Evaluating changing attitudes towards education in the People's Republic of China: Western disruption and the rise of the study abroad movement

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Introduction

As the first of my mother's family to venture out not only beyond the village of *La Cañada de los Alamos* and into the capital city of *Santa Fe*, but also over 1700 miles across the country to further my education, I continue to find myself examining every step of my geographic and intellectual journey. Back home in New Mexico, I watched my peers and family members grapple with formal education which never once considered our generational and historical experiences as perpetually border-crossed individuals. I witnessed the struggle in a tongue not quite our own yet also not foreign, without any support to weave these disparate linguistic and cultural selves back together.

I made my first trip outside of the United States to China for intensive Mandarin Chinese studies at Beijing's University of International Business and Economics the summer after my freshman year. While I experienced life on a Chinese college campus I overwhelmed my language partner and her friends with questions, comparing their college experience to my own and reconciling peculiar remnants of the 50-year economic and infrastructural leap China had taken. They pointed me to China's unprecedentedly rich and long history, which serves as a reminder of the possibility of continuity despite changes in political, geographical and social structure and the ways in which this history was preserved within the structure of education itself. I wished to understand what had permitted this conservation of culture and history through education in the face of British and American colonial advances precisely because my own people had grappled with their purported colonizers quite differently. As a side note, through my research I discovered that America's colonial designs on New Mexico and China had more of a shared history than I anticipated. Stephen Watts Kearny, the US brigadier general who led the ongoing occupation of New Mexico in 1846, became the first governor of what was then proclaimed an American territory.

He was the second cousin of Lawrence Kearny (Wilson and Fiske 1887), the US naval captain who steered the Navy's East India Squadron down the *Zhujiang* River 珠江河 after China's concession to the British in the first Opium War, demanding that the United States receive treatment equal to that granted the United Kingdom (Pomfret 2017 p.35). Both of their interruptions have been described as peaceful and bloodless. Colonial interference is always anything but.

Upon my return to the United States, I continued to explore the Chinese educational system in a broad historical overview, to understand in what manners education had allowed China to make this leap despite perpetual European and American designs on its political and economic control. I found that from the late 19th century onwards as schools became controlled by the government and in turn reflected the changes from rule under the Qing Dynasty to that of Republic to a country fractured by civil war to various iterations of a country under Communist rule, a near constant element remained, that of the study-abroad movement. In the 2016-2017 academic year, 350,547 Chinese students were studying within the United States alone, primarily in institutions of higher education (Institute of International Education. *Educational Exchange Data from Open Doors 2017*). A decade previously, only 98,958 Chinese students were studying abroad in the United States (Institute of International Education. *Outbound Mobility – Past Years Archived Data from Open Doors* 2017*)*. Although this boom in numbers is recent, the study abroad movement is not new, and it has been a more or less constant flow since its formal inception in 1872, when the first governmental commission was formed to send students to study within the United States.

Because of its omnipresence within modern Chinese society, the simply deceptive question then arises – why study abroad? This question itself has different answers depending on the timeframe and individuals in question, and in turn it is necessary to explore the development of

China's current educational system itself, and the roles that the study-abroad movement has played as simultaneously supplementing, replacing, and otherwise existing parallel to domestic education. In the development of a government-controlled education system, which only began to emerge in 1898, the question of access and design must also be considered. For whom was the educational system initially tailored, and to what ends? Furthermore, after which existing systems was formal education modeled, and what were the implications of this imitation? Although Chinese education had not been formalized or controlled by the government, students took a series of exams leading up to the civil service exam which were regulated by the imperial government. The imperial civil service exam was not abolished until 1905, and government education and the civil service exam system coexisted for a brief moment, although the coexistence of dissimilar forms of education significantly predated these seven years of overlap.

American missionaries and missionary-educators first fully established themselves in China in 1833. They brought American education with a religious spin on it and established missionary schools in their attempt to convert China to Christianity. These schools paralleled many elements of education with the United States, which itself was in the process of forming a system of public schooling. Missionary educators heavily influenced early comprehensive education in China, with many of the first colleges and schools co-run by missionary educators and Chinese educators. This occurred against the backdrop of China's defeat in two Opium Wars (1839-1842, 1856-1860) which resulted, amongst other deep social and economic changes, the ceding of Hong Kong to the British, the adoption of extraterritoriality laws, the opening of treaty ports to merchants, the legalization of the opium trade, and the establishment of freedom of religion, all dealing a significant blow to the Qing dynasty. While the country was rocked by war and advanced upon by Western empires competing for China as the next country under their control

and influence, the first Chinese student studied abroad in the United States, arriving in 1847 and graduating from Yale University in 1854. During the Meiji Restoration beginning in 1868, Japan completely reformed its own educational system, heavily emulating European and American forms of schooling. China was influenced by Japan's approach, as significant amounts of European pedagogical literature first arrived in Japan, where they were translated into Japanese. Subsequently they were more readily transferable through geographic and linguistic proximity to China.

The creation of formal education within China was informed by missionary educators, American public schools, French and Prussian education, classical European pedagogy, modern Japanese education, and most importantly, thousands of years of Chinese education surrounding the civil service exam. Zhang Zhidong, a late 19th century politician and scholar, expressed this not fully syncretic yet also not colonized approach to education as a form of national survival, commonly cited as: "Chinese learning as foundation, Western learning as application" (*zhongxue wei ti, xixue wei yong* 中学为体西学为用). Resultantly, language surrounding both colonization and modernization must be considered in looking at the role played by study-abroad returnees in political, economic, social and educational reform. To what extent did the study-abroad movement in its inception serve as a vehicle for strengthening the country, and how was it also used as a platform for Westernization, strengthening trade relations with the United States and bringing China closer to its political control? What role did Christianity and missionary schools play in this complex environment?

Moving into the present day, and the study-abroad movement after the United States resumed diplomatic relations with mainland China in 1979, certain elements parallel the movements inception over a century previously. The push towards modernization and obtaining

"Western" knowledge, is a similar thread which characterizes these two key moments in the history of the study abroad movement. What differs greatly is increased mobility within Chinese society and the corresponding rise in opportunities to study not only within the United States, but within the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Singapore, to name but a few popular locations. What does it mean to study abroad in the 21st century, and what sort of individual is able to do so? How does studying abroad serve as a marker of social or cultural capital? Within the United States, Chinese students steadily increase their representation in higher education, from community colleges to Ivy league institutions. Why do they choose to study abroad today, and how does this differ from the choices made by students before them?

In order to address this multitude of questions, my approach incorporates history, news media, educational data and ethnographic studies. This bricolage is essential, as I quickly found in my research it is impossible to consider why the American imaginary continues to loom large for Chinese students without looking to the historical precedent established by the thousands who studied abroad before them as far back as the Qing dynasty. Relatively little academic literature has been published in English on the most recent influx of students in the United States, but news and magazine articles abound. Finally, as someone coming from outside of culture, I do not wish to explain or over-analyze the motivations of students wishing to study in the US based on historical accounts or data published by national departments of education. Instead, I turn to some of the individuals themselves, students at Duke Kunshan University who sought out a learning experience at an international branch campus, and expressed interest or already had concrete plans to study outside of the country.

Following this approach, the first chapter of this thesis is concerned with the broad history of the Chinese study-abroad movement and the evolution of the formal educational system in

China up until 1949. It chronicles not only the rise of the study abroad movement, but also details the conditions surrounding the eradication of the civil service examination and introductions of American and European pedagogy. The second chapter focuses on two individuals who shaped China's educational history as a result of their relationship to the study abroad movement, John Dewey and James Yen. John Dewey, the prominent American educator and philosopher, spent two years lecturing within China after having taught Chinese students studying abroad at Teachers College. James Yen studied abroad in the United States at Yale and Princeton, and subsequently returned to evangelize and educate within rural China. The time spent by both Dewey and Yen profoundly impacted Chinese education, with Dewey's pedagogy entering the Chinese educational canon, albiet seeing ebbs and flows of popularity, and Yen's work, in particular his literacy campaigns, beginning to standardize education in vernacular Chinese and creating infrastructure for education in rural areas. They are demonstrative of how individuals both foreign and local were linked by the study abroad movement and because of this tie, how Chinese society and China's approach to education in the early 20th century were influenced.

The second half of my thesis, chapters three and four, takes a look at Chinese students abroad in the United States from 1949 to the present day. The third chapter is an overview of Chinese students in American schools from 1949 onwards. I consider the role that studying abroad at Soviet universities played in the restructuring of education in the People's Republic of China, the responsibility placed upon the first generation of students to study abroad in the United States after diplomatic relations were resumed between China and the United States in 1979, and how the methodical origins of the movement have given way to a more personalized pursuit of education. In focusing on Chinese students in the United States in the 2010's, I follow their educational journey using Arjun Appadurai's theorization of global cultural flows. In the third

chapter, I consider the interplay of ethnoscapes and financescapes by looking at the number of students presently enrolled in American schools, their fields of study, which schools enroll high numbers of international Chinese students, and their financial contributions to these educational institutions.

The fourth chapter looks at Chinese students studying at Duke Kunshan University, an international branch campus (IBC) jointly run by Duke University and Wuhan University 武汉大学. Although IBCs have already been both heralded and critiqued for branding the educational practices of their parent universities in order to tap into a market in other countries, their role in the Chinese study abroad movement has largely been overlooked. Through speaking with students at DKU. I questioned if and how IBCs served to supplement the traditional study abroad experience. Duke Kunshan University clearly emerged as a trial run for students wishing to study abroad, as students were able to experience what they defined as American-style education and judge whether or not they would wish to attend graduate school in an English-speaking country. Students also indicated more systemic reasons for their educational choices, namely the omnipresence of the American imaginary, discontent with traditional Chinese education, achieving personal goals, and the high cost of studying abroad. This chapter also reviews the concept of Chinese middle class-ness as demarcated by studying abroad, returning to the consideration of financescapes. Connecting these historical and current vignettes helps to construct a more thorough albeit still very incomplete understanding of how Chinese education has been impacted by the study abroad movement and also informed its very inception and continuation into the present day. This in turn is an initial venture into future explorations of both the socio-historical conditions which shaped its beginnings, current trends within secondary education and societal circumstances which force some students abroad while preventing others to consider it as a possibility in the first place, and

the impact that Chinese students are having on American public and private education, as well as their experiences within foreign schools.

As most of the historical figures, educational policies, and cultural references are Chinese, I will be following the University of Edinburgh's style guide for essays in Chinese studies. I will be including the *hanyu pinyin* 汉语拼音 (standard Romanized transliteration), Chinese characters, and translation where appropriate. Some individuals, events or locations are known outside of mainland China only by their Wade-Giles Romanization, a system predating *hanyu pinyin*, and I will refer to them using this form of transliteration. I do the same with Russian vocabulary, including both the Cyrillic and Romanized word, as well as the translation. With regards to Chinese characters, if I am writing the names of individuals who lived outside of mainland China, or before the simplification of Chinese characters in the 1950's, they will be written using traditional Chinese characters; otherwise, all characters are simplified. Unless indicated, translations of words and phrases are my own. Book, journal, or magazine titles in Chinese will be placed between guillemets. Chinese and Japanese name order will be used unless the author stylizes their name differently.

Chapter 1:

Missionary Education, the Chinese Educational Mission and Zhang Zhidong: learning to study abroad

Writing after the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, the politician, statesman, intellectual, educator and reformer Zhang Zhidong 张之洞 published *An Exhortation to Learning* (*Quan Xue Pian*《劝学篇》). Zhang and other contemporaries were searching for ways to respond to the dual threats of constant Western colonial pressure and internal political decadence of the Qing dynasty. One of the primary objectives was modernization, which at that time meant adapting scientific and technological methods in use in the United States and Western Europe. Zhang looked towards education and educational reform in particular as the means by which this goal could be accomplished. In the late 19th century, China's educational system and cultural definitions of education itself were undergoing an enormous transformation. The *keju* 科举 , China's civil service examination, was not fit for producing individuals proficient in the skills desired for modernization, as it primarily tested knowledge of Confucian classics and standardized methods of essay and poetic writing. China's national educational system was in a fledgling state and did not take automatic precedence as the preferred form of education, with the first Western-style universities having been established in the same year as Zhang's publication, and foreign missionaries also running their own Christian schools.

It was this possibility for transformation via education which Zhang considered in *An Exhortation to Learning.* Studying abroad in order to acquire Western knowledge was the vehicle for China's rejuvenation, modernization, and survival in Zhang Zhidong's eyes. Zhang stressed including the importance of reading translated literature acquired via Japan, and suggested that students also study abroad in Japan. Japan was much closer, both in terms of physical and cultural proximity, to China than Europe or the United States and was a location of Western intellectual

exchange. In looking towards the West, Zhang stressed a balanced approach, which would not sacrifice Chinese culture and tradition in its entirety for foreign practices. Instead, in proposing a model for school reform, Zhang called on scholars and reformers to use traditional [Chinese] ways of learning as a foundation, and new [Western] ways of learning in practical application, not sacrificing one for the other[1]. Although immediately afterwards the reformers took a different route, one which more enthusiastically embraced Western methods and discarded Chinese culture for the time being, and many court officials and supporters of the Empress Dowager Cixi (*Cixi Taihou* 慈禧太后) went in the opposite direction, renouncing anything Western (Ayers 1971), Zhang's approach continues to inform the omnipresent dilemmas stemming from educational and cultural exchange between China and the United States and Western Europe. It was reflective of the motivations which prompted Yung Wing, the first Chinese graduate from an American college to create the Chinese Educational Commission to send other students to the United States, and countless other intellectuals and students to look towards the West for new approaches in politics, science and technology which would allow China to compete with Western powers in internationally intelligible terms.

Since the first group of students were sent by the Chinese government to study abroad in 1872, waves of students studying abroad have done so in light of two primary motivations, those of personal and national expansion. These motivations have alternated in terms of precedence since the inception of the study abroad movement. Initially the study abroad movement was conceived in order to address scientific and technological lag, but during the New Culture Movement

[1] 旧学为体，新学为用，不使偏废 *jiuxue wei ti, xin xue wei yong, bu shi pianfei* (Zhang 1998 p. 121). This is also commonly referenced as 中学为体，西学为用，*zhongxue wei ti, xi xue wei yong*, which is also abbreviated as 中体西用，*zhong ti xi yong* , literally Chinese learning as foundation, Western learning as application. This later lexical substitution of traditional for Chinese and new for Western does not appear in *Quan Xue Pian*, although it is cited more frequently than the way that Zhang phrased the concept in his own writing (Ayers 1971).

(*xinwenhua yundong* 新文化运动) of the 1910's, cultivation of the individual via foreign exposure took precedence. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the purpose of studying abroad, primarily now in the Soviet Union, was again in order to restructure the nation, now with a new ideological frame of reference. They were similarly motivated after the establishment of diplomatic ties with the United States in 1979 to gain exposure to Western advances in science and technology. This approach was quickly supplemented by an enthusiasm for experiencing Western society and the resultant cultural and societal values which differed from those at home, once again placing the individual at the forefront of the study abroad movement. This chapter in particular will address the study abroad movement from the mid 19th-century to the mid-20th century through a historical survey. I will further consider what additional elements influenced the creation and the development of the study abroad movement, from the presence of Christianity, social and intellectual movements, and the initial development of a national education system. When I refer to study abroad, unless explicitly stated otherwise, I am referencing the relationship of educational exchange between China and the United States. Chinese students have and continue to study abroad across the globe, but the relationship with each country is distinct, and beyond the scope of what can be addressed in this thesis.

Classical Chinese Education: Confucian Thought and the Keju

In order to consider to what degree the study abroad movement impacted Chinese education and schooling, it is important to first look at how knowledge was approach prior to the introduction of American and European methods. The practice of knowledge transfer and cultivation of the classics came to dominate China predominantly via the civil service examination system (*ke ju* 科举). It became firmly established during the flourishing of philosophical thought during the 5th and 4th centuries BC. Confucius (Kongzi 孔子, in his most famous attributed work,

The Analects (*Lunyu* 论语), devoted more than a dozen analects to knowledge and wisdom (Chan 1963). He also set the precedent for the behaviour of individuals through the cultivation and expression of *ren* (仁), loosely defined as humanity, through the expression of conscientiousness and altruism. Confucian philosophy as a whole, notably the concept of *ren*, as well as the "potential for the perfectibility of all men" (Chan 1963 p. 15), embodied by the superior man (*jun zi* 君) have persisted with an influence almost entirely uninterrupted since their introduction in the 5th century.

Mencius (Mengzi 孟子), second only to Confucius in Confucian philosophical influence, advocated for government to "establish seminaries, academies, schools and institutes to teach the people" (Chan p. 67). The structure of this educational system is not further detailed by Mencius beyond what subjects ought to be emphasised. It is indicative of an existent societal desire for the expansion of learning opportunities. The writings of Confucius, his contemporaries and neo-Confucian successors, and perhaps most importantly the unattributed foundational books of Confucianism, the Four Books and Five Classics (*Sishu Wujing* 四书五经) cemented a deep intellectual and philosophical concern with knowledge transfer and cultivation of the classics.

This was set to influence the civil service examination system, as well as the current educational system. The influence of Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism is commonly referenced in many spheres of education. In examining curricular reform in mainland China, Wu Jinting (2016) posits that the cultural base of Chinese schools draws from Confucian heritage through its features of learning practices, expectations and interpretations. Wang Ning (2015), presently a Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Tsinghua University in Beijing looks at the reconstruction of Neo-Confucianism in China's liberal arts education at the university level.

Much before the establishment of anything resembling the current educational system, the *keju* dominated the socio-political structure of China and served a far broader purpose than simply selecting examinees for government service. The *keju* was both reflective of the humanist feelings of the time and justifying the power of the Emperor and the bureaucracy (Chan 1963). It was established at the beginning of the Sui Dynasty (*sui chao* 隋朝) (581-618 A.D) and was only abolished at the end of the Qing Dynasty (*qing chao* 清朝) (1644-1912), in 1905 (Miyazaki 1976), lasting for over 1300 years.

The rigor, competitiveness and overall gruelling nature of the *keju* is impossible to place into perspective in today's world, with examinees facing a barrage of qualifying examinations on the district, prefectural, provincial and metropolitan levels, before finally sitting for an exam in front of the Emperor. The system became even further complicated by the decadent end of the Qing dynasty, when examinees had to first pass a school entrance examination to be considered students, before taking the actual round of examinations comprising the actual civil service examination (Miyazaki 1976).

In order to prepare for the examination, at the age of 7 or 8, boys would be sent to temple, village, communal or private schools (or in the case of wealthy pupils, a tutor). Girls were not allowed to take the exam. Here at school, students would parrot their teacher, in the rote memorization of several hundred characters per day. As they progressed, the memorization and interpretation of the fundamental literature of the Four Books and Five Classics, the primary material upon which the examinees would be tested. Formal education in the form of these schools concluded around the age of fifteen, after which young men would devote their time to studying for the preliminary examinations, and, if they passed, the next succession of exams. This pattern

persisted well into adulthood, and even upon receiving the *jin shi* (進士) degree, awarded after passing the final examination, there was no guarantee of a civil service job (Miyazaki 1976)

The civil service examination served a unique role in shaping socio-political dynamics from ancient China to the present. For Benjamin Elman (2000), it consolidated dynastic and state power as an educational strategy which ensured political legitimacy. The *keju* also created a process of social, political and cultural reproduction of the status quo, with the state controlling and emphasizing classical culture in order to maintain power. Hilde De Weerdt (2007) expands on this reproduction as an explanation of China's social and intellectual history. The hyperinflation of the civil service examination within Chinese society as well as the very real rigor and enormous amounts of time spent preparing and taking examinations was a brilliant form of political control and cultural conservation. It not only forced people to conform to and submit themselves to the examination system, but also preserved and reinforced China's culture and classical concepts of morality via its subject matter.

The enormous influence which it exerted on Chinese society came to its height in the late Qing dynasty, by which time Immanuel C.Y Hsü (2000) estimates that there were only 27,000 bureaucratic positions, but over 1.1 million degree holders. This oversaturation of men qualified to enter bureaucratic service created a unique social stratification, wherein degree-holders unable to obtain a position in civil service became part of a scholarly gentry, which "considered themselves guardians of the cultural heritage. They took it upon themselves to disseminate moral principle and contributed heavily to the rise of private academies" (Hsü p.73). Because of their unique position as the intermediaries between actual bureaucrats and regular citizens, the gentry were essential in setting and transmitting the intellectual standard and defining the appropriate approach to analysis of the classics, standards of morality, and development of civic society. The

gentry further assisted in smoothly guiding the political agenda, "form[ing] an educated bureaucracy which assisted the government rather than criticized it, as opposed to intellectual habits in the west" (Hsü 79).

By the Qing dynasty, the civil service examination had cemented China's social stratification and created a means by which social and political control could be achieved, as well as a method of selecting the individuals, intellectuals and civil servants, who would exact this control. For centuries this system's functionality did not necessitate or create the development of an educational system in the Western European sense of a university and college structure. Furthermore, until the 16th century, there was no extended, continuous contact with the West in order to form a basis for comparison or force a structural change.

The development of an educational culture concerned primarily with emulating and preserving the literary and academic traditions dating from the Han period was shaken to its core by Western Europe and the United States. The Industrial Revolution and simultaneous colonial designs on Asia via direct confrontation and the subtler infiltration of Christian missionaries and eager businessmen combined with gradual societal decadence and internal unrest during the Qing dynasty. These combinations forced China's intellectuals to approach definitions of education, the civil service examination and an overall relationship with the outside world from a new, Westernized angle.

