Nordic-Chinese Intersections within Education

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Praise for *Nordic-Chinese Intersections within Education*

"This fascinating book puts a cat among the pigeons in the global field of education. The authors make a convincing case for us to reevaluate the way two different education utopias are perceived and represented in the world. Using a method that is critical of 'false comparativism', the book introduces a wealth of studies that force us to abandon our hierarchical perceptions of Chinese and Nordic education."

—Mei Yuan, *Minzu University of China, China*

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Intersections in Education: Blending Chinese and Nordic Perspectives

Fred Dervin, Haiqin Liu, and Xiangyun Du

China and the Nordics As Two Utopias?

This volume intersects what often appear to be two of the most talked about utopias of today: *the Nordic countries* and *the People's Republic of China*. Intersecting *China* and *the Nordics* requires a clear understanding of what we mean by both terms. For China, we refer to *the People's Republic of China*, with a population of over 1.3 billion. Other 'Chinese societies', as they are often referred to, are not included here. As for the

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Nordic countries, for us they include Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, as well as the associated territories of Greenland, the Faroe Islands and the Åland Islands (total population: 27 million). The word *Nordics* is often used interchangeably with *Scandinavia*. In order to avoid confusion (Finland is not always defined as a Scandinavian country culturally and historically), we do not use this term in this volume. We also note that the *Northern Future Forum*, which includes the Nordics as well as the Baltic countries and the United Kingdom, is not included in our discussions here. Finally, by concentrating on the five Nordic countries and the associated territories, and thus placing boundaries with other parts of, for instance, Europe, we fall into the trap of *methodological regionalism*—a somewhat arbitrary and imaginary division of geopolitics. We accept these critiques and merely use 'Nordics' in a convenient way, recognising this problem.

In a similar vein, by offering this book to our readers, we see eye to eye with Roland Barthes that 'Any book on China cannot help but be exoscopic. A selective, kaleidoscopic display' (2012, pp. 183–184). As such, China has the largest education system in the world with 474,000 schools, 10 million teachers and 200 million students (China Education and Research Network, 2011). It is a 'vast and complex' (Bush, Coleman, & Si, 1998) system of public education, run and overseen by the Ministry of Education (MoE). In a book like ours, it is obvious that we provide a microscopic image of Chinese education. We believe that the same applies to the Nordic countries. This is the overarching principle of this volume: We do not claim to generalise for the 'whole' of China or the 'whole' of the Nordics.

Now, how do we understand the idea of utopia in this book? The word *utopia* was coined by English statesman, lawyer, philosopher and Renaissance humanist Sir Thomas Moore. The etymology of the word is from the Greek *ou-topos* meaning 'no place' or 'nowhere' (Giroux, 2003). In 1516, Moore published *Utopia* about an imaginary ideal nation with highly coveted and/or nearly perfect qualities. China and the Nordics represent different types of utopias, which are often referred to as the 'Nordic Dream' and the 'Chinese Dream'.

In what follows we present a brief review of the latest popular books published in English on these two utopias to show how different they are said to be.

The Nordic countries are often associated with nature-centredness, well-being, comfort, simplicity and 'getting it right' as is seen in the following book titles: *The Nordic Theory of Everything: In Search of a Better Life* (Partanen, 2016), *Tina Nordström's Scandinavian Cooking: Simple Recipes for Home-Style Scandinavian Cuisine* (Nordström, 2016), *The Book of Hygge: The Danish Art of Living Well* (Thomsen, 2016) and *Viking Economics: How the Scandinavians Got it Right—and How We Can, Too* (Lakey, 2017). The Nordic utopia is often viewed as something that should be copied.

The case of China is different. China is often depicted as an economic superpower said to be torn apart between aspiration and authoritarianism. China is also discussed in relation to environmental concerns. In general, recent books about China seem to play on the contradictory feelings of fear and admiration (see *changst* (China + angst) Chu, 2014). The latest popular books on China, published in the 'West', contribute to these impressions: *The China Boom: Why China Will Not Rule the World* (Ho-fung Hung, 2017); *Dealing with China: An Insider Unmasks the New Economic Superpower* (Paulson, 2016); *Age of Ambition: Chasing Fortune, Truth and Faith in the New China* (Osnos, 2015). Allison's (2017) *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?* seems to confirm the fear of China's growth and superpower. There are, of course, a few exceptions on the market (some are more convincing than others) such as *Chinese Whispers: Why Everything You Have Heard about China is Wrong* (Chu, 2014) or *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order* (Martin, 2012).

Education Utopias?

The field of education (in the 'West') is also often very clear about which 'dream' is better than the other… although both China and the Nordics are described as having coveted and/or nearly perfect qualities in the way they 'do' education.

Books published on the Nordic countries (especially in relation to early childhood education) often rely on the positive idea of the 'Nordic Education Model' and based on the contested and contestable notions of social justice, equality and equity: *Nordic Social Pedagogical Approach to Early Years* (Ringsmose & Kragh-Müller, 2016), *Diversity and Social Justice in Early Childhood Education* (Lauritsen & Hellman, 2017). The most admired Nordic country, in terms of education, is undoubtedly Finland. Many books have been published in different languages to explain the miracle of Finnish education (Niemi, Toom, & Kallioniemi, 2012). Two recent publications try to help educators from around the world to implement easy 'tricks' and 'practices' from Finland: *Teach Like Finland: 33 Simple Strategies for Joyful Classrooms* (Walker, 2017) and *FinnishED Leadership: Four Big, Inexpensive Ideas to Transform Education* (Sahlberg, 2017). Walker's blurb says:

> Finland shocked the world when its fifteen-year-olds scored highest on the first Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), a set of tests touted for evaluating critical-thinking skills in maths, science and reading. That was in 2001; but even today, this tiny Nordic nation continues to amaze. How does Finnish education with short school days, light home-work loads, and little standardised testing produce students who match the PISA scores of high-powered, stressed-out kids in Asia?

Finnish education export has managed to profit from such ready-made discourses about Finnish education, and discourses of opposition to schooling in Asia (Li & Dervin, 2018; Dervin, 2013; Schatz, 2016). However, like most countries in the world, Finland (and other Nordic countries) faces serious neo-liberalisation and marketisation of its education—a reality that very few of the education exporters or leading exporters of knowledge about Finland's education system, such as Sahlberg and Walker, reveal and/or discuss in their work or business activities. Blossing, Imsen, and Moos's (2016) volume entitled *The Nordic Education Model: A School for All—Encounters Neo-Liberal Policy* represents an important counter-narrative that shows how both neo-liberal policies and the ideology of *A school for* lead to conflicts and the loss of equal quality of the 'Nordic Model'. In short: Nordic education is fascinating and admirable but it also has its own issues—which may not be visible at first.

Now let us discuss the case of the Middle Kingdom. Chinese education is often talked about in mysterious and highly critical terms, as can be seen in the titles of these two books: *Deciphering Chinese School Leadership* (Walker & Qian, 2017) and *Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Dragon? Why China Has the Best (and Worst) Education System in the World* (Zhao, 2014). In the latter, Zhao writes (ibid., p. 10), comparing the educational needs of the United States and the 'reality' of China:

> To cultivate new talents, we need an education that enhances individual strengths, follows children's passions, and fosters their social-emotional development. We do *not* need an authoritarian education that aims to fix children's deficits according to externally prescribed standards.

On p. 28, he adds:

> If Western countries successfully adopt China's education model and abandon their own tradition of education, they may see their standing rise on international tests, but they will lose what has made them modern: creativity, entrepreneurship, and a genuine diversity of talents.

China is also often viewed as an education utopia especially thanks to Shanghai's excellent results in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Programme for International Students Assessment (PISA) studies—which also made Finland famous for its education. Interests in Chinese education (but is Shanghai really representative of the entire country?) have been noted in the United Kingdom for example, especially in relation to mathematics teaching-learning. The so-called Mathematics Teacher Exchange between China and England aims to modify primary mathematics teaching in England by learning from 'Shanghai mathematics education'. Hundreds of teachers from English primary schools visited Shanghai schools while around 60 mathematics teachers from China visited English primary schools and modelled mastery teaching (Boylan et al., 2019). Aril Tjeldvoll (2016), who contributed a chapter to this volume, is one of the rare scholars to ask if a Nordic country like Norway could learn from China in terms of education. Although China is not systematically praised for its education, there are many examples of admiration and 'copy' that qualify her as an education utopia too.

A Need for More Research on the Two Utopias

China and the Nordic countries are often contrasted by the media, by researchers and by decision-makers. Past years also witnessed a growth of interaction and intersection between China and the Nordic countries in many varied educational fields, including joint research, publications and mobility initiatives at different educational levels. Due to the request of stimulating innovation in education from the Chinese government, educational institutions in China are interested in adopting 'good' practices from the Nordic countries, which are known for placing equality and social justice at the core of most societal issues. Furthermore, an increasing number of PhD projects are also being conducted on different aspects of Chinese education from the perspectives of the Nordic countries and vice versa. A few research projects are being carried out on mobility programmes for Chinese students studying in Nordic countries and vice versa. This rise of mutual interests thus calls for attention in educational studies.

Cooperation in education (research) between the Nordics and China is manifold. However, to our knowledge, there is little coordinated effort at the moment to try to make the range of studies available more transparent. Let us mention an initiative from Finland. Through its current 'aggressive' education export, Finland signed a Memorandum of Cooperation with China in the field of education in 2015. The same year the so-called *Sino-Finnish Learning Garden* was set up by the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China and the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Finland as well as the *Sino-Finnish Joint Learning Innovation Institute (JoLII)*. The latter aims to stimulate educational activities between the two countries by getting researchers, teachers and companies to work together. At the time of writing, very few concrete projects seem to have emerged from these initiatives (e.g. *The Developmental Dynamics in Mathematics, Cognition, Motivation and Well-being in China and Finland*; and the *Innokas*, which aims to initiate educational reform for the learning of twenty-first century skills).

In order to bridge dialogues between the two utopias and to obtain a broader view on educational studies concerning mutual perspectives between China and Nordic countries, this volume thus proposes a 'snapshot' of research about education that is currently being done in the

Nordic countries and in China, through their respective mirror—see the idea of intersection in the title of with this introduction. The editors and authors reject an approach that presents both geographical spaces as culturally uniform or 'confronting' big entities such as 'East' and 'West'. They suggest an approach—the Nordic countries and China 'side by side'—that is critical and reflexive theoretically and methodologically, and takes into account, for example, similarities in education, rather than concentrating on differences only.

