed at constructing the “realities” of how citizenship education has been perceived and approached in the four TNE cases. Examining the data mainly from Chapter 5 and 6 and supplemented by some student interview data in Chapter 7, the general findings for this question were:

- Citizenship education in UK TNE was predominantly regulated and directed by the policies of the relevant authorities in China.
- The most commonly adopted approach to citizenship education in UK TNE (Case B, C&D) was to let students take the ideological-political modules, which were compulsory for all other Chinese university students. Pedagogical analysis showed features of ideological monopoly and political indoctrination.
- The campus ethos, student organisations and activities in the joint programmes of UK TNE (Case C and D) were under the surveillance of the Communist Party Committees at the Chinese universities, to ensure that only the “correct” messages were communicated on campus.
- University A, a relatively independent TNE university, provided an alternative approach to citizenship education. Rather than directly implementing the ideological-political modules, University A designed its own Chinese Culture Module, playing down the ideological-political side of citizenship education, acknowledging individual needs and encouraging critical thinking.
- TNE institutions with relatively independent campuses (Case A and B) created a more international and liberal environment for students to organise their own activities. The political propaganda from the state was also less explicit on both campuses.
- Both University A and College B adopted the concept of global citizens to describe their ideal graduates. However, the focus was on how to make students competitive

internationally. There was little evidence of efforts made to improve students' concerns for global issues or their knowledge and skills for political participation.

The second question looks at students' perceptions of citizenship and citizenship education. The relevant data was presented in Chapter 7, which generalised the following key findings.

- Having been exposed to ideological-political indoctrination since primary schools, most students interviewed showed awareness of the Chinese government's intention to create obedient and loyal citizens through controls over public schooling and the mass media. They formed their own perceptions of citizenship based on critical thinking and references to diverse sources of information other than the official conceptions of citizenship.
- Many students demonstrated awareness, knowledge and concerns for social and political development in China. They were able to think critically about governmental policies, but reluctant to suggest any alteration to the status quo.
- Despite the lack of interests in political participation and official ideologies, most students showed a strong sense of patriotism, a defensive attitude towards the ruling CPC government and recognition of national identity.
- Based on pragmatic considerations, many students expect citizenship education to contribute to improve personal *suzhi* and consider that the input of UK education were particularly valuable in developing students' skills of critical thinking, and independent decision-making.

The preceding chapters have presented details of these finding in accordance with the sequence of the research questions and elaborated sub-questions. This chapter aims at offering some explanations about the factors and rationale behind these findings.

8.2 Citizenship Education in UK TNE: under the CPC state policies

8.2.1 The regulatory policies in China

- *Citizenship education in UK TNE was predominantly regulated and directed by the policies of the relevant authorities in China.*

Chapter 2 reviews the development of the higher education system in China since the CPC-led state took power in 1949, pointing out the regulatory power of government policies in directing the process. The Chinese government's incentives for higher education reform were to enlarge access to higher education (massification), to mobilise more social resources to provide higher education (privatisation), to make higher education more responsive to market needs (decentralisation) and fundamentally enhance the competitiveness of Chinese HEIs (marketisation and encouraging CFCRS). However, despite the reform, many authors (Hawkins, 2000; Chan & Mok, 2001; Mok, 2002; Xu, 2005; Hu, 2006; Ma, 2009) point out that the Chinese central government has no intention of letting higher education develop independently and freely. Recent changes in education policies also indicate that the control over higher education has been tightened up since the beginning of the new century. In the field of CFCRS, a legal framework (the *CFCRS Regulations 2003*, alongside other relevant laws, such as the Higher Education Law 1998) has been established to ensure the government's control over how foreign education should be developed within its overall educational agenda.

The principal intention of CFCRS was stressed and reemphasised in various documents, which was to bring in high quality educational resources, particularly in the academic disciplines of science and technology. Meanwhile, the CFCRS was reminded to “strengthen political sense and responsibility” (*Notice on Further Regulating Chinese-foreign Cooperation in Running Schools*, 2007, Ministry of Education). Therefore, citizenship education designed by the Chinese central government, which is compulsory in higher education in China, is also a legal requirement for CFCRS.

The research found that all four TNE cases included citizenship education in their programmes, although there were variations in curriculum and teaching hours. In terms of formal teaching, three cases (B, C, and D) took a laissez faire approach to letting their

students follow the ideological-political modules, which were provided by the Chinese partner universities for their Chinese students. University A differed from the other three by developing the Chinese Culture Module covering a variety of themes related to history, national condition and culture of China to meet the relevant requirements. The effort made by University A to take another approach to citizenship education was generally appreciated by the students.

One point to be noted was that only those who were registered through *gaokao* recruitment (*On Quota* students) and would graduate with double degrees (one Chinese degree and one UK degree) were required to study citizenship education. Therefore, one leader of College B interpreted citizenship education as a “campus regulation”, part of the Chinese degree, independent from the UK degree part of the UK TNE in China. Three cases (A, B, C) only provided citizenship teaching in Year One (before progressing to a three year UK undergraduate degree from Year 2). However, the rigid separation between the Chinese and UK parts within the same TNE programme might not be appreciated by students. Meanwhile, for students who were not enrolled through *gaokao* (*Off Quota* Students), as they were not qualified for Chinese degrees, they were also not entitled to attend the Chinese modules. The arrangement could create an unpleasant division between the two student groups within the same TNE programme. While the *Off Quota* students might feel left out, the *On Quota* students might feel being forced to take extra modules, which were developed under different educational ideals. Both questionnaire results and student interviews had presented a negative attitude towards the ideological-political education.

Regarding extra-curriculum activities and campus ethos, Programme C and D, which were conducted on the campuses of the Chinese partner universities, showed clear evidence of the political penetration from the CPC. Both student organisations and activities were closely monitored or even directly arranged by the campus representative of CPC, *tuanwei* (Committee of the Youth League of the CPC) and *dangwei* (Committee of the CPC). As for University A and College B, both operating on their independent campuses, the political influence from the CPC was less overwhelming. Students from University A and College B showed great appreciation for the relatively liberal environment they enjoyed. The general approaches to citizenship education in the four TNE cases is briefly summarised in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 Citizenship Education Approaches in the Four TNE cases

Case Code	TNE Model	Formal in class citizenship-related teaching		Campus ethos	Student Organisation and Activities
		Curriculum	Teaching and Learning		
A	Joint Venture as an Independent University	Chinese Culture Module	Lecture & online forum	Located in a university town, sharing public space with the neighbouring institutions;	The Student Union and all the organisations were self-managed with minimum direct leadership from the CPC.
B	Joint Venture as an affiliated institution to PRC-B University	The students were required to take the same ideological-political modules with other Chinese students.	Rote learning of the required content from officially proved textbooks	A small independent campus with cosmopolitan surroundings	
C	Joint Programme			Typical Chinese university campuses with visible slogans of political propaganda.	All the students' organisations and activities were under the leadership of <i>tuanwei</i> and <i>dangwei</i> .
D					

8.2.2 The convenient choice: the ideological-political modules

- *The most commonly adopted approach to citizenship education in UK TNE (Case B, C&D) was to let students take the ideological-political modules, which were compulsory for all other Chinese university students. Pedagogical analysis showed features of ideological monopoly and political indoctrination.*

College B, Programme C and D included ideological-political modules into their programmes. No extra resource was put into citizenship education. The pedagogical process analysis of the three cases showed features of ideological monopoly and political indoctrination. The ideological-political modules are required by the government to be implemented throughout China's higher education system, which is in line with the overall educational aims of higher education promoted by the central government: to cultivate its desired citizens who uphold *“the concepts of patriotism, collectivism and socialism, diligently study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory, and have sound ideological and moral*

character” (Higher Education Law, Article 53,1998). It is hoped that students could become patriotic moral citizens who are loyal to the current CPC-led government through these modules. The current policy describes *ideological-political education* as the foundation for higher education (*Ideological-Political Education Opinion 2004*).

For CFCRS, the term “ideological-political education” is not used in relevant policies. The *CFCRS Regulations 2003* defines citizenship education as “courses on the Constitution, Laws, ethics of citizens and basic facts about China, etc., in accordance with the requirements by China for educational institutions of the same type at the same level” (Article 30, *CFCRS Regulations 2003*). The article is rather vague in defining what should be taught. It seems to indicate a spectrum of possibilities for citizenship education in UK TNE in China, from merely covering “courses of Constitution, Laws, ethics of citizens and basic facts about China” to following the same ideological-political modules in accordance with other Chinese universities. Case B, C and D chose the easy option of letting the Chinese partner deal with the issue and included the ideological-political modules, which presented features of ideological monopoly and political indoctrination.

Ideological-political modules: ideological monopoly and political indoctrination

Four common modules provided in Case B, C and D were: *the Principles of Marxism; Mao’s thoughts and the socialist theories with Chinese characteristics; the moral cultivation and the basics of the Chinese laws and outline of modern Chinese history*, which covered all compulsory components of ideological-political education at undergraduate level (Tu, 2011, pp. 430-431). Curriculum analysis of these modules (Chapter 6, section 6.1.1) shows that all modules together made a systematic argument for the legitimacy of the CPC-led government and monopolise the ideological voices, giving no space for alternative opinions and serving the purpose of cultivating loyal citizens who are patriotic supporters of the current political system and the ruling party. The adoption of ideological-political modules makes citizenship education in these three cases political indoctrination in nature.

Indoctrination is often linked with “brainwashing”, an authoritative teaching process which aims at forcing students to accept a previously determined belief (Yuen, 2007, p. 156). The same teaching and assessment method consisting of lectures plus paper-based exams was adopted by ideological-political modules in Case B, C and D. All the teaching was conducted

in big lecture theatres for hundreds of students simultaneously. There was close to nil interaction between the lecturer and the students in class. The teaching and assessment method did not recognise each student as an individual with critical thinking, unique personalities and diverse interests. Regardless of the lecturer's intention of and pedagogy, the commonly adopted teaching method of ideological-political education did not inspire students' critical thinking or independent decision-making.

Students' Feedback

Students' comments towards the ideological-political modules were predominantly negative. The major criticism of the ideological-political modules were summarised as follows:

- Mainly teaching the official ideologies and government policies, these modules were regarded as being closer to indoctrination than education.
- The content of the curriculum repeated what had been taught in primary and secondary education, hence was a waste of time.
- Most of what was taught in these modules was out of touch with students' real life experience and interests.
- The teaching and learning method of teacher/textbook-oriented large lectures and exams led to little space for critical thinking and individual diversity.

Findings of students' views on the Chinese society showed that they were quite critical of many current policies and political propaganda embedded in the ideological-political modules (Chapter 7, section 7.3). The government's hope to convince students that teaching in class was the absolute truth was challenged by students' own observations. Fairbrother (2003) notes that students' scepticism of what was taught in class "was a more direct measure of the students' perception of "schooling as indoctrination", which "led the students to think critically about national affairs" (Fairbrother, 2003, p. 616).

Most students commented that the official ideology of Communism had lost its attraction to the young generations of Chinese despite the ideological and political indoctrination in schools. Many blamed decaying morality on the "profit-driven" social ethos and faith vacuum since the adoption of the market economy. However, none of the students thought that the declining influence of the official ideologies could be a lethal threat to the regime of the CPC-led government. This idea happens to meet the government's expectation for the Reform and Opening Up: to shift the attention from ideology to social stability and the people's material well-being (Zhao & Fairbrother, 2010, p. 39), so as to sustain its legitimacy

despite the ideological crisis. Therefore, as many students commented, whether or not China could turn into a democracy was not a major concern for the Chinese people. Rather, the legitimacy of the state should be based on its performance in safeguarding social morality, sustaining economic growth domestically and protecting China's national pride internationally. Although most students held a passive attitude towards political participation, their patriotism towards the Chinese nation and confidence in the future of China was clearly expressed in the interviews. Students' perceptions of China and their own relationship with the state will be further discussed in answering the second research question.

8.2.3 Political penetration in campus ethos and students' activities

- *The campus ethos, student organisations and activities in the joint programmes of UK TNE (Case C and D) were under the surveillance of the Communist Party Committees at the Chinese universities, to ensure that only the "correct" messages were communicated on campus.*

The *Ideological-Political Education Opinions 2004* acknowledges the significance of campus ethos, requiring universities to build "the campus culture with socialist characteristics and contemporary attributes", prohibiting the communication of any "wrong idea" or "opinion" on campus and resisting the bad impacts of "harmful culture and rotten life-style" among university students (Opinion 16). It was hard to find out how the wrong messages were eliminated without taking the risk of testing it out. It was also unclear how risky it could be to publicise the "wrong messages". One more feasible approach was to look at how the correct messages were selected and publicised.

Findings at PRC-C University campus identified two departments directing all on-campus activities and monitoring the campus ethos: the CPC committee (*dangwei*) and its Youth League Committee (*tuanwei*). Their influence can penetrate into every corner of the campus. Such arrangement meets the requirement of the central government (Section Six, *Ideological-Political Education Opinions 2004*). One rigid publicity policy was implemented to ensure only the correct messages were sent out into public spaces. Not only the content, but also the format and arrangement of the banner (the colour of the banner, the font of the writing, as well as where they could be hung on campus) all needed to be approved by *tuanwei*. Having visited around twenty universities in China, the researcher found many similarities among

those campuses, such as the red banners with white characters. From an observer's perspectives, these directives regarding the campus ethos were effectively executed by many Chinese universities, including PRC-C University.

While public communication was checked, students' activities were also watched over by *tuanwei* via the Student Union. Students who are CPC members are under the direct leadership of *tuanwei* and *dangwei*, attending regular ideological-political studies. It is those who are not CPC members that the Student Union is concerned about. Under direct leadership of *tuanwei*, the Student Union organises ideological-political educational activities, so as to unify the general public (those students who are not CPC members) under the leadership of CPC (*Ideological-Political Education Opinions 2004*, Opinion 21).

Findings of PRC-C University showed that the assurance of the CPC leadership started from the recruitment of the Student Union cadres, who were selected in accordance with *tuanwei* requirements and were appointed and led by *tuanwei*. The ideal leader of the Student Union was described as someone who performed well academically and was willing to achieve ideological excellence. In other words, those who worked hard and pursued ideological-political progression were valued highly by the CPC and would be granted more opportunities to lead others. The fact that the candidate would already have an impressive academic and ideological record had effectively eliminated the possibilities for students of junior grades, especially Year One students to lead student organisation. For most TNE joint programme students, who would only spend the first part of their studies in China, such arrangement could well discourage them from participating. Meanwhile, little evidence showed that the UK-C or UK-D universities had made any extra effort, nor were they in a position to contribute to the creation of campus ethos for these TNE students in China.