Christianity and Trade in China

Various forms of Christianity have endured within China since the Tang dynasty (*Tang Chao* 唐朝). Nestorian Christianity was the first form of Christianity to reach China, as early as 635. After two hundred years of religious toleration, an emperor by the name of Tang Wuzong 唐武宗 (reigned 840-846) began religious persecution of individuals from a number of different faiths,

including Nestorian Christianity. Franciscans were the next Christians to travel to China, arriving in 1294 during China's Yuan dynasty (*Yuan Chao* 元朝). They in turn were followed by the Jesuits, most famously Matteo Ricci, who in 1583 took a new approach to Christianity which allowed Chinese Christians to maintain traditional customs such as ancestor veneration, creating a more palatable version of Christianity which attracted more followers. This contrasted starkly with the approach of the Franciscans, who did not adapt their approach to Christianity to accommodate Chinese culture, and also did not learn the language during their first visit, led by John of Montecorvino (Camps 2000, p. 106). French missionaries also followed, carefully chronicling Chinese culture, conveniently noting parallels between Christian doctrine and ancient Chinese texts, and igniting interest in China within Enlightenment-era France. In 1742 Pope Benedict XIV then issued a papal bull forbidding missionaries from incorporating Chinese rites into their practices (p. 110).

Although Christians had been in China since the 7th century, the missionary movement took quite a different turn in the 19th century, against the backdrop of European imperial and colonial expansion during that time. The First and Second Opium Wars, domestic Nian rebellion (*Nianjun Qiyi* 捻军起义), Taiping rebellion (*Taiping Tianguo Yundong* 太平天国运动), which all occurred between 1839 and 1868, coupled with the general decadence of the Qing dynasty made China extremely vulnerable to foreign powers seeking to wield greater influence within the kingdom. Furthermore, as Immanuel C.Y. Hsü notes, recently industrialized countries in Western Europe and the United States needed an overseas market for their goods and also were on the hunt for raw materials to continue fueling industrial growth. They were justified in their aggressive territorial and capitalist expansion by Social Darwinism, a Christian directive to civilize the natives, and feelings of racial superiority (p. 313). Political and territorial control were most definitely a

primary objective of foreign countries as they looked towards East Asia, and the desire for commercial expansion was inextricably intertwined.

In the 19th and early 20th century, China was a target for the East India Trading Company, Standard Oil, and the British American Tobacco Company (Hsü 2000; Bullock 2011; Pomfret 2016), which supplied opium, kerosene and cigarettes respectively. Establishing itself in China in 1902, the British American Tobacco Company (BAT) was headed by none other than James B. Duke, the founder of the Duke endowment which supports Duke University and other educational and cultural institutions to this day. They grew to such an extent that China became by far the largest market for cigarettes in the world, and BAT became one of China's primary investors (Pomfret 2017 p. 181). In 1863, less a year after the kerosene refining process was perfected, John D. Rockefeller sold the first barrels of kerosene to China (Bullock 2011 p.11). In the 1910's, in large part by promoting sales of kerosene lamps and the accompanying kerosene, Standard Oil was responsible for 50% of all imported American products (p. 26). When the Kuomintang (國民黨) gained political control in the late 1920's, they established a preferential business relationship with Standard Oil as well.

Long before tobacco and kerosene there was opium. Opium was not new to China, as smoking opium as a narcotic arose in the 17th century. From the 1820's onward, China's opium imports increased exponentially, from 10,000 chests (each weighting between 133.5 and 160 pounds) a year in 1820 to 40,000 chests per year in 1838 (Hsü 2000 p. 169). It was largely supplied by the British East India Company, and its increased importation stemmed from the fact that the British spent an enormous amount of money on Chinese tea and silk, and used opium to leverage those costs. Opium's addictive tendencies further facilitated the growth of the illicit trade.

The opium trade was illegal in China, but nearly impossible to regulate. Despite debates about the possibility of legalization to then enact more control over the trade, in 1836 the Viceroy of Liangguang[2] (*Liangguang Zongdu* 兩廣总督), Deng Tingzhen 鄧廷楨 was ordered by the emperor to stop the illicit trade because of the negative moral and economic effects it was having on the kingdom. He was aided by the Viceroy of Huguang[3] (*Huguang Zongdu* 湖广总督), Lin Zexu 林则徐 who punished foreign dealers, domestic brokers, corrupt officials and users. Lin's relentless and successful attempts to curb the opium trade, arresting thousands of violators, confiscating tens of thousands of opium pipes and tens of thousands of pounds of opium (p.180). He was overly ambitious, ordering foreign traders to sign a bond ending illegal opium trafficking. The bond was ignored, and Lin resultantly detained 350 foreigners in Canton (*Guangzhou* 广州). A detained British captain, Charles Elliot, then issued a written directive as an emissary of the British government to all foreign traders to surrender their opium to him, which he would then surrender to Lin Zexu. All in all, 21,306 opium chests were surrendered to China in May of 1839 (Hsü p. 182). This surrender was strategic, as Elliot then forced China to become directly accountable to the British empire by accepting the chests, which through this sleight of hand became public property of the British crown. Elliot and other foreigners were released, and Lin Zexu destroyed the opium balls contained within the chests by crushing them in giant trenches, covering them in salt and lime and dissolving them in water (p.182). Elliot carried the news of Lin's impediment of the opium trade and destruction of British property to the British government. In the ensuing chaos, two British traders chose to sign the bond Lin had initially offered independent of Elliot's decision.

[2] Liangguang 兩廣 was the name given to the present day province of Guangzhou 广州 and Guangxi 广西 autonomous region under the Qing dynasty.

[3] Huguang 湖广 was the name given to the provinces now known as Hubei 湖北 and Hunan 湖南 from the Ming dynasty onwards.

Their ships were subsequently fired on by the British navy, which was then attacked by the Chinese navy trying to defend the British traders who had honored their agreement.

This was November of 1839, and through this skirmish the First Opium War had begun. The British Royal Navy quickly arrived with gunships, occupying the Pearl River (*Zhujiang He* 珠江河 and sieging the trade port of Canton, forced China to capitulate by 1842. By signing the Treaty of Nanjing (*Nanjing Tiaoyue* 南京条约), Hong Kong was ceded to the British, foreign traders could no longer be taxed irregularly, and instead a fixed tariff was set, 21 million silver dollars in indemnity money were paid, and the Canton system of trade, which only allowed foreign traders to conduct business in Canton (Guangdong 广东) was abolished. Instead, five ports were opened to British trade, Canton, Amoy (Xiamen 厦门), Foochow (Fuzhou 福州), Ningpo (Ningbo 宁波) and Shanghai 上海. (p. 190). The British were granted most favored nation status, which meant that in future, any treaties signed with other foreign powers would also retroactively grant them the same privliges. Shortly thereafter, China also signed treaties with the United States and France, the Treaty of Wangxia (*Wangxia Tiaoyue* 望厦条约) and the Treaty of Whampoa (*Huangpu Tiaoyue* 黄埔条约) respectively. The Treaty of Wangxia granted the United States extraterritoriality in both civil and criminal cases (Pomfret 2016 p. 38), meaning that Americans (and the British as well) were exempt from having to abide by Chinese law. The Treaty of Whampoa added on to these demands being able to freely propagate Catholicism. (Hsü 2002 p. 191). Hsü notes that the issue of opium, which instigated this clash between empires, was mentioned nowhere in any of the treaties.

It was not until the Second Opium War (1856-1860), also called the Arrow War by the British, that opium was legalized. The aggressive tactics taken by Western Europe and the United States to gain legal and political control within China to facilitate trade, and the enmity and conflict

sparked by this attempt at colonization did not dissipate upon the signing of some treaties. In 1856, a Chinese-owned ship registered with the British in Guangdong was boarded by Chinese authorities searching for pirates and in the process, the British flag was taken down (Hsü 2002 p. 205). This incident was once again molded into an excuse to attack China once more, making Guangdong yet again the primary target. The French also joined in, using a missionary's death as their pretext. Although the United States did not officially participate, the US Navy lent their military support (Pomfret 2017 p. 50). What transpired was yet again a series of forced negotiations which brought China ever closer to being fully subjugated by foreign powers. The signing of the Treaty of Tientsin (*Tianjin Tiaoyue* 天津條約) in 1858 resulted in the opening of ten more trade ports in addition to the five opened under the Treat of Nanjing. In addition, foreigners were allowed to travel throughout China without restrictions, inland transit fees on foreign trade were limited, and most importantly for the scope of this discussion, missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, were protected. The United Kingdom, France, the United States and Russia were all granted these privileges through this treaty (Hsü 2002 p. 211).

American Christianity was thus yet another import facilitated by restrictive treaties. American Protestant missionaries fully established themselves in Guangzhou in 1833, opening the first mission school for Chinese boys (Graham 1995, p. 9). Their initial approach in attempting to Christianize China was to indoctrinate the elite, who were entirely uninterested and found the approach of Protestant missionaries quite crude. The missionaries then changed their tactic and chose to focus instead on not only the masses, but individuals with little or no social standing.

Converting China to Christianity was still slow work, but a missionary by the name of Electa Butler found that schools made for excellent tools of evangelization in a country which had not yet established a national educational system. By teaching students a curriculum similar to that

taught in American schools, as well as instructing them in the gospel, the missionaries sought to make themselves more marketable. They attracted families which believed that "there must be a special quality to Western knowledge and education that gave the Western countries their power" (Graham 41), but also attracted many students from poor families which were often even paid by the missionaries to allow the children to attend schools. In addition to educating and evangelizing, missionaries also lodged attacks on traditional Chinese culture by offering opportunities to educate women, taking advantage of the role of mothers within the household – if mothers could be converted to Christianity, they could create Christian homes filled with Christian children. They also painted a picture of Chinese women as oppressed and needing to be liberated through Christianity while simultaneously arguing that non-Christian women could destroy their entire evangelizing enterprise by raising pagan households (p. 18) – yet again demonstrating how their end goals and mission could be manipulated to fit the present situation.

Yung Wing and the Chinese Educational Commission

Missionary schools were crucial in the development of the study abroad movement in China. They created an extended contact with the West and the representation of whichever "Western" thoughts and values the missionaries chose to promulgate. Most importantly, they also became the conduit via which the first group of Chinese students found the means to study abroad. Yung Wing (pinyin *Rong Hong* 容閎), the first Chinese student to graduate from a United States university, was himself a by-product of the mission schools.

In his autobiography, Yung Wing details how he was supported by Samuel Robbins Brown, a teacher at a mission school in Hong Kong where he studied. When Brown returned to the United States suddenly, he took Yung Wing and two other students, Wong Shing (黃勝) and Wong Foon (黃寬), with him. Wong Shing suffered from ill health and was forced to return to China. Wong

Foon completed his schooling at the Monson Academy, an elite preparatory school in Massachusetts which is still in operation, for two years with Yung Wing. Afterwards, he chose to study medicine at the University of Edinburgh. Yung Wing moved on to Yale College, graduating in 1854 (Wing 1978).

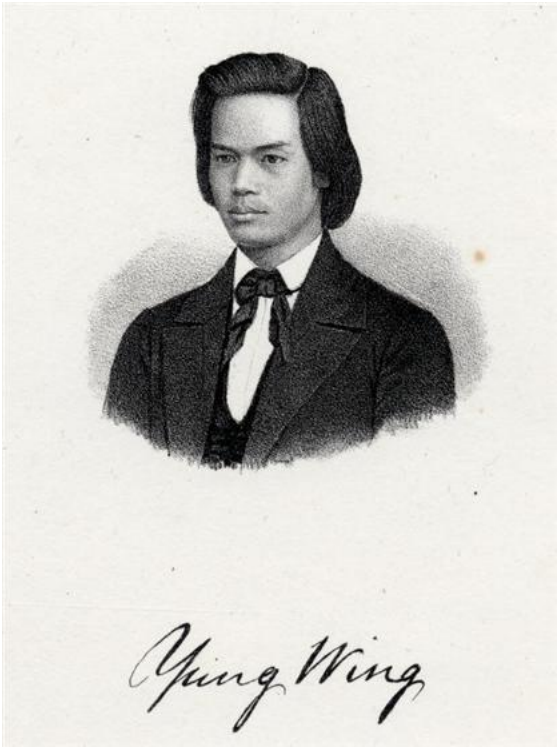

Fig. 1
An engraving of Yung Wing in the Yale class album of 1854.
Image courtesy of Yale University Libraries.

Yung Wing was motivated by his experiences studying abroad to extend the opportunity to more students, but for more than twenty years was not able to have his dream come to fruition. The opportunity arose in 1868, when the Burlingame-Seward treaty was ratified. The treaty guaranteed "reciprocal rights of residence, religion, travel and access to schools" (Hsü p.298) for American and Chinese individuals, and most importantly, bound the United States to a nominal policy of non-interference in China. Subsequently, this thawing in post-Opium war relations between the two countries allowed for Yung Wing to fulfil his long-time dream of sending more students to the United States to study. He worked to establish the Chinese Educational Commission (*Zhongguo Liumei Youtong* 中国留美幼童) which would send the first group of Chinese students abroad to study, "determined that the rising generation in China should enjoy the same educational advantages that [he] enjoyed; that through Western education China might be regenerated, become enlightened and powerful" (Wing, 60). The Chinese Educational Commission was completely controlled by Chinese nationals, and was established with the goal of handpicking Chinese students to study abroad and be educated

for civil service. The initial plan was for up to thirty students between the ages of 10 and 15 to be sent per year to the United States, where they could study for up to fifteen years (Wing 1978). In 1872 Yung Wing's brainchild was created, sending 120 boys in total to study at preparatory schools and colleges within the United States.

Also in 1872, Yung Wing's proposal of a joint-stock financing of a Chinese steamship transportation company was approved, creating the China Merchant's Steamship Navigation Company (Goetzmann et al 2007). Goetzmann et al credit this move as the "original impetus for tapping Chinese investor capital for development" (p. 270). Other joint-stock companies which were in essence private developed in the 1880's and 1890's, competing with both domestic and foreign companies. Yung Wing was through his studies able to both promote educational, economic, and political development within China through his missionary connection.

Fig. 2
The first cohort of Chinese students abroad, 1872
Image courtesy of China Daily.

The first women studying abroad were even more closely linked to the missionary movement. Jin Yunmei 金韻梅 was the first woman to graduate from an American institution of higher education, receiving her medical degree in 1885 from the Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary. Hu Juying 胡菊英, Shi Meiyu 石美玉 (known as Mary Stone) and Kang Aide 康愛德 (known as Ida Kahn) also came to study medicine a few years after Jin's graduation. Shi Meiyu and Ida Kahn studied at the University of Michigan, and Hu Juying graduated with honours from the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia (Ye 1994). All four women, the only on record

to have graduated from American institutions of higher education prior to 1900, were deeply associated with the missionary movement. Jin Yumei was a foster child of American missionaries, and the three other women attended were Christian and attended missionary schools within China. Ye explains that although the women related to and were influenced by their time in the United States in different manners, what they shared, with each other and with subsequent generations of women studying abroad, was the discourse of nationalism (p. 341). As women doctors, they became symbolic and actual emblems for the healing and regeneration of China.

After the first group of Yung Wing's Chinese Educational Commission was sent in 1872, boys continued arriving in the United States every year as planned through government sponsorship, enrolling in preparatory schools and colleges in the American Northeast. The program was abruptly stopped in 1881. Chen Lanbin (陳蘭彬), commissioner of the Chinese Educational Commission, became concerned that the boys would become 'foreign ghosts' contaminated by Western schooling as only two students had completed college. Furthermore, they had imitated their American peers by becoming heavily involved in athletics, joining political and religious secret societies and neglecting their studies, drawn more to social activities on and off campus (Ning 2002). Upon their return, Xi Lian (2015) explains that the students did not receive preferential treatment because of their foreign education. Instead, they were initially seen as lesser than individuals who had remained in China and followed the traditional path of elite education – the civil service examination. Xi also reminds the reader that the returned students who did succeed in modernizing science and technology were not directed or compelled to do so as a result of their time abroad. Instead, the individuals who became involved in late Qing political and intellectual circles, such as Liang Dunyan 梁敦彦, a returned student who was recalled after three years at Yale and became the private secretary of Zhang Zhidong (p.166) and the Republic

of China's first Minister of Foreign Affairs, did so only by working closely with Qing bureaucrats. The mission was largely seen as a failure, because the students who returned from abroad not only had become rather Americanized, but they also did not instantaneously revitalize their kingdom with Western learning or save the Qing dynasty – instead, they often initialy aligned with government officials who contributed to the decadence of the late Qing.

Leo Lee and R. David Arkush (1989) recount China's indifference towards the United States not thirty years before Yung Wing's arrival. China's preeminent book on geography, *Hailu* 海錄 published in 1820, described America as "an isolated island in the middle of the ocean, its territory rather constricted. Originally a fiefdom of England, it has now become a nation." (Xie 75, translation Lee and Arkush). Not even half a century later, Yung Wing was compelled to send groups of students to a country previously geographically and politically irrelevant to China, in order to receive an edification they could not receive within the country. This testifies to the global influence the United States was already beginning to accumulate and exert through its own multifaceted colonial ambitions and close ties with Western Europe. Although 1881 marked an end to government sponsored and organized study abroad programs for the time being, the Chinese Educational Commission opened the door for students to study abroad not only in the United States but also in Western Europe, with or without government support and further enabled through the existing platform of missionary education. Furthermore, through their missionary ties, women were able to receive education abroad as well, despite their exclusion from the civil examination system at home.

Translating Western Pedagogy

During this same period, Western works on educational theory were entering Chinese society through translation, often first introduced to East Asia through Japan. Japan was in the midst of its own political, social and educational transformation emerging from the 1868 Meiji Restoration (*meiji ishin* 明治維新). The educational theories of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, who advocated the regeneration of mankind by education and Johann Friedrich Hebart, who focused on finding avenues to arouse the interest of individual students, were both particularly influential to Japan's restructuring of its national educational system in the late 19th century. Pestalozzi and Hebart's theories were quite verbose and relied heavily on a system so drastically different from that of either Japan or China. Another pedagogical work which incorporated Pestalozzi and Hebart's theories in a more accessible manner became much more popular, especially in China. The book, American educator David P. Page's *Theory and Practice of Teaching,* was also one of the first books on Western educational theory to be translated into Chinese in the 1880's (Curran 2005).

Page (1885) was concerned with the importance of being a scholar before becoming a teacher, drawing on Plato's ideal of the cultured man. He also stressed the importance of teaching as a cultivation of students' morality and saw teachers as governing for the general good. These ideas, simply in sharing the vocabulary of morality, scholarliness and governing for the good of the people with traditional Confucian ideals (although the respective cultural contexts and implications were quite different) allowed for Page's educational theories to be received well both in Japan and China. Additional views on education held by Page, such as the importance of physical education through recess, appropriate curricular structure (literacy, arithmetic, geography, literature, history, writing, composition, and grammar, the problems of rote learning, and

encouraging independent, curiosity driven learning and the cultivation of the individual echoed similar notions of American education and society. These notions were gradually permeating China through the translation and circulation of Western texts, and increasingly, the experiences of students and travellers returned from abroad.

Huang Yanpei 黃炎培, a Chinese educator and one of the first educational commissioners of the Chinese Republic visited the United States in the 1910's. After his visit in 1915, Huang wrote that "[p]hysical education was the first thing that struck [him] about American Education" (Arkush and Lee p. 99). He also noted the freedom of curricular structure from locality to locality within the United States, and the lighter course load which students faced. Tang Hualong 汤化龙, one of the first Ministers of Education in the Chinese republic, proclaimed in 1918 after similar travels abroad, that "America is first in the entire globe today in the number of schools. Almost the entire nation goes to school, both male and female, and they all study thoroughly…By these means in recent years the progress of American science has reached breakneck speeds" (p. 126). Two years after his return, Huang Yanpei founded the Chinese Society of Vocational Education (Zhonghua zhiye jiaoyu she 中华职业教育社) and an associated school of vocational education with a curriculum of science, Chinese, foreign languages, business, and manufacturing tools, furniture, buttons and enamel in Shanghai (Yeh 2008 p. 37). The school served as an important juncture for Shanghai's old guard elite, major educators of the new republic, and well-established merchants in the city. Furthermore, it was a stepping stone for graduates of local junior high schools (*chu zhong* 初中) to take more advanced coursework either in a vocational or a collegiate setting, intern at local businesses, and learn new skills for future job placement. Huang Yanpei and Tang Hualong were not alone in their admiration of the American educational system, which followed most of the pedagogical approaches advocated by page. Their sentiments resembled those of many Chinese

intellectuals exposed to American ideology through travel, study or increased access to translation of Western works.

The Self Strengthening Movement

Contemporaneous to the study abroad movement and translations of Western works was a profound social and political movement extending back into the 1860's, focused on strengthening and modernizing the nation, as a result of the exposure to Western colonialism. Modernization in this context is a particularly loaded term. I will follow Ye Weili's conceptualization of modernization as a "turbulent and painful process that involves the search for a modern yet still Chinese identity" (Ye 2001 p. 6). This allows for modernity to be a more flexible condition which can be extended beyond its delineation in a Western context while recognizing the urgency and trauma of its retranslation to other cultural contexts.

The Self-Strengthening Movement (*ziqiang yundong* 自强运动), as it was termed, was the first prominent movement to grapple with incorporating modernity into Chinese society, emerging after the First and Second Opium wars and the ensuing incursion of foreign powers. It gave rise to a multiplicity of initiatives, not to mention creation of societies, newspapers and manifestos by classically trained intellectuals to address the restructuring of society. Feng Guifen 馮桂芬 was seen as the initiator of the movement, writing *Protest from the Chiao-Pin Studio* (*Chiao-pin-lu K'ang-I/Xiaobinlu Kangyi*《校邠庐抗议》) in 1860. This was a treatise which advocated for the wholehearted pursuit of Western mathematics, physics, chemistry and geography as well as for adoptions of land, agricultural and educational reform (Hsü p. 356). Hsü notes that Feng's ideas were seen as too radical for the time in which he was writing, but nonetheless, he created the foundation for reformers to create similar demands in the decades to come. In the next three

decades, The Strength Study Society (*Qiang Xue Hui* 强学会) and Southern Study Society (*Nan Xue Hui* 南学会) were founded, as were the newspapers *Current Affairs News* (*Shiwu Bao* 事物报) and the *Hunan Journal* (*Xiang Xue Bao* 湘学报) (Ayers 1971), to discuss and grapple with the manners in which a syncretic, or sometimes altogether Westernized approach could be taken. The civil service examination, which by this point had become exceedingly obsolete and even more convoluted as an examination system, was also a constant topic of contention. Kang Youwei 康有為, one of the principal members of the movement, attempted to modernize the examination system by replacing the Eight-Legged essay (*baguwen* 八股文), a mainstay of the civil service examination focused on the interpretation of the Four Books and Five Classics, with essays on current affairs (Hsü 2002). He too was influenced by Feng, who several decades before had argued for the abolishment of the Eight-Legged essay.

The defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War (*Jiawu Zhanzheng* 甲午战争), which took place from 1894-1895, pushed reformers into action as it was clear that their focus on self-strengthening had not gone far enough. The outcome of the war, mediated by the Russians and the British, resulted in the cession of the Liaodong Peninsula (*Liaodong Bandao* 辽东半岛), Taiwan 台灣, and Penghu Islands (*Penghu Qundao* 澎湖縣), also called the Pescadores Islands, to Japan, recognition of Korean independence, the opening of more ports, and freedom for the Japanese to create industrial enterprises within China (Hsü 2002). Three years later in 1898, Kang Youwei, his student and collaborator Liang Qichao 梁啟超 and a select group of intellectuals made yet another effort to modernize Chinese society and re-tailor it in response to international and internal pressures. They granted audience with the Guangxu Emperor (*Guangxu Di* 光绪帝) in what was later termed the (failed) 100 Days Reform (*Wuxu Bianfa* 戊戌變法). In the realm of education, they were focused on establishing an Imperial University in Beijing, modern schools in the provinces

which would pursue Chinese and Western studies simultaneously, and a formal school for students intending to study abroad. Their demands were boycotted by the Board of Rites, which was in charge of overseeing the Imperial Examination system, because of their progressive and Westernized nature and his lack of being in tune with the precarious political climate of the time, and the reform failed (Hsü 2002). Zhang Zhidong, the educator and Viceroy of Liangang who wrote *An Exhortation to Learning*, was a mentor to Kang Youwei, and tried to hire Liang Qichao. Although he was not personally involved in the movement, as he was more conservative politically and ultimately sided with the imperial edicts, he offered his financial and intellectual support to many of the individuals who spearheaded the reform. In particular, *Quan Xue Pian*, published a few months before the reform, contains many of the syncretic elements which colored the demands of Kang and Liang (Ayers 1977). From this modern educational agenda, the Western influence on Chinese educational structure becomes evident, but this was not a situation wherein the traditional Chinese approach was altogether replaced or erased by the introduction of a Western method.

Educational Reform and Missionary Influence

By the late 19th century, missionaries were heavily involved in the restructuring of the Chinese educational system. This occurred as the Educational Association of China (EAC), a centralization of the missionary movement created by Timothy Richard, a Welsh Baptist missionary, declared in 1896 that missionary schools did not simply exist to create new converts to Christianity. Instead they existed to allow students to receive secular education (Graham 35). This shift, giving missionary schools a broader role within education, allowed missionary educators to establish a number of Christian colleges which in turn gave them a say in the development of a national educational system in 1904.

Although the government had initially rejected educational reforms, in 1901, Zhang Zhidong and Liu Kunyi 劉坤一, former viceroy of both Liangguang and Liangjiang, successfully advocated for all shuyuan 书院, the private academies where students studied for the *keju*, to be turned into modern schools. Those in provincial capitals turned into colleges, those in prefectural towns turned into middle schools, and those in county seats turned into primary schools (Curran 2005 p. 111). This did not result in the abolishment of the *keju*, but instead made it more inconvenient to choose the path of study which would result in the *juren* degree. This paved the way for a complete overhaul of the educational system in 1904 under the establishment of the Ministry of Education, and the abolishment of the *keju* in 1905. Some cushion was made for students who held degrees from the *keju* exam. Young degree holders were urged to attend modern schools to receive this new and distinct education, and even individuals aged 30-50 were required to attend classes in the former *shuyuan* in order to remain current in what was being taught, and receive information relevant to their positions in civil service (p. 118). Only seven years after the establishment of the new educational system, over 3 million students were enrolled in government-run schools. (p. 123).

Richard was able to enact significant influence over early modern Chinese education through the structuring of higher education. He collaborated with intellectuals and reformers including Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao in their attempts to reform the educational system through the 100 Days reform. When they ran afoul of the emperor, Richard facilitated their escape from the country, himself remaining in China to continue his work within education (Johnson 2014). Richard became the chancellor of the Imperial University of Shansi (later Shanxi University 山西大学) which set the tone for establishing government-controlled universities “with a decidedly Christian bent” (99). The university itself contained a Western department, with many of the

foreign faculty's original presence in China grounded in missionary work. Furthermore, the university also prepared students for the collegiate entrance exams at London University, creating a direct pipeline to studying abroad in the UK which enabled 23 of the universities graduates to be studying in the UK by 1910, only nine years after the university was first founded. This model, which promoted somewhat secular, government-controlled education with the support of missionary educators, proved to be extremely successful, and 10 other provinces had dedicated a total of half a million taels to opening and maintaining new universities.

During this same time, Alice H. Gregg (1946), explains that between 1902-1909, parallel to the boom in government-run education, a similar growth in missionary education occurred, with hundreds of new schools being established. Timothy Richard and other members of the EAC were indeed very much involved in the formation of the national educational system,and had considerably impacted the sphere of education as a whole. By 1889, 16,000 students had graduated from missionary schools (Hsü 2002 p. 358). Missionaries also gave themselves far too much credit for the reforms, and also for their involvement with the new system. Dr. W.A.P. Martin, from the EAP, claimed that:

> [t]he modern education of China is now largely under the influence of Christians who are representatives of the various missionary societies. This brings practically within access of the Christian Church one fourth of the youth of the whole human family. (Gregg 1946, p. 47).

Of course, this was hardly the case. Even when the missionary movement was at its height, only 1% of the Chinese population became Christian (Graham 1995). Although missionary educators like Richard, as well as Chinese Christians, held positions of control within certain Chinese universities, they were greatly outnumbered by secular Chinese educators. And finally, their actual

ability to control the course of Chinese education, or the longevity of missionary schools was nonexistent. No matter how much missionaries had tried, they had not been able to convert as many Chinese as they wished, and even internal organizations like the EAC, which was in some ways a governing body for missionary activity, remained largely white.

The Boxer Indemnity Fund: Influencing Politics Through Education

The one domain where missionaries sometimes inadvertently enacted change continued to be the study abroad movement. Government sponsored study abroad, which often recruited students educated in missionary schools because of the ties between schools and American colleges as well as the more easily transferable subject matter and exposure to English language, had ceased in 1881. Students sponsored by missionaries continued to go abroad, and this allowed the first Chinese women to study abroad in the United States and receive their medical degrees. Christianity again was at the forefront of the event which sent the next generation of students abroad to study in the United States. Although Kang and Liang's efforts were initially blocked, yet another political crisis rocked the kingdom and forced the hand of the government. The Boxer Uprising (Quan Luan 拳亂) erupted in 1899, and again occurred in part because of continued foreign presence and a weak internal government which found it increasingly difficult to address internal discontent and Western pressure. In particular, it emerged as a result of growing tensions around Christianity, whose dissemination was protected after the Treaty of Tianjin, the imperialist advances of the United States and Western Europe, the economic hardships which resulted after the expansion of post Opium war foreign trade, and floods and droughts which affected millions of people (Hsü 2002). A secret society which eventually formed into a widespread movement, the *Yihequan* 義和拳 (called Boxers by non-Chinese, as a nod to the translation of their Chinese name,

Righteous and Harmonious Fists), began attacking missionaries and Chinese converts in the late 1890's. Although their political position had flip-flopped over their existence, at the point of the uprising, the *Yihequan* supported the Qing dynasty and were in opposition to foreign presence. They not only attacked missionaries, but also damaged new technologies such as railways and telegraph lines, and refused to use guns in combat, to emphasize their anti-foreign stance. They were supported by the throne, who even allowed *Yihequan* members to serve as guards in Beijing, and this further emboldened them to continue attacking missionaries, Chinese Christians, and any establishment or infrastructure deemed foreign. Empress Dowager Cixi capitalized even further on their movement and ordered the Qing army to support the Boxers. Because foreigners were being targeted, an eight-country foreign coalition consisting of Japanese Russian, British, Americans, French, Austrians, Italians and Germans (who arrived later), suppressed the Boxers and government forces.

Instead of having China be forced to pay back $25 million dollars to the United States in damages as a result of the killing of foreign missionaries and damage of property, two of the graduates of Yung Wing's mission helped negotiate an alternative: an educational exchange. The money would go towards supporting students to study in the United States, starting in 1909. For China, it was an opportunity to expand on bringing in outside knowledge to support the new educational system. It is estimated that 1300 students, from the program's inception in 1909 to 1929, were sponsored to study in the United States (Ye 2001). Although students personally benefited greatly from this opportunity to study within the United States, it is always important to consider American imperial designs and desires to influence political change within the volatile Chinese climate. When the Boxer Indemnity scholarship was being negotiated, the University of Illinois president noted that it would ensure the "intellectual and spiritual domination of [China's]

leaders" (James as cited by Pomfret 2017, p. 124). Paul Hutchinson, a missionary and author of *China's Real Revolution*, which introduced an American audience to his interpretation of 1920's China, wrote:

> America has an enormous interest in the success of this Chinese experiment because of the relative position of the two countries. The recognition of the importance of the Pacific Basin in world politics has become commonplace…the safely of democracy in the world is bound to be enormously influenced, one way or the other, but the measure of success that attends the democratic experiment in China...Therefore it behoves America in her foreign policy to put at the forefront the wise support of every effort that makes for the building of a permanent democracy in the republic that faces her across the pacific. (Hutchinson 1924 p. 157)

In a 1924 hearing US House of Representatives hearing of the Committee of Foreign Affairs on the Boxer Indemnity, the director of the Far East division of the US State Department bemoaned the fact that the intended effects of the fund (i.e. full acquiesce to American influence) had not occurred. Instead, in his mind students returned to China as "neither good Chinese nor good Americans" (Chinese Indemnity 1924 p. 68) and were instead ostracized by their countrymen and women because of their simultaneous Americanization and lack of traditional Chinese culture, and were not able to enter respected positions of higher office and thereby effect change. It is also worth noting that in this meeting, that along with US government officials, professors and administrators from Yale and Princeton, who oversaw missionary education programs in China, as well as the members of the Chinese YMCA and other missionary organizations also testified.

The United States had able to capitalize on the study-abroad movement first through missionary support and then through directly forcing further study abroad funded by Boxer indemnity money. Student who went abroad under the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship did so at a time when China continued to undergo even deeper societal changes. In 1911, the Xinhai revolution (Xinhai Geming 辛亥革命) brought about the downfall of the Qing dynasty and the brief presidency of Sun Yat-sen (pinyin *Sun Zhongshan* 孫中山) quickly ushering in a period of further

political instability and contested rule beginning in 1916. China's society also faced cultural changes stemming from the New Culture Movement, May 4th Movement (*wu si yundong* 五四运动) of the 1910's.

The New Culture Movement was described by Immanuel Hsü as the most drastic period of intellectual change in Chinese history since the Spring and Autumn Period of the 5th century BC. Beginning in the mid 1910's, the New Culture Movement was a vehicle for the introduction of new literature based on the vernacular. It also continued the introduction of Western literature and ideas through translation, and spawned a plethora of literary magazines such as New Youth (*Xin qingnian*《新青年》), The New Tide (*Xin Chao*《 新潮》,), and the Weekly Critic (,*Mei zhou pinglun* 《每周评论》) which served to circulate the introductions of these new ideas, provide a space for social discourse, and most importantly, attack traditional ideas and demand a critical re-appraisal of traditional Chinese society (Hsü 2000). Many of these articles were written by student-returnees supported by the Boxer indemnity fund scholarship, or from France and Japan, other centers which had emerged for study abroad.

The students abroad in the United States were influenced by these intellectual currents as well as social changes back home. They were also more caught up in the politicization of their status abroad, as Ye (2001) notes that these students "held a personal stake in the industrial development of China" (p. 57), as under their government charge and support to study abroad, their own personal success became linked to China's industrial success. Simultaneously, they enjoyed a modernization of the individual while abroad, partaking in "jazz joy-riding, jazz dancing and petting parties" (p. 43), as well as an evangelization of the individual, for those who became heavily involved in US YMCA or YWCA activities. During the 1910's, Chinese students abroad also interacted with Chinese-American and Chinese labourers, primarily hailing from southern

provinces and speaking Cantonese, within the United States. The coding of these interactions, if they were even mentioned in diaries, journals or articles written by Chinese students abroad, cemented their position as that of an elite, select few, and demonstrates the enormous disparity between their status and that of regular Chinese individuals. Chinese workers in San Francisco were disparaged as anti-modern and half-civilized. Some students wrote in their diaries about how they helped laborers modernize, by helping them buy western-style clothing and get western-style haircuts, despite the laborers having lived in China for a much longer period than the newly arrived students (p.95). Ye further points out that the majority of Chinese students in the United States, many of whom lived in cities such as Boston, New York City and San Francisco with well-established Chinatowns, did not even record any interactions with local Chinese individuals, as their linguistic and class differences gave them little importance in the eyes of elite students, who were concerned with personal and national modernization projects.

Regardless of the kind of schooling in question, throughout the late Qing into the Republican era, participating in high education was an elite and exclusionary pursuit. For the male students who pursued the *juren* degree through years of study and grueling exams, their reward was induction into the Qing intelligentsia and a position either within government itself, or as a mediator between the public and political spheres. When Western forms of education permeated Chinese society, through translation, missionary schools and the efforts of reformers, the liberty to experiment with new methods, and to even be literate enough to engage in such experimentation, was yet again restricted to an elite group which often overlapped with the *keju* educated elite. Although the missionary movement was targeted by those espousing anti-Christian sentiment, and many of the first students to go through missionary schools came from families who lived in poverty, the students who received financial support by missionary organizations to continue their

education abroad represented a small number of those who were enrolled in the schools overall. The Boxer Indemnity Fund scholarship generation brought a new dimension into this selectivity, as they were not only the cream of the educational crop, but upon their return, they were able to also espouse modernized mannerisms and habits which placed them apart from their compatriots. With the recognition that elitism inherently accompanied students who went abroad in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the larger role of the study abroad movement during this time can also be considered. In a period of foreign encroachment and dynastic decadence, the study abroad movement was a syncretic means for ensuring the survival of Chinese society without adapting to or being forced into an entirely foreign model. Although not all individuals who returned from studying abroad immediately began work on this national project, creating an illusion of ineffectiveness on the part of the movement, the national educational system and national intellectual consciousness as a whole were profoundly impacted by the movement. It then set the precedent for subsequent waves of students to go abroad during periods necessitating modernization, and for the evolution of a more decentralized study abroad movement which persists today.

Chapter 2:

Redefining education in China: John Dewey and James Yen

The study-abroad movement was far reaching and was not unidirectional. Many of the students who steadily left the country to study in the United States, Japan, France, and much later, the Soviet Union ultimately returned home. Students who returned from abroad brought with them not only reports from the outside world and knowledge from their studies, but also invited friends and professors from their time abroad to spend some time within China. Many but not all of these individuals were associated with the missionary movement which was the primary platform for the study abroad movement in the late 19th and early 20th century. Furthermore, the rise of the cultural and intellectual movement known as the New Culture Movement which embraced modern, cosmopolitan (and often Western) culture made China a more desirable location for intellectuals to visit regardless of their direct ties to the movement. Most famously, in 1919, both John Dewey and Bertrand Russel found themselves in China on extended lecture tours. In the early 1920's, Albert Einstein, Margaret Sanger and Rabindranath Tagore also visited China but for a briefer period of time. This moment of intellectual exchange was pivotal both for China and for the other countries involved.

The visit most relevant to that of the study-abroad movement and Chinese education as a whole was that of John Dewey. At Columbia, he was the professor of many Chinese graduate students who were supported to study abroad by the Boxer Indemnity Fund Scholarship, and had already made his name within the United States as a champion of pragmatism and educational reform. This chapter will first address Dewey's presence, reception and impact within China as one of the foremost educators and philosophers living in the 20th century who visited as a direct result of the study-abroad movement. I will then look at the role played by the study-abroad

returnee by looking at the early work of James Yen, who studied in the United States and returned to be one of the leaders of the Mass Education Movement which greatly expanded the infrastructure for literacy education in rural areas. It is important to note that much of James Yen's work was financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, which was hoping to help the US gain political leverage by supporting social and educational projects within the country. Nonetheless his projects ultimately did not serve as political tools and are instead yet another example of the complex positioning of education in early 20th century China.

By focusing on these two individuals who were enabled by the study-abroad movement in two very different manners to add to the educational landscape in China and whose work continues to be recognized and discussed within China today, we are able to get a more concrete sense of the impact of the study-abroad movement from two separate angles. Furthermore, both John Dewey and James Yen's work in China took place against the backdrop of an emerging modern nation and aided in its entry to the 20th century. The progressive educational theories of Dewey and Yen's commitment to rural education aided in the transformation of a formal education system which now serves over 260 million students, the largest in the entire world.

From Columbia University to China: John Dewey's Lectures Abroad

After the missionary influence on Chinese education in the early 20th century, the works of the educator and philosopher John Dewey could easily be argued to have had one of the most profound impacts on educational work within China. One of many distinguishing factors of Dewey and Yen's work was the intentionality behind their respective educational projects. Missionary-educators, both Chinese and foreign, such as Timothy Richard, the Welsh Baptist missionary chancellor of the University of Shansi (*Shanxi Daxue* 山西大学) were themselves at the forefront

of the formation of an educational system, serving as chancellors, principals and educators. John Dewey did not seek to remain for a long period within the country or even change the way education was viewed, the trip initially began as an impromptu sojourn to a country he had not visited before. Regardless of Dewey's original intentions, his positioning as an educational giant remains nearly as prominent within China as within the United States. W.H. Kilpatrick, a contemporary of Dewey, also lectured in China and was associated with Columbia University's Chinese students, but his name is not as frequently summoned as that of Dewey with regards to education.

John Dewey traveled to China in 1919 and remained for two years, lecturing and traveling throughout the country. By this time, Dewey was already quite well known and influential within the United States, for both his educational and philosophical creeds, which were often intertwined. He was also recognized within intellectual circles in China, as during his tenure at Columbia over 1000 Chinese students studied at Teachers College and Dewey's own department, that of Philosophy (Zhou 2001 p.2). He advanced a certain form of pragmatism known as instrumentalism, which stressed the instrumental value of knowledge (ideas as instruments) in order to tackle issues in the real world (Abbagnano and Visalberghi, 438). Dewey also wrote at length about the relationship between democracy and education, in the eponymous book *Democracy and Education*, published in 1916. In *Democracy and Education,* Dewey traced notions of education back to the theorizations of Plato and Jean-Jacques Rousseau and then re-elaborated upon them in an updated temporal context. This topic was particularly of interest to Chinese students as the Republic of China was a fledgling nation, established only five years previously. In addition to considering the relationships between forms of governance inside and

outside of the classroom, another element of Dewey's work which caught traction was his experimental approach to learning, and the roles played by all actors in the educational experience.

The School as Social Center

For Dewey, education consisted of both psychological and social aspects of learning. He advocated that students apply their personal experiences to their work in the classroom, encouraging teachers to reflect and adapt to this exploration of experience (Delpit 1995, p.125). John Dewey also put forward several suggestions regarding practices to "make the schoolhouse a center of full and adequate social service" (Dewey p. 73). He identified this necessity as schooling had by that time evolved from private and family education to a social institution which had even been separated from religion to a degree, in the form of public schools of the time. As public schooling within the United States was still very much in its nascent stage, it was experiencing an identity crisis of sorts, grappling with a booming new immigrant population, preparation for jobs in a fully industrialized society, and aiding in the formation of the United States as a new country.

Dewey noted four societal developments which necessitated the creation of the school as a social center. As a result of the increased ease of contact through technological developments of the time, people from differing class, racial, and religious backgrounds were being placed together, creating the potential for societal instability because of bigotry and ignorance. Children from different cultural and national backgrounds were being too quickly "dentationalized" through the public school system, losing both their own native language and culture and not being fully integrated into that of the United States. Morality was declining in the daily lives of Americans, as religion was becoming less of an absolute within households and there were not many other venues for moral education. Dewey also stressed the importance of interdisciplinary study in a society becoming more and more specialized, as he noted under "modern conditions, practically

every sphere of learning, whether of social or natural science, may impinge at once, and at any point, upon the conduct of life" (80). Finally, Dewey addressed the "prolongation of continuous instruction" (82) and the importance of continual training in fields beyond those regarded as necessitating constant study, such as medicine or law. Because of the rate of changes in social, economic and intellectual conditions, people of all backgrounds would require constant education and specialized training in their respective fields to remain competitive.

Because of these four societal developments, Dewey developed four aims for the school to function in response – as providing the constant training required given the rapidly changing society, addressing moral decay, interpreting the intellectual and social meaning of the work in which individuals participated in, and providing a space for people of different backgrounds to engage in cultural exchange to foster sympathy and understanding. In so doing, Dewey proposed four theoretical responses. In providing continuous education, Dewey suggested that public schools ought to promote healthy recreation and enjoyment such as "the social club, the gymnasium, the amateur theatrical representation, the concert, the stereopticon lecture" (84), and providing evening courses in the same vein of those then offered by the famous Hull House in Chicago such as "courses in music, drawing, clay modeling, joinery and metal working" (85). Dewey suggested that these be expanded to provide scientific laboratories for those interested in mechanics or electricity and continue in a similar manner for other subjects to provide higher-order, more specialized and continuous learning.