Maybe it is not surprising to note that most of the previous studies on Nordic-Chinese education are comparative in nature. The following (limited) literature review gives an indication of the issues and contexts that have been compared since 2013:

Collaborative and joint curricula and exchange programmes

- Preschool teacher education programmes (China/Sweden, Vong, Hu, & Xia, 2014)
- Educating for sustainable development and quality assurance in universities (China/Nordic countries, Holm, Sammalisto, & Vuorisalo, 2015)
- Transformation of Higher Education in innovation systems (China/Finland, Cai & Kohtamäki, 2014)
- Teacher self-efficacy for inclusive practices (Malinen, Savolainen, Engelbrecht, & Tlale, 2013)
- Chinese language education in a Nordic context (Bao & Du, 2015; Du, Zhao, Ruan, Wang, & Duan, 2017; Ruan, Duan, & Du, 2015; Wang & Du, 2014, 2016)
- Exchange programme with Danish students hosting Chinese visitors (Egekvist, Lyngdorf, Du, & Shi, 2016; Egekvist, Lyngdorf, & Du, 2017; Lyngdorf & Du, 2018)

Use of technology

- Use of technology to teach and learn (China/Finland, Niemi & Jia, 2016)

- Users' attitudes towards the use of mobile devices in second and foreign language learning in higher education (China/Sweden, Viberg & Grönlund, 2013)
- Arts teachers' media and digital literacy in kindergartens (China/Finland, Zhao & Li, 2015)

Practices around schooling

- Homework conceptions and practices (China/Sweden, Gu, Kristoffersson, & Yang, 2013)
- Cultural and gender differences in experiences and expression of test anxiety (China/Finland/Sweden, Nyroos et al., 2015)

Educational leadership exchange

- Chinese principals' perceptions of the effects of Finnish training programmes (China/Finland, Xing & Dervin, 2014)
- Danish school principals' experience in China (Egekvist et al., 2017)

Sino-Nordic knowledge collaboration

- Sino-Danish brain circulation and knowledge collaboration (Bertelsen, Du, & Søndergaard, 2013, 2014, 2016)

Towards a Methodology Reminiscent of the Magic Mirror?

'Comparison is the death of joy.' (Mark Twain)

Publishing a book on intersecting Chinese and Nordic education might give the impression that the reader will find comparisons telling them all about how *different* these two contexts are. In general, according to Birkeland (2016, p. 79), the field of comparative and international

education is interested in 'carrying out cultural loans, describing best practices, understanding the interrelatedness between education and culture, and developing global solidarity as a world citizen'. In her article, where she proposes a critical inquiry of such aspects, Birkeland (ibid.) explains rightly how comparative education can tend to emphasise *cultural essentialism* (reducing self and other to their cultural essence, which is often limited and stereotypical, see Dervin, 2017), to evaluate educational practice from a *mono-cultural perspective* (which we could label as ethnocentric, or the belief that one's group, one's culture is the best and has all the proper answers to problems) and to overlook the interrelation between *globalisation and local practices* (often referred to by the portmanteau word *glocalisation*, or the enmeshment of the global and the local). We are very aware of these issues and we have asked our authors to bear them in mind in their chapters.

Our fear when working on this book was to contribute to comparing apples and oranges and to provide our readers with false analogies. This is why we have opted for the verb *to intersect* in English, which comes from the Latin *intersectus*, past participle of *intersecāre* 'to cut through'. In this volume, we are interested in 'cutting through and across' the two utopias represented by China and the Nordics, especially in relation to their education systems. As such, the authors examine the intersecting lines between the two utopias, concentrating on both commonalities and differences, and, most importantly, refraining from judging and categorising them into 'good' and/or 'bad' examples—phenomena that are often found in comparative research in education (Li & Dervin, 2018).

In this volume, intersecting Chinese and Nordic education is based on the following principles: *modesty* from all those involved (Is anyone really better? Shouldn't we avoid labelling? Shouldn't we learn *from* and *with* each other?); *realism* (What agendas are hidden behind the 'beautified' pictures that one projects of one's own system? And indirectly of the other's? Shouldn't we question 'white lies' about our own system?); *myth hunting* (any observation, statement and conclusion about a given system of education is often based on myths, common sense and ideologies that need debunking) and *decentring* (Can I see myself through the other and see how different but also similar we are?). The volume also calls for trans-

formation of knowledge about Chinese and Nordic education beyond 'cultural taxidermy' (see the idea of essentialism above).

In order to describe our specific methodology, we would like to refer to it as the (*Chinese*) *magic mirror* (also called *light transmitting mirror* and *diaphanous mirror*; 透光镜 in Chinese). This mirror, made out of solid bronze, goes back to at least 200 years BCE. While the front of the mirror is a shiny polished surface that can serve as a proper mirror, the back has a pattern embossed in the bronze. When a small source of light reflects onto the mirror, the mirror seems to become transparent. If the light is reflected from the mirror towards e.g. a wall, the pattern on the back of the mirror is then projected onto the wall. The solid bronze of the front of the mirror then becomes somewhat transparent (see *The Courier* of 1988). To us the magic mirror is a good metaphor for what we are trying to achieve in intersecting China and the Nordics. Let us imagine that the two sides of the mirror represent each of the two. Let's say that the Nordics are the front, which serves as a mirror, and China, the back with the pattern. When the Nordics look at themselves in the mirror, they can't see China—the same goes with China on the other side of the mirror. However, when one of them shines a light onto the mirror they can start seeing each other, and they become, in a way, part of the same object— the mirror. The light shows elements of China in the Nordics and vice versa. And like any mirror, the image is distorted and somewhat closer to reality sometimes. It is our hope that by looking at the resulting image from the mirror onto a wall, we are able to be modest about ourselves, more realistic about our achievements and contexts, more willing to question the multifaceted myths that are used to describe who we are and who the other is but also to decentre and to look at each other in a more honest and well-meaning way.

About the Volume

The volume can serve as an introduction to both systems of education, to how similar and different they are. It includes studies on philosophical, conceptual and methodological issues, as well as micro-level empirical studies. It is composed of 12 chapters written by researchers and scholars

from China and the Nordic countries. The book is divided into three interrelated parts: (Part I) *Experiencing Each Other's Education*; (Part II) *Nordic-Chinese Intersections: Conceptual and Methodological Aspects*; and (Part III) *Transnational Cooperation in Education: Policies and Practices*.

Part I of the book presents chapters about experiencing each other's education.

The first chapter in Part I focuses on the role of the migration industry in Chinese student migration to Finland. The author, **Hanwei Li**, suggests that the theory of migration industry might be more appropriate than those of social networks or push-pull theories alone to articulate the various levels of analysis of international student migration. Li thus proposes a meso-level approach. The chapter ends on a discussion of the emerging features and implications of migration industry development, in relation to Chinese students abroad.

Based on the perspectives of two groups of Chinese university leaders on what they see as effective transnational professional development (in their case: training in Finland), **Xin Xing**'s chapter raises the question of whether the perceptions and reflections from these leaders have implications for future leadership training in China as higher education universities seek to modernise and bring their practices in line with standards that are becoming the norm in other parts of the world.

The next chapter examines the experiences of Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL) teachers in the Danish secondary school context. The author, **Li Wang**, uses narrative inquiry to explore two Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL) teachers' experiences and changes in beliefs that occurred in the Danish classroom in their early years of teaching. Her chapter reveals that the interplay between the working context and teachers' personal experiences affects the development of teachers' beliefs. Wang's findings show the importance of the teachers' prior experience and initial beliefs by showcasing the developmental process of change in their beliefs. She also argues that there is a need for supporting CFL teachers and language teachers in general in their adaptation to new work environments during their beginning teaching stage.

Part II opens with an important chapter, *Beyond Comparative Methods in research on Transnational Education Cooperation: A Proposed Theoretical Model for Examining Contextual Complexities*, written by **Jin Hui Li**.

Interested in how the students' subjectivities are shaped in the specific context of the Sino-Danish Centre in Beijing, the author first discusses how comparative methods can give rather simplified answers to the complexities of such an educational space. Jin Hui Li offers a critical examination of the dichotomy between the West (represented by the Nordic states) and the East (represented by China) and proposes a theoretical framework that embraces the contextual complexities of educational processes based on transnational cooperation. The proposed framework insists on new modes of subject-making through the intersections of social categories.

In the second chapter of Part II, **Mette Buchardt** and **Xiangyun Du** explore and discuss if it is possible to ask the following question: how have specific systems of mentality (Lutheran Christianity and Confucian Philosophy here) influenced national education systems? To provide a potential answer the authors share examples of how Lutheranism and Confucianism were used in nation-state building in Denmark and China in the late nineteenth century.

In the next chapter, **Yan Wang**, **Jari Lavonen** and **Kirsi Tirri** are interested in twenty-first century competencies in the Chinese science curriculum, noting that the current National Science Curriculum does not have an explicit description of 'twenty-first century competencies'. The first step taken by the authors is to articulate twenty-first century competencies by comparing and summarising eight selected frameworks. They then analyse the Chinese National Primary Science Curriculum through the revised framework describing the Assessment and Teaching of 21st Century Skills (ATC21S). Based on their results they argue that China could learn from the Nordics who have clearly inscribed these skills in their science curriculum.

Finally, in *Policy Intersections in Education for the Gifted and Talented in China and Denmark*, **Annette Rasmussen** explores the assumptions about excellence in education that are expressed in such Chinese and Danish curricular provisions for the 'gifted and talented'. Rasmussen aims to identify policy intersections on education policies for the gifted and talented in both countries while trying to understand their local particularities.

Part III of the volume is entitled *Transnational Cooperation in Education: Policies and Practices*. It is composed of four chapters.

The first chapter compares doctoral education in China and Finland by means of an institutional logics perspective. In this chapter, **Gaoming Zheng**, **Wenqin Shen**, **Jussi Kivistö** and **Yuzhuo Cai** show that five underlying institutional logics are to be found—to different degrees—in both countries: *state logic, profession logic, family logic, market logic* and *corporation logic*. The results show that Finnish and Chinese systems are compatible if the cooperating institutions are ready to take into account the way the logics can differ internally.

The second chapter somewhat complements the previous one by sharing practitioners' perspectives on a Sino-Finnish joint degree provision. In this chapter, **Yuzhuo Cai**, **Baocun Liu** and **Chujun Xiao** explore the challenges in developing joint or double degree between Chinese and Finnish universities with the example of an Erasmus Mundus Joint Master's Degree. They describe the obstacles they face at both policy and institutional levels and offer some potential solutions for the future.

When developing internationalisation through student mobility, the notion of interculturality is often used as a way of justifying the objectives of a given programme. In his chapter, **Niels Erik Lyngdorf** analyses current Danish strategies of developing internationalisation with China. By analysing the motivations, assumptions and expectations for internationalisation initiatives from Danish authorities, it is argued that policies developed and formulated at a national political level presuppose and favour certain meanings of internationalisation and culture and in doing so frame the understanding of these in a limiting sense. Lyngdorf proposes a discourse analysis of key policy documents for his demonstration.

The final chapter was written by **Arild Tjeldvoll**. Entitled *Education Patriotism Inspired by China?* the chapter starts by contextualising Norwegian education, explaining how it has gone from a subject-centred curriculum philosophy to a student-centred tradition and lost some of its quality. As a consequence of this failure, Tjeldvoll wonders if Chinese Confucianist-inspired education thinking could be useful for Norway. He notes for instance its influence on motivation for learning. He also notes how it has led to educational patriotism among several Chinese entrepreneurs. This somewhat provocative and reflexive piece can help us

think outside the box by calling for the Nordics looking towards East for inspiration.

In the conclusion to the volume, **Ning Chen** and **Fred Dervin** reflect on the pitfalls of comparing education systems in the twenty-first century and offer advice to anyone interested in contrasting Chinese and Nordic education.