8.2.4 Seeking space for alternative citizenship education curriculum

- *University A, a relatively independent TNE university, provided an alternative approach to citizenship education. Rather than directly implementing the ideological-political modules, University A designed its own Chinese Culture Module, playing down the ideological-political side of citizenship education, acknowledging individual needs and encouraging critical thinking.*

Compared with the direct adoption of ideological-political modules, University A designed its own curriculum to meet the citizenship education requirement. Results from curriculum analysis, staff and student interviews highlighted several features of this approach to citizenship:

- Play down the ideological and political influence
- Pay attention to individual values
- Encourage critical thinking

Play down the ideological and political influence

The Chinese Culture Module covered five major themes:

- The national conditions of China (*guoqin*)
- Culture Studies
- Chinese Laws
- Brief Introduction to Modern Chinese History
- Self-Management

The highly politicised curriculum of *the Principles of Marxism* and *the Socialist Theories with Chinese Characteristics* were covered briefly in the form of several topics under the theme of *guoqin*. For such an arrangement, most students interpreted it as a compromise from the UK side in exchange for support from the Chinese government. The reduced teaching hours of the ideological-political modules was appreciated by most students although some thought that more efforts could be made to make it even more liberal. However, neither students nor the researcher could know exactly how flexible or strict the relative Chinese authorities were in relaxing ideological-political education. What could be inferred from the finding of Case A was that there was a space for negotiation and the possibility to reduce the influence of ideological-political indoctrination in CFCRS.

Pay attention to individual values

Instead of focusing on ideological and political propaganda and contributions to the socialist cause, the Chinese Culture Module claimed to help students “launch a happy life and a successful career”, a shift of attention from collective needs to individual needs. The theme of Self-Management, in particular, reflected this point, with topics on time management, career planning and seeking happiness in life. Acknowledging the values of individuals also reflected on the assessment method. Students’ participation in online discussion and

performance in the project of social practice (such as video making) were used as an additional assessment method for the exam results. Students were assessed on individual merits. The attention given to individual students could be identified as one positive feature of citizenship education in University A.

Encourage critical thinking

The Chinese Culture Teaching Centre (CCTC) listed three educational goals for the Chinese Culture Module: enrich students' knowledge, their ability to think and their capacity to express themselves. The stress on critical thinking could be reflected in the operation of the online forum, where students were encouraged to give their own opinions. Data from the online forum and interviews showed that students were very active in mind. For each posted topic, approximately 200 replies were received, which demonstrated their willingness to participate. Some students also spoke highly of the lecturers' efforts to create a liberal and relaxing class atmosphere and space for different ideas in class. However, some weaknesses were also pointed out.

There were complaints that some lecturers went too far being drastically different from the official ideologies in China. Some students felt that they were being forced into another type of brainwashing, which was to reject any official thought. It was pointed out that when students were expected to be critical, some students went to the extreme, criticising all government policies. It appeared that the difference between being critical and criticising was not made clear to students. Critical thinking involves active interpretation of different sources of observation, information, communication and arguments, an emphasis on the thinking process not merely on the opinions (Fisher, 2011, pp. 5-12) . To eventually reach the educational aim of cultivating students' critical thinking, there was a lot more to do.

The Chinese Culture Module won applause from the students, who had been through years of stifling ideological-political exposure. The experience of University A provided a good example of alternative directions of citizenship education in TNE, and even in other Chinese universities. Students' active participation in the online forum demonstrated that they were well equipped with the abilities and attitudes to express their personal opinions.

However, one should not be too optimistic about what could be changed in citizenship education in China on a wide scale. Operating under a centrally controlled educational system, to directly challenge the ideological-political education was rather difficult. The limited coverage of the political issues could indicate an invisible red line of what was allowed and what was definitely not to be challenged. Nonetheless, efforts made by University A to encourage students' critical thinking and individual diversity could be acknowledged as one positive contribution made by TNE.

8.2.5 Liberalising from Socialist Campus Ethos

- *TNE institutions with relatively independent campuses (Case A and B) created a more international and liberal environment for students to organise their own activities. The political propaganda from the state was also less explicit on both campuses.*

All four TNE cases claimed to create international talent, with three attributes acknowledged by all: professional knowledge and skills, cross-cultural communicative competence and international vision. However, data from Case C and Case D showed little success in building an international campus ethos to enable such an educational process. Operating on the highly-politicised -Chinese campuses could provide some explanations for their failed effort. University A and College B were both operating on their own campuses, independent from the politicised Chinese campus ethos.

Data describing the international features of Case A and Case B primarily reflected on: the international teaching staff, the UK curriculum, English medium instruction and percentage of international students. University A recruited staff internationally, preferring to hire those who had international teaching experience (defined by Leader-A as “teaching international students and/or teaching in a country rather than their own.”). Teaching staff of College B consisted of on-campus staff hired internationally and fly-in lecturers from partner UK universities. The high percentage of international staff was much appreciated by students. In contrast, most teaching in Programme C and D was delivered by Chinese staff, which was one major complaint from the students.

Overall approaches towards programme design were different in University A and College B. Both institutions issue two degrees, one from China (only *On Quota* Chinese students in

College B and Chinese students from University A) and one from the UK. Therefore, degree requirements from both countries needed to be met. In College B, the combination of Chinese modules and UK modules were quite simple. All students went through the same two years' pathway arrangement (Year One as International Foundation Year and Year Two as International Diploma). Each UK partner HEI then provided the last two years' curriculum for their students. In addition to the entire UK curriculum, *On Quota* students had to take the required Chinese modules, such as the Ideological-political modules. Students described the UK curriculum and Chinese curriculum as two separate components of the same programmes.

University A synthesised two degree requirements using a holistic approach, treating each module as one inseparable part of the entire programme. Its approach to citizenship education was a good example. Rather than bringing ideological-political modules directly into each programme, University A designed the Chinese Culture Module, which was designed and justified in accordance with its overall educational missions. According to the teaching staff, programmes were designed based on the UK curriculum with certain changes to fit better with local needs and all the changes were proved by both partner universities. Compared with the mechanical division between the UK and Chinese modules in the double degree arrangement in the other three cases (for example, ideological-political education directly contributing to students qualifying for a Chinese degree), the module arrangement at University A is synthesised as an entity addressing the same set of educational goals. In this sense, University A apparently made a better example of integrating two educational systems into one educational process.

Great attention was given to improve student's English proficiency at both University A and College B. International teaching staff enabled English medium instruction and English was adopted as the lingua franca for any formal communication on both campuses. Programme C and D, both of which employed mainly Chinese lecturers, were short of resources in creating an English language environment. As for the idea of recruiting more international students, so as to force students to use English in extracurricular and daily activities, there was a lack of evidence to show its effect. The percentage of international students was too small to make a real impact. Additionally, considering the current policy in China, CFCRS is defined as education mainly for Chinese citizens (Article 2, *the CFCRS Regulations 2003*), not for

attracting international students. A substantial increase in international students to CFCRS may not be widely encouraged by the Chinese government.

International has become a buzzword in today's higher education sector. However, it is more accurate to describe the two UK TNE institutions **as bilingual** (English and Chinese) **campuses under multicultural influence** (international staff and students). Cultural activities and studies merely focused on English-speaking countries, and thus they were not truly international. However, emphasis on respect to for different cultures might directly contribute to the lesser ideological-political propaganda on campus.

Both University A and College B have *dangwei* and *tuanwei*, which were not as visible as they would be in an ordinary Chinese institution, University A in particular. One student described the relationship between College B and PRC-B University as Hong Kong to Mainland China, "one country, two systems." Physically independent from PRC-C University, students of College B organised activities by themselves.

Students from University A described their organisations and activities as "free from bureaucracy." At the same time, students were also aware of the invisible hands and cautious about not touching sensitive political issues. Nevertheless, compared with the centrally controlled Student Union under the leadership of *tuanwei*, the operation of the Student Union of University A reflected a more democratic spirit. Free from direct control of the authorities, students had to learn how to initiate, manage and take responsibility for the activities they volunteered to be part of. These activities assisted the development of students' skills of critical enquiry, communication, participation and responsible action, which were considered as some of the key educational outcomes for citizenship education in the UK (House of Commons Education and Skills Committee, 2007, p. 7).

8.2.6 Creating Global Citizens

- *Both University A and College B adopted the concept of global citizens to describe their ideal graduates. However, the focus was on how to make students competitive internationally. There was little evidence of efforts made to improve students' concerns for global issues or their knowledge and skills for political participation.*

As discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.2.3.2), global citizenship implies a set of values and the sense of belonging and commitment to a global community as well as the knowledge, skill and active attitude to participate in addressing global issues (Imber, 2002; Pigozzi, 2006). Such a value-embedded and participatory educational process could only be realised through a whole school approach, where campus ethos is the essential element (Oxfam, 2006; DCELLS, 2008). To some extent, the international environment created in University A and College B could draw the students' attention to other cultures and enhance their cross culture competency and potentially contribute to education for global citizenship. Findings of students' extracurricular activities also identified potentials in improving students' independent thinking and cultivating their responsibilities and leadership. However, little evidence showed that students were widely encouraged to develop concerns for global communities or to actively participate in public debates. Although some student activities, such as Model United Nations and English debating clubs, had introduced global issues into their agendas, their influence were only limited to those who participated. Generally speaking, global citizenship was primarily interpreted with references to global mobility, global competition and global employment, with little attention given to knowledge, skills and attitudes to participate as members of a global community.

8.2.7 Section summary

Empirical data gathered through observation, student and staff interviews enables better understanding of whether or not and how educational ideas (both from theoretical discussion and as perceived by TNE educators) have been put into practice. Operating in the political and legal contexts of China, UK TNE in China is expected to be aware of and to honour the Chinese regulations, which has great symbolic meaning and political significance. Therefore, it is perceived as a matter of principle and a gesture of respect for UK TNE to include citizenship education as required by the Chinese laws. At the same time, as evidence shows, variations on citizenship curriculum, teaching method and teaching hours can be negotiated in practice.

Citizenship education, more often than not, is not regarded as one integral part of the educational process of TNE. UK HEIs tend to leave it to the Chinese counterparts to deal with it. Students end up with a TNE programme consisting of two separate educational inputs, not a seamless and holistic educational experience. This point is clearly reflected in Case B,

C and D. University A is an exception among the four cases as it has designed citizenship education with references to its overall educational goals. Analysis of curriculum, teaching and learning methods has demonstrated efforts made by University A to play down the impact of ideological-political indoctrination of citizenship education. Students generally showed appreciation for these changes.

In addition to formal teaching, there are other channels of citizenship education in university settings, including campus ethos and students' activities. For TNE programmes operating on Chinese campuses, it is hard to alter the on-campus political bureaucracies and their penetrative impacts. Moreover, TNE programmes are often seen as additional services provided by these Chinese HEIs, rather than invited foreign influences to upgrade their established systems. No significant changes to the established Chinese institutions are expected from the introduction of TNE. TNE institutions with independent campuses, University A and College B, have more space to create a less overwhelmingly political campus ethos. Instead, both institutions claimed to create an international and multicultural environment. However, research findings show that their campus ethos can be better described as a **bilingual (English and Chinese) campus under multicultural influence (international staff and students)**. University A and College B also adopted the concept of global citizens to describe their desired graduates. However, the emphasis was put on enhancing students' global competitiveness rather than cultivating their concerns for global issues or participatory attitude.

8.3 Students' Perceptions of Citizenship and Citizenship Education

8.3.1 Students as Active Recipients of Citizenship Education

- *Having been exposed to ideological-political indoctrination since primary schools, most students interviewed showed awareness of the Chinese government's intention to create obedient and loyal citizens through controls over public schooling and the mass media. They formed their own perceptions of citizenship based on critical thinking and references to diverse sources of information other than the official conceptions of citizenship.*

Some insightful and critical comments made by students during the interviews showed that many of them were not passively accepting messages delivered through the centrally controlled educational system in China. They were not unaware of the indoctrination of citizenship education (ideological-political education) imposed by the Chinese government. Although most students claimed to have no interest in politics, many demonstrated substantial knowledge of public affairs and concerns over public issues. Students' active participation in online discussion in Case A showed their preference to interactive learning, which recognised individual ideas and different opinions. Consciously or not, students were actively seeking information from a diversity of channels to form their own perceptions of citizenship. Students' self-management of organisations and activities were good examples of alternative channels for citizenship education. Another crucial channel for accessing diverse information was the Internet.

As a response to the exponential expansion of internet coverage, a nation-wide internet censorship was enforced by the Chinese government to restrict liberty of information communication and freedom of speech (Mackinnon, 2008). Many students considered internet censorship as a sign of the government's lack of confidence in its legitimacy and restriction on freedom of speech. Meanwhile, such censorship made students more eager to explore the unknown world. The countermeasure employed by the students (examples such as "wall climbing" software and recoding techniques) to cope with the internet censorship vividly demonstrated their eagerness to know and to communicate. Rather than simply accepting what was taught to them, students were active / selective recipients and even explorers in constructing citizenship perceptions.

8.3.2 Students' perceptions of social realities

- *Many students demonstrated awareness, knowledge and concerns for social and political development in China. They were able to think critically about governmental policies, but reluctant to suggest any alteration to the status quo.*

During the interviews, students were given the freedom to discuss any issue which they considered as crucial to understand contemporary China, which contributed to their perceptions of citizenship. Students generally thought that communist ideology had lost its attraction to the Chinese people, especially the younger generations. However, the decline in

the unifying power of communist ideology was not considered as fatal to the CPC-led state if the government could retain economic prosperity. The students also pointed out that the faith vacuum and focus on material achievements had turned China into a profit-driven society, which could destabilise the society if the gap between the rich and poor became wider.

Two social phenomena were identified by students as factors hindering social equality: *hukou policy* and *guanxi*. *Hukou* policy was reviewed in the literature as one distinctive feature of Chinese citizenship: a rigid division between the urban and rural social groups. Chinese people were born as unequal with regard to different social entitlements attached to different regional *hukou*. Another barrier to social equality mentioned frequently by students was *guanxi*, which was understood by students as personal favouritism gained through social relations and underlying benefit exchanges. Many took job hunting as an example to explain the effect of *guanxi*. Both *hukou* and *guanxi* were interpreted by student as social ethos in China, which would not be altered easily.

China was widely considered by students as a society with a stratified social hierarchy. They used words such as “middle-class”, “financially comfortable” and “privileged” to describe the social status of their own families who could afford to pay for the high tuition fees of UK TNE. Therefore, TNE students were more likely to come from families who financially benefited from China’ economic growth. Their parents paid much higher tuition fees for their education in the hope that these students could begin their lives at a higher position in the social hierarchy. Feeling “privileged”, these students were not motivated to suggest any radical reform or substantial changes to the social or economic structure of society.

8.3.3 Me and my country: patriotism and national identity

- *Despite the lack of interests in political participation and official ideologies, most students showed a strong sense of patriotism, a defensive attitude towards the ruling CPC government and recognition of national identity.*

Despite the heated criticism of many social phenomena, most discussions finished with students’ passionate defence of governmental policies and ruling power of the CPC-led state. Their basic argument was that the current system was not ideal but appropriate for the development of the country. Therefore, they would support the current state as long as it

could benefit the country, especially the material benefits to improve ordinary people's living standards. China's recent economic success was frequently quoted as their reason to support the current state. Their argument of patriotism and loyalty to the state could be interpreted more of a pragmatic consideration than the unconditional obedience to state rule.