Through the cultivation of recreational activities which simultaneously incorporated an intellectual component, schools would be supportive of their communities by fostering continuous learning and developing healthy free time occupations. Via the inclusion of comprehensive adult education, schools would expose community members to skills for the modern economy as well

as introducing them to new subjects which would broaden their cultural capital and potentially incite a new intellectual passion. Finally, all of these undertakings would serve the community as a whole, bringing together individuals with different worldviews and backgrounds and fostering dialogue and understanding. Dewey's emphatic support of schools as community centers, the importance of experiential learning, the role of education in developing citizenship were famous in pedagogical and academic circles, but were never developed in a wide scale within public schools in the United States. Nonetheless, his pedagogical philosophy was representative of progressive education as a whole, and it was this branding and reputation which preceded him in China.

Dewey's Reception in China

By the time Dewey was invited to China, he had a professorship at Columbia University and was taking a sabbatical at the University of California at Berkeley. His invitation to visit China was the direct result of the far reach of the study-abroad movement. During his time at Columbia University, he had taught several Chinese students who were studying there on Boxer Indemnity Fund scholarships, most famously, Hu Shih 胡適. Upon his return to China, Hu Shih became one of China's preeminent intellectuals, as he was at the forefront of the New Culture Movement, the May 4th movement and the Vernacular Language movement (which were interconnected). He later became a professor of Peking University, was nominated for the Nobel Prize in literature, and served as the ambassador of the Republic of China to the United States, among other accomplishments. Prior to all this, he did his undergraduate work at Cornell University and his graduate work at Columbia University, under John Dewey and supported by the Boxer Indemnity Fund scholarship. In addition to forming the basis for Hu Shih's philosophy and having his work

translated and advocated by him, Dewey also taught Tao Xingzhi (陶行知), a famous Chinese educator who studied at Teacher's College Columbia as well as the University of Illinois. Tao in turn was heavily influenced by Dewey's work *Democracy and Education,* and worked with the idea of student autonomy as a focus in schools which he later founded (Halstead and Zhu 2009, p. 445). Tao was also one of the primary educators who helped James Yen in his Mass Education Movement in 1920's rural China.

When Hu Shih, Chiang Menglin 蔣夢麟, later the Minister of Education for the Republic of China and other returned students of Dewey discovered that their mentor was planning on visiting Japan for vacation, they invited Dewey to stay on in China, although the actual individual who extended the invitation remains disputed. What followed was over a year of public lectures and encounters with Chinese scholars. It was quite fortuitous for China then, which was in the midst of creating an educational system, standardizing vernacular language and emerging as a republic, to be exposed to Dewey first-hand because of his dual emphasis on education and democracy.

This occurred at a pivotal time in Chinese history. Setting the tone for Dewey's visit was the May 4th movement which occurred only a few days after he arrived in the country. Thousands of students from Peking University took to the streets in reaction and protest to the Chinese response (or lack thereof) to the Treaty of Versailles. A month before, in April of 1919, when the Treaty of Versailles had been ratified, China's demands had not been met. China's delegation to the Treaty of Versailles, led by V.K. Wellington Koo 顧維鈞, who was also educated abroad at Columbia University, had requested that Germany's concessions on the Shandong peninsula be returned to China in a move renouncing Western imperialism. The delegation also demanded that all foreign powers renounce their privileges within China, such as that of extraterritoriality which extended from the Treaty of Nanking following the First Opium War, as well as the cancellation

of the Twenty-One demands which had been negotiated with the Japanese in 1919 (MacMillan 2005). These were a series of demands which Japan required of China in 1915. They formalized Japan's control over the formerly German-seized Shandong Peninsula, as well as extending its reach within Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. Although the Chinese delegation argued vehemently for its autonomy as Japan and the West encroached, their demands were not met. Students involved in the May 4th movement were further reacting to what was seen as a Western betrayal as then United States President Woodrow Wilson negotiated with Japan during the Treaty of Versailles to allow the control of the Shandong Peninsula to shift from China to Japan. Thousands of students in Beijing protested Wilson's actions, Japanese imperialism, and the signing of the treaty of

Fig. 3:
Students part of the May 4th movement protesting in Tiananmen Square, 1919.
Photo courtesy of North Central College.

Versailles, and were joined by similar protests in China's other big cities. Subsequently, China's delegation did not sign the Treaty of Versailles.

Dewey's lectures were well advertised by Hu Shih, and were subsequently well attended, with several thousands of people sometimes in the audience. He based his lectures in Beijing, but also travelled the country, vising Liaoning 辽宁, Hebei 河北, Shanxi 山西, Shandong 山东, Jiangsu 江苏, Zhejiang 浙江, Jiangxi 江西, Hunan 湖南, Hubei 湖北, Fujian 福建 and Guangdong 广东 (Clopton and Ou 1973 p. 3). In his second year staying on in China, Dewey taught courses at the

Fig. 4:
John and Alice Dewey in China, visiting the Jiangsu Province Department of Education in 1920. Tao Xingzhi is the figure to the right of Alice Chipman Dewey.
Image courtesy of Teacher's College, Columbia.

National Peking Teachers College (*Guoli Beijing Gaodeng Shifan Xuexiao* 國立北京高等師範大學), National Peking University (*Guoli Beijing Daxue* 國立北京大學), and National Nanking Teachers College (*Guoli Nanjing Gaodeng Shifan Xuexiao* 國立南京高等師範學校).

Although Dewey's lectures were well attended, he was received with varying levels of deference. Wang (2007) recounts that in Beijing, Dewey was heartily welcomed as "the associates and supporters of Hu Shih formed an influential liberal camp" (43). His educational theories also were critiqued, specifically his focus on "child centered education" (Wang 55), without considering education as a continuum extending throughout later stages of life as well as the neglect of the spiritual in favor of following more a practically driven life (56). Dewey's critics also reduced his theories to pragmatism and called it "coping-with-environmentalism" (56), but Wang notes that this simplistic branding of his work is due to many of Hu Shih's interpretations and translations of Dewey's work.

When Dewey visited China and throughout his time there, he did not speak or write the language, and he was forced to depend on his students' interpretations of his own work and thoughts. This means that the ideas proposed by Dewey during his time in China were added to significantly by Hu Shih, who incorporated his own views in his interpretation of his mentor's work. The lectures which Dewey gave were never written, instead he presented off notes and individuals translated simultaneously while he spoke. The notes did not survive, and instead the translated lectures were then transcribed in Chinese, and often printed in newspapers or literary magazines. Over fifty years later, they were then re-translated into English with care to preserve and include Dewey's nuance and theory in their re-interpretation.

The most comprehensive collection, re-translated and stylized from Chinese into English was compiled by Robert W. Clopton and Tsuin-Chen Ou, and contains 16 full lectures on Social and Political Philosophy, and 16 lectures on the Philosophy of Education. They also summarize a further 112 lectures Dewey gave, from a 19-lecture series on the history of Greek philosophy, two lectures on the philosophy of William James, and dozens of lectures on education and society, delving into further detail about education in the United States.

The full lectures on the Philosophy of Education compiled and retranslated by Clopton and Ou are broad. Dewey questioned the presentation of education in schools itself and the importance of universal education[4] to issues within American education, especially poor curriculum design rendering studies disconnected from practical use[5]. He tackled using play and creative dramatics within the classroom to engage the physical and intellectual development of students[6], and considered how to structure curricula of history and geography to be more engaging and relevant to students, namely by focusing less on portraits of significant individuals or memorizing facts, and instead identifying present-day societal problems and locating and tracing their historical origins ("Geography and History").

Dewey worked to situate his examples and lectures in a cultural context relevant to his audience. He was aware of issues and questions at the forefront of Chinese thought in the 1910's through his students both in the United States and in China and worked to make them the focus of his all his lectures as well. It was not too difficult, as Dewey pointed out himself, as many of the issues emerging in Chinese education were also questions which similarly concerned American educators. The role of vocational education and industrial education[7], making subject matter

[4] "The Need for a Philosophy of Education"
[5] "The Misuse of Subject Matter"
[6] "Creative Dramatics and Work", "Work and Play in Education"
[7] "Vocational Education; Industrial Education", "Education and Industry"

relevant to everyday life[8], and coping with the transition from a traditional, tabula rasa-esque (or banking model of education, to invoke Paulo Freire), to a system where education ostensibly empowers the individual and guides them to make societal progress were and continue to be, in the 21st century relevant to both nations. Much of this shared relevance emerged from the fact that China, in looking to modernize and restructure education, had sought out many of the developmentalist pedagogues – Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Johann Freidrich Hebart, David P. Page (Curran 2005) – who also influenced the growth and structuring of public education in the United States. Missionaries, missionary schools and the study abroad which they directly and indirectly supported served as another conduit for this exposure. With the creation of a national public education system, both countries faced these same issues.

To get a better idea of how Dewey thoughtfully re-contexualized his educational philosophy, we may return to his theorization of the school as social center as discussed at the beginning of the chapter. In his lecture "School and Village", Dewey reiterated the role of the school as a community center for the surrounding villages, reiterating similar theoretical responses to the societal developments he observed in the United States. Although some issues, such as the diversification of the community through an influx of new immigrants, were particular to the United States, the expansion of education and education as a continuous ordeal were shared themes. He was particularly concerned with the potential for teachers and their students to set an example for preventative health measures which could then be spread to the surrounding community, and for resources within the school, such as the school auditorium, library, recreational and music facilities, to be used by all villagers and stimulate adult interest in continuing their learning as well. Dewey called on China's historical reverence for education to reimagine the venerated role of

[8] "Creative Dramatics and Work", "Work and Play in Education"," Geography and History","Education for Citizenship" , "Spontaneity in Learning"

teacher as delivering instruction not simply in the classroom, but for the greater community as well. Similarly, in "The Relationship between School and Society", Dewey suggests that Chinese schools were able to be more easily modeled into a miniature society reflective of real social living because at the time, students lived on school grounds. In this manner, the education and inherent curiosities of children as well as greater societal demands could be moderated through the school.

Translating Dewey: The Role of Hu Shih

Clopton and Ou in retranslating Dewey did their best to follow Dewey's own writing style in English, using terms he had defined in writing published prior to visiting China. When Dewey was being presented to a Chinese audience, interpreters found themselves officially translating his theoretical concepts into Chinese for the first time. As one of Dewey's students at Columbia, Hu Shih became one of Dewey's primary interpreters and translators during his time in China, and a result was greatly responsible for the dissemination of Dewey's ideas. Hu Shih often elaborated on Dewey's ideas to make the content more relatable to a Chinese audience. In Dewey's lecture "Geography and History", Hu Shih, who was responsible for the interpretation, interjected remarks about Chinese historians following the same problematic patterns as the American historians described by Dewey, in order to demonstrate that Chinese culture was no less flawed. He sometimes took his role as interpreter somewhat further. Wang (2007) notes that "if one is both conversant with Dewey's style and familiar with Hu's writings, one can discern passages in which Hu's translations seem highly problematic – mostly in style and tone and occasionally in content" (31). Hu did not necessarily distort or change Dewey's work, but as a prominent member of the New Culture Movement, the *baihua*（白話）movement and otherwise involved in intellectual change in early 20th century China, Hu had his own agenda to promote and he clearly did so through creative interpretations of Dewey's work.

The most grievous example of Hu reinterpreting Dewey's work which Wang gives is a translated lecture called "Democratic Developments in America", in which Dewey was interpreted as saying that the issue of gender hierarchy in China is very serious, but in the United States men and women are equal and there are no issues in gender inequality. Given Dewey's personal politics, as an ardent suffragist and supporter of women's rights, he would never have expressed himself in such a way. Hu clearly wanted to highlight gender inequality within China, but in so doing misrepresented the United States.

Hu was well known for his defense of American values as he "advocated wholesale assimilation to Western values and beliefs" (Wang 2007 p. 83), and this clearly colored how he advertised and translated Dewey and his work to China's intellectuals. Hu's representation of Dewey at the time led to another intellectual, Mei Guangdi 梅光迪, to accuse Hu of using Dewey as a puppet to increase his own status within China, and of "destroy[ing] traditional culture entirely" (Wang 2007 p. 33). Even decades later, Hu's motivations and approachremain a topic of contention. In a historical analysis of the May 4th era, Lin Yusheng called Dewey's visit to China "Hu's project for the 'Deweyanization of China'" (Lin 1979 as cited in Wang 2007, p. 35), wherein "the focus of pragmatism on continuous social inquiry and experimentation was turned into a justification for Hu's own cultural-intellectualism" (35). The sinologist Takeuchi Yoshimi further emphasized the links between the pragmatism championed by Dewey and Hu, Americanization and high capitalism (2005 p. 100), and the role pragmatism briefly played as an alternative to traditional approaches during a moment of social and political re-examination in 1920's China. This falls in line with Wang's characterization of Hu as an individual who wished to embrace an Americanized approach in China's societal transformation.

Keenan (1977) makes it clear that both Hu Shih and Chiang Menglin coordinated Dewey's

travel to China not only to expose a broader audience to his teachings, but also to increase interest in and action around national educational reform, with a very Americanized approach. Hu Shih further anticipated that Dewey's arrival (upon his invitation) would result in rather immediate and long-standing changes to Chinese education, writing that within the 20 years Dewey's 1921 departure after "innumerable Dewey-style experimental schools" (Hu 1921 as cited in Kenan 1977, p. 55) would be founded across the country to continue his teachings. Although this did not occur, as China soon became entangled in domestic and international conflicts directly after Dewey's departure, steps were made by educators and normal universities to incorporate his teaching philosophies into their own work.

What was Dewey's influence on Chinese education?

Out of the lectures which Dewey gave in China, and the transcriptions which remain, perhaps most relevant to the turbulent political situation in China were Dewey's emphasis on the reconstruction of society through the educational system and the school[9], the cultivation of moral education[10] and the standardization of a national language[11]. Dewey's ideas on education presented a new approach to educational problems while using a vocabulary, that of societal strengthening and moral cultivation, with which the Chinese people were familiar and comfortable from their own educational, cultural and historical traditions. Dewey did not set out to impose his ideas on how China's educational system should be developed. Instead, he hoped to provide his lecture-attendees with his own theoretical framework for their perusal, examination and critique, but wished "that China would maintain the strengths in her own culture as a basis for future development" (Wang, p. 83).

[9] "The Cultural Heritage and Social Reconstruction", "Discipline for Associated Living"
[10] "Moral Education – The Individual Aspect", "Moral Education – The Social Aspect"
[11] "The Cultural Heritage and Social Reconstruction"

Because of the length and extent of his stay and the number of interactions with students, intellectuals, professors, and teachers across the nation, Dewey's visit did stir educational reform for a brief period of time before educators were encumbered with political changes which prevented them from doing further work. The Teachers Colleges where Dewey lectured, in Beijing and Nanjing, were in particular centers which advocated for and practiced Dewey's educational philosophy. At the Nanjing Teachers College, the Dean was a former student of Dewey's, and subsequently hired faculty almost exclusively graduated from American universities, most frequently Columbia where many personally worked under Dewey (Keenan 1977 p. 57). Students at Peking Teachers College were the first to translate versions of Dewey's books (p. 58). This continued circulation of Dewey's work after his departure as well as a heightened concern for education resulting from the visibility and length of his tour resulted in what Keenan describes the "high point of the influence of the United States on China" (66). This designation can be debated, as the continued exchange of educational thought between the two nations did not culminate in a singular outcome and then subside, but instead continues to occur in both clear instances of emulation and more subtle, ongoing impact. What occurred in 1922 was a case of the former. The School Reform Decree which was passed by the Ministry of Education in that year was workshopped by Chinese educators in tandem with John Dewey and another professor at Teachers College Columbia, Paul Monroe, who also lectured in China in the 1920's and likewise added to the corpus of American educational philosophy and theory within the country. The Decree resulted in a restructuring of the public education system to follow the U.S. model, with 6 years of elementary school, 3 years of middle school and 3 years of high school. Educators also sought to shift educational goals towards individualized and vocational education and away from regurgitating a predetermined body of material (Keenan 1977). Even as early as 1922, educational

reformers were confronted with political infighting which made it impossible to advance these educational changes on a large scale. Between 1916 and 1927, China was controlled by a series of warlords (*junfa* 军阀) who vied not only for regional power but also control over the Beijing government. During this same period, 20 different individuals served as Minister of Education (Keenan 1977 p.61), creating a revolving door which made it quite difficult to mandate change.

Furthermore, after the formation of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, Dewey's ideology became gradually replaced by Marxist-Leninism with pragmatism seen as outdated and even counterrevolutionary by the communists. This was also a political move on the behalf of the Communist Party which through criticizing pragmatism and the works of John Dewey also lodged critiques against Chinese intellectuals who did not align themselves with the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the CCP. As China distanced itself further from Western thought after 1949, Hu Shih's work was highly critiqued and to some extent censored because of his relationship to West and more importantly, to the Republican government which, after 1949, re-established itself in Taiwan. Indeed, Ding (2007) explains that "[f]rom 1954 to 1955, more than three million words were published advocating the purging and exorcising of the ghost of Hu Shih and the source and fountainhead of his poisoning pragmatism of Dewey" (163).

Because of Dewey's association with Hu, his theories were not as readily invoked within the mainland, but his work remained within firmly within reach of the international Chinese community. In an evaluation of the Doctrine of the Mean, Wing Tsit Chan, himself an international student at Harvard in the 1920's who then went on to become a preeminent American professor, in an overview of Chinese philosophy (1962) suggests that the five steps of study, inquiry, thinking, sifting and practice, could have come from Dewey. After the opening-up and reform policy (*gaige kaifang* 改革开放*)* of the early 1980's, the works of John Dewey retained less of this

taboo association. During this time, educators in mainland China re-invoked the name of Dewey and considered how to supplement a curriculum which had reverted to a more traditional lecture and test-based format with activity based experimental learning experiences for students (Su 1994). As early as the 1990's, an experimental school in Beijing was structured with a curriculum focused on "individual personalities, creativity and critical thinking" (Su 1994 p. 319).

Dewey was re-imagined to fit within a cultural framework which had greatly changed since his 2 year stay. Even in looking at present-day curricular reform in China, Jinting Wu (2016) further underscores the persistence of the "pragmatist influence from the West, notably the educational philosophy of John Dewey", even despite the shift back towards a test-based model that educational reformers in the 1920's were pushing back against.

Ultimately, Dewey himself did not so much influence overall the structure of the educational system today, especially given changes in mainland China after 1949. Instead, as a well-known philosopher and educator, his theories have entered the canon of Chinese pedagogical principles and are often drawn upon because of the ubiquitous nature of his name in education. Where Dewey was arguably for more influential was at a professor at the Teacher's College at Columbia University, where he taught many Chinese students who returned to China and became part of the intellectual forces of the New Culture Movement and involved in political and social upheaval from the 1920's onward. The students whom he taught held their own in transforming elements of China's educational system and vernacular language and in turn served as the nodal points for intellectual change and exchange within China.

James Yen and the Mass Education Movement

James Yen (1893-1990) was also partially educated through the missionary schools which were established throughout China. He studied at schools run by the Chinese Christian Mission for elementary school, and after four years went on to a middle school which was run by American Methodists in Chengdu. Although Yen did not graduate, dissatisfied with the ambience there, he was still in touch with William Aldis, a missionary who had known Yen since his time at the Chinese Christian Misssion. Yen benefited greatly from the missionary pipeline which guided countless others to study abroad in the United States – Aldis in turn introduced Yen to a young missionary named James Stewart, and two eventually travelled to Hong Kong which "offered a model of British culture and an opportunity for a university education" (Hayford 1990, p. 18). Yen enrolled in St. Stephens College and became involved in the Chinese YMCA, which was founded in 1901 and exists to this day.

At St. Stephens College, James Yen found the people and resources which took him abroad to the United States, through individuals involved in the Princeton in Asia and Yale in China program. These programs, which also have existed in various capacities to the present day at the time served as missionary organizations with roots in the Ivy League. They later became secularized and transformed into their current manifestation as language and culture centers for American undergraduates looking for immersion, education and employment abroad. At the time, they were closely associated with the YMCA because of their shared missionary ties. Hayford (1990) explains that in his affiliation with the YMCA, Yen caught the eye of a director of the Princeton in Asia program, and subsequently recommended that he study abroad at Oberlin College in Ohio. At the time Oberlin also was heavily associated with Christianity and had a robust work-study program which supported many Chinese international students.

On the way to the United States, Yen met a teacher from the Yale in China program who convinced him to, upon arrival to the United States, enrol in Yale as a junior instead of going to Oberlin. Yale was also affiliated with the YMCA and was university from which Yung Wing graduated in 1854. After graduating from Yale himself, James Yen worked with the International YMCA in France, which had sent many Chinese student-missionaries to support the local YMCAs during the First World War. He arrived a few months before the conclusion of the war, and remained on in France afterwards, aiding in the reconstruction of the country. In addition to student-missionaries, many Chinese laborers also worked alongside James Yen, and many of them were illiterate.

It was in this setting that Yen first started teaching literacy and training other literate student-missionaries to conduct similar work. Here also, Yen encountered the issue of teaching using classical Chinese versus vernacular Chinese. He, and a colleague named Daniel Fugh, yet another Chinese student studying in the United States, found that by "sticking to the Northern spoken dialect of their students [and] limiting the number of characters to the most basic" (Hayford 1990, p. 26), they were able to teach most effectively. In 1919, James Yen used this experience to edit a newspaper for all the Chinese individuals living in France during the time, circulating over 15,000 copies. Afterwards, James Yen returned to the United States, received a Master's degree from Princeton in History and Politics, and in 1920, in the midst of the New Culture Movement and Dewey's presence in China, returned home.

Through this educational upbringing, James Yen received a solid foundation in American education, missionary education, Christianity and was introduced to actually teaching literacy. During his time away from home, he thought about how best to utilize his experiences abroad in China, and initially set out to create a Christian organization. Hayford (1990) explains that Yen

had long focused on two issues, that of the pitiful army at China's command, and the masses of people who were illiterate (p. 39). Indeed, in his 1928 work explaining the Mass Education Movement in China, James Yen stated that "democracy and illiteracy cannot stand side by side…China's illiterate masses must be educated and educated soon if democracy is to prove a blessing to herself and to mankind" (p. 1). Christianity conveniently could solve both issues.