The magic mirror can now work its wonders! May it also serve others who wish to intersect systems of education…

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Part I

Experiencing Each Other's Education

2

The Role of the Migration Industry in Chinese Student Migration to Finland: Towards a New Meso-level Approach

Hanwei Li

Introduction

The global flow of tertiary-level students is a less popular aspect of migration research. This is partly because international students are often seen as 'just' temporary migrants and a 'less problematic' cohort of international migrants. However, since the late 1990s, more and more countries and higher education institutions (HEIs) have shifted their focus to not only 'attract' but also to 'retain' international students. These international recruitment practices are motivated by several factors. First, the tuition fees are important sources of funding for many universities and the money international students spend on living expenses supports the local economy and generates local employment. Second, since international students can become highly skilled workers to remedy the labor shortage, many receiving countries have relaxed their immigration

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policies to retain them. From the students' point of view, their study abroad can also be part of a deliberate strategy for migration (Tremblay, 2005). In some cases, international student migration can be a part of deliberate strategy for long-term settlement.

Past research has presented a wide array of arguments to explain the mechanism behind student mobility. A typical example is to analyze it through the lens of the push-pull model. Traditional push-pull models are often used to explain the causes of international migration by labor market mechanisms (Todaro & Maruszko, 1987). However, student migration may not fit in with the theories drawn from labor movement in the early 1980s. The existing research also fails to connect macro-context and micro-level individual factors through the meso-level analysis that incorporates the role of institutional and relational factors that drive student mobility.

This chapter aims to enrich and expand current theory and research on the meso-level approach by focusing on the role of the migration industry in the international mobility of university students. As the migration industry has burgeoned in recent years, this chapter proposes to encompass this new phenomenon in existing meso-level theories. The increasing flow of Chinese students to Finland is used as a case illustrating the impact of the migration industry in non-English speaking recipient countries.

The number of students pursuing studies abroad continues to surge as higher education institutions around the world compete for the best and brightest, and university enrolment continues to increase around the world. Nevertheless, internationally mobile students are still a minority of the total tertiary student population. In 2013, over 4.1 million students went abroad to study, an increase from 2 million in 2000, representing 1.8 percent of all tertiary enrolments or 2 in 100 students globally (UNESCO, 2014). Chinese students rank at the top of the international student population (UNESCO, 2014). In 2016, about 520,000 Chinese students went abroad to study. This trend has grown by 14 percent from 2014. Since Deng Xiaoping's opening up policy in the 1970s until 2015, around 4 million Chinese students have gone abroad to study, and this figure increases by approximately 19 percent annually (Ministry of Education of P. R. of China, 2016). While the initial flow of Chinese

students studying abroad was generally funded by the government, in recent years, more and more students studying abroad are self-financed. According to recent statistics compiled from various sources, self-financed Chinese students studying abroad increased from 262,000 in 2010 to 431,000 in 2013. Moreover, these numbers are forecast to grow by nearly 15 percent annually in the next five years (Mak, Lee, Kwan, & Fish, 2014). Since many self-financed Chinese students rely on support from their families to study abroad, the reason for increased Chinese student migration is also due to their parents' belief that an immersive international experience will not only provide their children with a good education, but also significantly increase their chances for better employment and earning opportunities. Coupled with increasing wealth among Chinese families due to the fastest economic growth in decades, more households than ever before can afford to send their children for overseas education.[1]

According to statistics, about 50 percent of Chinese students commencing studies abroad in the past three years chose to use a study abroad agent in preparing their applications to overseas universities (Mak et al., 2014). Although more and more Chinese young people and their family members have better English proficiency, and the information needed for the university applications is available online, the steady increase in the use of the study abroad agencies shows that the Chinese families value the services provided by those agencies.

While most Chinese students go to English-speaking countries, such as Australia, Canada, the UK, and the US, there is a growing trend among them to seek non-English study destinations. However, little research has been done about why Chinese university students select countries such as Finland, where English is not the major language. Nowadays there are around 2000 Chinese students studying in Finnish higher education institutions, making them the second largest group of international students in Finland (after Russian students) (Garam & Korkala, 2015). A

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[1] It is estimated that by 2013, there were around 64 million Chinese families with more than 35,000 dollars of annual disposable income every year, which enabled them to afford overseas education for their children (Mak et al., 2014).

fundamental question here is: what drives Chinese students to study in Finland?

Finland offers an interesting case for studying student mobility, not only because it has a relatively large international student population among non-English speaking countries, but also because it is one of the few countries that offer high-quality higher education free of charge to all nationalities.[2] Compared to some other countries, where higher education has been developed into an industry for making profit and creating job opportunities, Finland has long-term plans to attract more international students to higher education institutions (HEIs) to enhance its global competitiveness (Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, 2014). For a country with population of around 5 million, the annual proportion of GDP per capital invested in education is one of the highest in the world (Eurostat, 2016). Meanwhile, Finland offers the highest proportion of programs taught in English suitable for international students among all The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, which is another major attractive factor for international students (Valle, Normandeau, & Gonzalez, 2015)

Since Finland needs a greater supply of skilled labor through migration, international students are viewed as desirable immigrants. Thus, Finnish higher education and immigration policy have set goals to increase the number of international degree students in Finnish universities, and more graduates will also stay to work in Finland to have a positive impact on the Finnish economy. International students are given only temporary, one-year-long, residence permits, which are renewable if their studies progress well and they have enough financial resources to live in Finland. Upon graduation, international students are allowed a one-year visa extension to find a job in Finland (Korpela, Hyytiä, Rantanen, Pitkänen, & Raunio, 2014). There are now around 10,000 international tertiary-level students studying in Finland, which has increased more than three-fold since the beginning of the 2000s. The proportion of international students has also grown: now 1 in every 15 tertiary-level students is from abroad (Garam & Korkala, 2015). However,

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[2] The Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture decided to change this policy, however, so that from 2017 bachelor's and master's degree students coming from non-EU/European Economic Area (EEA) countries will have to pay tuition fees. However, doctoral students will continue to be exempt from tuition fees.

as the economic recession in recent years has caused the government to cut down on funding for education, Finnish universities and universities of applied sciences have begun to charge tuition fees starting from 2017. It remains a challenge for the Finnish HEIs to fulfill their goal to continue the internationalization of higher education in the face of decreased funding. This paper offers insights from the factors behind Chinese students' decisions to move to Finland and sheds light on how the internationalization of Finnish HEIs should continue after the change of education policy and funding.

The following section proposes an analytical framework to study student migration through a meso-level approach. In this respect, the chapter is built on the work of Boyd (1989), Massey et al. (1993), and Faist (2010). A case study on Chinese student mobility to Finland is presented as empirical evidence for the model, which not only sheds light on the pattern underlying the Chinese student flow to Finland but also foregrounds the importance of studying student migration through meso-level approaches. Finally, the concluding section discusses the key findings and implications of a study conducted with Chinese students in Finland. It also discusses its limitations and the possibilities for future studies.

Theoretical Framework

Student Migration Theories

Push and pull theory was first developed mainly to explain the mechanism behind international labor migration (Todaro & Maruszko, 1987). Altbach (1998) adopted this theoretical approach to study international student migration, and later it became a dominant framework for explaining the motivations of international students to migrate. He argues that favorable conditions, such as advanced research facilities, congenial socio-economic or political environments, and the prospect of multinational classmates are typical pull factors in the destination countries. Among the push factors in the sending countries there may be such unfavorable conditions as under-developed education systems and facilities, and unstable

economic, social, or political conditions. The push factors create a potential interest for the students to leave; the direction is yet unclear, until the student responds to the pull factors of the host countries and institutions (ibid.).

While the push-pull model explains the mechanism of international student flow, it is often criticized for leaving limited room for human agency, since the human capacity to respond to push and pull factors, or to change structural conditions, is unlimited (Castles, de Haas, & Miller, 2013). Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) introduce micro-level factors as amendments to the macro-level push-pull analysis by acknowledging the importance of students' perceptions, their ability to gain entry to local programs, a desire to gain a better understanding of the 'West', and an intention to migrate after graduation as factors that motivate their decisions to study overseas. Meanwhile, the authors also point out the importance of social ties in the decision to study abroad, since the decision is often made by the family. A strong alumni organization can also be a valuable source of referral for education institutions. Findlay (2011) argues that theorization of international student mobility privileges the social demand side of overseas education, while the supply-side factors are often ignored.

Both the previous theories and empirical research suffer from three flaws: First, much of the student migration theories focus on either micro- or macro-level factors and do not focus specifically on the meso-level. Second, it is problematic to dichotomize sending and receiving societies. As the world is becoming more and more interconnected through modern technology and transportation, it is important to address the transnational ties and international institutions that reduce the gap between geographically distant nation-states and lower the cost of international migration. Moreover, multinational companies or recruitment agencies that work across borders transcend the dichotomy between sending and receiving societies and demonstrate that we are living in an increasingly interconnected world. Third, much of the empirical research using the push-pull theory juxtaposes a list of possible factors from the sending and receiving societies that contribute to student migration, while failing to explain how the processes begin, continue to a chain migration, and finally fall.

Social Network and Migration Theory

The decision-making of (micro-level) individual actors to migrate is embedded in social contexts (meso-level) and based on underlying macro-structural conditions (Haug, 2008). The earlier literature on the meso-level approach generally centers on the role that social networks play in migration processes, such as kinship groups (e.g. families), households, neighborhoods, friendship circles, and formal organizations.

Faist (2010) explains how social capital is created, accumulated, and mobilized by collectives and networks, given certain macro-conditions. Social capital is defined as resources embedded in social relations that are available to potential movers and stayers to pursue their goals. Social capital not only links individuals (or group actors) to social structures, but also serves to mobilize financial, human, cultural, and political capital. It is created, accumulated, and mobilized through three mechanisms: exchange relationships, reciprocity between people and collectives, and solidarity within and between groups (Faist, 2010).

Migrant networks are sets of inter-personal ties that connect movers, former movers, and non-movers in countries of origin and destination through social ties, be these relations of kinship, friendship, or weak social ties (Choldin, 1973). For international migration, migrant networks may be even more important because there are more barriers to overcome. Chain migration generally stems from social networks of migrants or collectives that reduce the costs for further migration, leading to the possibility of a transnational network that gives rise to new migration and new networks (Massey et al., 1993). The diffusion processes typically follow an s-shaped curve. With each new migrant, the social capital at the place of destination increases for the potential successor, and the process continues along the chains of migration, and develops into a self-perpetuating dynamic (Haug, 2008).

However, much of the existing literature on the meso-level factors focuses more on the migrants' interpersonal ties or organizational ties. Social capital is seen as a prerequisite for the accumulation and mobilization of human, financial, cultural, and political capital (Faist, 2010). However, a burgeoning phenomenon that characterizes the recent trend

in migration is neglected in the meso-level approaches: the migration industry.

The growing prominence of the migration industry is an essential part of the meso-level theory. It shares certain similar features of how social capital is mobilized through social networks to facilitate migration, yet simply categorizes various collectives in migration industry as one form of social network (organization or weak ties) that facilitates migration but fails to acknowledge its complex structure and overall participation in all phases of international migration (Hernández-León, 2005). The mechanism through which they affect migration goes beyond migration decision-making and the choice of migration destination. It also facilitates mobility and promotes the incorporation of migrants at the migration destination. It challenges the traditional assumption of the role that social capital, financial capital, and human capital play in migration processes. The following section describes the role and the meaning of the migration industry and stresses its prominence in meso-level theory.