In addition to the pragmatic justification of state legitimacy, students also showed strong recognition of Chinese national identity, which was a more deeply rooted source of patriotic emotion. Students generally prioritised national identity and national interests while discussing the relationship between China and the world. Most students thought that the Chinese government, regardless of its ruling power, should put national interests before global concerns. Students thought that it was wise for the current state to keep a low profile in handling global issues, especially with regard to other countries' domestic politics, or regional conflicts. Meanwhile, they thought that Chinese people also expected the government to adopt a tough attitude in defending national interests, especially when in disputes with the "old enemies", such as Japan. The idea of defining oneself in terms of universal concerns was almost non-existent in students' perceptions of citizenship. Their nation-centric attitude could be attributed to a permeable nationalism campaign via school education and mass media.

Many scholars point out that the CPC has skilfully conceptualised Chinese national identity since the decline of Communist ideology (Fairbrother, 2003; Wang, 2008; Gries, et al., 2011). One essential method of such construction was to promote a historical consciousness among Chinese people, especially one glorifying China's ancient civilisation and promoting collective memory about the post Opium War history of one-century national humiliation (Gries, et al., 2011, p. 803), both of which were identified in student interviews of this research. Many students mentioned replacing communist ideologies with traditional Chinese traditions and Confucian philosophies, especially with regard to moral teaching. Students showed stronger willingness to interpret their Chinese identity in cultural terms, than in political terms. Meanwhile, most thought that political disputes, such as the Taiwan issue, which threatened national unity, were fundamental concerns for the Chinese nation. Most students were against Taiwan's independence and their arguments were largely based on the historical understanding that Taiwan had always been part of the Chinese nation and was politically separated as a result of Japanese colonisation and the defeat of the National Party

in the civil war. As none of these students had personally experienced these past events, their perceptions of national identity was largely based on what they were taught via public schooling and what they hear and read in the mass media, which could be an indication of the impacts of ideological-political education.

Comments on mainland Chinese students' strong sense of patriotism and national identity were also made in many previous empirical studies. Through a survey in 12 Chinese universities in 2007, Li (2009) found that student's affective orientation towards Chinese national identity was very high. Over 82.4% of the surveyed students supported the statement that "everyone should be patriotic and loyal to her/his country" (Li, 2009, p. 389). Similarly, in a comparative survey studies between Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong university students, Fairbrother (2003) concluded that "mainland students were, on average, patriotic and nationalistic" (p. 618). Students' perceptions of their relations with the state and with the Chinese nation could assist our understanding of their initial definitions of citizenship.

Three approaches of definition were identified: citizenship as a legal status, citizenship as a guideline for behaviour and citizenship as the contribution to the country. All three approaches acknowledged the centrality of the state and the collective values in defining citizenship, indicating a normative role of citizenship with two underlying judgements: law (representing the legitimacy of the state) and morality (collective values of the society). The relationship between each individual and the state was primarily one-way and instructive. The rights of each individual were granted by laws (the state) and subject to the collective values. Meanwhile, such respect for the rule of the state and collective values was not to the level of "collectivism and altruism" under Mao's totalitarian government (Keane, 2001, p. 3). As discussed above, students thought that state legitimacy should be based on its performance in safeguarding social morality, sustaining economic growth domestically and protecting China's national pride internationally.

Students' perceptions of the relationship between self and the world were generally nation-oriented. In other words, priority was given to national rather than global identity. It was widely supported by students that national sovereignty should be protected and domestic issues of any country should be solved firstly by its own citizens. Students' global awareness primarily refers to global mobility, global opportunities for China to benefit, rather than concerns for global community.

8.3.4 Students' expectations for citizenship education

- *Based on pragmatic considerations, many students expect citizenship education to contribute to improve personal *suzhi* and consider that the input of UK education were particularly valuable in developing students' skills of critical thinking, and independent decision-making.*

Research findings showed that these students were active in mind and pragmatic in assessing social realities and government policies. Their evaluation of the role of UK TNE in preparing them to be future citizens was also largely based on very practical rather than ideological consideration. Many students borrowed the concept of *suzhi* in addressing the essential task of citizenship education. As discussed above, the students were very well aware of different aspects of social disparity, including both the policy-oriented stratification (*hukou* policy) and development-led socio-economic gap. While acknowledging the unfairness of certain policies and social realities, the majority of students thought that each individual should improve their personal capacity so as to become competitive in contemporary China. Therefore, in their view, citizenship education as part of higher education should also help students to improve their competitiveness. *Suzhi* in their description was a hierarchical measurement of one's overall quality of characteristics and values to the society, which can be improved through education.

The students' perceptions of *suzhi* echo the official account of the concept, which has been at the centre of education reform promoted by the Chinese central government in the last two decades. *Suzhi* is conveniently used as a justification of "social and political hierarchies of all sorts," with those of high *suzhi* "gaining more income, power and status than the low" (Kipnis, 2006, p. 295). Through the campaign of *suzhi*, the government keeps the Chinese people focused on cultivating personal capacity, rather than seeking public reform. The stress on self-cultivation also lies at the heart of Confucian tradition of education (reviewed in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.1.2), which has good cultural basis to be accepted.

Most students agreed with the idea that those with better education and of higher *suzhi* were more valuable to the society and should be at the higher end of the social hierarchy. Choosing TNE and subsequently studying abroad were essentially expected to improve their personal *suzhi* and help them to gain a more competitive edge for their future career. Rather than

spending time in political participation, most students pragmatically chose to focus on personal cultivation. Such attitude matches well with the government's hope to maintain legitimacy based on performance rather than political ideology. As long as the Chinese people could see the improvement of their living standards and the path to pursue better social status, any radical political change would not be favoured by them.

Suzhi in official discourse implies an overall development of an individual: physical, intellectual and moral. Related to the values of TNE, most students thought that the input of UK education were particularly valuable in developing students' independent personality (*duli renga*), especially their capacity for critical thinking, and independent decision-making. The students' eagerness to be recognised as individuals of unique personalities and personal merits appeared as a recurring theme in this research, being frequently mentioned by students through the interviews and shown in the survey result.

Referring back to their comments on current citizenship education implemented in the four cases, the ideological-political education in College B, Programme C and D were given overall negative feedback. However, in the survey, a high percentage of students chose "neutral" (44.3%) in the issue of whether ideological-political modules should be included or not. Data within the scope of current research could only infer some possible explanations. It could be that these students did not care about these modules, as they were not interested in political participation. It could also be because of their awareness of the government's firm stand on this issue, which would not be easily altered. The students' vote for "neutral" in this issue was a good example of their passive attitude towards political participation. Similar to the findings of their attitudes in assessing social realities in China: they were critical in mind, but passive in action.

After reviewing all the collected data, it is clearer to the researcher that much more research, both theoretical discussion and empirical investigation, needs to be conducted to address the sensitive issue of how to conduct citizenship education in TNE. The case studies of UK TNE in China show that the practitioners of TNE generally have not devoted sufficient resources to incorporate citizenship education into TNE. While the majority choose the easy solution of leaving the issue for their Chinese partners to deal with, there has been effort made for new approaches.

8.3.5 Section summary

The second research question focuses on students' perceptions of citizenship, which brings valuable insights into the evaluation of and recommendation for citizenship education in UK TNE in China. The students were found to be active in establishing their own citizenship perceptions, not automatically accepting what was taught in ideological-political education. They demonstrated awareness of and concerns for social and political development in China. They also showed good knowledge of the principal governmental policies, which were well publicised through school education and mass media. Despite their overall negative comments on ideological-political education, years of repetitive indoctrination appears to have a significant impact on students' self and collective identity. In general, these students showed a strong sense of patriotism and recognition of Chinese national identity and overall a defensive attitudes towards the ruling power of the current Chinese government.

However, as discussed at the beginning of Chapter 7, TNE students, whose families could afford the high tuition fees, could only represent a certain socio-economic group. Considering that China only started economic reform four decades ago and joined in the WTO just over one decade ago, these students' parents and even themselves may have witnessed and been experiencing the great economic success of China and substantial improvement of living standards in their lives. Compared to the Chinese who were still struggling around the poverty line, these students and their families were benefiting from policies implemented by the CPC-led state. It is unlikely that these TNE students would desire any substantial political reform, which may destabilise the economic growth.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

In a broad sense, this research has examined the impact of globalisation on higher education, both on developing new educational models (TNE) and on affecting a fundamental educational field (citizenship education). Derived from these research findings, recommendations for TNE practice will be made at both pedagogical and institutional levels. This chapter will also discuss the future research opportunities based on identified contributions and limitations of this research. The final remarks will bring the discussion back to the starting point of the research: the impacts of globalisation on higher education and the shared responsibility of TNE in preparing students to be future citizens of a globalising world.

9.1 Recommendation

9.1.1 Recommendation for citizenship curriculum, teaching and learning

Revealed Problems with Ideological-Political Education

The research found that the most widely adopted approach to incorporating citizenship education into UK TNE in China was to put students through the ideological-political modules imposed by the Chinese government. Many problems with this approach were identified, which also indicates space for revision. Firstly, the ideological-political modules were designed for and delivered to students of Chinese universities and so they did not integrate well with the holistic experience of UK TNE. Secondly, these modules were only provided to *On Quota* students who were recruited through *GaoKao* and qualified for Chinese degrees. For TNE programmes recruiting both *On Quota* and *Off Quota* students, the modules created an unpleasant division between two groups. Thirdly, the content of these modules was commented on by students as being not useful / practical and repetitive of what was taught in primary and secondary education in China. The survey showed that only about one fourth of respondents agreed to the statement that these modules should be included in TNE.

Finally, the ideological-political education was indoctrinatory by nature, which was contradictory to the liberal traditions of UK higher education. The co-existence of two conflicting educational ideas in the same programme could lead students into confusion. This could be seen as an academic compromise from the UK HEIs in exchange for access to the Chinese market. However, the current policy imposed by the Chinese government appears to favour this approach and any explicit intervention by the UK TNE might be accused of violating the regulations. This could be one key reason why many less independent TNE models, joint programmes in particular, are found to take the easy approach towards citizenship education. A sensible and programmatic recommendation to make may be that certain cultural contents (both local and foreign cultures) could be added on top of the compulsory modules. Of course, cautious negotiations with Chinese partner universities and official approval from the local authorities need to be carried out before putting into practice.

Alternative Approach: Experience of University A and Beyond

Case A in this research was found to have adopted an alternative approach by designing its own modules to meet the policy requirements. The Chinese Culture Module developed by University A reduced the ideological-political content of the curriculum and added more politically-neutral content, such as culture studies and career development. One designated teaching centre was responsible for the curriculum design and delivery. The curriculum changed from one year to another with students being involved in selecting the specific topic at the beginning of the semester. The flexibility and student involvement in curriculum design was apparently introduced to tackle the issue of citizenship education being out of touch and irrelevant to students' lives. Another positive feature of the Chinese Culture Module was its close connection with the overall educational goals of University A, emerging as one integrated part of the UK TNE programme. Such integration reflected on two of the five major themes in particular: culture studies (especially the comparative culture studies between Chinese and European cultures) and self-management (a series of lectures speaking of aims of university education and how to launch a successful career and happy life).

Equally important to the curriculum were the teaching and learning methods. As ideological-political modules were imposed on students who did not willingly accept them, the teaching and learning became a chore for both lecturers and students. With the single purpose of passing the final exams, which were designed to be based on rote learning and reciting the

“correct” messages taught in the textbooks, students were not encouraged to think critically. By contrast, Chinese Culture Modules in University A launched an online platform for students to publicly discuss and debate current social issues, which encourages students’ critical thinking and general interest in the module.

The experience of University A sends out an important message: citizenship education in CFCRS can be conducted in an alternative approach which breaks away from indoctrinating ideological-political education in China, without violating the regulations. Of course, it takes more effort and educational resources to design and implement the curriculum, and possibly difficult and time-consuming negotiation with the educational authorities. Based on data of class and on line observation and students’ own comments, the benefits of this alternative approach were quite noticeable. However, it is also worth mentioning that the approach by University A is neither perfect nor applicable to all. Many factors, such as the degree of autonomy and negotiation with the local educational authorities, might vary from one case to another. There is also spaces for discussion and improvement for the Chinese Culture Module, part of which is its lack of effort in cultivating students’ awareness and concerns for global issues. Moreover, the focus of cultural studies was put either on China or on English speaking countries and advanced economies, which indicated a narrow scope of global community. Therefore, there is a great opening for more discussion and space for improvement.

9.1.2 Recommendation for participating UK HEIs

TNE Risks

In 2013, the QAA (Quality Assurance Agency of Higher Education, UK) reviewed the ten UK TNE programmes they had studied in 2006 (QAA, 2006), and it was found that only two programmes remained the same as they were six years before (QAA, 2013b). Two programmes ceased operation and the other six had made changes to tackle the declining student recruitment and policy changes. These changes suggest that in order to manage potential risks, UK HEIs are advised to have long-term plans before setting up TNE programmes in China, which should be made in line with the long-term strategic development of the institutions.

Long-term goals and objectives

The first question to ask before becoming involved in TNE should be: “Why do we want to be involved in TNE?” and “What are the long-term strategic goals?” The long-term goals can be very specific, such as revenue generation, internationalising the curriculum and research cooperation. With clear long-term goals, HEIs need to set up more specific objectives, such as initial funding and staff recruitment/relocation. Considering the complex and evolving policy environment in China, due diligence needs to be carried out to identify the right partner HEIs in China, which can fundamentally determine the success or failure of any TNE in China. Major impacts of the Chinese HEIs identified in this research were:

- Their interaction with the local authorities: licence application, extension and responsiveness to any policy changes
- Student recruitment: the reputation and ranking of the Chinese HEIs in the *gaokao* recruitment system
- Administrative assistance: support from the student record to visa process
- Material investment: financial investment and teaching facilities
- Academic support: especially in the TNE model of franchising which involves large proportion of the modules being delivered by the Chinese lecturers

Interactions with the local authorities

Since the decentralisation of higher education in China, local governments have been substantially empowered to manage local HEIs. The local educational authorities have a direct impact on how specific CFCRS regulations are applied to each TNE institution and programme. It is, therefore, advisable to consult the local authorities prior to and during the process of applying for a CFCRS license. Unlike the liberal tradition of higher education in the UK, Chinese HEIs are under strict government control, which suggests an on-going interaction and negotiation with the Chinese government. The Chinese government has been cautiously monitoring the impacts of importing foreign education and tightening up its regulations in the operations of TNE. Its legislative requirement of citizenship education is a good example of the Chinese government’s political intervention in the development of TNE, which any overseas HEI engaged in or planning to start TNE in China should be aware of.

9.2 Contributions, Limitations and Future Research

Contributions

This research is exploratory, looking into the educational ideas and practice of the expanding phenomenon of TNE through a unique yet crucial perspective of preparing students to be future citizens. The primary contribution is the descriptive model presented at the end of Chapter 8, which links theoretical conceptions of citizenship (on the top level of the chart) to students' perceptions of citizenship (at the bottom level of the chart) through the educational process of TNE (two levels in the middle describing the elements of citizenship education in different contexts and their contributions to the citizenship education in UK TNE in China). The descriptive model was drawn based on four case studies representing major models of UK TNE in China. The empirical data collected enriches the literature of TNE and its impacts on the fundamental educational area of citizenship.