Yen arrived in China with 10 other Chinese students who had received their education in the United States, and through an acquaintance, Tao Xingzhi, a born-again Christian, who was the secretary of the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education, found the outlet to begin his work. Tao, who had also studied abroad, and also worked under Dewey, wished to bring literacy to the millions of individuals primarily living in more rural areas who were not literate, but did not have any idea how to structure a program. Fortunately, through the support that vernacular Chinese had gained in the 1910's through the New Culture Movement and the Vernacular Chinese movement, literacy work was more possible than ever. In 1923, The National Association of the Mass Education Movement was founded, with James Yen as Vice-Chairman, Tao Xingzhi as Secretary. They were heavily funded and supported by the prominent philanthropist Xiong Xiling, 熊希齡 and his wife, Mao Yanwen 毛彦文.

The primary goal of the Mass Education Movement (*Pingmin Jiaoyu Yundong* 平民教育运动), and that which it is known for today, is its work in rural education. First, James Yen and his colleagues conducted experiments with literacy campaigns in urban areas and began expanding towards rural areas. The entirety of James Yen's plan was sadly never realized, as the Mass Education Movement had to diminish and ultimately cease operations as the Chinese Civil War increased in intensity in 1937. The way in which James Yen laid out his original plan in 1928 was to tackle the rural illiteracy by focusing "on one or two typical rural districts in north, south, east,

west and central China…for intensive and extensive experimentations" (Yen 17). This focus would not cease until illiteracy became nonextant, and furthermore, until sanitary measures and farming reforms were also introduced and effected in the area. By focusing on these small scale, intensive test-studies, Yen hoped to create a model which could then be implemented in other rural areas throughout the country. Yen primarily focused on initiatives within the village of Ting Hsien 定縣 starting in 1926, which he hoped could then be modeled throughout the country.

Through Yen's YMCA and United States connections, the Mass Education Movement was able to be funded as well; the Boxer Indemnity Fund, then directed by Hu Shih, supported the program for three years with an annual grand of $15,000 starting in 1926, prior to that, Yen travelled to Hawaii and raised over $20,000 in funds, dwarfing the initial $3000 which Madame Xiong had contributed to its funding (Hayford 1990). This allowed the program to hire staff members, many of whom were graduates of American universities such as Columbia and Cornell, and to focus on promoting literacy in both urban and rural areas.

Structuring Rural Literacy Work

James Yen described the literacy work done and the methods of language teaching in the town of Chefoo, now called Yantai （烟台）, Shandong, China, which he used as an example case study of the city-wide literacy campaigns which were then used as structure for the rural literacy work he later embarked upon. The book "People's Thousand Character Lessons", 《*Pingmin Qian Zi Ke* 平民千字課》served as the literacy primer used to teach students. Separate methods were used to teach the lessons in the book. Mass recitation, which could reach hundreds of students in a classroom, would cover the concepts in the book in situations where students did not have individual copies, or only one teacher was available for a large number of students. The individual class method would serve for an average class of around 20 students, where students would have

a copy of the literacy primer and practice writing on small slates. For larger classes, Yen implemented the "chart method" for classes of 40-60 students, where instead of each student having their individual slate, students shared large pieces of paper or cloth charts to practice. Yen was also considerate of individuals who were not able to attend school during regular hours and organized reading circles, where literate individuals in homes or small neighborhoods were enlisted as teachers for their illiterate relatives and friends. These instructors were in turn supervised by a proper teacher who had a larger jurisdiction. Additionally, Yen set up "People's Question Stations", established in shops, family homes, and other organizations where literate people would make themselves available to tutor and answer questions about the literacy primer, reaching individuals who were migrant laborers, did not have literary members in their community, or were otherwise not able to attend formal courses.

Case studies of this rural model include work that Yen conducted in the Paoting (保定) area ,where Chinese and American teachers worked with over 5000 students from age 12 to 45. (18). Yen includes a heartwarming account of an award-winning village school where the teacher himself was a student – he attended the lesson in the morning at a school in another village, studied it throughout the day and in the evening taught it at the school in his village. The work in Paoting area kickstarted a communal movement; within a few months of its creation the heads of neighboring villages independently founded over 100 village schools and added 5000 new students to their enrolment. The Department of Rural Education even created a local newspaper, called *Farmer* (*nongmin* 農民) specifically to engage with recent graduates of the literacy program. The Mass Education Movement also set up a support system for individuals once they had graduated from the literacy program. They could continue their learning through continuation schools which

Fig. 5:
The award winning school holding class in the village of Duan Jia 段家 , Paoting Area
Image from Yen 1928.

Fig. 6:
James Yen (left) and colleagues in Ding Hsien, China. Photo courtesy of the Sidney Gamble collection, Duke University

introduced them to subjects such as "civics, geography, history, elementary science, ethics and sanitation" (Yen 1928, p. 9). The purpose of this education was "training the students for citizenship" (p. 9), clearly drawing from parallel goals in American education at the time. Scholarship funds were also created for the most promising of students to attend regular schooling in the city.

The Mass Education Movement also worked on the publication of more accessible literature in all fields, from citizenship to stories and songs, to continue supporting the literacy and interests of individuals who had recently learned to read and write. These were available in more digestible pamphlets such as "People's History" 《*pingmin lishi* 平民歷史》, published by the Shanghai Commercial Press, which also published the People's Thousand Character Lessons. Finally, Yen seized on the importance of fostering literacy through community and having flexible approaches to literacy, by creating reading clubs for students who were not able to attend the

Fig. 7:
Exterior of a Mass Education Movement classroom, Ding Hsian, China, 1931-1932. Courtesy of the Sidney Gamble Collection, Duke University.

continuation school where they could discuss current events, learn how to write and express themselves using new terminology, and have access to new and up-to-date reading materials.

The Mass Education Movement also touched the other issue dear to James Yen's heart, strengthening the army. Although the conditions of the army were quite shabby, there were a large number of people enrolled, who, through living together, would be able to benefit from the same structured approach to literacy. Army officers in Mukden (now Shenyang 沈阳) were first surveyed, and those who could not read and write, were taught by their literate officers. Army-specific literature, such as the "Soldier's Weekly" , incorporated new vocabulary and issues of interest for the soldiers to continue learning. Sadly, the program was only able to continue for two months as fighting broke out and the army was mobilized, but according to Yen, the results were miraculous and other generals had requested for similar programming to be implemented in their own units.

James Yen's work in the Mass Education Movement would not have been possible without his engagement abroad and the network of missionary educators around the globe. From the connections he made as a young child in the missionary schools of his hometown to his time spent studying in the United States and working in France, Yen accumulated a vast amount of resources and experience which he employed in literary education within China. He remained in touch with the China Education Commission and other Christian educators within China, creating a special "Ting Hsien Institute" in 1930 for Christian educators to attend and learn about the initiatives within Ting Hsien to either emulate or get involved with personally (Educational Review 1930 p. 232) In the same year John D. Rockefeller Jr. personally contributed $100,000 to the MEM (Ninkovich p. 811). He had met James Yen in 1928 through YMCA connections in New York and, impressed by Yen's interest and work surrounding social reform, invited Yen and his wife to spend a week with the Rockefeller family at their summer home in Seal Harbor, Maine (Bullock

2011, p. 37). Rockfeller had attempted to operate a model village in Pudong 浦东, then a Shanghai suburb, but was not able to do so. Through Yen's mass education movement, centered in Ting Hsien, the Rockefeller foundation found a model for a social laboratory it had been trying to establish for decades.

The Rockefellers in China

The Rockefellers had long been trying to establish themselves in swaying China's trajectory of modernization in their favor. In 1913, John D. Rockefeller Sr. along with administrators of the University of Chicago wished to establish a research university in China which through its scientific rationality, would supposedly result in China's subsequent modernization. Rockefeller Sr. had deep ties to China, funding missionaries since the 1860's when he sold his first kerosene to the then- kingdom. Their hopes to establish an American research university in China were dashed, because by presenting their creation as a secular institution, it could not be under the control of foreigners according to Chinese law. Furthermore, missionary boards on the Rockefeller council who were already establishing their own Christian universities, were highly opposed to the idea, which would further undermine Christian education within China. The Baptist minister Frederick T. Gates, a friend of Rockefeller Sr., then proposed that instead of seeking to modernize China through university education, the Rockefeller foundation and other like-minded philanthropists and philanthropic organizations could use medicine to achieve the same result. (Ninkovich 1984). As promoting Western medicine appeared rather noncontroversial at first glance, as opposed to education which could be taken as indoctrination from the get-go, it allowed the Rockefeller foundation to gain a foothold in a country which was undergoing vast political and social changes.

When the Peking Union Medical College (PUMC) was founded in 1921, the foundation had not abandoned its vision of "offer[ing] the best of Western civilization "not only in medical science, but in mental development and spiritual culture" (John D. Rockefeller Jr. as cited in Ninkovich 1984, p. 803). By approaching the study and practice of medicine through a scientific and liberal outlook, the hope was that these liberal (and Western) qualities would thereby influence the political sphere. Furthermore, PUMC was focused on training a scientific elite, much as missionary schools were simultaneously inculcating a political and economic elite with Christian and "American" values, both in the hopes of changing China's cultural and political trajectory. Furthermore, because of the status conveyed upon the institution with its foreign association and Rockefeller backing, China's intellectual elite both sought out treatment at PUMC and became involved in the institution as advisors. Hu Shih, the very same student and translator of John Dewey urged PUMC to also use Western medicine to study Chinese medicine, what resulted was a 40 volume translation of the *Ben Cao*, the Chinese *materia medica* (Bullock 2011, p. 53).

After Hu Shih joined PUMC as an informal advisor in the early 1920's, China's Ministry of Education passed a series of regulations requiring Chinese control over private educational organizations (Ninkovich 1984), and subsequently, a number of Western-educated Chinese intellectuals joined to Board of Trustees, including Weng Wenhao 翁文灝, the director of the National Geology Survey, and Zhang Boling 張伯苓, president of Nankai University (Bullock 2011, p. 53), further linking the Rockefeller foundation's initiative with the study-abroad movement. The Rockefeller Foundation in China, although not able to realize their creation of a research university, did have laboratories which extended beyond the medical school. It focused on efforts of rural reconstruction and public health and found its greatest vehicle for

experimentation in the social sciences through James Yen's Mass Education Movement, and Rockefeller Jr.'s chance meeting with James Yen at the YMCA.

In 1936, the Rockefeller foundation created the North China Council on Rural Reconstruction (NCCRR), which brought Chinese universities into the efforts at Ding Xian. This also allowed the Rockefeller foundation to fund the council directly, giving $342,540 to members of the council in its first year of operation. In turn the council granted fellowships in public health, agriculture, nursing and rural education (Hayford 1990, p. 177). The council too was involved in the study abroad movement, although of a slightly different bent – students of Chinese universities were sent to see the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) to understand how to approach social work in rural settings (Hayford 1990).

Although the Mass Education Movement was never able to realize its goals with the full outbreak of the Chinese Civil War in 1937, the North China Council on Rural Reconstruction represented the culmination of an ongoing globalized dialogue between missionaries, American philanthropists and the study abroad movement, which had been in existence since the first Protestant missionaries arrived in the early 19th century. The desired outcome of this coalition – unfettered American political and economic influence within China – did not emerge due to the outbreak of the Chinese Civil War, the weakness of the missionary movement by the 1930's and the fact that the desires of the majority of the Chinese populace did not align with this goal. Instead, it created a platform for the hundreds of thousands of Chinese students studying abroad in the United States and other countries around the globe in the present day, and now operates independent of these original missionary ties.

John Dewey and James Yen differed significantly in their impact on Chinese education, linked as they were through the study abroad movement. Dewey's impact on the educational

system was more temporally dispersed than direct. Immediately after his travels and lectures in China, the enthusiasm for his ideas was unable to translate into policy because of the volatile political climate of the 1920's and 1930's. After many decades of looking past Dewey and towards other educational approaches, Chinese education has returned to Dewey's educational philosophy in order to supplement the present curriculum. James Yen on the other hand directly impacted rural literacy education at a time when little headway was made on other educational fronts. His project was also heavily supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, which at the time aligned itself with public health and social welfare projects across the globe in order to have a greater stake in international political outcomes. It is then quite remarkable that the study abroad movement not only supported elite education for students such as Hu Shih and James Yen, but contributed to education within the country as a whole without resulting in a wholesale shift towards Americanized education. Because the study-abroad movement was closed to students without an elite formation in missionary schools, connections with overseas colleges and often degrees from Chinese universities, it is also surprising that its impacts extended to college students studying within China and more so, to illiterate individuals living in rural parts of China.

Chapter 3

The Challenges of a "Modern" Educational System

What does the PISA mean for China?

In 2012, China shocked the Western world by emerging at the top of the Programme for International Assessment (PISA) in both reading and mathematics. China outscored 65 countries including Scandinavian educational powerhouses such as Finland and Denmark, as well as educational systems in decadence, such as that of the United States and the U.K.. China's performance on the PISA, which tests 15 and 16 year old students to see whether or not they have "acquired key knowledge and skills that are essential for full participation in modern societies" (Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development 2014 p.3), led news outlets and individuals alike to question whether or not China was the "cleverest country in the world" (Coughlan 2012). For a country which had existed only in its present form since 1949, surpassing countries typically considered the bulwark of the "developed" world was quite a feat indeed. Further questions emerged. Was this a testament to the prowess of Chinese educational tradition, or did it put another notch in the claim that Chinese students were simply excellent test-takers?

In fact, only results from Shanghai, China's largest directly-controlled municipality, were included in the 2012 calculation. Macau-China and Hong Kong-China also participated in PISA, but as their education systems have their own unique histories and developments and remain overseen independent of mainland China, they are not pertinent to the testing discussion. Also included in PISA was Chinese Taipei, whose educational system is under the purview of the Republic of China, not the People's Republic of China. While the results of the exam were quickly interpreted by the public as representative of that of the entire nation, that was not the intention of PISA, which is meant as a barometer for educational success than an exact indicator, delineated

by the fact that not every school in each country is included to make its assessment. Furthermore, the introduction of Shanghai to PISA was the beginning step in a still-continuing process to incorporate the entire mainland into the OECD's calculation. In the 2015 PISA, two provinces and two directly-controlled municipalities were included, namely Beijing (北京), Jiangsu (江苏), Guangdong (广东) and Shanghai (上海). Whereas on the 2012 test, mathematics was the primary focus of the test with reading and science also tested, on the 2015 test science was the primary focus.

Fig 8: TOP 15 PERFORMERS PISA 2012 (OECD)

Snapshot of performance in mathematics, reading and science

Countries/economies with a mean performance/share of top performers above the OECD average
Countries/economies with a share of low achievers below the OECD average
Countries/economies with a mean performance/share of low achievers/share of top performers not statistically significantly different from the OECD average
Countries/economies with a mean performance/share of top performers below the OECD average
Countries/economies with a share of low achievers above the OECD average

	Mathematics				Reading		Science	
	Mean score in PISA 2012	Share of low achievers in mathematics (Below Level 2)	Share of top performers in mathematics (Level 5 or 6)	Annualised change in score points	Mean score in PISA 2012	Annualised change in score points	Mean score in PISA 2012	Annualised change in score points
OECD average	494	23.0	12.6	**-0.3**	496	**0.3**	501	**0.5**
Shanghai-China	613	3.8	55.4	**4.2**	570	**4.6**	580	1.8
Singapore	573	8.3	40.0	**3.8**	542	**5.4**	551	**3.3**
Hong Kong-China	561	8.5	33.7	**1.3**	545	**2.3**	555	**2.1**
Chinese Taipei	560	12.8	37.2	1.7	523	**4.5**	523	-1.5
Korea	554	9.1	30.9	1.1	536	**0.9**	538	**2.6**
Macao-China	538	10.8	24.3	**1.0**	509	**0.8**	521	**1.6**
Japan	536	11.1	23.7	0.4	538	**1.5**	547	**2.6**
Liechtenstein	535	14.1	24.8	0.3	516	**1.3**	525	0.4
Switzerland	531	12.4	21.4	0.6	509	**1.0**	515	0.6
Netherlands	523	14.8	19.3	**-1.6**	511	-0.1	522	-0.5
Estonia	521	10.5	14.6	0.9	516	**2.4**	541	1.5
Finland	519	12.3	15.3	**-2.8**	524	**-1.7**	545	**-3.0**
Canada	518	13.8	16.4	**-1.4**	523	**-0.9**	525	**-1.5**
Poland	518	14.4	16.7	**2.6**	518	**2.8**	526	**4.6**
Belgium	515	19.0	19.5	**-1.6**	509	0.1	505	-0.9

Fig 9: TOP 15 PERFORMERS PISA 2015 (OECD)

Snapshot of performance in science, reading and mathematics

Countries/economies with a mean performance/share of top performers **above** the OECD average
Countries/economies with a share of low achievers **below** the OECD average
Countries/economies with a mean performance/share of top performers/share of low achievers not significantly different from the OECD average
Countries/economies with a mean performance/share of top performers **below** the OECD average
Countries/economies with a share of low achievers **above** the OECD average

	Science		Reading		Mathematics		Science, reading and mathematics	
	Mean score in PISA 2015	Average three-year trend	Mean score in PISA 2015	Average three-year trend	Mean score in PISA 2015	Average three-year trend	Share of top performers in at least one subject (Level 5 or 6)	Share of low achievers in all three subjects (below Level 2)
	Mean	Score dif.	Mean	Score dif.	Mean	Score dif.	%	%
OECD average	493	-1	493	-1	490	-1	15.3	13.0
Singapore	556	**7**	535	**5**	564	1	39.1	4.8
Japan	538	3	516	-2	532	1	25.8	5.6
Estonia	534	2	519	**9**	520	2	20.4	4.7
Chinese Taipei	532	0	497	1	542	0	29.9	8.3
Finland	531	**-11**	526	**-5**	511	**-10**	21.4	6.3
Macao (China)	529	**6**	509	**11**	544	**5**	23.9	3.5
Canada	528	-2	527	1	516	**-4**	22.7	5.9
Viet Nam	525	-4	487	**-21**	495	**-17**	12.0	4.5
Hong Kong (China)	523	**-5**	527	-3	548	1	29.3	4.5
B-S-J-G (China)	518	m	494	m	531	m	27.7	10.9
Korea	516	-2	517	**-11**	524	-3	25.6	7.7
New Zealand	513	**-7**	509	**-6**	495	**-8**	20.5	10.6
Slovenia	513	-2	505	**11**	510	2	18.1	8.2
Australia	510	**-6**	503	**-6**	494	**-8**	18.4	11.1
United Kingdom	509	-1	498	2	492	-1	16.9	10.1

With the inclusion of a much larger share of students, and a focus on a separate subject matter, China's performance on the PISA dipped, but still remained within the top 10 educational systems tested in 2015.

Regardless of its exact ranking, China's positioning as one of the top performers on the PISA is truly remarkable. China's educational system as it stands today is the largest in the entire world. Almost 260 million students (Pan 2016) are served by China's educational system, which has blossomed from a country establishing its first Western-style university only in 1898. Like any other country, it is plighted by issues surrounding access to quality education in rural areas, complaints about teaching quality, restrictions on materials taught in the classrooms, and inequality of educational opportunities. These structural growing pains are further compounded by the system currently in place for university admittance, the college entrance exam or *gaokao* (高考). As it stands for most students, exam scores on the *gaokao* are the only measure by which they are judged by prospective universities. It is then the creation and existence of this exam, established under post 1949 China, that have both molded the trajectory of education in the latter half of the 20th century to this day, and also kick started the most recent iteration of the study-abroad movement.

The Gaokao: Gatekeeper of Higher Education

With the establishment of a new educational system in 1949, the Chinese government quickly developed a new, standardized college entrance exam in 1952. In 1966, during the Cultural Revolution, the exam was suspended as education was redefined by political necessity and shortages of food and resources in urban areas, sending students into rural areas for "re-education" by peasants, learning agrarian ways of life and living in the country. In 1977, the exam was reinstated and went through various iterations of changes. As it currently stands, the most

commonly given version of the gaokao consists of two parts, compulsory subjects: Chinese, mathematics, and a foreign language (usually English, although students may also take Russian or Japanese), and noncompulsory subjects, with students choosing to pursue either liberal arts (political science, history, or geography) or sciences (physics, chemistry, or biology). Each of the compulsory subjects is worth 150 points, and the noncompulsory subject worth 300 points, for a total of 750 points (Gu and Magaziner 2016). Within each province, different benchmarks are set for scores to qualify a student for admissions consideration at university.

Schools in Shanghai (上海) and Guangdong (广东) are currently in the process of experimenting with new formats, as in 2020 a new version of the exam is due to roll out throughout the entire country. The revisions to the gaokao system seek to resolve the pressure of high stakes testing, the gap in college enrolment opportunities between students in urban and rural areas, access to education for the children of migrant workers, and the additional difficulties faced by students in rural areas According to Chen Baosheng (陈宝生), the current Minister of Education, changes which the updated exam will primarily be focused on the number of times students can take portions of the gaokao (Zhao 2017). Currently, students are offered the opportunity take the entire exam once, at the end of their high school career, and must wait an entire year should they wish to take it again. Under the new system, students will be given slightly more flexibility. The foreign language test can be taken twice, and students are able to take the general exam twice a year. Students can also choose which science score (if they are in the science track) to send to universities.

To give some more context to the discussion of Chinese secondary education, below are (translated) *gaokao* questions in Chinese, mathematics, history, and English which were posted officially by the government or on online forums after the exams. They are not in their original

format as printed in text booklets and have been modified for online reading. Note that students typically take the exam at the end of their final year in school, and their coursework is geared towards the kinds of questions anticipated in the exam (although recently essay questions have been criticized for their often abstract and random subject matter).

Fig. 10: Sample *Gaokao* Questions

1. Chinese Essay Question Example, 2015 Fujian *Gaokao* (Shanghaiist Magazine)

Based on the three given uses of 'road', write an essay.