Migration Industry and Migration Infrastructure Theory

The migration industry is a topic woven into migration studies, but only in recent years have migration researchers integrated the concept of 'migration industry' into a broader theoretical framework. Research has highlighted that migration industries play a crucial role in mobilizing people across borders, incorporating them into receiving societies, and keeping them connected with home (Gammeltoft-Hansen & Sorensen, 2013; Garapich, 2008; Hennebry, 2008; Hernández-León, 2008; Kyle & Koslowski, 2011; Lindquist, 2010; Salt & Stein, 1997). Salt and Stein (1997) propose the concept of 'migration as business', and define it as 'a system of institutionalized networks with complex profit and loss accounts, including a set of institutions, agents and individuals, each of which stands to make a commercial gain' (1997, p. 468). The authors divide migration businesses into legitimate and illegitimate (p. 469), but mainly focus on the illegitimate end of business, namely human trafficking. Kyle and Koslowski (2011) introduced the concept of migrant

merchants in particular to refer to those engaging in global trafficking in migrants and human smuggling, who profit from facilitating some aspect of the migration process, and carry out a brokerage between labor and capital that has become a 'multibillion dollar industry'. More recently, Castles and Miller (2003, p. 28) have coined the term 'migration industry' in migration systems theory, and understood migration industry as one of the meso-mechanisms that connect to the micro- and macro-structures of migration. It was consistent with Salt and Stein's definition of migration business as a 'string of intermediate institutions'. However, neither of the authors delves into the mechanism that the migration industry consists of as a meso-level enterprise, and its relative position and relationship with other meso- or intermediate enterprises, which this article will further elaborate theoretically and empirically.

While the early authors acknowledged the legitimate and illegitimate aspects of the migration industry, their focus was primarily on the informal and/or illegal ones, while the boundaries of the migration industry remained unclear. Currently, more and more authors are proposing more comprehensive conceptualizations of the migration industry. Hernández-León (2013) further refined the concept of migration industry as 'the ensemble of entrepreneurs, firms and services which, chiefly motivated by financial gain, facilitate international mobility, settlement and adaptation, as well as communication and resource transfers of migrants and their families across borders'. Sorensen and Gammeltoft-Hansen (2013, pp. 6–7) broaden the scope to include NGOs, social movements, and faith-based organizations—non-state actors involved in the facilitation, constraint, or assistance of migration, whose financial gain is secondary although not absent. It resonates with Spener's (2009) reflection on the concept of migration industry, which proposes that the boundaries of the migration industry should be built around the types of services we wish to include in it, as well as the social processes and evolving relations among migrants and migration service providers. Thus, he suggests that the motivation of financial gain should be less important than is the type of activities undertaken by the individuals and enterprises participating in the migration industry. Some institutional actors, such as state agencies and non-profit organizations, also constitute a substantial

segment of the migration industry, motivated both by financial gain and by the social motivations of mutual aid.

Early on, scholars criticized the idealistic concept of migrant network and shifted their focus to conceptualizing international migration from a structuration perspective. Drawing on international labor migration and the theory of structuration, Goss and Lindquist (1995) propose an 'institutionalization of migration' in which knowledgeable agents use their information and knowledge to access allocative and authoritative resources within the migration institution to obtain overseas employment. An international migrant institution is a complex institution consisting of knowledgeable individuals, agents of organizations, and other institutions (from kinship to state). In addition to the term 'migration industry', a more encompassing term 'migration infrastructure' was introduced by Xiang and Lindquist (2014) as the systematically interlinked technologies, institutions, and actors that facilitate and condition mobility. A migration infrastructure consists of the institutions, networks, and people that move migrants from one point to another, which the authors argue is a broader term than 'migration industry'.

The five dimensions of migration infrastructure are the commercial, the regulatory, the technological, the humanitarian, and the social. Migration infrastructure in relation to low-skilled migration confines migrants to employers, prevents settlement, and enforces return. It further induces a trend of infrastructural involution, in which the interplay between the different dimensions of migration infrastructure make it self-perpetuating and self-serving and impede rather than enhance people's migratory capability. Lindquist, Xiang, and Yeoh (2012) propose a migrant broker as a critical methodological vantage point from which to consider the shifting logic of contemporary migration across Asia. They also problematize the persistent distinction between altruistic social networks and profit-oriented brokers as problematic. Profit, trust, and empathy go hand in hand in the relationships between brokers and migrants, and distinctions between them are thus often impossible to sustain in practice.

The boundary of migration industry or infrastructure has recently been extended by scholarly efforts, yet much of the empirical literature focuses predominantly on the illegitimately organized migration industry,

or those operating in a legal gray zone. The case study of Mexican temporary workers in Canada (Hennebry, 2008) and that of Polish immigrants in the UK before and after EU enlargement (Garapich, 2008), as well as courier services to Mexican migrants (Hernández-León, 2008) suggests that the migration industry can be used to avoid state regulation either for trafficking people or sending remittances. Nevertheless, state policies can create opportunities for illegal migration industries to proliferate when immigration controls are strengthened (Krissman, 2000; Kyle & Koslowski, 2011; Massey, Durand, & Malone, 2002; Salt & Stein, 1997; Trujillo-Pagan, 2014). Thus, they appear as the consequence of ineffective state regulation (Spaan, 1994) or an unintended byproduct of state control (Hennebry, 2008; Krissman, 2000; Massey et al., 2002; Salt & Stein, 1997).

While most research efforts have centered on migration industries in labor and irregular migration, much less attention has been paid to a relatively privileged group of migrants who will most likely become highly skilled migrants, namely international students. Baas (2007), through his fieldwork with Indian students, shed light on the issue of Australian tertiary education institutions recruiting international fee-paying students with limited English. His research shows that these students often have poor English and are recruited by agencies with financial links to a recently established private college in Melbourne. Collins (2012) studied the education brokers and student migration from South Korea to New Zealand, and situates the commercialization of the education sector in New Zealand in the context of neoliberal reforms, which lead to increasing outsourcing of marketing and recruitment of international students from educational providers to education agents. The agents have effectively filled a niche market created by the withdrawal of state regulation from student mobility and educational provision by utilizing their knowledge and connections to the social networks of students and their families. Contrary to the perception that agents always increase costs, distort markets, and exploit migrants, Collins found that intervention by the state had only regularized the agents and encouraged the development of self-governing practices that formalized their status in relation to the education industry, seeking to secure a continued flow of international students as the crucial connection.

However, the literature has yet to examine the complex dynamic relationship between migrant social networks and the migration industry, especially in the context of a full-fledged and legal migration industry flourishing in sending countries. Thus, this chapter argues that although the migration industry is a crucial factor in the meso-level approach, it has distinctive features that differ from migrant social networks and social capital.

Limitations of the Current Literature

As the literature review shows, a significant number of studies on the migration industry centers around three topics: First, the illegal practices of migrant merchants that involve human trafficking or producing genuine or counterfeit travel documents for irregular migrants. Second, labor migration in which migrant recruitment agencies, travel agents, or multinational companies use their resources to arrange a cross-border labor flow to make a profit. Sometimes such practices are even facilitated by governments due to a shortage of labor force in certain sectors of the domestic labor market, such as Thai seasonal wild berry pickers and Filipino nurses in Finland, or Turkish guest workers in Germany in the 1980s. Third, a wide array of academic inquiries have paid attention to migrants' remittances, which have also captured the attention of nation-states, since the receiving states benefit from the growing source of foreign currency sent by migrants from overseas.

Little attention, however, has been paid to the highly developed education migration industry that has facilitated the global movements of students seeking better educational opportunities. The education migration industry has developed into a global business in recent years, yet most of the scholarly attention to the formal and informal forms of the migration industry focuses on labor migration. This chapter aims to fill in the gap in the current literature by presenting the sophisticated and specialized role that the education migration industry plays in student migration through the case of Chinese student migration to Finland.

Data and Research Methods

The data for the study were collected via semi-structured interviews in 2015 and 2016 with 30 mainland Chinese tertiary-level degree students in Finland. The interviewees were part of bachelor's, master's, or doctoral programs in Finland in various fields, such as computer science, business management, and social sciences. Two of the master's students were working full time and doing their master's studies on a part-time basis.

The participants were students from two major types of Finnish HEIs: university and university of applied sciences (UAS). The Finnish universities conduct scientific research and offer bachelor's and master's degree programs, postgraduate licentiate degree programs, and doctoral programs. The universities of applied sciences offer bachelor's degree programs to train professionals in response to current labor market needs and conduct applied research to promote regional development. The universities of applied sciences mainly offer bachelor's programs taught in English, while the universities offer master's and doctoral programs taught in English. About half of the interviews were conducted in the Finnish city of Tampere, with two international universities and one university of applied sciences (polytechnic university). The rest of the interviews were conducted with students from other major cities in Finland—Helsinki, Espoo, Turku, Joensuu, and Oulu.

Two methods were used to recruit research participants: First, the author approached the international offices of HEIs across Finland with a request to send a research invitation to all registered mainland Chinese students at their respective universities. Students willing to participate in the research were contacted by the researcher through email, instant message, or by phone. Second, snowball sampling was used. The research participants were encouraged to distribute the invitation letter among their friends to recruit more participants for the research. The group of respondents included people from a wide variety of backgrounds in terms of gender, age, major subject, previous work and study experience, duration of residence in Finland, and current location in Finland. Among the interviewees, 17 were female and 13 were male. The group of interviewees included some students who had just come to study in Finland for at

least one semester and some who had been resident in the country for more than five years. The interviews, which lasted from one to three hours, were conducted in mandarin Chinese. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. The interview data were analyzed using interpretative content analysis.

Results

Reasons for Using Migration Industry to Study in Finland

Among all the interviewees, more than half reported having used study abroad agency services for help with their university application and visa application procedures, while all the interviewees from the university of applied sciences (UAS) had used the service provided by an education migration agency.

There are many reasons why Chinese students come to study in Finland and choose to use the education migration industry to help them with their application for Finnish universities instead of relying on their social networks or applying themselves, which can be divided into structural factors and individual factors as follows.

Structural Factors

The structural factors from the Finnish side are: first, free tuition and a wide choice of programs taught in English were the reasons most often mentioned by the interviewees for choosing to study in Finland. Some of the students were aware of this fact from their social networks. However, others only got this information from agencies, and this eventually convinced them to choose to study in Finland. In addition, being an EU Member State also made Finland an attractive destination. Some of the interviewees thought that going to study in Finland opened the door for them to wider labor market opportunities in the EU region. One interviewee said:

Finland offers high quality education without tuition fees. Compared with Hong Kong and Singapore, it is an EU Member State that allows me to travel not only in Finland but also to other countries. While going to study in France or Germany generally requires local language skills, Finland offers a lot of programs taught in English, which is good for me. (Female, 1985, early childhood education)

Thus, it is not surprising that most of the Chinese students coming to study in Finland are from middle-class families that have enough savings to support their children's studies abroad, but who cannot afford to go to more expensive destinations such as the US or the UK. Many interviewees said that they were not sure about where to pursue their overseas education, but after comparing different options recommended by the study abroad agency, they found Finland the best choice for them. However, the interviewees said they were willing to pay for the agency fees to help them with application because the agency fees, which range from approximately 1500 euros to 5000 euros, is still much less than what they would need to pay to finance several years of study abroad. However, none of the interviewees mentioned that they would need to take a loan because of their decision to study abroad. Since middle-class Chinese families generally have savings to invest in their only children, those who cannot afford it would probably not send their children abroad since there are still plenty of other options in China. One of the interviewees said:

Most of the Chinese students in my university of applied sciences are not working part-time, unlike the students from Nepal or Africa. Some of them worked in Chinese restaurants, but only briefly. And during the vacation I got the feeling that they had traveled around in Europe. (Male, 1984, Computer engineering)

Meanwhile, another factor is that most of the Finnish HEIs are less well known in China, likewise the tuition-free policy, application procedure, teaching quality, and living conditions in Finland. Thus, the study abroad agencies have a lot of room for operating and promoting HEIs in Finland, since it is a niche in the market for clients who are seeking to

send their children to study abroad but have a limited budget and therefore opt for a less expensive option.