Research findings of the pedagogical process and students' feedback could be useful for lecturers who are involved in citizenship education in TNE. On the one hand, this research acknowledges the importance of and difficulties in their work, which also hopes to encourage more research to be done in this field. On the other hand, the findings of students' perceptions of citizenship and citizenship education could be a good reference for lecturers to enhance their teaching. It is believed that the descriptive model and findings could have direct or indirect implications for the curriculum design and even policy making. What precisely the implications can be is beyond the confines of this thesis.

Limitation and Future Research

Literature on the models of UK TNE in China shows that most UK TNE programmes are carried out on two campuses, one in China and the other in the UK. All four case studies in this research offered progression routes for finishing part of the degree in the UK (details in Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2). The focus of this research was on the policy influence, pedagogical analysis and the campus ethos in the context of China, not including the UK part of the programme. Future research can expand the longitudinal samples from data collected from both campuses, which would enable a study of the challenges, educational strategies, and tactics in transferring students from one educational context to another.

The policy environment of China was interpreted based on either written documents or interpretations by the current TNE practitioners. No primary data was collected from policy makers. While a gap between the law in book and law in action could be identified, only the policy makers could advise the “invisible bottom line” of each policy in practice. Of course, such information might be too sensitive to be revealed by the authorities. Future research on a larger scale with multiple case studies or one in-depth case study with a wider scope, ideally including inputs from more stakeholders, including the policy makers, could deepen the understanding of this topic.

Curriculum, teaching and learning recommendations were based on evaluation of current practice and what can be improved in theory. Therefore, a future inquiry regarding how citizenship education should and could be conducted in TNE may employ action research to test out and evaluate different pedagogical approaches and designs.

The empirical investigation of students’ perceptions of citizenship described primarily how students understood their roles as citizens of China in a globalising world. Limited by the research scope, the subsequent question regarding factors leading to these perceptions was only briefly touched upon. Additionally, students interviewed for this research of TNE were from similar socio-economic backgrounds. All four TNE cases were also located in big cities inhabited by the Han ethnic group. Therefore, future research can be expanded to a bigger sample size including students from different social and ethnic groups.

9.3 Final Remarks

The advancement in transportation and communication technologies enables human mobility and speeds up knowledge transfer, which makes TNE possible. The growing demand of TNE has been the result of the uneven distribution of educational resources across the globe and the advanced educational assets (personnel, educational ideas, research output etc.). On the surface, it appears that the exporting countries have been leading the process, by actively offering TNE world-wide, and by pressurising host countries to lower their market barrier through the influence of international organisations and regulations (such as WTO and GATS). However, what this research reveals is another level of power relationship: the regulatory power and educational ideas of the host country in directing the educational process of TNE.

The multi-cultural environment which TNE could offer to students would potentially benefit them by preparing them to be ready for a globalising world. However, as the current investigation of UK TNE in China shows, there are, at present, deep divisions between different stakeholders over the interpretation of citizenship, citizenship education and global citizenship. Nevertheless the outlook need not be regarded in an entirely pessimistic light. Differences in educational ideas between the UK and China require UK HEIs to work closely with their Chinese partners in order to achieve a sustainable development, which could also potentially lead to a deeper and more extensive communications. It is believed that TNE as a growing educational model world-wide has many educational potentials, which need to be investigated with more innovative approaches.

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Appendix 1 Examples of research invitation emails

Dear...

Thanks for replying my email and I appreciate very much your supportive attitude.

My research is under the supervision of Dr Anwei Feng and Dr David Sullivan at School of Education and Lifelong Learning, Bangor University.

This research is to investigate undergraduate programmes cooperatively run by Chinese and UK higher education institutions, identifying educational ideas and practice in preparing students to be future citizens.

As an important part of the research, some representative programmes will be selected as case studies. The research predominantly chooses a qualitative approach, using on-campus observations, students and teachers' interviews together with some questionnaires to address the following main research questions:

- How is citizenship education being perceived and incorporated in UK TNE?
- How do the students perceive and evaluate citizenship education in UK TNE?

At this stage, I only need to know the some basic facts about TNE programmes your university has been offering in China. I hope it won't take too much of your time and effort. The main data collection will be carried out in China, where the Chinese partner universities will be visited and students will be interviewed there. It would be great if I could be given the permission to visit your university.

Please feel free to contact me on 44 (0)7552 551 676 or researchxenia@yahoo.co.uk or edpc0c@bangor.ac.uk in regards to any queries you may have, or my supervisor, Dr Anwei Feng on eds808@bangor.ac.uk or Dr David Sullivan on emsc56@bangor.ac.uk. Postal mail for myself can be sent to: Research Student Office, Trefenai, Normal Site, Bangor University, LL57 2PZ.

Yours sincerely,

Xenia

researchxenia@yahoo.co.uk

edpc0c@bangor.ac.uk

07984237557

Research Student Office, Trefenai,
School of Education and Lifelong Learning, Normal Site,
Bangor University, LL57 2PZ.

Appendix 1 (continued)

... 教授,

您好!

我叫许潇, 威尔士班戈大学在读教育学博士研究生。非常感谢您提供邮箱地址, 让我有机会和您交流。

我的研究从公民教育的角度去探索和思考“中英合作办学”的本科项目。中英合作办学已经开展了很多年了, 但是对于中英合作办学的研究还缺乏系统性, 开展项目的学校和相关管理者常常是摸着石头过河, 没有很多深入的研究和报告作为参考。因此, 我希望能够从教育的本源来探讨这一教育模式的发展。贵校的合作办学项目已经开展多年, 积累了很多经验, 我非常地希望能够将 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] 作为研究的案例, 通过实地调研, 收集第一手资料。

我的计划是在今年的秋季入学之后 (10月左右) 能够拜访西郊利物浦, 如果可能的话, 作为期一个月左右的深入了解。通过观察校园环境, 学生的课内外活动和课堂师生互动情况, 描述和讨论中英合作办学是如何将学生融入“双语双文化”的校园当中, 更好的实现培养“世界公民”的目标。研究期间, 我将保证不影响正常的教学活动, 在学生自愿的情况下才和他们交谈。

班戈大学对我的这一研究提供了经费的支持, 我的导师为 Dr Anwei Feng (eds808@bangor.ac.uk) 和 Dr David Sullivan (emsc56@bangor.ac.uk)。如果您对这一项目有兴趣, 请告诉我。我将向学校的研究伦理监督委员会 (ethics committee) 提交研究意向, 研究同意书的正式件也将向您提供。

希望得到您的回复,
谢谢!

许潇

researchxenia@yahoo.co.uk
edpc0c@bangor.ac.uk
07984237557
Research Student Office, Trefenai,
School of Education and Lifelong Learning, Normal Site,
Bangor University, LL57 2PZ.

Appendix 2 Research Preparation Check List

Bangor University
School of Education and Lifelong Learning



UK TNE Undergraduate Programmes in China

Research Preparation Check List

Researcher: Xenia Xu

Programme Background

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | HEIs developing the Programme |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Programme Administration List |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Contact Details (person and phone numbers) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Programme Directors / Curriculum Development Staff |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Programme Mission Statement |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Programme Strategies in Educating Students |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Programme Module List |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Programme Students Number |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | UK Staff Percentage |

Interview Preparation

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Interviewee Name List and Contact Details |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Interview Invitation Letter |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Ethics Approval Letter |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Interview Sheet |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Appointment Timesheet |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Consent Forms |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Recorder |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Business Card |

Appendix 3 Consent Form

Participant Consent Form

参与调研同意表格

Researcher: Xiao XU 许潇

研究员

Title of Project:

研究主题

Please cross out as necessary

请根据实际情况选择“是”或者“否”

Have you received a document explaining the nature of the intended research and had an opportunity to ask questions and to discuss the study?

是否接受关于本研究的目的相关说明并有机会询问关于研究的问题?

Yes是/No否

Have you received satisfactory answers to all of your questions?

对于您的提问是否得到满意的答案?

Yes是/No否

Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time and without having to give a reason for withdrawing?

是否了解您有权随时无条件退出调研?

Yes是/No否

Do you consent to participate in the study?

您是否同意参加本次调研?

Yes是/No否

Do you agree that the discussion can be recorded, and do you understand that you can turn off the recording at any time?

您是否同意本次调研可以被录音,并且了解您可以随时要求关闭录音设备?

Yes是/No否

Do you give permission for the information to be used in an PhD dissertation?

您是否同意将本次调研结果作为将来调查员博士论文的一部分?

Yes是/No否

Do you give permission for the information to be used in a journal article and/or conference paper?

您是否同意将本次调研结果作为调查员研究报告的材料用于研究性期刊或会议?

Yes是/No否

Signed _____

签名

Date _____

日期

Name in Block Letters _____

请用英文大写清晰拼写姓名

Appendix 4 An Example of document summary sheet

Document Summary Sheet	
Title:	Constitution of Student Union — University A.
Record Number:	A - Doc - Student Union.
Source:	Student Union Office also published online
1. Significance of the Document	
* clearly state the organisational principle of S.U.	
* the leadership — student/presidency	
* the position of TuanWei (only one sentence about it)	
* good supporting evidence to describe the campus ethos of University A esp. how it is different from an ordinary Chinese universities.	
2. Summary of the Document Content	
* See specific document (can be uploaded to NVivo for analysis)	
3. Relevant Documents or Research Interests	
* <u>Follow Up:</u> Interview Relevant Students, S.U. Leadership or Organiser of student activities	

Appendix 5 An example of contact summary sheet

Contact Summary Sheet

Site: *Campus of University A*

Date: *4th Sep 2011* Record Number: *A-1.*

1. What were the main purposes of this visit?
Just Arrived at Uni A, therefore to Gather ~~some~~ some

2. Findings in accordance with the purposes *basic information (facilities, ethos posters...)*

Purposes	Findings
Spaces for publishing on and off campus activities	<i>Bulletin Board: All Bilingual Posters</i> <i>Shared Public facilities with other HEIs</i> <i>(canteen, student halls, bus, ...)</i>
kinds of activities (According to the publicised info on B.Boards)	<i>Academic: English Debating Club, Mathematics...</i> <i>Commercial / Business: SIFE</i> <i>Sports = football, Tennis, ...</i> <i>Social = Music Book Clubs</i>

Special One: MUN → Might be a good case study

3. Anything else that discovered during the visit?

- *Not Massive Campus*
- *Very International Inside Teaching Building*
{ English, International staff
{ National flags of different countries

4. Any additional question that may be investigated in the next visit?

Regarding Student Activities, two clubs can be case studies


*Follow up
find key contacts!*

- *English Club = English Competence*
- *MUN = Model U.N.*

Citizenship? politics? Global issue?

Bangor University 1

Appendix 6 An example of class observation sheet

Date of observation:	22/09/2011	 PRIFYSGOL BANGOR UNIVERSITY
Location:	Wagman Teaching Bldg.	
Sample ID:	A - class Observation	
Class Title:	Exploring Local Culture	
Length of Observation:	2 hr class one 15 break	(Recorded) Audio

Class Observation Sheet

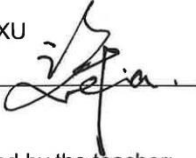
Conducted for
Research Project of UK TNE in China


By

School of Education
Bangor University
UK

Instruction

1. Teacher is informed before the observation.
2. Consent is given and signed by the teacher.
3. No disruption of the class procedure.

Observer: Xenia XU
Signature: 

Agreed and Signed by the teacher: 

Appendix 6 (continued)

1. Physical Environment of the Classroom

Number of Students: *Lecture Hall Almost Full (Picture Taken)*

Classroom Environment Description:

- *Quite Packed*
- *Front four rows were almost ~~more~~ occupied*
- *Researcher sat at the Back.*

2. Class Contexts

● Goals of the Class:

- *Introducing Local Culture*

● Placement of the Observed Class in the Whole Module:

- *One topic ~~there~~ under the theme of Cultural Studies*
- *Part of Chinese Cultural Model*

● Teaching Materials:

Textbook — *N.A.*

PPT — *on display*

Syllable — *N.A.*

Others:

Different Edu Resources Utilised ← *PPT (pictures)*
Video

● Tasks to be fulfilled by the students:

- *Participate in Online discussion after class*

● Assessment Methods:

- *Online Participation*
- *Final Project (not sure if there is any final exam)*

Appendix 6 (continued)

3. Class Procedure Notes

- Introduction:

General Question: How much do you know about local culture?

- Ending:

- Notes by Minutes

Time	Activity	T-S Interactions
0-5	House keeps Procedure = ^{keep answer!} online attendance	T
5-10	Question: Local Culture?	Ask Question
10-15	Film Clip = A famous local in history	N.A.
15-20	PPT: Referring to the figure in the film	Ask Question
20-25	PPT	T
25-30	Promotional Video of the local City	N.A.
30-35	PPT	T
35-40	Vote = Which of the ^{five} ten figures to focus. Vote	hands up
40-45	PPT	T
45-50	Question =	Ask Q
50-55	BREAK	T
55-60	some students left from back door.	
60-65	PPT	T
65-70	Question	Ask Q
70-75	PPT	T
75-80	PPT	T
80-85	Video	N.A.
85-90	online forum — Assessment	T
90-95	[Class Finish]	
95-100		

2 responded
About film students responded actively

hands up

Appendix 6 (continued)

4. Overall Impression

- Quite Interactive
- Multiple Sources of Teaching Material
- The lecturer was quite relaxed and informal in positioning herself in the T/L situation
- Questions being asked in relatively high frequency
- Limited by the size of the class, only a small number of students can get involved

Online platform → FOLLOW UP mentioned by Lecturer several times

5. Teacher & Student Roles

Overall Description: (e.g. teacher as facilitator / authority)

Facilitator = Questions ~~once~~ every ten minutes
Vote

Number of Times Teacher issuing a question to students: See class notes by minutes

Time										
QA										
Time										
QA										

Number of Times Students Asking Questions

Time										
QA										
Time										
QA										

Appendix 7 An example of student questionnaire



中英合作办学项目调研表

P. R. C.

By

School of Education and Lifelong Learning

Bangor University

UK

说明:

该调查目的在于了解学生对所接受中英合作项目的评价

调研的结果将用于分析中英合作项目的教学和学生素质培养情况

参与者个人信息将完全保密

调研所获信息仅为研究目的

请根据自己的实际情况填写

参与调研者个人信息:

年龄:	性别:	民族:
户口所在地/参加高考地区:		
现在所学专业:		
参与者签名:		

Appendix 7 (continued)

第一部分:基本评价

1. 请对以下陈述和观点,表明您赞同或反对的程度,并在所选方框内打勾

	观点陈述	非常赞同	同意	不确定	不同意	强烈反对
1	对该项目很满意,愿意推荐给其他学生。	5	4	3	2	1
2	该项目的国际化程度很高,虽然在国内学习,但是我可以明显体会与一般中国大学教育的不同。	5	4	3	2	1
3	该项目提供很多英方的教育资源,如书籍,学科杂志等。	5	4	3	2	1
4	项目的教学方式与之前高中的应试教育有很大不同。	5	4	3	2	1
5	外国老师参与教学,让我对很多事情的思考有了新的视角。	5	4	3	2	1
6	项目对学生的英语水平提高很重视。	5	4	3	2	1
7	中英合作办学应该开设国内大学所要求的必修课程,如马克思主义哲学等。	5	4	3	2	1
8	该项目让我对国外的生活和学习产生了极大的兴趣,非常希望以后可以去国外学习和生活。	5	4	3	2	1

2. 请认真阅读下列的描述(多选项,可补充个人意见)

➤ 相对于一般的中国大学,您觉得中英合作办学项目在培养学生方面最大的优势是什么? (ACF)

补充: _____

➤ 您希望通过该项目在哪些方面提高自己? (C)

补充: _____

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| A. 英语交流能力提高 | I. 学生独立生活能力培养 |
| B. 更先进的专业的知识和技能 | J. 创业精神培养 |
| C. 跨文化交流的能力提高 | K. 在中国就业市场上更具有竞争力 |
| D. 为学生以后出国做好准备 | L. 面对全球就业市场 |
| E. 创新能力培养 | M. 关注世界问题成为世界公民 |
| F. 独立思考的能力培养 | N. 心理健康,快乐生活 |
| G. 学生的社会责任感培养 | O. 树立正确的人生 |
| H. 学生的领导才能培养 | |

Appendix 7 (continued)

第二部分：未来发展

3. 未来就业，您考虑的首要问题是？（如：工资水平、工作环境、地点、户口等）

职业发展前景，#

4. 未来就业，您的首选工作地点是？（如：英国、加拿大、香港、上海、北京等）

香港 或者 上海

5. 您认为影响就业最大的因素是？（如：学历、父母人际关系网络、专业知识等）

关系和能力都 important.