1. 1. "The Earth had no roads to begin with, but when many men passed one way, a road was made." —Lu Hsun
2. There is no such thing as a road that dare not to be walked, only people who dare not to walk it.
3. You may take the wrong road sometimes, but if you keep walking, it will become a brand new road.

2. Math Free Response Question Example, 2015 Beijing *Gaokao* (Timeout Shanghai)

Given f(x) = $f(x) = \sin(x) - \frac{2\sqrt{3}}{sin^2(\frac{\pi}{2})}$

A) Find f(x)'s smallest positive revolution

B) Find f(x)'s smallest value, given that the period is [0,2,$\frac{\pi}{3}$]

3. History Multiple Choice Question Example, 2015 Guangdong *Gaokao* (Timeout Shanghai)

What happened in Soviet Russia in the 1920's?

A) Private enterprises began to emerge

B) State-run business had more autonomy

C) The government prohibited the sale of food

D) Peasants were active in collective farming

4. English Multiple Choice Question, 2016 Jiangsu *Gaokao* (EOL)

His comprehensive surveys have provided the most _____ statements of how, and on what basis, data are collected

A) explicit

B) ambiguous

C) original

D. arbitrary

Clearly, the *gaokao* demands mastery over a broad range of subjects, and at first glance even looks like variations upon similar curricular demands in the United States, SAT or AP exam questions,

perhaps. Its administration as a two-day national test (although versions of the exam vary from province to province) and prominence as virtually the only gateway into Chinese public universities distinguishes it from that of other college entrance examinations, defining and restricting the secondary school curriculum as a result. This, as noted by interviewees in my fourth chapter, creates conditions which further encourage or force students to study outside of China for college.

Studying Abroad after 1949

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, China pushed to create an educational system modelled almost completely after the Soviet Union in order to fit the needs of a new Communist country with the immediate priorities of increasing engineering manpower, medical personnel, and middle school teachers (Taylor 1981). The idea of the Russian model had been appealing since Russia's failed revolution in 1905 (Spence 1981) and after 1949, ideological and political alignment facilitated its implementation.

In a 1950 pamphlet on Culture and Education, in an article entitled "The Policy of Educational Construction in Present-Day China," Chien Chun-Jiu, the then Vice Minister of Education, stressed the importance of opposing imperialist aggression, democratic individualism and the worshipping of Western culture in the creation of the country's new system. Furthermore, at the beginning of the Korean War in 1950, it became clear that the United States and the People's Republic of China were at odds politically to an extent where the United States could no longer shift the political sphere away from Communism. Subsequently, the United States imposed a blockade upon China which included the suspension of all study abroad programs, and detained over 3000 students stuck in the United States after this change in foreign policy who were trying

to return home to China (Ning 2002). Afterwards, China turned to the Soviet Union in a relationship with which, for the first ten years after the founding of the People's Republic of China, it was engaged in an intense relationship of knowledge transfer and academic exchange.

This relationship of exchange shifted the preference of the country of choice for studying abroad as nearly 80% of Chinese students abroad from 1948 to 1963 travelled to the USSR, making it so that by the late 1950's, Chinese students comprised about half of the total student population in the Soviet Union (McGuire 2010). The relationship of exchange, both in terms of knowledge transfer and students studying abroad, was described by the advisor for scientific cooperation of the Chinese Embassy in Moscow, as an exchange "not about money or equivalence", instead it was "about the most effective way to raise the level of Chinese science" (Goikhman 2010 p. 289). This knowledge transfer consisted of, in addition to the study abroad shift to the USSR, book translations, joint publications, sharing of research materials, joint research projects, and academic expeditions. With regards to the students who did study abroad, 2/3 of them studied science and engineering, as the requirements for the government sponsored study abroad programs were that students study subjects not readily available for study in China (McGuire 2010).

Within China, universities were restructured and created to resemble those within the Soviet Union, as the Soviet Union was seen as particularly strong in higher education. The academic structures were based on the Russian *faku'ltet* Факульте́т (similar to a US college or school within a University) and subordinate *kafedra* Кафедра, academic departments where the majority of work was organized around teaching research groups (*jiaoyu yanjiu zu* 教育研究组*)* and teaching personnel were subordinate to their teaching research groups, not to an entire department. Those overseeing the restructuring of the Chinese educational system to emulate that of the USSR, had also studied abroad themselves as students in the 1910's and 1920's, once again underscoring

the nation-building motivation to study abroad which persisted across generations (Stiffler 2010). Unfortunately, this relationship of exchange soured after the death of Stalin in 1953, and already by 1956, much of the Soviet approach to knowledge was rejected. By the 1960's, China was no longer reliant upon or attempting to emulate the Soviet Union in such a directly traceable manner. Instead it withdrew from the international stage for nearly two decades, preoccupied with internal disruptions and disasters in form of the Great Leap Forward and ensuing famines and the Cultural Revolution.

Finally, in 1979, the United States and the People's Republic of China initiated a formal diplomatic relationship. In December of that year, 52 Chinese students became part of the first group to study abroad in the United States in over thirty years. Wang Ning (2002) recounts the duality which these first Chinese students desiring to study in the United States for the first time in decades faced. They were wooed by the illusion of having an internal locus of control, and making the individualistic choice of studying abroad, where they could ostensibly exercise personal freedom to pursue their own dreams and careers. Simultaneously, students were haunted by the loneliness stemming from the language and culture barriers faced upon entering the United States, and faced the reality of having to support themselves financially while studying full-time, as it was difficult to find sponsors who would shoulder the financial burden of supporting international students at American universities. Still, the allure of the West and a very alien political social system prevailed, with what Immanuel Hsü termed as 'bourgeois liberalism' dominating in the 1980's: "Ideas such as "human rights, democracy, free elections, free speech, free assembly, free press, division of power, and 'loyal' opposition captured the Chinese imagination and won their deepest appreciation" (Hsü 87).

Recognizing the economic danger that the pull of the West posed, the National Education

Commission was created by the government in the 1980's creating an agreement system, wherein Chinese students studying abroad would have to return to China to work upon the completion of their studies. Ning (2002) describes the second wave of students to study abroad in the United States in 1986, after the creation of the NEC as not burdened with the desire to serve their motherland, instead simply wanting to explore the world outside of China. They were additionally not pressured, in the same manner as the first wave to go abroad in 1979, immediately after the establishment of diplomatic relations, to engage in immediate contact with the West.

After the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989, the Bush administration enacted the Chinese Student Protection Act of 1992, which prevented political persecution of Chinese students studying abroad in the United States and served as a further incentive to study within the United States. Applications for green cards increased, signalling the intent of students to stay in the United States after graduation. In addition to the facilitation of studying abroad in the United States, many students additionally expressed hatred towards China after being abroad. According to Ning (2002) this stemmed from a loss of morality in turn emerging from cultural shock and political upheaval at home, the additional shock of the sense of freedom and anonymity experienced while studying in the United States, and distorted ideas of individualism acquired during their time abroad. Ning suggests that the only factor for students to return to China during this time was the potential for the expansion of business.

Vanessa Fong's (2011) ongoing longitudinal study of students from high schools in Dalian (大连), a city in northeast China, explores in greater detail the overlapping impacts of China's opening up and reform policy and subsequent shift towards neoliberal economic approaches as well as the influence of the one-child policy (which has since been modified), employment pressures at home, and ultimately China's place in the global hierarchy of development on the

study abroad movement. The students Fong ultimately studied, beginning in 1999, were the first generation to be born after the 1979 one-child policy was enacted. Fong explains that the one-child policy was enacted "to produce children with consumption and education levels similar to those enjoyed by their counterparts in the developed world" (p. 70). Government officials hoped that by taking this step, which restricted families to having only one child – many ethnic minorities, families willing to pay fines, parents whose children died or were developmentally, physically or intellectually disabled could in some cases be exempted – would push families to streamline their financial resources to cultivate children who could compete with and qualify as citizens of the Western (i.e. developed) world. By being part of this first one-child cohort (what Fong terms "the singleton generation"), Fong's students and their educational choices were able to illustrate many of the pressures faced by their generation as well as the means by which and the places where they chose to complete their studies beyond high school. In fact, by 2010, a resurvey of the 1365 students (out of 2273 originally surveyed) indicated that 20% (273) of them had studied abroad (Fong 3) and 64% of the remaining students who had not gone abroad indicated that they still wished to do so, for work, study, and/or immigration (p. 4).

The students who chose to go abroad in the early 2000's navigated a much more complex and less streamlined landscape than that which exists today, 20 years after beginning of Fong's work. The internet today pervades the lives of Chinese citizens, as the country has more internet users than the entire population of the U.S., Brazil and Russia combined (Meeker 2017) and serves as a conduit linking students wishing to go abroad directly to their ideal universities, other students who already made the sojourn, and consulting companies which guide them along the way (for a hefty fee). In 1999, 87% of the original 2273 students original surveyed by Fong in 1999 indicated that they had no computers at home. Similarly, the high cost to study abroad, which will be

addressed later on in this chapter, was shouldered by parents and family members earning significantly less than they do now; in 1999, the average household income per capita in China was a mere 5425.1 RMB ($855.60), quadrupling to 21,966.2 RMB ($3464.29) in 2015 (*Zhonghua reminmin gongheguo guojia tongji ju* 2016). Finally, if they chose to study in countries in Western Europe or in the United States, with a vivid memory of the Cold War and accompanying suspicion of individuals from countries which did not call themselves capitalist, they faced the xenophobic attitudes of their peers in addition to the culture shock of being abroad for the first time.

They also faced obstacles which continue to be shared with the Chinese students who set out in the 21st century, from culture shock and alienation living at an American college campus, the relative useleness of their degree earned abroad (p. 139), to a detail often overlooked, which Fong underlined as she followed her students across the globe – that as international students, they were not legal citizens of the countries in which they studied, and lacked access to any sort of social welfare benefits, or the ability to work the same amount of hours as U.S. citizens (p.97) . The students described their existence as floating (*piao*,漂), a term "associated with instability, transience, uncertainty, and lack of rootedness" (p.97), a less than ideal experience for the amount of money and time spent upon their study abroad.

Abroad in the New Millennium

What then has changed in the 20 years since Vanessa Fong's study? The first starting point is the sheer number of students abroad today. In 1999, only 123,076 Chinese students were beginning their studies abroad, a number dwarfed by the 544,500 Chinese students beginning their studies abroad in 2016 (Zhong 2016). These half-million students added to the now 1.36 million Chinese students across the world already graduated from or still studying in elementary to the postgraduate programs. They study across the globe – the top five destinations include the United

States, Australia, the United Kingdom, Japan and Canada (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2016). Within the United States, according to the Institute for International Education, the international student population is dominated by China to such a degree that one out of every three international students are Chinese, with currently 350,547 Chinese students alone enrolled in U.S. Educational institutions (Institute of International Education. *Educational Exchange Data from Open Doors 2017*.)

Such a large flow of students is both symptomatic of the globalization of education and also occurs as a result of processes and institutions unique to China which, compounded with its enormous school-age population, enable and force an increasing number of students abroad. The enormous pressure and inflexibility of the *gaokao*, China's growing and ill-defined middle class, and the Chinese shadow education industry facilitated by the growth in Chinese internet users all facilitate an increase in Chinese students traveling to the United States for study. Similarly, the huge financial gains to be made by American universities, the American and Chinese shadow education industries, educational consulting agencies and the American economy as a whole encourage the continued influx of Chinese students.

The influx of Chinese students and the number of processes involved in their journey to the United States and the numerous other countries in which they study recall Arjun Appadurai's theorization of global cultural flows, which Fong also considers, although her primary consideration is the formation of "an imagined developed world community" (p. 6) through studying abroad. Appadurai's framework seeks to bridge the gap between disjunctures of imagined worlds, the "multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe" (2010 p. 33). In so doing, he defines five dimensions of global cultural flows: ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes.

Following these constructs, in this chapter I will focus on ethnoscapes and financescapes, addressing the increase in Chinese students within the United States in the 21st century and their financial impact on American higher education and the costs of going abroad. I will be primarily looking at Chinese students enrolled in tertiary education in the United States, that is, enrolled in associates, bachelors, masters, PhD or graduate-level professional programs (i.e. JD, MD, MBA), but the discussion on Chinese students abroad is not complete without considering the novel trend of students entering U.S. schools in high school or even earlier. Again, China in this discussion refers to the People's Republic of China, as the circumstances of mainland Chinese students abroad are historically and socio-politically unique and can in no way be compared to those of students in the special administrative regions of Macau or Hong Kong.

In Numbers: Chinese Students in American Universities

Chinese students follow other international student trends of primarily studying in three large urban concentrations across the United States, namely the NY-NJ-PA triangle, Los Angeles, California, and Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, Massachusetts (Ruiz 2014). A large number of Chinese students also pursue studies in large Midwest universities, as in the 2016-2017 school year, the university with the largest number of Chinese students (measured by greatest number of F-1 student visas) was the University of Illinois Urbana Champaign, with 5, 629 students enrolled (UIIC Division of Management Information 2017). From Figure 11 which contains a list of the top ten universities in the country with the largest number of Chinese

Rank (by # of visas)	School
1	University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign
2	University of Southern California
3	Purdue University
4	Northeastern University
5	Columbia University
6	Michigan State University
7	Ohio State University
8	University of California, Los Angeles
9	Indiana University
10	University of California at Berkeley

Fig 11: American Universities with highest numbers of Chinese students enrolled (Foreign Policy 2017).

students, it is clear that students are distributed across public and private institutions, but favour public, land-grant institutions. Falling under the aforementioned geographic concentrations of international students, many of these institutionsare also hosts to the largest number of international students within the United States, including University of Southern California, Columbia University, Northeastern University, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign, University of California-Los Angeles and Purdue University (Institute of International Education, Leading Host Institutions 2017), all part of the top 10 most international universities in the United States.

Chinese students pursuing degrees in higher education are also somewhat evenly distributed through undergraduate and graduate programs. 43.7% of students are enrolled in bachelor's programs, 42.0% in master's programs, and 14.4 % in doctoral programs. The most popular majors for Chinese students were business, engineering, social sciences, computer science, and mathematics/statistics. 34.6% of Chinese students pursued majors related to business, management, and marketing, 17.1% studied engineering, 6.01% studied social sciences (including Economics), 5.6% studied computer science and information sciences, and 5.5% studied mathematics and statistics (Ruiz 2014). This falls fairly in line with the Chinese job market, where the strongest demands lie in logistics and transportation, finance, and IT (German Chamber of Commerce in China. 2016).

Within the United States, Chinese students do not only attend public land grant universities such as the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign and private universities such as Columbia, but also attend community colleges as well. Many community colleges are advertised as stepping stones to four-year institutions, where students can take the requisite coursework and advance their academic English before applying to colleges or universities. Again, Chinese students make up the

largest percentage of international students at associate's colleges by far, at 20.1% (Institute of International Education, Leading Places of Origins 2017). International students at community colleges are concentrated in Washington, California, Texas and along the East Coast, where they can then move on to universities located there which are also more welcoming to international students, and the money which they bring with them. The LA times estimates that 13% of all Chinese international undergraduates in the United States are studying at community colleges (Shyong 2015. There is no complete data on whether or not students are able to realistically transition into four-year institutions.

Balancing the Budget of American Public Education

The average amount international students pay to attend community college nearly rivals that of some American four-year universities. At Northern Virginia Community College (NAVCC), the community college with the second largest number of Chinese students in the country, international students should expect to pay a total of $24,315 per year, which includes payment for registration, coursework, books and supplies, and living expenses (Northern Virginia Community College 2018). Comparatively, four-year Chinese universities charge one of several set fees, depending on the major. At People's University (*Renmin Daxue*人民大学), ranked 8th in the country, law students pay ¥60,000 ($9,543.60 as of February 2018), students of Foreign Languages pay ¥6000 ($954.36), and students of all other majors pay ¥5000 ($795.30). In addition, students living in the dorms pay between ¥650-¥1200 ($103.39-$190.87) for room and board (Gaokao xinxi wang 高考信息网 2017).

Other incidentals, such as books and food expenses are not included in this calculation, but the enormous price difference between a two-year degree at an American community college and

a four-year degree from a top-ranked Chinese university is clear. The price paid by Chinese students at bachelors granting institutions in the United States is even more exorbitant. For international students paying full tuition at universities such as Purdue ($44,144) (Purdue University 2018) and University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign ($48,796) (University of Illinois Urbana Champaign 2018), Chinese students are further faced with an additional fee of $1000 and $2500 respectively (Lewin 2012). Clearly, the steadily increasing number of international students in the United States also provide a helpful boost to the economy, generating, in the 2016-2017 academic year, $36.9 billion dollars for the United States, and 450,331 total jobs (NAFSA: Association of International Educators 2017), as many students are employed on campus as student workers, researchers, teaching assistants, and graduate instructors. Although certain students may receive government scholarships, according to the Ministry of Education, 91.4% of students abroad were self-funded (Zhong 2017). This includes students who may receive scholarship or loan support from US or foreign universities as well as private funds, but also includes individuals paying their tuition in full.

This financial incentive often means pushing out students who are local in pursuit of the full tuition paid by international students. At the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, the number of Chinese international students has risen considerably, making up half of the entire international student population and 11.7% of the total student body (Lu 2017). On the other hand, the number of African American students is hardly at 5.2% (UIIC Division of Management Information 2017), despite the fact that African American students make up over 14% of the population of the state of Illinois. African American students also demonstrate higher need and often receive financial aid but are overlooked in favor of students who can pay full tuition. Conversely, at the University of Washington, administrators chose in 2014 to open up more spaces

for enrollment to international students in order to help low-income students form the United States pay for their education through scholarships and financial aid (Lewin 2012). This approach is somewhat more considerate of in-state students as it is directly leveraging the profit from international student tuition to increase access to higher education. Still, it is setting a powerful precedent for other public institutions by redefining "public" in the name of global education and diversity and providing no alternative for the students of Washington state which land grant institutions were initially created to serve.

The increased monetization of the American educational experience is not a new phenomenon. Masao Miyoshi, writing "Ivory Tower in Escrow" (2000) reminds us that the "radical corporatization" (p. 48) of universities occurring in the late 20th century (and which continues to a greater extent today) was not a novel phenomenon. From the move towards mass industrialization of R&D after the passage of the 1980 Bayh-Dole Act allowing universities to lay claim over patents based on research conducted by federal funds, incentivizing university-corporate partnerships (p. 31), to the very roots of the modern university itself, "built around 1800 to fill the need for knowledge production as Europe and the United States prepared themselves for expansion overseas" (p.11), the search for new markets and monetary exchanges in tandem with or under the guise of edification has been ongoing.

As such, Chinese students and international students as a whole have played an incredibly important role in maintaining American public higher educational institutions afloat. A 2016 NBER working paper, from the late 1990's onward, public institutions experienced a 10% reduction in state appropriations, as enrolment of international students increased by 12% (Bound et al 2016, p.3). According to their ongoing work, China's eightfold increase in per capita GDP from 1996 to 2012 somewhat cushioned the funding cuts to public universities. Supply constraint

of higher education is also one of the factors influencing demand of U.S. colleges and universities by international students, as China's population, at 1.379 billion (World Bank Group 2016) eclipses the 323.1 million residents of the United States. Although China has less than half the amount of accredited universities as the United States, 913 versus 2,037 (World Higher Education Database 2018), it has many more students enrolled in university than the United States – 16.6 million more, to be exact (Zhao 2016). The cushioning has been reciprocal – Chinese students help assuage cuts to "core spending categories such as instruction and student support" (Deming and Walters 2018, p. 12) by paying full tuition at American public universities, which in turn helps ease the growing pains of a quickly expanding system of mass higher education in China.

This tendency to turn towards international students and especially Chinese students to make a profit is not limited to the higher education sphere. Chinese students not only are enrolling directly in 4-year universities and community colleges, but entering the American educational system beginning as early as elementary school (Jordan 2017). The real pre-college boom for Chinese students is occurring in high school, where they make up 42% of all international high school students (Farrugia 2017). Most of the schools to which high school students are being sent are private, and according to a Foreign Policy report (Allen-Ebrahimian and Wertime 2016), 58% of Chinese high school students in the U.S. were attending either Catholic or Christian high schools. Although this is somewhat surprising given China's nonreligious stance in the present day, it hearkens back to the relationship between American missionary schools and "Western" education in late 19th and early 20th century China. In addition to this historical association, most American public schools limit international students to a one-year exchange, but private institutions do not have such restrictions. This makes them an ideal target for parents eager to have their children graduate from a U.S. high school, further increasing their chances for admission to a U.S. college

or university. Once again, it is somewhat of a win-win relationship for both Chinese parents and U.S. schools, as Chinese students fill up enrollment gaps that have opened up as religious schools face difficulties in an increasingly secularized world (Allen-Ebrahimian and Wertime, 2016).

Gone are the days which Vanessa Fong described, where "[p]arents were reluctant to send children younger than 18 abroad, for fear that they would get into trouble without parental supervision. Developed countries' embassies rarely granted visas to individuals under 18 without evidence that they would be supervised by family members or boarding schools, which most Chinese citizens in [her] study could not afford" (81). Now 52,000 Chinese "parachute children", come alone to the United States (Shyong 2016), where they stay in dormitories or with host families while they study primarily in middle or high school, but some students are coming alone to the U.S. as young as eleven years of age (Jordan 2017). These include students like Korbin Yang, a then senior at Oxford High School in Michigan, profiled in *the New York Times Magazine* article "The Parachute Generation" (Larmer 2017) find themselves as part of the 5% of Chinese students attending not private or religious, but public high schools. Korbin and other Chinese high school students serve similar purposes as their college counterparts – in addition to "diversifying" education, they serve as a buffer against cuts in public secondary education. Weiming, one of two Chinese companies which partnered with Oxford High School to recruit and supply the school with Chinese students, paid Oxford High $10,000 per student enrolled. Chinese families, on the other hand, were paying the company between $30,500 and $40,000 per year for their children's experience abroad. BCC International Education Group, the Chinese private education company which served as a broker for Korbin's stay, also has initiated partnerships with Dexter Community Schools, Saline Area Schools, and Ann Arbor Public Schools in Michigan since 2015 (Slagter 2017). Consulting companies also support students who stay with local American families instead

of living in student dormitories, receiving $533-600 per month per student (Kaminski 2016). It's not clear how these families are recruited. A report by the LA Times reveals that in many cases they are simply found online, becoming legal guardians in a totally unregulated fashion (Shyong 2016).