Finally, the university application as well as the visa application process is much easier and more straightforward than at other study destinations; the agencies are familiar with the application procedure and it almost guarantees that they would get an offer for the student. This gives the agencies sufficient momentum to promote the Finnish HEIs' programs. The Finnish universities, compared to the top universities in the English-speaking countries, have a relatively lower threshold for accepting international students, especially the universities of applied sciences (UASs) located in provincial cities or towns in Finland. However, since they have introduced English taught programs targeting international students, they would still need students to fill up the places to secure funding from the government. Besides, the Finnish visa application procedure is also straightforward and relatively simple compared to those of other countries. No visa interview is required, and in most cases, visas will be granted to the students who have gathered sufficient visa application material. One interviewee said:

> When I was applying, the Finnish embassy required a dozen documents, such as verification of your diploma, transcripts, and proof of work experience, etc. But now they require much fewer documents […] basically an invitation and a letter of acceptance from the Finnish university, your diploma and statement of finance. I have also never heard of any one being refused a visa for study purpose. (Male, 1983, Marketing)

From the sending country perspective, the fierce competition for higher education opportunities in China has compelled many students to choose to go abroad for higher education. Since the 1980s, the Chinese government has lifted the restriction on study abroad, and ever since then the policy has been encouraging study abroad while also aiming to attract return migration of overseas graduates. A diploma from a second or third tier university from China is certainly not as valued as a diploma from abroad (Xiang & Shen, 2009). Thus, many of the students doing bachelor's studies in Finnish UASs revealed that either they did not do well in

the university entrance exam in China, or they wanted to avoid the fierce competition for university in China.

Individual Factors

On the individual level, some students were aware of their choice of coming to study in Finland because they obtained information from their social networks or other resources. They still preferred to use an agency instead of applying themselves because they trusted their professional service, were not confident about their English, and hoped to save time for preparing for the required exams. One student currently studying for his master's degree in university said:

> I met a lady in Beijing who had stayed in Finland for half a year, and she told me a lot of nice things about Finland. Because Finland is also a strong country in computer science, because of Nokia and other software companies, I determined to study in Finland. I found an agency who had a staff member who used to study in Sweden. He was quite familiar with the application procedure in the Nordic countries. We had a great talk and I decided to sign the contract with them […] The application procedure that they prepared for me save me the time to prepare for IELTS test. (Male, 1987, computer science)

Further, the use the migration agency services was ubiquitous among the students who were studying for bachelor's degrees in Finnish UASs. One of the interviewees said that almost 99 percent of the Chinese students in his university used agency service. This was due to three reasons: First, the students who had just graduated from Chinese high schools generally had only limited English skills to manage the process by themselves. If their parents did not have enough language proficiency or overseas experience to help them with the application procedure, they had to seek help from a study abroad agency. Second, those students were not aware of the option and advantage of bachelor's studies opportunities in Finland until they were notified and convinced by the agencies that in Finland, they would have a good higher education for free in English. Unfamiliar with the required application materials or procedures, they

preferred to use agency services to help them handle the application procedure. Some agencies in China were specialized in sending students to certain Finnish UASs.

> The students in my university of applied sciences came through different agencies, the fees we need to pay varied from 5,000 to 10,000 euros. However, in the end we were all directed to contact one person, who seems to have a long-term connection with this university of applied sciences so that all the Chinese students come here to study because of her. (Female, 1992, computer science)

When it comes to master's level applicants, although most respondents in this group had passed English language tests, and the Finnish HEIs generally have admission websites in English with specific instructions, some students who were uncertain about their English fluency had still used the agency services in their application procedures:

> The agency recommended me several universities in the Nordic countries. After comparing them I think Finland was the most suitable destination. The agency only helped me translate the material into English and prepare the required documents, and mailed them to the universities. It cost me around 10,000 RMB (approximately 2,000 euros). Now the agency price may be even be higher than that. But I think it's not worth it. I can just hire a translation service who can also do all the work for me. (Male, 1987, software engineering)

Services Provided by the Education Migration Industry

The education migration market has become highly competitive and fragmented, with one company leading the industry and many middle-sized or small companies following it. According to recent statistics, there are about 400 legally registered study abroad agencies in China, while the real number is far greater than that since many of them are operating illegally or in a legal gray zone (Miao & Wang, 2016). It has been estimated that there are more than 100 study abroad agencies operating in Shanghai, while only 15 are recognized by the Chinese Ministry of

Education. The leading agency in the education migration industry, the New Oriental Group, is a public company listed on the New York Stock Exchange. It offers comprehensive services to students of different ages, covers all phases of student migration, and sends more than 10,000 students abroad every year (Miao & Wang, 2016). Other small or medium-sized companies offer specialized services in sub-sectors of the education migration industry. Some of the smaller agencies have specialized services targeting applications to Finland. Several interviewees studying in Finnish UASs mentioned that the agents who helped them were students who had studied in Finland themselves and who later started the study abroad agency company.

The market has also been divided into different categories catering to the needs of different consumers. Most of the agencies provide one-on-one or two-on-one VIP services to their customers, since the application fees are relatively high, ranging from approximately 10,000 to 40,000 RMB. However, there is usually a team of professionals helping the students prepare the application material. The interview results show that students coming to study in Finland go through some small or medium-sized companies specialized in consultation services to help students get to study in Finland. However, some interviewees combined services from several specialized agencies to facilitate their studies abroad.

The agencies generally offer five categories of services, which may be provided either separately or together as a package: information consultation services, study abroad examination training, university application counseling, visa application assistance, and arrival arrangements.

First, in the initial information consultation stage, the agents will help students to choose universities they could apply for according to their own academic profiles, financial status, and personal interests. They will help the students set the application goals and prepare a list of universities they could potentially apply to. Most of the agencies, according to the interviewees, make a contract that only ends when the applicant has obtained an offer from the universities applied to. This guarantees that the applicant will have the choice of going to study abroad; otherwise, the agency will help them apply again the following year.

Second, since most universities abroad require language test scores from international students, the study abroad agencies generally offer their clients preparatory courses for English language tests or university pre-entry subject tests (e.g. Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), International English Language Testing System (IELTS), Graduate Record Examinations (GRE), Graduate Management Admission Test (GMAT), etc.). However, not all the study abroad agencies provide such courses, since the market has already become dominated by several leading companies that have a long-standing reputation in training for language test exams. In addition, for the students who apply for UAS studies in Finland, the agency will provide exam preparation training that may include old test papers from previous years. Meanwhile, some of the leading agencies have established long-term cooperation agreements with English testing organizations such as Educational Testing Service (ETS) and the Cambridge English Assessment Center (for IELTS test). One interviewee said:

> The agent arranged me some basic training in language skills and examination preparation so that I could pass the university entrance exam in Finland. The university entrance exam also includes tests in subject such as physics, chemistry, and mathematics. Sometimes the university will also require an admission interview. So, besides the training for exams, I was also charged for university admission interview training. But I also received English language training from another big company which is specialized in providing courses for study abroad exams (IELTS). (Female, 1986, supply chain management)

Third, some agencies may help the students to prepare the whole package of application material, and even write the application material for them based on their academic and work experience. One Chinese student interviewed in Finland said:

> The agency first asked me to answer a long questionnaire with all the detailed information about my academic and work background, my current level of English, my motivation for study abroad, and my future aspirations. Then, they wrote the motivation letter to the university based on the information I provided. After I discussed with the agency how the material should be revised and saw the final version, the agency applied to the university for me. (Female, 1987, finance)

However, some of the agencies only help the students to translate their application material into English or provide some language checking and revision service to polish their writing.

> The study abroad agency that I used basically helped me to familiarize myself with the application process, and to translate the application material into English, even though their translation service was not very professional from my perspective. They provided very little help with polishing and revising my writing. I think it's not worthwhile for the 10,000 RMB (approximately 1,500 euros) that I paid for them since I could have just hired a translation company. (Male, 1986, computer engineering)

While the study abroad agencies generally direct Chinese students to go to the universities they were familiar with, their business is not entirely built around opportunities in any single destination country or region. Rather, the agencies generally have a wide range of education destinations for the students to choose from. This not only gives the Chinese students a greater range of choice, but also obviates the risk of attendance in any one country being limited due to changes of education policy or other reasons. Some of the interviewees said that the agents helped them apply for several universities in different countries or continents and that they finally decided to choose to study in Finland from among all the admission offers.

Fourth, after the students obtained the admission document from the Finnish university, the agencies also assisted with their visa application procedures. The visa application procedure can be very complicated and time consuming for the students, since it generally requires numerous legalized and translated documents. The agencies help the students to submit the documents to a notary, and with the verification procedure by the embassies. It is very convenient for students located outside the major cities to avoid traveling for long distances to prepare the documents. Since many of the Finnish universities have initiated more rigorous background checks of applicants' material, including requiring the applicants to obtain the official verification report from the China Qualification Verification Center (CDGDC), it makes it harder and costlier for any

agencies to produce fraudulent documents, and so far, no case was found during the interviews.

Finally, as the education migration industry develops, the agencies also provide post-migration services in destination countries. This generally includes arrangements for transportation and accommodation, guidance in studies and living abroad, and assistance in cross-cultural adaptation, employment after graduation, or permanent migration (obtaining permanent residence permits) services. Some bigger study abroad agencies even have overseas offices and companies in popular destination countries such as Australia and Canada, where they continue to provide services for their customers to become permanent migrants. However, the interviews conducted for the present research show that the post-migration service in Finland is limited to transportation arrangements, pick-up services, and accommodation arrangements.

In conclusion, the results above show that the education migration industry has been a 'game changer' in student migration. First, the education migration industry is not only facilitating but also channeling migration, as exemplified by the increasing flow of Chinese students to Finland. Students who were not aware of the comparative advantage of studying in Finland were channeled to pursue study there. The agencies were also active in facilitating those already determined to go to Finland by providing professional services to ensure their application success. Second, the education migration industry plays a pivotal role in all phases of migratory movements, from facilitating mobility to promoting the incorporation of migrants at the migration destination. As shown above, in addition to choosing the study destination and preparing the applications, the study abroad agencies are increasingly involved in the settlement and incorporation of students in the destination countries, offering services ranging from accommodation to transportation arrangements. Third, the relationship between the migration industry and the migrant network is complex in nature, and the evidence from the interviews shows that the education migration industry does not only complement but is also increasingly replacing the role of migrant social networks because of its incomparable advantage. The Chinese students might get study information or advice from their social networks, but they rely on the education migration industry to help them with their applications since the

migration industry has an incomparable advantage over relying on their social networks.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to add to the existing literature on the migration industry, and argues that it serves as a crucial component of meso-level theories that merits more attention in migration studies and student migration research. The migration industry captures the complexity of migration because of emerging institutions but is not especially limited to those driven by profit and operating according to or against the recognizable and underlying rules to utilize knowledge and networks for maximizing attainment of resources for its own benefit. I have demonstrated that student migration from China to Finland is more intensively mediated than before, which indicates how migration is becoming the outcome of a complex combination of individual agency and social structures. Failing to consider the mediation by commercial agencies and other intermediaries—large or small, legal or illegal, formal or informal, for profit or non-profit—will not render a comprehensive picture of the drivers of migration in the face of a changing reality.