6. 除专业课程以外，大学还应该开设哪些课程，可以更好的为学生以后进入社会做准备？

心理学？ EQ？

7. 在全球化的今天，大学教育承担培养国际化人才的任务。您认为大学 **培养国际化人才** 的重点是哪些方面？请在所选方框内打勾

	培养 国际化人才	非常 重要	重要	不 确定	不 重要	毫无 关系
1	大学应当努力培养每个学生的英语能力，提供最好的英语环境。	5	4	3	2	1
2	提供信息让学生了解如何在国外求学和就业。	5	4	3	2	1
3	提供信息让学生了解如何获取最新国际信息。	5	4	3	2	1
4	提供信息让学生了解跨国企业和机构的信息。	5	4	3	2	1
5	培养学生的跨文化交际能力。	5	4	3	2	1
6	培养学生的健康心理和抗压能力。	5	4	3	2	1
7	培养学生的思辨能力。	5	4	3	2	1
8	培养学生的创造性思维。	5	4	3	2	1
9	培养学生的领导能力。	5	4	3	2	1
10	培养学生的专业精神和良好的职业素养。	5	4	3	2	1

Appendix 7 (continued)

8. 进入社会的青年将成为国家的公民，在全球化的今天，任何企业和个人的行为都可能带来超越国界的影响力。您认为大学应该如何帮助学生成为有责任的世界公民？请在所选方框内打勾

	培养 有责任的世界公民，大学的角色	非常 重要	重要	不 确定	不 重要	毫无 关系
1	开设课程让学生了解中国的政治和法律体制。	5	4	3	2	1
2	开设课程让学生了解其他国家的政治和法律制度。	5	4	3	2	1
3	开设课程让学生了解中国传统文化和思想流派。	5	4	3	2	1
4	开设课程让学生了解中国的近现代文化和思想流派，尤其是马克思主义，毛泽东思想等。	5	4	3	2	1
5	开设课程让学生了解世界其他思想流派。	5	4	3	2	1
6	让学生了解自己作为公民应尽的义务。	5	4	3	2	1
7	让学生了解自己作为公民如何行使自己的权利。	5	4	3	2	1
8	培养学生的法制观念。	5	4	3	2	1
9	培养学生的民族自豪感和爱国主义精神。	5	4	3	2	1
10	培养学生的民主人权观念。	5	4	3	2	1
11	培养学生的公共道德观念。	5	4	3	2	1
12	培养学生的作为成年人的独立人格。	5	4	3	2	1
13	培养学生的关心地球，环境保护意识。	5	4	3	2	1
14	开设课程或组织活动让学生了解主要的世界性组织，如联合国等。	5	4	3	2	1
15	开设课程或组织活动让学生了解和思考国际问题，如地域冲突等。	5	4	3	2	1

9. 您最关心和希望了解的国际问题是 EH (多选项，可以补充个人意见)

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| A. 区域性暴力冲突和平问题 | G. 儿童失学和教育问题 |
| B. 文化和宗教冲突问题 | H. 环境保护问题 |
| C. 全球经济一体化和经济危机 | I. 欠发展地区的贫困问题 |
| D. 全球经济发展的不平等问题 | J. 恐怖主义与国际安全 |
| E. 国际贸易与合作问题 | K. 社会多元化发展 |
| F. 种族歧视问题 | |

补充: _____

Appendix 8 Student interview questions of pilot studies

Bangor University



School of Education and Lifelong Learning

中英本科教育合作办学研究

采访地点:

编号: UKST

时间:

受访者信息:

年龄:

性别:

目前的学习进度:

专业:

国籍:

来自中国的哪个地区?

第一部分: 有关中国的学习经历

1. 为什么选择该合作办学项目? 整体感觉如何? 自己选在本项目的最大期望是什么? 项目本身是否有明确的培养方向或理念?

2. 在中国的学习阶段, 觉得在接受英国的教育吗? 英国老师的参与情况. 当时觉得自己和同校的其他学生有什么不同吗?

3. 对于大学教学, 你觉得除了传授知识之外, 还有什么其他的功能吗? 通过大学的课程, 学生进入社会, 成为未来的公民, 你怎么去理解公民这个概念呢?

4. 一般的中国大学都会教授马哲邓论之类的课程, 你们有相关的课程吗? 你觉得这些课程可以有效帮助学生理解公民的身份吗? 英国老师对此有过什么评论吗?

Appendix 8 (continued)

Bangor University



School of Education and Lifelong Learning

第二部分: 关于英国的学习生活经历

5. 来英国之前是否了解了这边的文化, 社会和政治情况呢? 怎么了解的? 来到英国之后最大的感触是什么? 觉得英国的社会体系和公民概念和中国有什么不同?

6. 来英国生活和学习, 会常常意识到自己在国外吗? 最大的不适应在什么方面? 来了之后还会关心国内的新闻吗? 通过什么方式了解? 最新关注的事件是什么?

7. 来英国之后, 有交到一些外国朋友吗? 和他们在一起的时候, 都做些什么呢? 会去谈自己的文化吗? 听到一些中国的负面评论你会怎么做呢? 会感觉不舒服吗? 会去辩驳吗? 你自己的态度和处理方法是怎样的?

8. 通过两地的学习, 两种教育体系的接触, 你最大的感触在哪里? 你觉得这种经历对以后的工作和生活有什么样的影响?

最后, 展望一下未来吧

9. 最后想了解一下你以后的工作打算, 首先考虑的是国外还是回国呢? 想过去跨国公司吗? 对于跨国公司的跨文化经营和他们所提倡的世界公民的概念, 你自己是怎么理解的呢? 在全球化的影响下, 人们可能去不同的国家工作, 你觉得这样会弱化国家的概念吗? 你自己怎么看呢? 有机会的话, 会考虑选择其他的国籍吗?

感谢您的合作!

Appendix 9 Student interview questions for main data collection



中英本科教育合作办学研究

采访地点:

编号: UKST

时间:

受访者信息:

年龄:

性别:

目前的学习进度:

专业:

国籍:

来自中国的哪个地区?

1. 为什么选择该合作办学项目? 选在本项目的最大期望是什么?

-提高英语? 出国? 工作? 人生体验?

2. 请您整体的评价一些该项目的课程设计。

-专业课的比例?

-除了专业知识以外, 是否有其他的辅助性课程? (通识教育)

-学生学习成果的主要考评方式? (应试教育与素质教育的平衡)

-你怎么理解素质教育?

-哪些课程可以培养学生的批判性思维?

3. 中国和英国老师在授课方式和处理师生关系上有什么不同?

-通过你自己的观察, 中英两国老师的教学理念有什么不同?

-你会比较偏向于哪种教学方式?

-老师的教学方式对学生会有什么样的影响?

4. 对于大学教学, 你觉得除了传授知识之外, 还有什么其他的功能吗?

-作为接受大学教育的学生, 除了专业的知识以外, 你还希望在大学中得到什么?

-从这一角度来看, 中英合作办学在学生培养上应该有什么特殊的贡献吗?

-当代学生的特征? 理想/自我意识/政治信仰/价值取向/诚信品德/集体意识

Appendix 9 (continued)



5. 通过大学的课程，你们进入社会，成为未来的公民，你对公民这一概念的理解？

- 对公民概念的理解，是否想过自己是一个公民？
- 公民的相关概念？（权力，义务，法制，民主，爱国主义等）社会价值观的核心组成？
- 地方政府，国家与个人的关系处理？ 中国的地域概念对公民概念的影响？
- 你想象中的公民是什么样的？应当具备什么样的素质？个人利益与国家利益的关系

6. 全球化的影响力，你怎么看待自己与世界的关系？

- 全球化的个人理解？ 对自己的影响？
- 英语与未来就业？ 学习英语的目的与动力？
- 全球化会对地区文化造成威胁吗？
- 是否听过世界公民的概念？ 全球化会弱化国家的概念吗？

7. 大学开设的公民相关课程？

- 马哲邓论等必修课？ 自己的感受？
- 对于社会主义接班人的提法，自己的理解？ 对自己未来角色的影响？
- 大学是否应该开设相关课程？ 仅培养专业技能？
- 你觉得应该开设哪些课程？ 素质？

9. 英国生活学习体验

- 来之前是否了解这边的文化？ 政治体制和社会情况？
- 通过自己的观察和了解，中英两个社会的最大不同在哪里？
- 通过在另一社会的生活和学习体验，对自己的未来规划和理想生活等有什么样的影响？

10. 自己对未来的规划

- 工作计划？ -人生规划？
- 海外归国留学生？

感谢您的合作！

Appendix 10 Demographical Profiles of all Interview Participants

Pilot Student Interview Participants

Interview Type	Name code	Gender	Nationality	TNE Model	Study Progression	COURSE
Individual	PLT-002	M	Chinese	2+1	Y3	Electronic Engineering
Individual	PLT-003	F	Chinese	2+1	Y3	Finance & Accounting
Individual	PLT-004	M	Chinese	3+1	Y4	Education Management
Individual	PLT-005	M	Chinese	2+1	Y3	Electronic Engineering
Individual	PLT-006	M	Chinese	2+1	Y3	Electronic Engineering
Individual	PLT-007	M	Chinese	2+1	Y3	Electronic Engineering
Individual	PLT-009	F	Chinese	2+1	Y3	Finance & Accounting
Individual	PLT-010	F	Chinese	2+1	Y3	Finance & Accounting

Student Interviews

Interview Type	Name code	Gender	Nationality	Case Code	Study Progression	COURSE
Individual	A-Zhao	F	Chinese	A	Y2	Economics
Pair Interview	A-Song	F	Chinese	A	Y4	English and Finance
	A-Li	F	Chinese	A	Y4	English and Finance
Pair Interview	A-Jiang	M	Chinese	A	Y4	Electronic Engineering
	A-Xu	F	Chinese	A	Y4	Financial Mathematics
Pair Interview	A-Wang	M	Chinese	A	Y4	Tele-communication Engineering
	A-Yu	M	Chinese	A	Y4	Information and Computer Science
Pair Interview	B-Ling	M	Chinese	B	Y4	Event Management
	B-Yu	M	Chinese	B	Y4	Event Management
Pair Interview	B-Shen	F	Chinese	B	Y4	Event Management
	B-Wang	F	Chinese	B	Y4	Event Management
Individual	C-Gu	F	Chinese	C	3+1	Y4
Individual	C-Li	F	Chinese	C	3+1	Y4
Individual	D-Duo	F	Chinese	C	2+2	PG ¹

¹ PG: Postgraduate: in this research, it represents students who have just finished their TNE UG programmes.

Interview Type	Name code	Gender	Nationality	TNE Model	Study Progression	COURSE
Group Interview One	D-Wang	M	Chinese	2+2	PG	Electrical and Electronic Engineering
	D-Lei	F	Chinese	2+2	PG	Electrical and Electronic Engineering
	D-Yu	M	Chinese	2+2	PG	Electrical and Electronic Engineering
Group Interview Two	D-Gan	M	Chinese	2+2	PG	Electrical and Electronic Engineering
	D-Guo	F	Chinese	2+2	PG	Electrical Energy Conversion
	D-Zhi	F	Chinese	2+2	PG	Electrical and Electronic Engineering
	D-Nan	F	Chinese	2+2	PG	Electrical and Electronic Engineering
Group Interview Three	D-Pan	F	Chinese	2+2	PG	Electrical and Electronic Engineering
	D-Ren	F	Chinese	2+2	PG	Electrical and Electronic Engineering
	D-Gao	M	Chinese	2+2	PG	Power System Engineering
Additional Student Interviews						
Group Interview	B-Jowett	F	US	B	Y2	Event Management
	B-Hui	F	Chinese	B	Y2	Event Management
	B-Cheung	F	Hong Kong	B	Y2	Event Management
	B-Kewley	F	UK	B	Y2	Event Management
	C-Gao	F	Chinese	C	Y3	Business Communication

Group Interview	C-Zhou	M	Chinese	C	Y3	Business Communication
	C-Zhang	F	Chinese	C	Y3	Business Communication
	C-Lin	M	Chinese	C	Y3	Business Communication
	C-Wang	F	Chinese	C	Y3	Business Communication
	C-Bian	M	Chinese	C	Y3	Business Communication
Group Interview	C-Xu	F	Chinese	C	Y3	Business Communication
	C-Yi	F	Chinese	C	Y3	Business Communication
	C-Yang	F	Chinese	C	Y3	Business Communication
	C-Ren	M	Chinese	C	Y3	Business Communication

Staff Interviews:

Interview Type	Name code	Gender	Nationality	Case Code	Position
Individual	Leader A	M	Chinese	A	University Leader
Individual	TCT-H	M	Multi nationality	A	Lecturer
Individual	TCT-T	M	Chinese	A	Lecturer/Department Leader
Individual	Leader B	M	UK	B	University Leader
Individual	TCT-M	F	Chinese	C	Lecturer

Appendix 11 Interview session summary sheet

Interview Session Summary Sheet

Sample ID: Uni A - Gp 3 ^{A-Wang} _{A-Yu} Location: Lobby (Second Floor) Main Teaching Building

Date of the interview: 10th Sep 2011 Interview Length: Recording Time: 1 Hr: 12 Min: 23 second

Situation Description:

- Interview arranged through student contact & Personal Connection _{A-Wang}
- Time Agreed over the phone
- Consent Forms were signed
- Recording Agreed
- At the beginning of the interview, Researcher ~~briefed~~ ^{briefing}

Issues Covered:

- * With General Guide of Student Interview Sheet (version 2)
- * ~~These~~ These two students are Active in Student Activities
- * Demonstrated Critical Thinking & Data → Insight in
 - TNE programme design
 - understanding of Chinese Society
 - certain level of interests in global affairs

Implication for Subsequent Data Collection:

This was a very ~~the~~ productive interview

- A-Wang & A-Yu both were Active in Student Activities
- They showed critical thinking and general inters in the topic
-

→ Related to interview with A-Zhao MUN

Bangor University 1

Appendix 12 Student Interview Transcript

Case A-Pair Interview: Group 3

Location: in the lobby of a teaching building

Duration: 1h: 12m: 23s

Audio File: A-Group3

Interviewees:

A-Wang: final year student of University A, male

A-Yu: final year student of University A, male

Interviewer:

R (Researcher)

Language:

Mandarin Chinese

问题一：学生选择该合作项目的初衷及整体评价

General Question One:

Reasons to choose TNE and general comments over the study experience

R: 可以先请你们谈一下当时选择这个项目的原因为吗?