Michigan is not the only state with public education receiving lucrative payment from this arrangement, although their partnerships with Chinese consulting or private education companies appears to be particularly strong. Weiming Education Group also demonstrated plans to take over buildings formerly belonging to the University of Connecticut to create an international high school (Larmer 2017), although their proposal was struck down at the last minute. In Millnocket, Maine, a town of less than 5,000 people, the regional schools were facing a $1.1 million dollar deficit after enrollment declined steadily over the years as the town's primary revenue basis, paper mills, shut down and moved elsewhere. In 2011, the new district superintendent anticipated the boom of parachute children, traveled to China and arranged a deal with yet another Chinese private education company, and the following fall, six Chinese students enrolled, adding $144,000 to the district's finances (Richardson 2011). California alone is the destination for ¼ of all parachute children who arrive in the United States (Shyong 2016), so this narrative, where young Chinese students fulfill the financial and multicultural yearnings of school districts in return for a taste of American-style schooling, extends from coast to coast.

The high cost of American education for Chinese students at all levels is clear, as well as the willingness of parents and families to support their children. China's longstanding relationship of educational exchange with the United States dating back to Yung Wing and the Chinese Educational Mission looms large in cultural and historical memory. When families choose to send their children abroad, the United States has not only this reference point, but also continues to

welcome students with open arms because of the accompanying tuition. It is precisely this issue of choice which is intriguing and indicative of new societal transformations within China. Going abroad for high school in particular is not such an issue of crowding out. It serves at its minimum as the experience of a year abroad, as many American high school students study abroad or take a gap year before going to university. Parents and families hope, and consulting companies advertise that spending a year abroad, or even better, receiving a high school diploma raises the chances of being admitted to an American college or university. In turn, freshly-minted American college graduates who choose to return to China anticipate that they will be more readily welcomed by Chinese employers, as their American studies would ostensibly be clear indicators of institutionalized cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). This has long been an uncertain outcome, as Vanessa Fong explains: "[s]ome Chinese citizens were dismayed to learn after completing college in developed countries that the developed world credentials they had thought would bring them upward mobility ended up being almost useless" (p. 39). Students reported being overqualified for entry level jobs, but lacking the requisite work experience in China to apply to higher level positions. They became stuck in a paradoxical loop, stemming from their initial desire (or that of their parents) to get ahead by going abroad.

Since the inception of the study abroad movement, students have gone abroad to serve a dual purpose: the personal and the national. A fairly consistent pattern has begun to emerge – when China has been in situations requiring economic, industrial, and technological growth, the government has supported students to serve as state-funded couriers for knowledge acquisition from the outside world, from escaping colonialist pressures in the 19th century to diplomatically reconnecting with the Western world in 1979. Simultaneously, it has also been associated with personal edification, and as a class marker of some sorts, although its validity as such remains

unclear. The 21st century marks a break, or at least a shift towards additional dimensions of the movement. Students more clearly behave as customers (Miyoshi 2000), wooed by a complex network of educational consultants, cash-starved universities and supported by families demonstrating greater purchasing power and more focused resource allocation than previous generations because of China's economic growth and social policies. The technological leaps and bounds which enable students, consultants, families and universities to interact and create imaginaries of each other, through television and film, print and digital media, and social messaging platforms are equally convoluted and multi-layered, beyond that what can be addressed in the present thesis. To further interrogate this idea of middle-classness, and understand precisely the overlap between education abroad a growing middle class in China and the acquisition of cultural and social capital, I turned to Chinese students who were studying "abroad" themselves – within their own country – at Duke Kunshan University.

Chapter 4
Chinese Students Studying "Abroad" At Duke Kunshan University

The increasing number of Chinese students studying abroad in the United States for collegiate and postgraduate studies and now even elementary school raise a number of questions regarding the state and future of the educational system both in the United States and in China. The ways in which students seek out educational experiences in the United States are manifold and increasing given the longstanding history of Chinese students studying abroad. The possibilities created by the internet, multipurpose social media platforms such as WeChat (*weixin* 微信) and the rise of private education consulting companies as well as further facilitate connections between students and foreign universities. Now, study abroad is more readily fundable and is more flexible than ever before. Individuals wishing to study abroad are able to receive governmental sponsorship and scholarships and Chinese universities can partner with public or public-private educational consulting companies to send students for a year, a semester, or even a few weeks abroad, reminiscent of the way that American university students often take a year abroad or a gap year of experiential learning. Students and families are also able to go directly through educational consulting companies, based either in China or their desired study-abroad country, which pair them with schools or host families, send them on educational or experiential programs, and take care of all visa and application arrangements.

In this increasingly complex scenario, yet another option has emerged, that of experiencing "American-style (or British-style) education" without even having to leave the country by studying at an International Branch Campus (IBC). According to the Cross-Broad Education Research Team (C-BERT), mainland China currently houses 39 IBCs, with universities from Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, France, Germany, Ireland, Japan, the Netherlands, Russia, South Korea, the United Kingdom, and the United States partnering with Chinese universities and the Chinese

government to create these institutions (Garret et al 2016). Out of these 12 locations, the United Kingdom and the United States overwhelmingly dominate, with 8 IBCs connected with universities in the United Kingdom, and 14 IBCs, either already extant or under development, with ties to US universities. Joining the ranks of universities such as NYU, UC-Berkeley, the University of Michigan, Duke University and Carnegie-Mellon University, top-ranked in the United States and internationally renowned, are universities such as Fort Hays State University of Kansas and Kean University, public universities in the United States which, in their home campuses primarily serve in-state populations in Kansas and New Jersey, respectively.

Currently, there now are 249 IBCs around the world, concentrated in China, which has the most IBCs in the world, with the United Arab Emirates following closely behind (Garret et al 2017). According to C-BERT and The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education (OBHE), host countries are interested in "enhancing economic competitiveness, raising awareness of the nation's education, and leveraging soft power" (Garret et al p.10). The next three countries with the largest number of IBCs, Singapore, Malaysia and Qatar, are countries which also are emerging with tremendous economic potential, making these soft power relationships ever more important. This in turn recalls the efforts made in China by the Rockefeller Foundation, missionary educators, and the Soviet Union in supporting or founding educational institutions with ties to the US or the USSR. Rosa Becker, of OBHE, uses the term IBC to reference "an off-shore entity of a higher education institution operated by the institution or through a joint venture in which the institution is a partner (some countries require foreign providers to partner with a local organization) in the name of the foreign institution." (2015, p.3). This particularly jumbled and overbroad definition is indicative of the murky nature of some of these educational endeavors. The mere fact that they are almost exclusively located outside of America and Western Europe, and operated primarily by

American and European universities points to a historically embedded power imbalance and suggests that education is yet again being deployed to satisfy economic and political needs.

IBCs do face mixed feelings. They are hailed as "provid[ing] exciting and enriching opportunities for deep cross-cultural engagement, especially since so many IBCs enjoy small classrooms and intimate settings" (Crist 2016) while simultaneously critiqued as "small, specialized and limited academic programs offered off shore to take advantage of a perceived market" (Altbach 2010). which lack the resources and quality of their partner institutions. Given Rosa Becker's definition, it is easy to see why IBCs can vary widely in both quality and presentation and can have differing academic and political objectives, depending on the universities and countries involved in their management.

Duke Kunshan University

I was given the opportunity to visit Duke University's foray into the Chinese IBC frenzy, the recently opened Duke Kunshan University, in Kunshan, China. During May and June 2017, I spent two weeks visiting classes, exploring the campus, and interviewing students. What follows is not in any way an attempt to generalize or extensively analyze the study-abroad question or the popularity of IBCs in China. I visited Duke Kunshan to speak with Chinese students living in the midst of the most recent wave of study abroad fever (*chuguo re* 出过热) who had opted to remain within the country for the time being instead of joining hundreds of thousands of fellow Chinese students in receiving education in other countries. Through speaking directly with them, I hoped to begin contextualizing the historical and elements of the study-abroad movement detailed in the previous chapters, understand reasons that students would choose to study at an IBC as opposed to studying at a domestic university or studying abroad, and get their take on a situation amplified in Western media by individuals who had not yet experienced studying abroad.

US News and World Reports suggests that [f]or international students who want to earn a degree abroad but not venture too far away, a branch campus could be ideal." (Durrani 2016). At the time that I interviewed DKU students, DKU had not yet received governmental permission to grant undergraduate degrees, although it had several Master's degree granting programs. Instead, undergraduate students participated in a semester-long exchange, termed the "Global Learning Semester". The semester was then divided into two smaller sessions, and students took two courses per session. I visited at the end of the second session, where the classes offered were: *China in the World Order: an Extramural Perspective; Greek Drama: Tragedy and Comedy in Athens in the 5th Century BCE; Kunqu, the Classical Opera of Globalized China; Energy in the 21st Century and Beyond; Chinese Environmental Policy; Organizational Behavior; US Academic Writing for EFL Students,* and *Writing Across Cultures.* At the time, students informed me that there were 60 students enrolled in the Global Learning Semester, with around 5 students from the United States, one from Brazil, and the rest from China. These numbers are an estimate and are based on interviews and not verified by a registrar's office.

Interview Methodology

I interviewed 15 students, 14 undergraduates, and 1 graduate student. The majority of the students were students in their 3rd and 4th years of college, as students are often given time during their 3rd year to spend a semester or more in an internship or studying abroad, and 4th year students had already finished their studies a semester early and had chosen to spend a semester at DKU. The students are referred to by the pseudonym they requested to use at the beginning of our interview. I have created a table (Appendix A) which summarizes the pseudonym, sex, year of study, home university and major of each student, along with the reason that they chose DKU, whether or not they wanted or planned to study abroad, and their reasons for that decision. With

the exception of one student, all students were enrolled or had studied in top 100 universities in China, with five students studying in top 10 universities. Only five of the students I interviewed had been to the US previously, with three of those five attending short-term study abroad sessions associated with prestigious universities and the other two simply for travel.

I spoke with each student for between 20 minutes and one hour, however long it took us to cover 26 questions that I had prepared, and whatever other topics we might discuss, as the interview was semi-structured. The interviews were recorded and then transcribed. 12 of the 15 interviews were conducted in English, with some words or expressions in Chinese, and 3 of the interviews were conducted in Chinese with some words or expressions in English, and translated into English by me. The structure of my interview was broadly shaped around three primary themes, which I developed in a series of questions, namely, the educational backgrounds and experiences of the students, their views and attitudes towards education, and their personal and general opinions concerning studying abroad. The complete interview schedule can be found in Appendix B. Interview transcripts may be made available upon request.

Why Do Chinese Students Study Abroad?

The students with whom I spoke at DKU often made a clear distinction between their choices or desires to study abroad versus why Chinese people generally studied abroad. Their responses revealed two primary attitudes towards collegiate education in the United States. They either focused on systemic factors and differences between Chinese and American education, or personal factors that drove themselves or other students they knew to study abroad. I was not prompting students to compare the Chinese and American systems, but this was the inevitable analog, as I am a student from an American university, and as many students pointed out, many

American universities are at the top of collegiate rankings, and this is what is noticed internationally.

The omnipresence of the West

The nebulous concepts of "Western education" and "American education" colored many of my conversations. Of course, as education has become privatized and decentralized, there is no longer any set curriculum or teaching method which is shared across the United States. As a tiny IBC associated with an elite US university, DKU's coursework is even less representative of education in the United States as a whole. When pressed to define these terms, students focused on the low teacher-student ratio, personalized attention and liberal arts curricula they were exposed to at DKU. Because of the curriculum design at DKU, students often took courses outside of their designated majors at their home universities. This allowed a journalism major to be fascinated by the similarities between Chinese Opera and Greek drama as he stage-read Greek plays[12], and a student majoring in finance to take a course in energy security, which he described as much more interactive than courses at his home university.[13] Teaching quality was another point enthusiastically discussed by respondents. For some, it was considered a general hallmark of American education[14], with American professors described as the best in the world.[15] Most students distinguished between other professors they had encountered and those at DKU, which they described as friendlier and more accessible[16,17] than professors at their home universities. A senior student of business administration also emphasized that her voice was more respected at

[12] Edmund, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[13] Oliver, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[14] Edmund, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[15] Ruo Qiao, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[16] Shan, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[17] Si Tong, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017

DKU than at her home university, and she felt much more of a support network of professors and peers.[18]

The prevalence of the West in the collective cultural imagination of Chinese individuals was also clear and discussed by the students. A third-year studying HR management took an analytical perspective while recognizing the pragmatic choices of studying abroad in the West with future career directions in mind, saying that "maybe the society is kind of Western oriented, West is best, they're modern... [Students] want to learn more about the West, how things [are] going on there, and also [about] the multinational cultures, [so] the multinational enterprise will be better, so if we want to enter these kind of companies, it would be better for us to have this kind of intercultural experience."[19] Liberal arts education also played a role in defining the West, and again this idea of Western education. This resulted in an media-driven inferiority complex of sorts in which one of the students indicated she had been inculcated since childhood: "We are educated since we are young that Western education is more superior – not superior, I meant better."[20] I pressed her on this point, and she followed up immediately with the comment that "what I know is just from newspaper…even a stereotype, so when I was young, I was told that first…[i]t's generally what the public imagine[s] about that." She further provided evidence from a report she had seen online about American education that supported the public's claims, namely that "liberal arts education…will help students to explore [their] potential…teachers in Western education focus on students, and I mean, students take part in discussion, and they teach themselves and they teach other students, it's exchange." [21] This exchange was clearly present at DKU, where student praised professors for their accessibility and kindness inside and outside the classroom. This was

[18] Janet, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[19] Lynn, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[20] Olivia, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[21] Ibid.

largely because of the tiny number of students enrolled and the unique environment of DKU. Its campus was a 30 minute bus ride from the city center in an area anticipating future development, and as a result there were no commercial or recreational areas immediately nearby, requiring professors, administrators, staff and students to share meals in the campus cafeteria and café, housed in the same building as all courses, or go far off campus for food.

This isolation, coupled with seminar-sized courses, allowed for more personal relationships to be fostered between students and professors throughout the course of the semester. Of course, within institutions in the United States the accessibility of professors varies widely. The experience at a small liberal arts college which focuses on personalized undergraduate study will be very different from studying at a large public or private university, where hundreds of students can easily be within each class. Despite frequently summoning "Western" or "American" education, some students recognized that their experience at DKU and proximity to professors was not shared by many students in the United States. It was one of "higher status"[22] than that of students in the US , and where professors were either familiar with Chinese culture and language or at least eager to learn.[23] In a way, although students did not receive a four-year degree from a US university, their personalized educational experience was paralleled by only the most elite US college settings and seminar courses, and perhaps even more culturally responsive than what can be offered in the United States.

Critiques of Chinese University Education

In addition to explaining how Western universities and education were viewed by Chinese society, the DKU students interviewed also raised concerns about the quality of education at Chinese universities. Universities within China were characterized by "a lot of people, but…not

[22] Lynn, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[23] Logan, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017

very efficient work."[24] Professors furthermore did not spend time on their students, and "instead they care about themselves, about finding research projects and receiving grant money for their research."[25]Classes were described as "boring and useless,[26]" with teaching styles which did "not…try to make the students be active, [instead]…try to make the students be passive to receive the boring knowledge."[27] China's higher educational system in particular is experiencing an enormous period of expansion. Many of the issues noted by the students arise not only from a cultural grounding in lecture-based education, but also from the adaptation to a still growing higher educational system. There are simply not enough professors to cater to the needs of the 37 million students enrolled in colleges and universities. Furthermore, as education expanded from a national participation rate in 1998 of only 9% to 23% in 2008 (Zha 2011), more first generation students were enrolling in college, coming from rural, underdeveloped and under-resourced areas. This forced universities to make a cut in coursework quality and quantity in order to accommodate students who did not have a generational history of graduating from institutions of higher education. As the educational system continues to grow, educators, policymakers and students have been made aware of these issues within higher education, and are experimenting with educational decentralization as well as placing all programs under 5-year educational program evaluations to improve teaching quality (Zha 2011).

Personal Goals

In addition to lodging systemic critiques and observations, many of the students shared their own personal reasons that they were interested in studying abroad, or experiences of close

[24] Coco, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[25] Shan, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[26] Zi Ye, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[27] A, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017

friends who had already done so. These ranged from career-oriented decisions, as some students wanted future jobs which would require international experience or high levels of English proficiency, to satiating a lifelong curiosity of what the United States was like. For a junior student of Chinese language and literature, studying abroad supported her desire to pursue a career in academic work: "it's important to find a different view [coming] from the Western theory, and…most academic material is in English."[28] Immigration was another factor. A graduate student had friends who studied abroad in order in order to find a job, become a principle investigator (PI) in a lab or other research setting, and eventually receive citizenship.[29] In the same manner as taking a semester or year abroad in college is encouraged for American students to broaden their personal horizons, some of the DKU students also expressed their desires to go abroad as experientially driven. " A student recently accepted to a graduate program at Johns Hopkins University explained her rationale to me: "I want to…see the world, and America is a different country…including its political system, and a lot of things is very different from China, and I want to see. I don't think either is better or bad, I just want to see, and have my own opinion."[30] Similarly, a student who had moved from her hometown province of Guangdong 广东, in the far south of the country, to Sichuan 四川, a province in the southwestern part of the country, and then to DKU in Jiangsu 江苏 province on the east coast, wanted to make another big move, to "go abroad, to see how the world exactly works…maybe the individual, the personal experience will be more close to the fact."[31]

Competitiveness of the gaokao system

Finally, students explained to me that Chinese students chose to study abroad directly after high school because of the competitiveness of the *gaokao*, the national college entrance exam. "It's

[28] Ruo Qiao, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[29] A, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[30] Fanny, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[31] Lynn, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017

very, extremely hard to go through the *gaokao* to get a better university…so, go abroad is another choice if they cannot make it by *gaokao*." a sophomore told me[32]. 14 out of the 15 students took the gaokao along with millions of their peers. One student attended a foreign languages high school (*waiguoyu xuexiao* 外国语学校) and had benefitted from a direct placement policy called *bao song sheng* (保送生), which guaranteed her admission to a top university to study a foreign language without having to take the *gaokao* because of her exceptional high school record[33]. Regardless of taking the gaokao or not, students recalled the stressful environment of high school. Students shared experiences of crippling nervousness[34], and a life dominated by coursework in preparation of the gaokao, starting at 6 in the morning and ending at 10 pm.[35, 36] Even the student who did not end up taking the gaokao, was not guaranteed exemption until a semester before the exam. She had to go through the same extensive and stressful exam preparation as her peers. A student of international economics and trade described what happened if students didn't fit in to this this system of truly high stakes testing: "For some students, the *gaokao* model doesn't quite work because it's extremely strict and the demands on the students are very harsh…if they don't get a good test score, well, within the country they can't attend a very good university, so they simply choose to go abroad.[37]" What on the surface appeared to be a rather simple decision is, as I have explored, a process marked by social pressure, facilitated by social media and educational consulting companies, and most importantly, enabled by financial capital. The students who found themselves making a snap decision to go abroad, according to my DKU interviewees, shared one common factor. They were rich.

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[32] Logan, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[33] Chen, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[34] Olivia, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[35] Coco, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[36] Edmund, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[37] Ke, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017

Who can afford studying abroad?

Having money was a convenient escape route for students who wished to avoid or had succumbed to the extremely competitive *gaokao.* According to some students I interviewed, the main reason that other students studied abroad (they took care not to include themselves in these generalizations) was "because they're rich…And maybe they can't stand for the *gaokao,* because it's too tough, so many people have to compete for a seat…they can't adjust, or can't get used to it."[38] This was emphasized to me again and again. Students whose "families have money, but their grades aren't good, they can't get into domestic universities…just go abroad for school."[39] Certain schools also catered more towards a wealthy crowd. The student excempted from the *gaokao* who studied at a foreign language high school, where "most of [the students] are either rich people, students who want to just send them[selves] abroad after graduation, or students like me, who just don't want to take the gaokao."[40] Some high schools also have an international track for students (*guoji ban* 国际班). A student who was enrolled in one such track told me that 1/3 of his peers studied abroad directly after graduating high school. He further added his classmates had entered the international track in the first place as they had "failed in the middle school entrance examination, and want[ed] to have a better future, [so] most of them tr[ied] to study in the international departments of the high school."[41]

Even in traditional high schools which did not have these special designations, the divide between who got to study abroad and who stayed with the country was marked. Even at an elite high school in Shandong 山东 province which only admitted students with the highest scores on their high school entrance exams, a former student told me that in her graduating class, "most of

[38] Oliver, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[39] Si Tong, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[40] Chen, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[41] Edmund, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017

the parents cannot afford the high costs for the abroad education, and there about three, maybe three students, they are very rich, and they go to Australia, two go to Australia and one go to Macau."[42] Another former student from a Beijing high school had "almost 40 students in [her graduating] class, but only one student, she go abroad, [to] Sydney University… she got the lowest score in *gaokao,* so then she go abroad."[43] Students who were able to or chose to go abroad still had their choices dictated by university fees which vary from country to country: "[t]he fees limit the choice, because some [of] my classmates, they're from poor families, they just can choose Europe because…their public universities are free, I think, or cost very little"[44], a girl hoping herself to study abroad in Europe told me.