This chapter has tried to show how the theory of the migration industry provides a framework for the analysis of international student migration. The migration industry approach clearly adds nuances to the existing theories examining migrants' experience in the light of agency and structure, and transcends the apparent deadlock in the literature between the functionalist and relational approach to explain migration. That is, migration networks should not be seen as a theoretical approach, but rather as a methodology approach to better understand migrants' lives in between the places of origin and receiving (Faist, 2000). Neither households nor social networks are specific to migration and neither can be conceived of as coherent, single-interest decision-making social units (Goss & Lindquist, 1995). Instead, the migration industry acts as a crucial intermediary institution, as a complex conglomerate of rules, resources, and networks that acts collectively to facilitate and channel migration to further their interests and drawing on its capacity for

distributing resources according to its own knowledge and networks. The migration industry is an effective tool methodologically and analytically in that it proposes new ways of analyzing migration to focus not only on the movements of migrants, but also on how they are moved by others.

The migration industry presents an on-going trend of the commercialization of migration that is consistent with the industrialization in emerging economies and expansion of globalization that incorporates multiple actors and institutions into the changing reality of migration that is reshaping the demographic composition around the world. While this article focuses specifically on the profit-driven education migration agencies, it exemplifies a fully-fledged industry that provides services for all phases of migration. Meanwhile, the concept of migration industry can be expanded much further than migrant merchants to encompass NGOs, governments, and other institutions that are not for profit but are nevertheless actively involved in facilitating migration.

The continuing development of the migration industry can render four foreseeable consequences: First, although the migration industry may be complementary in relation to migrant networks, it plays increasingly a replacement role. Naturally, the development of modern technology has enabled better transnational communication to be maintained between migrants and potential movers. However, the migration industry offers highly specialized and professional services that the migrant network is often unable to match. In cases of a highly developed migration industry as shown by this article, the migration industry becomes a one-stop solution for successful migration that guarantees success before the contract is concluded, which is an advantage unmatched by relying on migrant networks. The people involved in the migration industry may or may not be migrants themselves, but through systematic training, they are equipped with professional knowledge that they can expand to utilize the institutional resources and networks for providing services. Therefore, the more developed the migration industry is in a particular region and for a particular form of migration (such as labor migration or investment migration), the more likely the potential migrants will be to rely on its services instead of relying on migrant networks.

Second, it results in the diversification of migration destinations. While traditionally migrants tend to cluster at certain destinations where

there already exists a community of their ethnic group, a migration agency offers migrants a wider range of destinations to choose from. It diversifies the choice of destination country for the potential migrants, enabling them to make individualized choices based on professional advice and calculation instead of relying on their social networks to go to places where there already exists a co-ethnic community.

Third, the break in the exchange and reciprocity relationship leads to the individualization of migration. Through the network approach, migrants depend on the exchange of information and favors by reciprocity and are motivated by solidarity created by shared ethnic identity or a common experience of foreignness (Massey, 1990). Nowadays, in addition to a wider choice of migration destinations, successful migrants no longer have the obligation to help potential migrants in their home community to become migrants. The services it provides serve as a means of financial payback that ends with successful payment. No further exchange of 'favors' through the social network is required. In addition, the migration industry offers financial solutions to migrants who are limited by their financial capability to migrate, so that they would no longer need to rely on loans from their families or other reciprocal relationships that formerly bonded the migrants.

Fourth, the development of a migration industry has also become a double-edged sword: on the one hand those with sufficient financial capital and motivation to migrate can enjoy easier access and faster processes, but also incur heavier financial burdens; on the other hand, those with limited financial capital face a head start loss in the competition for scarce resources, such as prestigious overseas higher education, since they cannot afford to invest to polish their application. It further exacerbates the inequality between the potential migrants so that those with sufficient financial capital can afford to hire professionals to enhance their human capital to meet the criteria set by state and other institutions to succeed in the competition, while those without sufficient funds need to rely on an extraordinary stock of social or human capital to compensate for their lack of financial capital. Thus, financial capital plays a more important role in international migration than does social capital, human capital, or cultural capital.

The migration industry theory adds to the existing literature to better explain migration due to globalization and increasing commercialization of migration, and the wider social changes happening through migration. Examination of the processes and roles that the migration industry plays in facilitating and channeling migration is meant to reveal the processes of on-going social changes, such as the economic and political transformation in China that has affected millions of households' choices to allocate financial income and plan their children's futures. Future research comparing the migration industry across space and scales through statistical and ethnographic methods to examine its increasingly important role in mobilization and distribution of resources will help develop migration studies to capture the configurations and dynamics of the broader social processes that are driving migration.

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3

Chinese University Leaders' Perceptions of Effective Transnational Professional Development

Xin Xing

Introduction

China is seeking to build a more innovative and equal society through learning from others. An example in the education sector is capacity development for university leaders from less developed regions in China. In 2012, the Chinese Ministry of Education (MOE) launched a five-year training project to send 1000 university leaders from Chinese central and

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western regions to receive further training abroad (MOE, 2012). The purpose of this project is to enhance capacity development for Chinese university leaders (CULs), to bring 'good' practices from abroad, to modernize higher education in less developed regions in China, and to build a more innovative and equal society in the long run. The receiving countries include Australia, Canada, Finland, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, the UK, and the USA. Finland, a small Nordic country, was chosen as one destination due to its excellent reputation in terms of innovation and equality. This chapter focuses on an educational leadership development programme between China and Finland.

Previous studies on CULs' study abroad programmes have been done in different contexts. Wang (2007) examined Chinese educational leaders' conceptions of learning and leadership after doing an Australian offshore programme from 2002 to 2003. Cook (2008) explored what CULs have learned from their study experience at the University of Michigan (USA) and how they used the knowledge to improve their universities. In another research, the same scholar (2014) described the practices that have evolved over time for hosting CULs' professional development programmes. Hölttä, Pekkola, and Cai (2009) studied the possibilities of exporting Finnish expertise to China by training CULs in Finland and regard this initiative as a suitable approach to implement Finnish internationalization strategies concerning China. Yu (2014) analysed the content and format of university leadership study abroad programmes from 2003 to 2012, organized by the National Academy of Education Administration (NAEA[1]), China. Finally, Xu and Lai (2015) looked into the development strategies of universities in Germany by analysing the strategic management of Leuphana University of Luneburg. Nevertheless, none of these studies have explored the trainees' (namely CULs') perceptions on what they see as being effective professional development for educators like themselves.

Against this background, this chapter aims to identify the features of Effective Transnational Professional Development (ETPD) from CULs' perspectives during and after undertaking these training programmes. In

[1] NAEA sits directly under the MOE and is responsible for development and delivery of national educational leadership and management training programmes in the education sector.

this study, the term 'university leaders' refers to university (vice) chairmen and (vice) presidents from regional universities in less developed regions in (central and western) China. The term 'transnational professional development (TPD)' refers to two Finnish training programmes for CULs: (1) a three-day Finnish training seminar for 100 CULs in China organized in November 2014 (referred as T1 hereafter); and (2) a 21-day Finnish training programme for 20 CULs in Finland from May to June 2015 (referred as T2 hereafter). The two Finnish training programmes, complementing each other, are part of the Chinese government's five-year training project. The term 'training programme' is used interchangeably with the term 'study abroad programme' in this chapter. It is noted that although this chapter takes the Finnish training programmes as an example, it looks into broader pictures of training programmes that CULs have attended in other developed countries (e.g. Australia, Germany, the UK, and the USA). By doing so, the chapter will generate more comparative findings. It is also noteworthy that the chapter is not interested in what CULs have learnt from training, instead, it focuses more on their perceptions of ETPD, although their learning outcomes will be inevitably mentioned.

The chapter begins by presenting the conceptual framework on transnational education (TNE) and effective professional development. This is followed by description of data and methodology, and continues with my analysis of CULs' perceptions on ETPD.

Theoretical Framework

Transnational Education: Transnational Professional Development for CULs as an Example

Internationalisation of higher education (IHE) has become a prominent trend in higher education around the world in the past decades. The development of IHE brought about a relatively new but increasing phenomenon—transnational education (TNE). According to the UNESCO/Council of Europe (2001), TNE includes:

> All types of higher education study programmes, or sets of courses of study, or educational services (including those of distance education) in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based. Such programmes may belong to the education system of a State different from the State in which it operates, or may operate independently of any national education system.

Here, the educational services include, among others, 'training modules that lead to professional development' (UNESCO/Council of Europe, 2001). In the present study, TNE refers to the provision of two Finnish training programmes for CULs that lead to professional development, which can be regarded as transnational professional development (TPD).

Four general approaches to transnational postsecondary education can be discussed: mutual understanding, skilled migration, revenue generation, and capacity building (Gu, 2009; OECD, 2006). The capacity building approach views TNE as a means to meet an unmet demand and help build capacity for quality higher education (OECD, 2006). Gu (2009) argues that the rational of developing TNE in China is to enhance the overall educational system, to diversify educational supply, to build capacity for colleges and universities, and to attract and develop human resources. Therefore, the Finnish training programmes can be regarded as capacity development for CULs.

A number of studies have focused primarily on the features of transnational higher education (TNHE) in China (e.g. Yang, 2008), the challenges, and critical issues strategies in China (e.g. Helms, 2008). Additionally, there has been a growing increase in published work on preparing teachers for transnational teaching (e.g. Keevers, 2014) and transnational partnership in historical, geographic, social, and cultural contexts (e.g. Montgomery, 2016). Further, some studies have examined the impacts of TNE on host countries (British Council, 2014), and teachers'/students' perceptions of autonomy regarding TNHE in China (Mok & Han, 2016). While research on the transnational provision of degree programmes (e.g. Yang, 2008; Montgomery, 2016) is a well-established and growing feature of higher education, the transnational provision of short-term professional development is a novel research area.

Despite the fact that numerous transnational activities have been conducted for CULs on a global scale, very few studies have looked into effectiveness and outcomes of such TPD from trainees' perspectives. Whether such TPD is effective or not remains unclear. The present chapter aims to fill this research gap by exploring CULs' perceptions on ETPD.

Effective Professional Development

Guskey (2000, p. 16) defines professional development as 'processes and activities designed to enhance the professional knowledge, skills, and attitudes of educators so that they might, in turn, improve the learning of students.' This definition means that staff development consists of a broad range of processes and activities that contribute to the learning of educators. He considers that professional development is a process that is intentional, ongoing, and systemic (ibid.).