Would you please recall the reasons for choosing this programme?

A-Wang:

就我个人而言，我首先是考虑到当时的高考成绩。不是特别高，进不了那些个特别顶级的中国大学。这个大学，我的分数应该是可以保证进去的，所以就选了这个。

Personally, the first reason was my **GaoKao score**, which was not high enough to go to the top Chinese universities. Meanwhile, I could almost guarantee a place in this university with my score.

另一个原因是，我高中的时候英语比较好，这个学校的话是全英语教学嘛。而且是英国大学的教育，我觉得应该是可以增长见识，对未来比较好，所以就决

定过来了。当然有个不好的地方，就是学费很高，是普通大学的十倍。

Another reason was that my **English** was quite good in high school. This university provides English medium teaching and learning. With the input from the UK university, I think it is a good place to broaden my horizon and to prepare for a better future. I decided to choose this university. One disadvantage, of course, is the fact that it charges ten times as high as other Chinese universities.

A-Yu:

我主要的原因也是高考的成绩。当时不太理想不能进国内好的大学。

My primary reason to choose this university was also because of my **GaoKao score**. My score wasn't high enough to gain access to the very best Chinese universities.

另一个原因是我想出国深造。这样的话，这个大学就很理想了，可以帮助我更好的准备未来的学习，所以我选在这个大学。

Another reason was that I wanted to study abroad. This university seemed to have great advantage in preparing my future studies abroad. So I decided to attend this university.

问题二：对项目的课程设计及教学评价

General Question Two:

Comments over the curriculum design and teaching and learning experience

R: 现在你们两个都是大四的学生勒，可以就着四年的经历，对课程设计作一个整体的评价吗？

Now both of you are the final year students. Could you give some general remarks over the curriculum design of this degree programme?

A-Yu:

我读项目是 information and computing science.第一年的话，所以理工科的学生都学得差不多的基础课程，准备第二年往后的专业课。

My programme is called **information and computing science**. In the first year, all the students in science and technology were studying more or less the same modules,

preparing for the future study of the professional knowledge and skills from Year Two.

我们的老师很强调自我学习的能力，因此我们又很多的实验室的项目都是自己设计的。我们其实上的课程不算多，但是每一门课的话都要花好的时间去完成作业，所以压力还是很大的。

Our lecturers put great emphases on the self-learning, therefore, asking us to do much lab work with our own designs. We don't have a lot of taught modules. However, each module requires a lot of time and effort to finish the assignments. I'd say that the study pressure is still quite high.

我们上课的时间不多，这样的话很多的学生就有较多的时间和老师一起做一些 research, 或者实习啥的。我觉得整体来说课程还是不错的。

The fact that we don't have a lot of in class time gives many students the time and opportunities to follow the tutors and lecturers to do some research or to take internship.

My overall comment on the course design was good.

有一个比较明显的问题就是：四年的课程不够整体性，不是很系统的设计。课程每一年都会有一些变化。可能因为我们是一个新的大学，很多时间还处于试验阶段，需要很多的设计和改造才能最终成型。

One shortcoming of the course design is that the whole four years doesn't seem to form a unity, not a systematic design. The curriculum is changing from one year to another. It might due to the fact that we are a new university and many things need to be tried and redesigned many times before a system can be formed.

以我们专业为例子吧。Computer science 下面有很多的小项目，比如理论学习啊，或者网络应用。可能因为项目新，所以几年下来课程也很多的重复，课程之间的界限也不清晰。结果很多课程有重复，方向也不是很清晰。我们还和商科的学生一起学电子金融的东西，和我们的专业不相关。另外，每一年课程设计都在变，四年的课程整体性不好。

Taking my subject as an example, there are many sub-sections in computer science,

such as theory studies or internet application. Probably because this programme is new, so there are a lot of overlaps and blurring boundary among these subjects, which results in the mixing up of many different modules, not clear guidance of the course direction. So we end up having modules such as e-finance, which is not that relevant to our major. Additionally, each year, they make changes to the course design, so there are some repetitions within the four years' studies. In other words, there is no overall structure of the four years' studies.

A-Wang:

我的专业是 telecommunication engineering.第一年的课程都差不多是一个打基础的过程。从第二年开始的话，我们就有了专业课。我们专业的课程还是很多的，每一周的上课时间都很长，课下的时间反而不多，而且还有作业啊，实验啥的。这样子其实就没有很多自由的时间可供支配。

I am from **telecommunication engineering**. The first year's modules were more or less the same for all the students. It is the foundation of the four years. From year two, when I started the specialist subject learning, our class time becomes really intensive, many class hours every week. We have little off class time, which also has to devote to lab design and assignments. There is little free time to do other activities or like theirs joining the lectures to do some researches. We simply have no time or energy to do that.

我们的课程很多涉及的内容很广，但是我觉得深度不够，只是基础的。这就是我为什么觉得我们的毕业生其实在就业市场的竞争力不强，尤其是专业领域的，相对于其他的中国大学生来说。个人觉得，对课程设计不是很满意。

All the modules cover a huge variety of topics in the field, but none in great depth, only the basics. That's why I think our graduates have no great advantage in the job markets in specific speciality knowledge in comparison to other Chinese university graduates. So personally, I am not very satisfactory with the overall course design.

另外，我觉得我们大学是一个中英合办的学校嘛，但是课程的设计只是按照英国的要求，因此并不是很符合中国的市场需求。

Additionally, I think since our university is a joint venture between UK and Chinese

universities, the course so far has only reflects the UK needs and design, therefore, may not be suitable for the Chinese market.

课程设计和英国的差异不大。去年教育部来审查的时候就建议我们课程要针对中国的市场做一些相应的调整。

The module design and proceedings are not much different from what is taught in the UK University. I think, last year when the monitoring group from Ministry of Education came, they suggested that the course could have more relevance to China.

A-Wang:

为了满足这些要求，于是我们的课程去调整了，现在他们低年级的课程就和我们当年不一样了。我整体的感觉就是课程一直变化没有整体的设计，尽管我们的英语比别人好些，但是我们的专业知识和技能不够扎实。

To meet such new requirement, the overall course design in the year after us has once again been changed, different from ours. That's why my overall impression of the course is that it keeps changing with no systematic design. Although our English may be better, our professional knowledge and skills are not solid enough.

A-Yu:

我想是经验不足吧，才导致这样的不稳定和不系统。

I think lack of experience results in this unstable and unsystematic course design.

R: 你觉得通过这样的课程，毕业生在中国就业市场上的优劣势是什么？

In this case, what do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of the graduates here should you compete in the Chinese job market?

A-Yu:

我认为对于大多数学生来说，在中国找工作，我们没有太明显的竞争优势。

I think, for most students, no apparent competitive edge can be identified should we decide to apply for jobs with this degree in China.

首先，这所大学还不是很出名。在中英合作办学的名下，我们和那些个合作项目被归为一类。那些项目的教学质量很差。雇主就认为我们都一样的差，其实，

我们还是很不同的。

First of all, this university is still not that well known. Under the title of Sino-UK cooperative education, we are grouped together with other such programmes, which are low in education quality. For employers, they can't differentiate us from the crowds. However, we are very different from them.

第二，尽管我们大学宣称是研究导向型的，但是在本科教育上并没有太多的体现，我们和其他大学的本科教育也都差不太多，都是很基础的知识。

Secondly, although our university is claimed to be research-led, it doesn't reflect a lot on the undergraduate teachings. No difference from the others, the UG education is still very basic.

第三，我们大学应该是在理工科见长的，但是资源上却并没有很多的投入到为理工科学生找实习等的方面，反而是管理和金融的学生有很多的实习机会。

Thirdly, our university is supposed to be strong in science and engineering, but very little resources are devoted to developing students' industry experience. Most internship opportunities are still given to the students of finance and management.

事实上，我认为除了一些极端优秀的学生，我唯一可以想到的优势就是我们的英语水平和我们对西方体系的熟悉程度可能比较好。我们更能够适应外企的工作环境。

As a matter of fact, I think, except some students who are **extraordinarily excellent (jiduan youxiu)**, the only advantage I can think about is our English competence and our adaptability to western systems and rules. Maybe we can be more adaptable should we want to work for foreign enterprises.

因此，整体就就业的能力来说，我觉得我们优势并不多。我想我们学生的整体素质应该是比其他的学生好吧，但是不一定能完全反应在就业上。

So generally speaking, in terms of **employability**, I don't think have any advantage in the job market. I think the **overall characteristics (suzhi)** maybe better than others, but not necessarily in employability.

A-Wang:

我个人认为，这种教育的最大优势就是为学生出国深造做准备。直接进入就业市场，这方面的难度我觉得不能被忽视。

To me, the core value of this education is to **prepare us for future studies abroad.**

To go directly to the job market, the difficulty is too big to ignore.

我们的优势，比如素质啊，这些都不能在短期体现出来。需要很长的时间才可以实现。结果是，我们大多数的学生选择出国深造而不是直接就业。

Our advantages, such as *SuZhi*, can't be reflected in a short-term. It takes long time to internalise and stand out. The result is that the absolute majority of the graduates choose to pursue a masters' degree than going into the job market directly.

A-Yu:

就我了解的情况来看，我们的毕业生直接就业的很少，或者家里有关系的，或者极端优秀的。这个大学可以帮助我们提高素质，对直接就业来说没有特别的贡献。

As far as I know, graduates going directly into the job market are either from a family with good social connections (*GuanXi*), or those who are really excellent. In either case, the university didn't play in great role in enabling us to get good employment, but more of improvement of *SuZhi*.

A-Wang:

就目前来看，也有一种追求高学历的趋势，对于本科生来说，得到好的工作越来越难了。

There is also a social tendency that graduates pursue a further degree than going into the job market. It is getting harder and harder for undergraduates to get good jobs.

R: 你们刚刚都有提到关于大一的课程是基础，那请你们谈一下关于教育部要求的课程的上课情况？

You just mentioned that Year One is the foundation for this degree programme, could you please talk about the citizenship modules which are required by the Ministry of Education?

A-Yu:

我们大一的课程是有所谓教育部要求的课程，但是我们上的和一般的大学是不同的，我们没有毛概邓论这些课，我们上的是中国文化的课程。

We do have so called required modules by the Ministry of Education. However, our modules are different from the other universities. We don't have modules related directly to Marxism, or Mao's Thoughts. Our module is called Chinese Culture.

A-Wang:

是啊，我们不上政治的课，而且你也感觉到了，我们学校里面，党的影响力不是很大的，或者说并没有很明显的体现出来，不像其他的学校什么活动都是在党的领导下面的，我们的学生活动都是自己组织的。

Yes, we don't have politics. As you may have noticed that the influence or the visibility of the Communist Party is not as prominent as the other universities. Unlike the other universities, where all the activities are organised under the leadership of the Communist Party Committee, our activities are all student-led.

R: 针对这个课程的内容安排来说，你们自己怎么评价？有地方可以改进嘛？

Regarding content of this module, what's your assessment? Any way to improve it?

A-Yu:

可以改进的空间很大的。首先我理解这个是教育部的要求，但是呢，就课程内容来说，我觉得学校还做的不够，不能完全符合培养世界公民的理念。

There are plenty of room for reform. I understand that it is a legal requirement from the Ministry of Education, but I am not fully convinced that University A has made its due effort to design this module to meet its educational mission of creating global citizens.

比如法律概述这个课程，只是教学生一些主要法律的法律条款，而不是培养学生的法律精神和法制精神。

For instance, the theme of basics of the Chinese laws only taught students the detailed articles of the major Chinese laws, without telling student anything about the spirit of law or the meaning of rule by law.

什么是法律？只不过是统治者制定的规则。在中国漫长的历史中间，统治者制定了严苛的法律去压制臣民和保证权利。普通民众被要求服从法律规定，政府官员则学着钻法律的空子。

What are the laws? They were nothing but the rules set up by the rulers. In the long history of China, all the monarchies had set up strict laws to oppress their subjects and secure their ruling power. The ordinary people were told to follow the laws and the government officials learned to benefit from the holes in the laws.

一旦政权崩溃，法律就变得没有意义了，社会就陷入混乱。当新的统治者上台，新的法律颁布和实施。社会根本就没有什么进步啊。因此只是学习具体的法律条款不能让学生产生公民意识，更不要说什么世界公民了。

Whenever, the ruling power went decay, the laws became meaningless and the society fell into chaos. When the new rulers came, new laws were published and enforces. There was no real social progress in the process. Therefore, teaching students the detailed articles of the specific laws could not cultivate students' citizenship, let alone global citizenship.

A-Wang:

我完全赞同他说的，但是我也要强调说，在中国这个大的环境里面，很多的事情尤其是改革和挑战体制的事情，都不是一天两天可以完成的。学校的力量也有限，只能说在一定的范围内做出一些努力，确实还有很多进步的空间。

I full agree with what he said. However, I want to stress that in the context of China, many things, especially with regard to reform and challenge the established bureaucracy, could not be done within a couple of days. The university only has limited power. It could only make effort within a certain range. There is indeed much space for progress.

问题三：除上课以外的课余活动情况及对个人的影响

General Question Three:

Experiences of activities out of class hours and the benefits

R: 你刚刚说活动是学生组织为主，不受党的领导，能具体说一下学生活动的整

体情况吗？

You just mentioned the activities are student-led, not under the leadership of the Communist Party Committee. Would you please give some general remarks on the situation of the student activities in this university?

A-Yu:

我自己一直都参与学生会的活动，这个学校的学生组织活动很丰富，是这个学校的一大特色。当然这个有很多因素造成的。

I have been actively involved with the Student Union. The diversity of the student organised activities is really an outstanding characteristics for this university. There are many factors contributing to the extremely dynamic students' activities.