I was reminded that despite this seemingly dire scenario, government support was also available. As noted in the previous chapter, only 9% of Chinese students abroad are supported by government or school-supported funding. None of the students with whom I spoke who had finalized plans for studying abroad in the future indicated that they were receiving government funding, but I also did not ask them directly. Nonetheless, I was told that "Chinese universities provide a lot of opportunities for exchange studies … some opportunity for free of charge exchange program, maybe one semester or one year in America."[45] The government or school sponsorship process is complex and requires much more than simply a demonstration of financial need. Students who wished to be sponsored by the government were

> "very excellent in academic [s], because they have a very high GPA, and they have to just show their certification, like their *pin kun zheng ming*（贫困证明 certification of financial need）.They need to write a very specific and comprehensive study plan in America…more extracurricular opportunities will add extra mark [to the application], and the papers, if you just published in very famous magazines or research magazines, will add score [to the application], but the most important, if [students] just get sponsorship from the country and

[42] Shen, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[43] Coco, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[44] Ruo Qiao, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[45] Janet, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017

> go abroad right after they just finish study, they have to come back and serve the country, maybe sometimes for 2 years, and some for 5 years."[46]

Receiving government sponsorship did not only involve an extensive and rigorous application process, but the funding also came with strings attached. This scenario makes it quite difficult for students to be able to fulfill some of the personal goals for studying abroad which they mentioned to me. The possibility for academic or personal exploration, not to even mention interest in immigration, could be greatly restricted or quite frankly out of reach, with an expiration date on the experience.

Income inequality was another theme addressed by students in their discussion of the Chinese educational experience. The edge that family wealth gave students in succeeding during the secondary and tertiary education frustrated a student who described herself as coming from a lower middle-class background. She had observed the upbringing of a girl who was the daughter of her father's classmate and traveled to the US to study abroad:

> What educational resources he g[a]ve this little girl gave me a look at how the money, how the social position make a difference for their next generation…the belief we are told in our high school is that, if you study hard, you will make up this difference, and you will go to a top university just because you study hard. But what's behind that, we can see…which students, if they study the same hard, who will do better? It's the students with more resources behind them, they have more chance to get better education besides the classes, and they could get the better teachers after school, and they have more chance, their parents created for them to know what is besides the school. What a difference you can see, for example, in Beijing university, is that those rich, those wealthy students, besides study…how they connect with their society, how they interact with the people around, especially emotional intelligence, they…[make] a lot of progress.[47]

What is described here in no unclear terms is the transmission of embodied cultural capital, as well as the institutionalized cultural capital (tutoring, elite schooling) acquired by living in a high-income family. Even China's educational system which is largely public suffers from

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[46] Fanny, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[47] Olivia, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017

problems which also drive inequality of educational opportunities within the United States which has a more privatized system. Because of the growth of the study abroad movement, the uneven accumulation of cultural capital independent of and in conjunction with formal education does not simply impact the trajectories of students within the country. Instead, it determines which students are able to readily experience education abroad, which is at its simplest level, regardless of the ranking of the institution attended, a formative experience in a foreign country with a different approach to teaching and learning. Financial capital as a precondition for cultural capital was also considered through a generational lens. Of particular concern were how generational discrepancies were perpetuated through these divisions:

> People with money, their children are becoming outstanding, because they have opportunities to receive better education. But, people who are impoverished, they do not have the financial resources to focus on their children. They themselves did not have the opportunity to attend school, and their children may also end up in a lower stratum of society."[48]

At its extreme, this income inequality was hyperbolically described by as a relatively fixed plutocracy by a student who disclosed his own family would not have difficulty paying tuition at an American university[49] which offered little opportunity for social mobility, even through education. As members of one of the first generations to be impacted by the one-child policy (*dusheng zinü zhengce* 独生子女政策), the exponential growth of the Chinese economy in the 2000's and 2010's, increased access to and growth of public higher education, and the surge of students studying abroad, the students I interviewed are on the receiving end of a unique amalgam of social, educational and economic policies. Although this combination does not inherently result in the extremely stratified society described above, it does create an opportunity for the growth of a

[48] Shan, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017
[49] Edmund, interviewed by Attyat Mayans at Duke Kunshan University, Kunshan City, China, June 2017

salaried class with members who regularly engage in conspicuous consumption, including educational spending.

Middle class, salaried class, and studying abroad

Looming above the conversation of income inequality is the issue of middle class growth within China. A report published by consulting firm McKinsey & Company suggests that by 2022 more than 75% of China's urban population will be considered middle class, expanding not only in Tier 1 cities, but Tier 2 and Tier 3 cities as well throughout the country (Barton et al 2013). The students at DKU clearly emphasized that simply defining middle class is quite difficult, a definition which varies from city to city depending on living costs and social pressures. It is defined as having an annual household income of between 60,000 and 2000 yuan, ($9416.60-$31,722) (Lin and Sun 2010, p.220). The difficulty to pin down middle class-ness was also observed by Ying Miao who researched the middle class in Ningbo 宁波. What she found was that actual income did not particularly contribute to subjective class identity. Instead, individuals who lived a relatively comfortable existence either defined themselves as belonging to the middle class (*zhongchan jieceng* 中产阶层), or the salaried class (*gongxin jieceng* 工薪阶层). Individuals who self-identified as belonging to the salaried class insisted that their existence was somehow less secure than that of the middle class, despite working the same kinds of jobs and owning similar property. They claimed that this difference stemmed from lacking an economic foundation that acted as a secure cushion for middle class individuals. Middle class individuals on the other hand, insisted that their definition as such was predicated upon "cultural and behavioral characteristics, which were built upon their economic well-being" (Miao 2017 p.18). Again, education, and education abroad in particular created the conditions for this distinction through the acquisition of cultural capital. The same respondents surveyed expressed disdain but also sadness that the children of migrants were

not receiving quality education, creating a dividing line between the working class and both the salaried and middle class. Speaking about their own children, 94% of individuals wished to see their children study abroad, although preferably after high school (p. 116). Clearly, studying abroad could be seen as both a marker of cultural capital and a form of its maintenance by families who self-defined as middle class, and was also a means for families who self-defined as salaried class to inculcate themselves in the cultural and behavioral characteristics which distinguished the middle class.

The Irreplicability of the Global Learning Semester

Although the site of my interviews was an IBC, because of the nature of the Global Learning Semester program, my interviews did not offer a lot of information which points to student life within other IBCs. Since students were only studying at DKU for a semester, the semester was truly a semester "abroad" without leaving China. As I demonstrate in Appendix A, almost all of the students were interested in experiencing Western education because of a pre-existing desire or known plans to study abroad. The global learning semester served as an extremely low-risk opportunity for students to sample new pedagogical styles and learning in an English-speaking environment and see if American-style education was a good fit for them. They were immersed in a supportive environment with culturally responsive professors and like-minded peers that was also culturally homogenous, as the majority of students were Chinese.

Although the experience is not easily replicated, some elements did align more with experiences at American universities. For example, how representative are DKU courses of courses taught at American universities? Of course, this varies greatly depending on the mission of the college or university within the United States, the size of the student body, choices of individual professors and instructors, and the nature of courses within different majors, to name

but a few variables. As a Duke student, I can make a comparison with DKU courses and courses found at Duke, which may be loosely extended to the approach taken by elite private research university in the US.

The two courses which I sat in on, *China in the World Order: an Extramural Perspective* and *Writing Across Culture*, were seminar style courses with Duke professors. Coincidentally, in both courses, students were reading and discussing Naomi Klein and preparing for final papers, as it was nearing the end of the semester. Although the courses themselves were not greatly different from what would be offered at Duke, the nature of the Global Learning Semester was. The "American-style" education students experienced was truly an hors d'oevre platter of liberal arts courses. As students came from different universities around the country, and furthermore, studied diverse disciplines, there was no way to assess the true backgrounds of students or create benchmarks of any sort. Each course was then forced to stand alone as its own introduction to the field, as students did not have restrictions on what courses they could choose. As indicated by interview responses, some students used this opportunity to explore outside their fields of study, and others were interested in a different approach to topics with which they were already familiar. This will all change in August 2019, as DKU welcomes its first 4-year cohort. I anticipate that students choosing to graduate from DKU have very different motivations from students wishing to exchange for just a semester usually in their third or fourth year of college.

Implications

The answers that DKU students gave me served to emphasize the multifaceted push factors of the study abroad movement. The personal reasons that students gave for studying abroad did not demonstrate any particular preference for career-related opportunities over the study-abroad experience, but then again, I only spoke with 15 students. What was most clear was the

interconnectedness between systemic issues in secondary and higher education within China, and how studying abroad and at DKU, to a certain extent, served to partially resolve or evade these issues.

At first glance, because of its amplification in media both in the United States and in China, the study-abroad movement appears to be directly affecting an enormous number of students and families. This must be put into perspective. In the year 2014/2015 there were over 245,000 Chinese students in the United States studying in colleges and graduate schools (Institute of International Education. *Educational Exchange Data from Open Doors 2016)*. In the same year, over 37 million students were attending college in China, making 1 out of 5 college students in the world Chinese students studying domestically (Zhao 2016). I must add one more caveat – the fact that the number of students studying domestically completely dwarfs the number of students abroad does not signify that the study-abroad movement is any less important. Instead, as we heard from many DKU students, a very select group of Chinese individuals are much more likely than their peers to study abroad, namely those who are able to leverage the financial wherewithal to do so. Despite Fong's findings, diplomas from US and UK universities are said by prospective students abroad to be held in high regard by employers, potentially further concentrating the accumulation of opportunities and capital for wealthy students. As I noted in my first chapter, in addition to advantages that students might receive from studying abroad, the study-abroad movement has a longstanding history within China, as many influential politicians, academics, military figures, and businessmen studied abroad.

This is all concerning for students who are unable to meet the financial aid and academic qualifications to receive government support, but who still wish (or receive familiar and/or societal pressure) to study abroad. Universities in the United States are particularly expensive, and if in

addition to the reality of the tuition fees, there is a public perception that wealthy students study abroad, the income inequality gap noted by the students may broaden further. Families not able to afford education abroad may go into severe debt to send their children to foreign universities in search of the ideal Western formation through education, with no guaranteed return on their investment. Furthermore, if students seek education abroad because of their dissatisfaction with the imperfections of the domestic educational system, how are the concerns about teaching quality and resources domestically addressed? What are the true educational conditions in second and third-tier universities, and the high schools which feed into these universities, and what are the social and economic realities for the students receiving this education, whose voices are not yet heard?

Another cause for concern is the idealistic manner in which students described "American-style education." College quality varies greatly across the United States, and with the number of Chinese students US colleges and universities are accommodating, it is safe to assume that many students are enrolled in programs plagued by resource cuts, disengaged professors and boring coursework, the very problems they fled from in the first place.Yet another issue is that of cultural competency and respect on the part of US professors and students in an increasingly openly xenophobic environment triggered by the 2016 presidential election. Colleges and universities critiqued for ignoring and overlooking the needs of minority students must contend with an exponential increase in students who are not white, but are not considered minorities under certain affirmative action considerations.

Further Directions for Ethnographic Research

My conversations with DKU students, whom I must thank profusely for taking the time during the week before exam period to share their experiences with me, demonstrate the following directions for further research and study. Firstly, Chinese students studying within the United States must be interviewed about their experiences and motivations studying within the United States. Although these interviews would be small-scale and not representative of the entire population, they can serve as guides for further areas of research, as well as illuminating the conditions and telling the stories of the interviewees. Secondly, the study-abroad movement should be examined through the lens of several statistical analyses. These analyses should further examine who Chinese students in the United States are, where and what they study, and their demographic and socio-economic backgrounds, and if there are any interesting patterns or overlaps between these categories which emerge. A longitudinal study, following a representative number of students from college at least ten years out from graduation, would help shed some light on the return on the investment of studying abroad. Although Vanessa Fong engaged in much of this work during the early 2000's, the emergence of a new generation since the publication of her work will undoubtedly point to new social and educational factors with which students are grappling in their preparation and time abroad. Finally, because the majority of this research focuses on tertiary education, research also needs to look at secondary education, following students and families interested in studying abroad and seeing what kind of students are able to fulfill these desires, and what has allowed them to do so.

Conclusion

This thesis traced the evolution of the Chinese study abroad movement from its inception to the present day, primarily focused on the relationship of exchange between China and the United States. The movement arose out of an urgent period of foreign encroachment which necessitated the search for an alternative form of education to ensure China's survival. This was no easy undertaking. The civil service examination system, which had been in place for thousands of years, had become antiquated and outdated for the purpose it was purported to serve, and still no reform had been enacted. Changes were forced as missionary-educators brought American-style classroom instruction and English language education to China. Their teachings, both religious and secular, were promulgated easily after China's defeat in the First and Second Opium Wars led to a signing of unequal treaties restricting its own self-rule, and facilitating increased flows of foreign trade and religion. Missionaries also served as the first individuals to support Chinese students studying abroad, and quickly the pipeline between Chinese mission schools and American colleges facilitated the growth of the movement. Missionaries also supported the education of the first women abroad, who were not permitted to take the civil service exam and serve in government. Yung Wing, the first Chinese student to graduate from an American university, saw the promise of the movement as a national rebuilding project, and was able to briefly visualize this project beginning in 1872. Simultaneously, intellectuals and politicians were exploring manners by which they could strengthen the kingdom without wholeheartedly committing to a Western agenda. This was facilitated by the translation of American and European literature, much of which made its way to China via Japan.

Even in moments which seemed to ensure that China's educational system and ultimately the entire society would adapt to Western norms and warm to a Western political agenda, specifically after the Boxer uprising, alternative means and definition of modernization were sought out. Although students who went abroad on Boxer Indemnity Scholarships returned more visibly embracing American mannerisms, they still did not convert the nation to the American gospel as politicians, businessmen and missionaries wished. Throughout the first few decades that students received government and private support to study in the United States, as well as countries such as France, England, Scotland, and Japan, they maintained a not necessarily balanced, but altogether syncretic approach to their time abroad, never completely shirking tradition but also incorporating Western knowledge, mannerisms and customs into their own lives.

Changes within the educational system were also brought about by the study abroad movement. Exposure to an American curriculum, through missionary education, the works of David P. Page, and later, the lectures of John Dewey, influenced the development of a new and modern national education system. It sometimes directly emulated certain elements of education within the United States, in its selection of curricular items or organization of years of schooling. Many of the influences were more subtle, based on collaboration between foreign and native educators. Politics also played a role in which educational agendas could be supported, with the pragmatist approach of John Dewey and his mentee Hu Shih going out of fashion after 1949, but have returned as an alternative approach to problems arising in the educational system after the opening up and reform policy in 1979.

Today, the number of Chinese students in the United States only continues to rise, easily dwarfing the several thousand students sent over decades in the early 20th century. This growth has been facilitated in large part because of the modernizations which returned students introduced

decades previously, the largest being the national educational system itself. The enormous growth of Chinese education in a short period of time, which in turned necessitated a shift towards test-based education, created a system of high pressure and few alternatives. It also created a system which is now outperforming other countries internationally, and a system which sends more and more dissatisfied students out of the country to seek their edification elsewhere. In this conflicted scenario, students find their way abroad by means of educational consulting companies and are largely self-funded despite earnings being considerably less than those of domestic students studying at colleges within the United States. They are welcomed with open arms by American public universities and struggling public school district, which use their full-tuition funds to leverage budget cuts.

Into this mix jump International Branch Campuses, and the unique one-semester study "abroad" within China program I found at Duke Kunshan University. This program served as a test run for students who wanted to explore further educational opportunities in the United States or other English-speaking countries. Interviews with students further emphasized issues stemming from the awkwardly quick expansion of higher education with China, as well as the lack of a shared motivation for students who wanted to go abroad. What students who went abroad did appear to share was wealth, in the opinion of my interviewees, which enabled them to pay tuition in foreign countries more readily as an escape of rigorous testing pressure within their home country. What was also shared was both the implicit and explicit desire to produce and reproduce cultural capital by going abroad, marking students as solidly middle class through what they learned in of liberal arts style educational settings, foreign degrees, and the experience of studying long term in a foreign culture, and the societally agreed-upon designation of studying abroad as a marker of cultural capital.

Consistent throughout the often disjunction nature of the study abroad movement was the joint purpose of studying abroad as a personal and a national enterprise. Regardless of the political agenda of the time, students were almost always send abroad by the government and also allowed to do so as private citizens. While abroad, they are responsible for supporting the national enterprise of modernization which is still ongoing, regardless of their source of financial support. At the same time, the political is often left entirely out of the question as students only go abroad to expand their own horizons before returning home or sometimes immigrating to take the next step in their educational or personal careers. Within China, studying abroad has not resulted in a resounding overhaul of the educational system to emulate the countries in which students study abroad, nor has the Ministry of Education acted in a reactionary manner and restricted the movement. Instead, the study abroad movement continues to serve the approach that Zhang Zhidong envisioned in 1898. By creating heightened educational, intellectual and social exchange through the growth of the movement and its support of American educational institutions without fully buying into an American model or allowing foreign control, the study abroad movement has created an opportunity for this balanced approach to continue, supplementing and not supplanting tradition. However, for this to be the case, issues which have not been addressed in this thesis, including the conditions and treatment of students in American schools at all levels, their depiction by foreign and domestic media, as well as further inequalities in access to studying abroad need to be further investigated.

Appendix A: Educational Information and Study Abroad Choices of Students

Name	Sex	Year	Home University	Major	Reason they chose DKU:	Wants to study abroad?	Reason they do/don't want to study abroad
A	F	Master's Student, 2nd year	Wuhan University (undergraduate), DKU (graduate)	Preventative Medicine (undergraduate) Global Health (graduate)	Interested in Global Learning Semester, encouraged to apply to Master's Program by DKU professor	Maybe	Would have probably studied in US if she had not received DKU offer, US is more expensive
Edmund	M	2nd Year	Hunan University	Journalism and Communication	Good reputation, top ranking of Duke and Wuhan University	Yes, but only if he gets into a good school	Did not specify
Chen	F	4th Year	Sun Yat Sen University	English	Association with Duke, conveniently located in China, preparation for going abroad	Yes, in US	Interested in experiencing academic freedom (in terms of teaching style)
Coco	F	4th Year	Shandong University	Law and English	Practice English, try American-style education in preparation for studying abroad	Yes, in US	Wants to work with international law, employers prefer foreign experience
Fanny	F	4th Year	Xiamen University	Finance	Plans to study in the US, get used to Western-style education, practice English	Yes, will start Master's in the fall at Johns Hopkins	Wants to broaden her horizons, experience different environment of US firsthand and form her own opinions
Janet	F	4th Year	Shanghai International Studies University	Business Administration	Liberal arts education, Duke brand, has time her senior year, change of environment	Yes, applying for master's programs in the US	Small class size, interaction with students and professors, job opportunities, easier to understand US accent
Ke	F	3rd Year	Nanjing Institute of Technology	International Economics and Trade	Educational exchange, liberal arts education	Yes, will study in the US for a semester in the fall	Wants to attend graduate school in the US, have a study-abroad experience, experience American-style education
Logan	M	2nd Year	Wuhan University	Medical Laboratory Science	Broaden his horizon, get in touch with art, see what Western education is	Yes, in US	Can learn more about medical system in the United States
Lynn	F	3rd Year	Sichuan University	Human Resources Management	A friend recommended DKU, familiarization with Western-style education	Yes, in US	Change environment, see US firsthand
Olivia	F	3rd Year	Sichuan University	Chemistry	Try out liberal arts education, experience Western educational system	Yes, in US	The US is described as a place which can give you progress and promotion

Appendix A: Educational Information and Study Abroad Choices of Students

Name	Sex	Year	Home University	Major	Reason they chose DKU:	Wants to study abroad?	Reason they do/don't want to study abroad
Oliver	M	3rd Year	Xiamen University	Finance	Western-style education without leaving China	Only if he is offered a scholarship	Limited by expenses of higher education in the US
Ruo Qiao	F	3rd Year	Sun Yat Sen University	Chinese Language and Culture	Prepare for a Master's abroad, doesn't like the college environment as a junior	Yes, in Europe, perhaps the UK	Wants exposure to more Western academic theory, material in English
Si Tong	F	3rd Year	Dong Hua University	Fashion Design and Engineering	Change learning environment, prepare to study abroad, receive Western-style education	Yes, will study in the US for a semester in the fall	Because there is an exchange program with New York's Fashion Institute of Technology
Shan	F	3rd Year	Sun Yat Sen University	Environmental Science	Have an exchange experience, practice English, experience US-style education, potentially enroll in Master's program at DKU	Yes, in Europe for Master's	Europe's Master's program are less expensive than US,
Zi Ye	F	4th Year	Hunan University	Chinese Language and Culture	To get used to taking classes in English	Yes, applying for Master's in Canada	Education less expensive than US, but schools are still prestigious

Appendix B:
Questions for Semi-Structured interviews

1. Can you introduce yourself? You can use a pseudonym if you would like. What school are you from, what year are you, what do you study?
2. What made you choose to study at Duke Kunshan?
3. Can you tell me about your high school experience? What did a typical day look like?
4. What was your main academic focus in high school? What did you do outside of class?
5. Where did the majority of your classmates study? Did they end up in Chinese universities, abroad, etc.?
6. Did any of them study abroad? Did you study abroad during high school? During college?
7. Why do you think Chinese students study abroad? Why did you choose to study abroad?
8. Who influenced your educational decisions the most?
9. How did you decide to study at your current university?
10. How do you define a liberal arts education?
11. Why is a liberal arts education important?
12. What does a university education mean to you?
13. What do your family members think about your decision to study at DKU?
14. What do your friends think about your decision to study at DKU?
15. Can you tell me a little bit about your experience studying here at DKU? What classes are you taking, why did you choose them, what are some positive/negative experiences you have had here?
16. How did you prepare for studying at DKU and transitioning to an English-speaking environment?
17. Have you ever visited the US?
18. Can you tell me about some movies, books, tv shows or songs that are from that the US that you like? Why do you like them?
19. Can you compare your experience to the experience of students studying at Chinese universities? What's the same? What is different?
20. How do you think DKU compares to an American university?
21. What is so valuable about an American education?
22. How do you think IBCs like DKU will influence education in China?
23. Would you ever study abroad in the US? Why or why not?
24. The idea of "middle-class" and a growing middle-class is becoming more prevalent in China. What are markers of middle-class?
25. Studying at universities like DKU and studying abroad is very expensive. Does this make access to education more unequal?
26. What does education mean to you?

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