There has been extensive discussion in the literature on effective professional development for educational leaders. There are a number of studies on the features or characteristics of effective professional development (i.e. Guskey, 2003; Hunzicker, 2010); others are concerned with the design of professional development for leaders (i.e. Cacioppe, 1998; Sparks, 2002), as well as the evaluation of professional development (i.e. Guskey, 2000; Hannum & Martineau, 2008). There is also a growing interest in school leaders' perceptions of professional development inside the system (i.e. Zhang, 2010; Wilson & Xue, 2013) and in the transnational context (Xing & Dervin, 2014). However, to my knowledge, no research about CULs' perceptions on ETPD was identified.

Research Methodology

About the Finnish Training Programmes

As mentioned earlier, this study includes two Finnish training programmes for CULs. T1 was a three-day training seminar for 100 CULs from central and western regions in China, taking place in Kunming,

Yunnan Province, China, in November 2014. It was jointly organized by the NAEA, the Cultural and Education Section of British Embassy, the University of Tampere[2] (UTA), and Yunnan Normal University (YNNU). The theme was 'Regional University Transformation: International Experience and Local Practice'. The NAEA utilized its training base located at YNNU to host T1. The British and Finnish representatives were invited to share their experience of university transformation with CULs. The British representatives only attended the first-day seminar while the Finnish representatives attended the whole seminar. T2 was a 21-day Finnish training programme for 20 CULs that took place in Finland in summer 2015. The NAEA led T2. The UTA, in cooperation with other Finnish universities, offered T2. The theme was 'University Transformation and Development'. The duration of the whole training was 31 days, consisting of 7-day pre-training in China, 21-day training in Finland, and 3-day post-training in China. Both trainings have three similarities and overlaps:

- They are capacity development for CULs from less developed regions in China, tackling the issue of university transformation. T1 is a kind of pilot-testing and preparation for T2. T2 is the continuation and extension of T1.
- The NAEA and the UTA are the main actors of both trainings. The NAEA is the training organizer from China, while UTA is the main training provider from Finland.
- Both trainers and trainees come from different universities and institutions in each country. UTA cooperated with other Finnish universities to conduct both trainings. The trainers included Chinese and Finnish trainers in T1 while only Finnish trainers in T2. Regarding trainees, every Chinese trainee in both trainings represented his/her own university.

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[2] The University of Tampere and Tampere University of Technology were merged to create Tampere University from 1 January 2019.

Data Collection

I collected data from 12 CULs at both trainings (six per training) in Yunnan in 2014 and in Beijing in 2015. All the participants were male, since female participants were not available then. Among them, seven were vice presidents, two were presidents, two were chairmen, and one was vice-chairman (see Table 3.1). All the participants had a similar background. They were aged 46–50 and held a certain number of years of experience working as university leaders in China. Nine of them held master's degrees and the rest had PhD degrees. Additionally, they had little knowledge of Finland and Finnish education, and none of them had been to Finland. However, five of them had attended similar training programmes in other developed countries (two in the USA, one in the UK, one in Japan, and one in France, Germany, and Australia). Therefore, they had broader views on effective professional development. They represented 12 different regional universities from less developed regions in China, of which 8 were newly established regional universities[3] (NRUs), and 4 are traditional regional universities (TRUs). They thus faced similar challenges and are under the Chinese government's agenda of university transformation.

The data collection methods include interviews and learning reports. The interviews were conducted for participants from both trainings during and immediately after completing the training, while the learning reports were collected after two weeks of completing T2. There are three reasons: Firstly, the immediate interviews with the participants enabled me to get fresh data. Secondly, the participants were only available to be interviewed during and immediately after completing the training. Lastly, the participants from T1 were not required to submit learning reports while those from T2 had to submit learning reports as compulsory homework. The list of participants in Table 3.1 corresponds to the order of their positions.

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[3] In the context of China, newly established universities mean institutions authorized to approve bachelor's degrees by the MOE after higher education expansion in 1999. These universities account for about half the number of existing universities in China (Xu, 2014).

Table 3.1 Profiles of participants and data

No	Role	Main responsibilities	University typology	Training programme	Other training attended	Interview	Learning report	Coding
1	Vice president	Budgeting & research	TRU	T1	USA	Yes	N/A	T1-VP1
2		Teaching			UK			T1-VP2
3		Budgeting & teaching	NRU					T1-VP3
4		Budgeting & students' affairs						T1-VP4
5		Teaching		T2			Yes	T2-VP5
6		Teaching						T2-VP6
7		Safety						T2-VP7
8	President	Overall administration		T2				T2-P1
9			TRU					T2-P2
10	Chairman	Party	NRU	T1	USA		N/A	T1-C1
11				T2	Japan		Yes	T2-C2
12	Vice chairman	Audit	TRU	T1	France, Germany, Australia		N/A	T1-VC1

Note: In Chinese universities, usually there is one Communist Party chairman, one president, three–five vice chairmen, and three–five vice presidents. The president can be the vice chairman at the same time. The chairman side is usually responsible for managing political education, publicity, audit, teacher union, and students' affairs. The president side is responsible for managing personnel, budgeting, teaching, research, and logistics matters.

I followed ethical guidelines. Permission to conduct the research was first obtained from my supervisor, the NAEA, and the UTA prior to going into the field. Then I gained permission from CULs by signing consent forms. Coding featured with training programmes and participants' profiles was carried out when reporting the findings. For instance, T1-VP1 meant a vice president who participated in T1.

Data Analysis

The data were analysed in accordance with data-driven qualitative approaches, employing qualitative thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). These analytical methods were selected as appropriate because I was interested in CULs' individual perceptions and experiences, rather than in testing some theories or hypotheses. Five steps were applied in data analysis. Firstly, I became familiar with the data through reading and re-reading the transcriptions several times and checking their accuracy against the recorded interviews and submitted learning reports. Then, the transcriptions were initially coded in order of similar contents and from

micro to macro level. Thirdly, the transcriptions were coded in order of participants and from macro to micro level. New items were identified in this step. Next, the transcriptions were coded in order of training process (before, during, and after training). Finally, the themes that emerged from the data were further examined and redefined into four groups: contents, formats, methods, and social aspects.

The validation of the research can be seen from three aspects. Firstly, the diversified participants yield diversified perspectives. Each participant represents a specific university. Also, the sensitivity of their roles as different university leaders is properly addressed through coding. Secondly, they hold comparative views on ETPD. All of them have taken the Finnish training programmes either in China or in Finland. Five of them were also trained in other developed countries. The training examples from other countries are presented as well in the findings. Then, the combination of T1 (3 days in China) and T2 (21 days in Finland) yield richer findings. The interaction between these two trainings makes the research more dynamic.

Findings

This section discusses how CULs understand ETPD. I examined the participants' perceptions about the features of ETPD. Four themes can be defined on the basis of the data: contents, methods, formats, and social aspects (see Table 3.2). Each theme consists of subthemes which reveal the participants' realties and wishes. The realities include both positive and negative aspects of the trainings while the wishes (written in italics) mean their wishes and suggestions for future ETPD. The following sections focus on each theme one by one.

Contents: Needs, Aims, and People

Targeted Group and Needs

Findings show that the targeted group is the first step to achieve ETPD. This includes targeted university and trainees.

Table 3.2 Summary of findings

Themes	Subthemes	Realities and *wishes*
Contents	Targeted group and needs	Targeted university (*training for medical universities*)
		Targeted trainees
		Needs-based (*conduct surveys in advance*)
	Clear aims	Division of aims
		Aligning of aims and participants' selections
	Competent trainers	Expert in the field
		University pedagogy
Methods	Variety of activities	Lectures, visits, and seminars
		Meet Chinese authority and nationals in host country
		Face-to-face communication
	Peer learning	Peer sharing
		Peer teaching (*the involvement of more Finnish and Chinese practitioners*)
		Peer dialogue (*more professional dialogue amongst university leaders*)
		Establish a communication platform for those who have trained abroad
	Training materials delivery	Language translation
		Distribution of materials afterwards
		e-learning platform
Formats	Integration of theory and practice	Case studies
		Specific curriculum cases
		More comparative university cases
		Problem-based learning
		Advanced educational philosophy
	Adequate length and time	Long-term training
		More time for field visits
Social aspects	Networking and cooperating beyond training	Sign cooperative agreement
		Cooperate with foreign universities to train Chinese teachers
	Logistics	Excellent service
		Improper training time

In response to targeted university, five participants (T1-VP1, T1-VP2, T1-VP3, T1-VP4, and T2-VP6) reported that the same type of university should be put together in a same training group as they were in a similar situation and understood each other better. Such arrangement would allow them to discuss common issues, including concerns, challenges,

achievements, and experiences on university transformation and draw lessons from each other. For example, both T1-VP1 and T1-VP2 wished to have a training programme for medical universities (where they came from), as this was not realized in T1, or in other previous trainings. As T1-VP2 said, 'The training I have taken so far is always for general universities. Honestly, it can only open my mind and horizon, but cannot help me resolve practical problems'.

Regarding targeted trainees, five participants (T1-VP1, T1-VC1, T1-C1, T2-VP5, and T2-VP6) commented that having the training with those in the same roles could lead to ETPD, as they had commonalities to share and discuss. T1-VP1 said: 'I am in charge of budgeting at my university. It is difficult for me to have deeper discussion with T1-VP2, whose duty is teaching at his university'. In addition, three participants (T2-VP6, T2-VP7, and T2-C2) shared another view that sending university chairmen and presidents to study abroad was better than sending vice chairmen (presidents), since they were the key persons to lead change afterwards. T1-VP1 explained: 'It is not easy for vice chairmen or vice presidents to make changes although we have seen good practices abroad.'

Half of the participants indicated that meeting and satisfying presidents' specific needs was the core of ETPD. The higher satisfaction degree of needs, the more ETPD. CULs felt that, as they came from different backgrounds with different skills, they were in need of professional development suiting their individual needs. To gain a better understanding of such needs, a communication channel between trainers and trainees must exist. T1-C1 suggested:

> Prior to training, training providers should conduct a survey to inquire about the needs and make a list of menus for us to choose. Then they can focus on these needs and adapt the training accordingly. (T1-C1)

Unfortunately, this was not done in T1. T1-VC1 said: 'There was no survey in T1'. I guess there are so many university participants and few resources (including time and people) for the NAEA to do this work for a three-day training programme. However, this was realized in his own university training programmes:

My university organized two training programmes in Australia at the same time: one was university administration training at the University of Technology, Sydney, the other was medical education training at the University of Sydney. Both programmes, lasted 21 days, were very specific and targeted. The Australian training providers conducted very thorough survey in advance to match our specific needs. I think this is excellent! (T1-VC1)

Clear Aims

Five participants (T1-VP1, T1-VP2, T2-VP5, T1-VP, and T2-P2) agreed that ETPD should have clear aims that focused on certain aspects of training and not on too many topics. This occurred when the needs were explicitly identified. They felt the aims could be divided into sub-aims, under which research questions could be provided. Prior to training, every trainee should have one to two research questions and try to solve the questions after training. Finally, they could share learning results with each other, and the overall aims of training would be maximally achieved. T2-VP5 provided an example: 'In T2, we voluntarily formed four small groups based on four themes. Each group was concentrating on one topic. We were able to learn more'. T1-VP1 also stressed: 'The aim of training and selection of participants should go hand in hand'. In other words, the selection of candidates should be based on training aims.