首先，学生大多数都来自于条件好的家庭。这样子的背景让学生的眼界都很开阔并且思维活跃。他们很愿意参与活动。

First of all, students are more or less from **wealthy families**. Such background gives students broader visions and active minds. They are willing to participate in various activities.

其次，第一年的时候，我们有比较多的自由时间可以支配，这样，我们就可以组织和参与很多不同的活动。第一年的分数最终也不会算入总成绩，所以学生也更愿意去参加各种活动。

Secondly, in the first year, students have much free time, which they can use to organise and participate in different activities. The marks in Y1 are also not counted into the overall performance, so students are willing to take more time to do other things.

第三，这里的学生活动和其他很多大学的不同。我们受到西方教育体制的影响比较大。对于很多新生来说，这些活动都很新颖，他们都愿意参加。

Thirdly, the students' activities here are very different from other Chinese universities, with great influence form the western educational systems. To many new students, these activities are new and interesting, encouraging them to participate.

整个学校的平台是很好的，大多数的学生活动完全由学生自己组织，没有太多体制上的控制，比如说很多大学的党委之类的。

The platform is great in this university, with most students' events organised merely by students with little intervention from the bureaucracy, such as the CPC Committee in other university.

但是，类似我刚刚提到的教学安排，自由和学生领导让很多活动发展地很没有体系。大学通常也不会帮助学生去推广活动。所以学生活动很多，但是有点杂乱无章，不是很有体系和长期规划。

However, similar to the teaching arrangement, the freedom and student-led characteristics has also resulted in the unsystematic development of the students activities. The university won't usually assist the promotion of any student event, therefore, among such a great variety of activities, the overall organisation and development has been quite loose and unsystematic.

另一个原因是学生升学的特殊性。很多学生大三大四都会去英国完成学业，而且我们这边最后两年的课程也比较紧张，因此很多学生活动都不能由同一批的学生组织很长的时间。主要参加的学生都是大一的新生，这样一来，活动的延续性和经验的积累就不够。

Another reason is the progression routes of the university. Because that many students go to the UK to finish the second part and the intensity of the courses is much higher in the last two years. So the students can't commit to the activities for a long period of time. It's always the year one students' active participation. The accumulation of the results of the activities becomes difficult.

因此，整体上我总结是：活动很丰富多彩，但是组织不够好。

So in general, I would say: very colourful and active, but not well organised.

A-Wang:

我觉得，这个学校为学生活动提供的土壤是很有营养的。学生可以组织任何有创意的活动，同时不会受到体制的控制。

I would say that the soil for the students' activities in this university is very

nutritious. Students can organise any innovative activity with little interference from the bureaucracy.

另一个特色是，学生的活动很有西方的特色，可以帮助学生开拓视野，和很多的中国大学不同，例如，英语话剧社等。可能有一些组织上小问题，但是总体上来说自由而丰富多样的。

Another feature of the students' activities here is the foreign flavour and global vision embedded, which is different from the traditional Chinese universities, such as English plays and theatre club. Maybe there are some minor problems, but in general I would say it's very **liberal** and in great **diversity**.

R: 可以就你们个人参加的活动，具体说一下活动的组织和发展情况吗？

Would you please elaborate on one student activity which you personally had been actively involved in?

A-Yu:

我曾经是学生会的副主席，主要负责学生活动的整体组织及同邻校的交流合作等。另一项，我具体参与的活动是英语辩论社。我和 A-Wang 都有比较深入的参与。

I was the deputy director of the student union, which is more responsible for the overall organisation of different activities and the communication with the university. Another activity is the English debates, which I and Wang had played active parts.

我是大一刚入校两周之后就加入了辩论社。我主要的目的是提高自己的领导能力。我自我推荐成为辩论社的管理者，负责招收会员和组织活动。这个工作非常地花精力，但是很有收获。第二年，因为学习真的很忙了，我就没有做负责人了。但是，我对英语辩论还是很有兴趣，还是留在社里，但是只是作为会员。

I joined the English Debating Club two weeks after I came here. I wanted to improve my leadership skills. I self-recommended becoming the manager of the club, responsible for recruiting new members and arranging events for the members. This was a quite demanding job, but very rewarding. In the second year, when the study schedule became busy, I retreated from the manager post. However, I was really

interested in English debate and decided to stay in the club, but only as a member.

A-Wang:

刚开始，我们就组织了校园内部的竞赛，这是学校第一次的英语辩论赛。大约有 50 左右的学生参加了，我们一个组织了 10 支辩论队。每一队都要自己组织会议和组织训练材料，同时我们也会给所有会员一些训练。通过校内的竞赛，最好表现的队员被挑选出来。

At the beginning, we held an inner campus competition. That was the first English debate competition held in the history of University A. Among the 50 or so students, we formed ten different teams. Within each team, the members would hold individual meetings and organise different materials to train the members. We would also provide training for all the participants. For the inner campus competition, the best performers would be selected and awarded.

之后这些优秀的队员会组成校队。A-Yu 是整个活动最大贡献者。他不仅组织校内的活动，他也积极地和其他学校联系。我们最终有机会参与全国范围内的比赛。

Later on, these students were invited to form a university team. A-Yu was the greatest contributor to this club. Not only did he organise the event on campus, he also actively contacted with other universities. We could then finally get the chance to join in national competition.

A-Yu:

我们完成了校内比赛后组织一支校队，并且决定参与全国内的竞赛，比如北京的竞赛。我们有机会和其他学校的学生交流。我们以为自己的英语水平应该优于其他的学生。但是，我们一去北京和别的学生一见面，就发现自己太乐观了。有很多学生的英语很好，特别是北京上海的学生。加上，我们意识到其他大学都有很多额外的资源去训练学生。另外，北京上海的大学之间有很多校际交流。我们大学就相对比较孤立了，我们并没有很好地和周围的大学交流。北京的大学还有校际间的竞赛，这样的话他们的学生就积累了很多的经历。他们还有些专家去指导他们，这些导师也会陪他们参加比赛。我们最终的比赛成绩都不是很理想。

When we finished the inner campus competition and formed a university team, we decided to join the national competition, such as the Beijing national competition. We got the chance to communicate with other university students. We thought that our English was probably better than the others. However, as soon as we went to Beijing and met other students, we realised that we were too optimistic about ourselves. There were so many students with excellent English, especially those from Beijing and Shanghai. Moreover, we realised that their universities all had given them additional sources for training. These universities in Beijing and Shanghai have been well communicated with each other. Our university is kind of isolated from the others, not communicating well with the others. Universities in Beijing, for example, have been organising inter-university competition, where their experience in English debate is much richer than us. They also have experts coaching them, who are themselves involved in the organisation of the English competition. We didn't do well in the national competition.

我自己反思整个经历，觉得我们和别的学校的交流真是很不够。也许我们学校很开放，吸收国际观点和视野。但是，我觉得我们也可以和国内很好的大学学到很多的东西。可能我们自己觉得自己很特殊，于是就不太和别人交流。我真的感觉我们错失了很多东西。我们其实很很多很好的大学都很近啊，如果我们愿意，可以互相学习很多。

My reflection of the experience was that we had too little communication with the other universities. Maybe our university was opening to international ideas and visions. However, we were definitely not doing well to learn from the top universities in China. Maybe we thought that we were unique and different, ignoring the excellence of these Chinese universities. When we found out how frequent these universities were communicating with each other, we realised that we had missed out a lot. We are actually quite close to many great universities, from whom we can learn a lot.

当然，中国的那些大学的学生活动受到控制，但是同时也有很多的支持。我们只能靠自己。很多参加比赛的队伍都有专家帮助他们训练，我们只能自己摸索。另外，完全由学生去管理这些社团，社团的发展就会很依赖于参与的学生。每

一年，新生加入成为主力，一切又要重新开始。因为没有系统组织。尤其像这种英语辩论队，活动的成果完全依赖于学生能花多少的经历。我们毕竟只是学生，我们的时间，经历和资源都是有限的。这就是我觉得我们最终没有获得很好的成绩。

While the student activities from other Chinese universities were monitored by the authorities, they also receive more support. We could only rely on ourselves. While many debating teams had expert coaching staff to provide training, we could only do everything by ourselves. Additionally, as student-managed clubs, its development relies heavily on who are managing it. Every year, as new students join the club, everything seems to start from the beginning again because there is no systematic design and support from the university. This is especially true for the English Debating Club, which was about who the team members are and how much time are they willing to invest in it. We are students. We have limited time, energy and resources. That's why we feel that we could only stay on a relatively low level of performance.

问题四：关于对公民概念的理解

General Question Four:

Conceptions of Citizenship

R: 我们聊了很多关于你们的大学学习和经历，那现在我们把目光放到校园以外的生活。大学毕业之后，我们都将进入社会成为社会的一份子，成为公民，根据你们自己的理解，谈谈你对公民这个概念的理解。

So far, we have discussed about your study experience on campus, now let's cast our focus outside the campus life. When we graduate from the university, we will enter into the society and become a member of the society, a citizen. Would you please discuss about how do you understand the role of citizens?

A-Wang:

我觉得我们这一代人有些共同的特征：国际视野，不仅仅是我们的学生，整个80后90后都是这样。我们会将自己的视野放置国外。我们这代人会更加独立有自己的个性。不好说是对还是错，总之是比较有启发性和独立。这是年轻人

的整体个性。作为公民来说，首先是权利和义务。成为好的公民，我们首先应该是好人。就是说，我们常常说的素质啊，比如说教育水平，道德水平等。拥有这些，就有具有了成为好的公民的基本条件。

People of our generation have a shared characteristic: global visions, not only the students from our universities, but also post 80s and 90s in general. We tend to position ourselves at the international stage. People are more of independent with unique personality. They may be right or wrong, but in general, they are inspirational and independent. This I think is the characteristics of this generation of young people. To be a citizen, first and foremost, two words are linked to it: rights and duties. To be a good citizen, you have to be a good person. What we usually talked about *SuZhi*, such as the education, and the morality standards. Then you will have good potentials to be a good citizen. From the basics is the key of being a good citizen.

A-Yu:

和我们老一辈人比较，我们这一代人比较独立，也不怕挑战权威。比如，如果我们遇到问题的话，不会马上自动地相信所谓的权威。我们会看有什么其他的解释和处理方法。我们这一代人不会像前一辈人一样的信奉权威，尤其在我们大学，学生会被鼓励给老师提问。

Comparing to the generations before us, our generation is of independent thinking and the tendency to **challenge the authorities**. For example, if we meet some issues in certain fields, we wouldn't automatically believe in so called authorities, but also seeking the alternatives. Our generation won't value authorities to the same level as the previous generations. This is especially true in our universities, where students are encouraged to raise questions to the lecturers.

问题是，这样子挑战权威的性格特点会造成一些混乱。人们只是根据自己的意愿去做事情，并不最终权威的价值。其实大多的情况下，权威的观点还是有他们的价值的，是经过长期的总结和不断的测试最终得出的。不重视权威，可能导致学生太自我，太感性于个人的观点，急于做出错误的结论。

The disadvantage of this characteristic is that it may **trigger chaos**, where the people just follow their own ways, without giving any credit to the value of the authorities. Actually most of the time, the authoritative views are tested and validated through

long period of time, therefore, it should be given more attentions. So the consequences might be that students are too much self-involved, too emotional about of their own ideas and jump to the conclusions which might be just wrong.

A-Yu:

谈回到这个大学，这里的学生可以有自由的空间发表自己的意见，可以和权威意见相左。主要的动力也许也在于学生都知道以后会出国，这样的个性和独立思维在国外很容易被接受。但是，想想现在中国的就业市场，也许未来学生还是要回到中国的思维上来：最终和跟随权威。

Back to this university, students are more likely to form their own opinions, being accepted to differ with the authorities. The main drive also may because most of the students will go abroad after graduation. Such characteristic can be better accepted overseas. However, if thinking about join in the work force in China soon, maybe the students would follow more of the Chinese way of thinking: respecting and following the authorities.

关于公民，除了权利和义务以外，还有是自己和国家的关系。我觉得就是因为这一代年轻人的个性和批判性思维，我强烈的感觉他们和老一辈的不同，尤其对爱国主义的理解不同。也许过去一辈的人常常将爱国和爱党爱政府混淆起来。我个人认为理性的理解个人和国家的关系是一方面遵守国家的规则，另一方面，人们应该拥有批判的思维去思量这些规则，不是盲目追求。

About citizenship, in addition to rights and duties, it is also about your **relationship with the country**. Due to the characteristics of this young generation, and of the critical thinking, I have a strong feeling that this generation is different from the older generations in the perception of **patriotism**. Maybe older people usually associate loving country with loving the party and government. I personally think this is a rational and sensible way of understanding the relationship between citizens and nation. On one hand, we have to obey the rules of the nation; on the other hand, people also need to give critical views of the rules, not blindly following everything.

我们应该区分爱政府和爱国家，即使是移民去了其他的国家也不能说明你是背叛了你的国家。政府是统治国家的机器，国民应该有权利选择是否去追随。我

认为真正的爱国主义是建立了在个人和国家，而不是和政府的关系上的。最近的移民风潮说明了人们意识到了中国的生活水平和发达国家的差距。他们有权利和自由去选择自己的生活。即使在国外生活也可以为自己的祖国去贡献，可以去爱国。

We need to separate the idea of loving the government equals to loving the nation. Even immigrating to other countries doesn't mean that you are betraying the country. Government states are the ruling machines, which people can choose to follow or not to follow. **I think the real patriotism is based on the loving relationship with the nation,** not the state. The immigration trend can only show that people is recognising the gap of the living standards of China and some of the developed countries. They have the freedom and rights to go anywhere they like. They still can be patriotism even living abroad, through actions of caring about China and its people.

与老一辈子的人相比较，我们更加的能用批判的思维去思考问题，可以学会区分爱国和爱党爱政府。也许对老一辈子的人来说很难接受如果不认同政府的情况下，仍然去爱自己的国家。我认为这些心态和理解上的变化都是来自于信息的开放，了解到不同国家的不同政府和对爱国主义的不同定义。

So compared to the older generations, we are more critical in our thinking, learning to distinct the idea of loving country and loving the ruling party and government. It is probably harder for them to understand how people can be still patriotic but not necessarily loving the government. I think such change is largely due to the widening access to the information, learning about the systems of other countries and the wider definition of patriotism.

问题五：个人与世界的关系

Me and the World

R: 你们刚刚都谈到了，觉得这一代年轻人有国际视野，那你们能具体说说自己是如何理解个人和世界的关系的吗？

General Question Five:

You both mentioned that this generation of young people have global vision. Do you

read about international affairs? What kind of international news are you most interested?

A-Wang:

我也希望有更多的时间去了解这些。网络是主要的信心来源。我们没有电视，最后一年的学习压力也加大了。

I wish to have more time for these. The internet is the main source. We don't have TV and the pressure of study is intensified as we go into the final year.

A-Yu:

我主要的兴趣在国际政治方面，特别是有国际政治动乱和改革的国家。之前英语辩论的经历开拓了我对这些领域的兴趣。任何国家的政治变动都有可能同样上演在自己的国家。

My interests mainly are in the field of international politics, especially the international political turmoil and reforms in other countries. The previous English debate experience has expanded my interests in such field. The international political changes of any country can be reflected back to our own country.

比如说埃及，在政治动乱期间完全禁止了互联网的使用，这就让我想起了中国的网络监控。可能因为我自己的背景是信息技术吧，我总是觉得任何一个国家的民主进程，信息自由是一个核心。政府不能禁止人民获取信息。这是基本的人权。我觉得学生的话，对于这些事情也只能是兴趣而已。

Egypt for example, has banned the internet access during the time of the political turmoil, which reminds me of the internet censorship in China. Maybe because of my background in information technology, I always feel that the democratisation of any state, the free access to information is the core. The government can't just ban the people from getting information. This is the basic rights of people. I think the students can only stand on the level of knowing and of interest.

A-Wang:

我觉得我更加关心那些和自己的生活息息相关的时间。比如近期英国发生的事情。我回去关注，会试图了解背后的社会文化和政治的原因，为什么会发生暴

乱。因为我们大多数都是要出国的，这种接近个人生活的事件都会比较关注。其他的新闻，比如其他国家的宗教战争或者政治动乱，我只是说去了解了，没有什么太多的感觉。我刚开始看新闻的时候，就不是很理解为什么那些人要上街游行啊，大声叫啊，说自己的诉求。而且你也想不到，那些文明程度高的国家怎么也会有暴乱。

I think I would be more interested in events are closer to my own life. For example, when the riots happening in the UK, I was following closely with the news and also trying to understand the social, cultural and political reasons underneath these riots. Because most of us will go abroad, such event is closer to own personal life. Other news, such as regional wars or political turmoil in some countries, I would only just know it, not really emotionally involved. When we firstly watched the news, we didn't quite understand how people could just go on street and shouted their opinions. Also you wouldn't think such a civilised country could be so violent.

A-Yu:

像美国、英国这样子的国家，种族问题一直都有。在我们自己的国家就不太明显。但是，另一个值得我们去关注，引起这次暴乱的原因是贫富的差距。这是很可能发生在中国的。

Countries like US, UK, the problem of racism has always been there. It may not be so apparent in our country. However, another reason that triggered this incident may warn us more. That is the issue of enlarging **gap between the rich and the poor**. This could well happen in China.

A-Yu:

我们会觉得在英国那样自己的国家里，人民都有很好的生活保障，社保、医保。这种贫富差距仍然可以造成这样子的暴动。

We would think that rich countries like UK, the people actually have been taken care of with good welfare and health caring system. Such gap still triggers the problem.

随着贫富差距的增加，中国也很麻烦，很容易陷入这种问题引起的动乱。

China is very vulnerable in this area, easily falling into the trap of social riots as the gap gets larger.

经济学告诉我们只有当社会的大多数是中产阶级的时候，社会才能健康和稳定的发展。但是中国发展成一个哑铃状态的社会，中间很薄弱，两级差距很大。

The economics tells us that the healthy and stable social structure should have a large percentage of middle classes, while China becomes a shape of a dumbbell, weak in the middle but more on the two extreme edges. The result is that the social classes becomes static, where the poor can't climb the social ladders and stays at the bottom of the society.

和西方的民主社会相比较，英国社会流动性似乎也不大。生于某个社会阶层，很难进入另一个社会阶层。因此，社会的差距会造成暴动的产生。我们应该吸取教训。

There is a certain level of similarity between China and the UK. Compared to other western democracies, the UK society seems quite static as well. People seem also to be born into a social class and hard to jump out of their classes. Therefore, the dissatisfaction from the social gap results in the riots. There is lesson to be learned there.

R: 你们谈到国际事件、其他国家发生的内部问题都会联想到中国，你觉得在现在的国际社会里，中国扮演一个什么样的角色？

When you were discussing the international events, or incidents happening in other countries, you would relate it to China. What kind of role do you think China is playing in current international arena?

A-Wang:

我强烈的感觉，中国政府倾向于扮演中立的角色。换言之，就是中国不想反动任何人，不想得罪美国也不想得罪第三世界国家。

I have a strong feeling that the Chinese government tends to play a **neutral** role in the international arena. In other words, China doesn't want to be against anyone, not America or any third world countries.

你可能注意到，中国常常在联合国投弃权票。中国想在国家政治中采用中庸之道。中国在解决国际问题上，并没有足够的自信。

You will notice that China constantly voted abstain in the decision making processes in the UN. China wants to adopt the **philosophy of moderate and mean (zhongyong)** in the international politics. China is not confident in dealing with international affairs.

就想我们大学一样，一个刚入场比赛的新型，就想得到别人的表扬，但是又不想太出格，不想太张扬。

Similar to our university, as an emerging power or player, all you want is the praise and support from the others; it doesn't want to do anything too unorthodox, or being showing off too much.

中国就是想在国际社会里保持低调，自己发展经济。

China wants to keep low key in developing its economy.

如果想想我们学校是全英教学，为什么却不能在英语比赛中拔得头筹？我们不想太张扬了，所以也保持低调。对于每个学生来说，我们觉得自己都和别人不同，但是又不会去轻易去做领头的。

Considering that our university is good at English teaching, why can't we lead an English competition? We don't want to show off and annoy the others, so we have to keep a low profile. For individual student, we feel that we are different from the others, but we are also not confident enough to take the leadership.

中国不够自信吧。一方面，这样做也是很理性，另一方面，也是不够自信。因此即使我们是联合国安理会常任理事国，我们也不会太活跃的。

China is not confident enough. On one hand, it **is sensible** to act like that; on the other hand, it is lack of confidence. So even if we are in the standing committee of the Security Council, China won't act too actively.

A-Yu:

我想跟着 **A-Wang** 这个“不自信”的观点再深入聊一下。经济与政治总是不分家。

I want to follow up Wang's idea of not being confident and go deeper into the

reasons. There is always a deep **connection between economy and politics**.

中国不够自信主要由于经济上过分依赖国际贸易。大比例的经济增长 GDP，来源于出口，不是内部消费。结果是，中国总是想在国际关系上扮演好人。

China is not confident largely because it's heavy reliance on the international trading. Large percentage of the GDP comes from exporting, not internal consumption. The consequence of that is China tries hard to be the good guy in dealing with international relations.

因此，中国必须在国际政治影响力上做出让步。作为一个世界工厂，中国需要去让自己的客户满意，不管对方的政治立场是怎样的。

Therefore, China has to compromise in its political influences. As the **world factory**, China needs to please the clients, regardless of the political stands they are taking.

要改变这一状况，中国必须要改革自己的经济结构，增加内需，减少对制造业和出口低端市场。目前，中国就是这样利益导向的，没有什么太多的政治原则。

To change such circumstance, China has to reform its economic structures inside, **enlarging the internal consumption**, reducing on the manufacturing and exporting in the low end market. Currently, China has to be profit-driven, not sticking too much on political principles.

回顾到中国的社会，正如人们去追求经济利益一样，道德问题和个人原则变得越来越不重要了。人们不太在意政治意识形态，更在乎的是既得利益。

Reflecting back to the Chinese society, as people are pursuing the economic profits, the moral issues and personal principals becomes less important. People pay less attention to the political ideologies, rather putting more weights on the immediate profits.

有时候，当西方人指责中国不够民主，我只能说民主不是一个简单的概念。一个拥有 13 亿人口的大国，政府 5 年换一次，我们不能保证社会的稳定。中国人民也不会接受的。

Sometimes, when the westerners accuse China of its being not democratic, I would

say that **democracy** is not as straightforward as it seems. With a country over 1.3 billion people, it can't be **stable** if the government keeps changing every five years or so. It can't be accepted by the Chinese people.

我个人来说，我不在乎政府是不是名义上的民主，我只在乎人们是否能得益于现今的政治体制。一党制也许不民主，但是符合中国目前的状况。

To me personally, I don't care if the state is **democratic in its name**, what I do care is how people can benefit from the political system. **One party system** may not be very democratic, but it is suitable for China at this stage.

但是，这也不意味着人民不能接受很好的教育或者获得信息。任何真正意义上的进步都只能通过良好的全民教育、个人有机会发挥潜力能实现。政府因此应当给人民自由去参与政治。至少，信息自由吧。至于人民的决定和建议是否合适，政府可以有一定程度上的判断。

However, it doesn't mean that the people shouldn't be well educated or informed.

Any real progress can only be realised through the **better education** and individuals' realisation of personal potentials. The government, therefore should give people more freedom to participate in the decision making process. At least, the information should be free to be accessed by the people. As for the quality and appropriateness of the decisions, the government can have a certain level of judgement.

中国没有西方社会的民主传统，全民投票之类的。只要人民的生活和福利有保证，中国的政治体系就是稳定的。我认为人民不会太在乎有没有多个政党参政。

China doesn't have a tradition of a western defined democracy of getting all people into the **voting**. Chinese political system is **stable** as long as people's life and welfare can be guaranteed. I think people won't care too much whether we have one party or multiple parties.

除了基本的生存权利外，我很在乎的就是信息的透明。我非常不赞同网络监控。媒体的功用是监督政府。这个是现今政治体系的一个大问题。

In addition to the basic rights to live and so on, I care more about the **transparency of the information access**. I strongly disagree with the internet censorship. The media is also under monitory of the government, which is also a big problem with our political

system.

A-Wang:

中国这么大，这么多人口，主要的动乱都是来源于社会的内部，不是国际势力。

For a country as big as China, with such a huge population, the primary force of any turmoil is from the inner side of the society, not from the international forces.

因此保证国家的稳定和繁荣，关键是保证人民的权利，不是阻止他们了解世界。

如果人民可以看到国家的进步，他们也不会去反对政府的。

So to keep the **prosperity and stability** of the country, the crucial thing is to ensure the rights of people, not preventing them from knowing the world. If people can see the progress of the country, they would not go against the government.

A-Yu:

我想到新加坡，也是一个民主的国家，但是只有一个执政党。我不认为新加坡是典型定义的民主政治，但是这种体制却是能保证人民的权利得到保障、公民社会得以发展。

It reminds me Singapore, which is democracy, but only having one party. I don't think it fits the typical definition of democracy, but it works well since people's rights can protected. Its civic society has also been well developed.

像新加坡这样的国家，多民族的融合，政治体制的稳定很重要。

Countries like Singapore consisting of different ethnic backgrounds, the political system matters a lot in the stability of the country.

美国在过去的三百年,对宪法都没有打的修正，我想各国的政治体制对国家的发展都很重要，但不是千篇一律的。

America has hardly changed its Constitutions in the last three hundred years, I think it is the political system that matters the most for the development of any country.

However, there is no one single system which works in all countries.

问题六：TNE 对我未来发展的影响

Concluding Remarks: how TNE has influenced my future?

*R: 回到关于这所大学的教育，你觉得对你未来的发展最大的影响在哪些方面？
Back to the experience in this university, to what extent, do you think it may have an impact on your future work?*

A-Wang:

我想我整体上还是很推荐这个学校的教育的，当然如果家里可以负担起学费的话。

I would highly recommend this university if your family can afford the high tuition fees here.

首先，中国这种国外的教育引进越来越多了，说明了这种教育体制很受欢迎。最大的优势，当然英语教学了，然后是学会和各个文化的不同学生和老师交流，可以开拓国际视野。国际视野和思维方式是对未来发展影响最重要的方面了。

First of all, there is more and more foreign education in China, a solid proof of the popularity. The biggest advantage of this university, **English** of course, and then that the growing communication with different cultures, you can open your global vision. **The global vision and the way of thinking** are of great importance for your future development.

A-Yu:

我也会去推荐这个学校，主要是实施了西方的教育体系，帮助你去开放思维和视野。

I would also recommend this university, mainly due to the benefits you can get from a **western educational system**. It opens your mind and helps your vision.

但是，我想说的是，不能只是单纯的依靠学校来提升自己。换言之，我们要自己去努力，这样才能更好的得益于这个学习的机会。这里可以帮助你更容易的接触西方的教育和出国，但是不会自动地让你的思维方式发生变化。

However, I have to say that you can't solely rely on this university to develop these

qualities of yourself. In other words, you have to make your own will and efforts to fully benefit from this learning opportunity here. It makes access to foreign education and even going abroad easier, but it won't automatically transform your minds.

A-Yu:

也许我们现在可以看到一个所谓大的成就：好多毕业生进入了好的国际院校深造。但是，要想长远在中国发展，这个学校必须要独立增强自身的教学和科研水平，不能向一个大中介一样，只是输送学生。

Now we may see great so called achievements in the percentage of students' enrolment into top universities. However, it has to strengthen its own research and teaching, standing alone in China, not likes *a giant agent* sending students abroad.

换言之，要成为一个真正意义上的优秀大学，还有很多事情要做。这当然也要依靠，中国的政策。但是，更多的类似院校进入中国，我们只能静观其变，看看这个学校如何保证其竞争优势。

In other words, to be a really great university, there are more things to be done. It also relies on the policies of China. However, as more and more similar foreign universities come to the Chinese market, we need to see how it can keep its competitive edge.

我对于 4+0 和 2+2 这两个培养途径也有点意见。我感觉好像还是 2+2 能产生更好的教育结果。他们的分数普遍比较高，因为他们已经熟悉了英国的教育体制、知道自己做什么。像我之前说的，我们的项目的课程设计还是不很稳定、不系统。我想我们也会因此而承担后果。

I also have an issue of the differences of the learning results between 4+0 and 2+2. We feel that 2+2 students can **get better results**. Their marks are higher as they are used to the western education system and know what to do. As I mentioned earlier, the curriculum of our programme is not stable and systematic. We have to bear the consequences of such unsystematic design.

A-Yu:

我想，学校要真正的保持竞争力，就要能证明即使没有“出国”这样的安排，学生的发展也可以很好。如果学生觉得在这里完成学业比出国还要好，那这个

教育模式就成功了。

So if this university wants to keep its competitive edge, it needs to prove that it can do really well even without the “going abroad arrangement”. If students can have a better experience here than going abroad, then it would be the real success of the education model.

A-Yu:

这个学校想在中国一枝独秀，不单纯的抄袭英国的模式。但是目前来说，成功的巨大因素还是英国教育的光环，不是自己的品牌。从某种角度上来说，成功依赖于英国教育的吸引力。

This university wants to be distinctive in China without purely copying the UK model. Its success so far may because of the glamour of the UK education, not its own brand. To some extent, the success may have to rely on the attraction of UK education.

尽管学校声称是独立的，我们的大学还是需要更多的时间和努力来证明自己的是实力。这种教育模式还是处于试验阶段，没有绝对意义上的长期发展战略。Although claiming to be independent, our university needs more time and efforts to really show its' own strength. This education model is still undergoing a trial period, with no real defined strategies.

长远来看，任何一个好的企业都要有远期目标。作为一个高等院校，需要一个比较稳定的教学人员。现在对我们学校来说，好像还是有些难度啊。

In a long run, a good enterprise needs to clarify its vision further. As a higher education institution, it also needs a relatively stable faculty. It seems quite hard in our university right now.