Competent Trainers

Four participants (T1-VP3, T2-VP5, T2-P2, and T2-C2) considered highly qualified trainers were essential to ETPD. The trainers should be experts in their field and well prepared for the training in advance. As T1-VP3 said, 'I am happy with all the trainers in T1. The works they have presented during the seminar represent the latest research on regional university transformation in China. Their views were fresh, insightful, and inspiring. I can see that they did their homework well'. In addition, they preferred to include more practitioners in TPD. More findings on this will be presented later.

Unfortunately, this was not fully realized in T2; T2-C2 complained about some poor Finnish teaching:

In general, we do not like the general academic teaching by some Finnish lectures. They spoke too much about Finnish education which can be easily found from books and online. We are coming to Finland to learn new things, not to listen to the repeated stories. And we are much more interested in communicating with Finnish university leaders than academics. (T2-C2)

Nevertheless, three participants (T2-VP5, T2-P2, and T2-C2) highly praised the excellent university pedagogy in Finland, which was regarded as essential for enhancing ETPD. They found Finnish trainers were good at handling students' interruptions and co-teaching in class. With more than 20 years of university teaching experience in China, T2-VP5 reflected:

Finnish trainers encouraged us to interrupt in class if we had any questions or different opinions. They see interruptions as a useful way of promoting learning. Also, it was my first time to see two lecturers teach together in one class. Their perfect cooperation, elegant manners and comprehensive knowledge impressed me deeply. I think such university pedagogy is absolutely useful for Chinese teachers to learn. (T2-VP5)

Meanwhile, they acknowledged the fact that this could be challenging for many Chinese teachers and trainers, especially for senior teachers. The reason is that both Chinese teachers and students have been used to teacher-centred pedagogy.

Methods: Activities, Peer Learning, and Delivery of Materials

Variety of Activities

The majority of participants agreed that including a variety of activities enhances ETPD. They agreed that *seeing was believing*. In T2, they

attended 27 lectures at five different Finnish universities and visited university campuses, libraries, research centres, laboratories, student entrepreneurship centres, industries, and the City of Tampere. They also visited the Chinese Embassy in Finland and met Chinese researchers and students at Finnish universities. Further, they attended two seminars: a Sino-Finnish education dialogue, held at Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture in Helsinki; the other seminar was about Chinese regional university transformation, held at the UTA. The participants enjoyed these seminars which provided them with broader pictures of Finnish education from historical, social, economic, and cultural perspectives. They were impressed by the Finnish approach to education equality, possibilities of choice, and highly educated teachers. Two representative examples were given:

> As a part of education equality, I am deeply touched by Finnish efforts to 'no one left behind'. Students with learning difficulties and disabilities are so lucky in Finland. They are not abandoned by society and teachers. Instead, they enjoy more educational resources and social care. (T2-C2)

> In the Finnish education system, there are no dead ends and students can always have the opportunities to re-choose. (T2-VP6)

Further, T2-P1 and T2-C2 argued that the training was effective because they were invited to deliver a speech on Chinese regional university transformation in the second seminar. This meant that information flow went both ways. They had prepared well for the speech. This experience helped them reflect on their thoughts and practices, gain an in-depth understanding of higher education, and compare Chinese and Finnish education systems. It also helped Finnish trainers better understand Chinese higher education system and regional university transformation.

The face-to-face meeting with foreign university teachers enabled CULs to reshape their mindsets and enhance their sense of responsibility. T1-VP2 recalled his experience of attending another training in the UK in 2013:

I was impressed by British university teachers' work ethics: professionalism and dedication to work… I met a distinguished chief scientist and professor in a British university. Although he was extremely busy, he could always find time for his students. Once I saw him discussing the research progress with his PhD student during lunch time… I am also a student supervisor at my university. When I am too busy I let the students figure out by themselves. Honestly, I do not feel I have a strong sense of responsibility… Now I am willing to offer my time to students. (T1-VP2)

Peer Learning

Half of the participants agreed that peer learning, including peer sharing, peer teaching, and peer dialogues, could promote ETPD.

T2-VP7 and T2-P2 acknowledged the importance of sharing thoughts among trainees after training. They regarded this as an effective way to promote mutual learning, and endorsed how useful such experience was: 'After returning back to China, we continued with another day summary session. Everyone was asked to share their thoughts on training abroad. The discussions were active and everyone loved it! One day was too short and we would like to have more time'. In addition, three participants (T1-VP4, T2-VP7, and T2-C2) would like to share learning experiences amongst colleagues at their own universities. T1-VP4 and T2-VP7 would report learning results to the university leadership meeting for further discussions, while T2-C2 planned to organize a symposium for staff and carry out some reforms at his university.

The involvement of experienced and highly successful university leaders in the training programmes contributed to ETPD, because they possessed first-hand knowledge of university context, better understood their needs, and were in a position to share their practical experience. Unfortunately, this was not achieved in T1. T1-VC1 put it this way:

It was a pity that the right regional university presidents were not invited. The issues presented by trainers from the NAEA were useful. Nevertheless, there was a lack of right regional university presidents. Only one Chinese university president shared his experience, but it was a kind of elite university… At least I know some regional universities which are really doing well

in university transformation. We could find the answers of some unresolved questions if they were invited. In this regard, the Chinese peers know better about local contexts than foreign peers. (T1-VC1)

However, in the pre-training of T2, a university president of a regional university, who had attended a similar training programme in the USA, was invited to lecture on regional university transformation. T2-P2 explains:

> Now the university has a special office called Government Liaison Office. The office frequently meets local government and sees what the university can do for the government. I like this very much. (T2-P2)

Therefore, the participants suggested three wishes for future training. The first wish was the involvement of more Finnish and Chinese practitioners as trainers. The reason is Finnish practitioners are mirrors for CULs (T2-VP7 and T1-C1), and Chinese practitioners know better about local context (T1-VC1). The combination of both would create a dynamic ETPD.

The second wish was professional dialogue amongst university leaders during training. This was partly achieved in T2. T2-C2 stressed:

> The dialogues amongst presidents are one of the key elements for ETPD. Those who become university leaders have the heart for China, and strive to make Chinese education better. Training abroad is a unique way to bring CULs to the world platform and have professional dialogues with foreign peers. It is absolutely needed and more should be offered in the future. (T2-C2)

The third one was to establish a communication platform in China amongst those who had attended similar training programmes aboard. This was suggested by T1-VP2. The purpose is to see what has changed afterwards, how they made changes, how they reflected such changes, and what suggestions they have for future training. Doing so, future TPD efficacy could be improved.

Training Materials' Delivery

Findings reveal that good delivery of training materials increases ETPD, including accurate language translation, distribution of materials, and the use of an E-learning platform.

Three participants (T1-VP2, T1-VP4, and T1-C1) reported that highly qualified language translations of lecture layouts and simultaneous interpretation during training were absolutely necessary to make TPD effective. The fact is that most participants have limited English skills, and thus rely on interpreters during training. They highly praised the professional simultaneous interpreters and sophisticated translation equipment applied in T1, as information was passed on correctly and in a timely manner to Chinese trainees and foreign trainers. The sophisticated translation equipment was particularly useful on the first-day of T1, where more than 100 participants were in a big conference hall.

Regarding wishes, four participants (T1-VP1, T1-VP2, T1-VP3, and T1-VP4) wished to get these learning materials following training. The reason was that T1 was quite intensive; they did not have enough time to catch up with all the details and consolidate the knowledge learnt during training. Thus, three of them suggested that the NAEA sort out and send the training materials to the participants afterwards. T1-VP3 echoed in particular: 'setting up an E-learning platform for participants so that everyone can access the training materials later'.

Formats: Theory and Practice, and Duration

Integration of Theory and Practice

Three fourth of the participants agreed that integration of theory and practice was indispensable for ETPD. They felt professional development must be down to earth and be able to teach university leaders how to solve practical problems. Three key elements were identified as being particularly beneficial: case studies, problem-based learning, and advanced educational philosophy.

Half of the participants perceived that thorough university cases (aligned with theory or policy) must be integrated to enhance ETPD. This helped CULs deeply understand the operation systems of foreign universities. Participants in T1 favoured the initiative of including representatives from both Finland and the UK, which provided them with multiple practices and solutions. T1-C1 and T2-C2 agreed that the comparative cases studies from different countries helped them see global higher education trends better and helped them to relate to their own contexts. However, they were dissatisfied with insufficient and unmatched cases. Comments such as 'Only national policy was covered, but no appropriate university cases were provided in T1' (T1-VC1), and 'The cases were superficial in T2 and I would like to see how the curriculum is exactly conducted in a specific programme' (T2-VP5) indicate the drawback of case studies in both Trainings. Therefore, T1-C1 and T2-C2 wished to have more comparative university cases from different countries in designing training abroad. By doing so, the learning experience would be richer.

T1-VP4 and T2-P2 regarded problem-based learning useful to promote ETPD. T1-VP4 commented that he joined in the training with many questions to be solved. Therefore, using tasks in the training would help him relate to his own contexts and solve similar problems in practical work. T2-P2 stressed the importance of preparation:

> To build ETPD, university leaders must do homework in advance. This could include preparing for questions, reading the assigned literature, familiarizing with foreign education systems, etc. The earlier and more questions we prepare, the better results. Our government invested lots of money to send us abroad for capacity development. We should value such opportunities and take them seriously. We cannot just go abroad with an empty head. (T2-P2)

This is in line with T2-VP5's report: 'I do value such a great learning opportunity and carefully prepare more than 20 questions relating to UAS in advance.'

Four participants (T1-VP3, T1-C1, T2-P1, and T2-C2) claimed that innovative educational philosophy was an indispensable element to

improve ETPD. It included student-centredness, strategic thinking, the mission of university, and so on. They felt ETPD provided them with new thoughts and inspirations to solve challenges, as they were exploring a new context. T1-VP2 said:

> ETPD should pay close attention to train presidents' competencies of strategic thinking and decision-making. Strategic thinking is crucial to university leaders and I have seen how this was well presented in British universities. Decision-making is the ability to make correct decisions in a complex environment. Both competencies can be learnt. (T1-VP2)

This is in line with T2-C2's description of differences between CULs and foreign university leaders:

> The first thing the UTA president shared with us was strategic planning and university mission. Many Chinese university presidents will start with university introduction: How big is the university? How many students and staff? How many key laboratories and research centres does the university have?… Few of them consider these questions: Why do we run a university? Whom do we run it for? What kind of university do we aim for? How to run a university? And how to educate students? Some can talk clearly while others may never think about these questions. (T2-C2)

Adequate Length and Time

T1-VP1 and T1-VP3 commented that professional development with adequate length and time was effective. They felt ETPD required sufficient time to be developed step by step and could not be done overnight. T1-VP3 suggested 'organizing long-term training at different time periods so that university leaders have time to consolidate knowledge and apply what they have learnt into practice'. T2-P1 and T2-P2 complained about the limited time of university visits. They had to rush and only scratch the surface of Finnish universities. They did not have enough time to discuss some planned issues either.

Social Aspects: Networking and Logistics

Networking and Cooperating Beyond Training

Half of the participants perceived networking of professional communities essential for ETPD. During T2, three of them (T2-VP5, T2-P1, and T2-C2) signed cooperation agreements with Finnish universities on behalf of their own universities. Although it was not planned, they were satisfied with such extra and positive achievement.

In T1, T1-VP4 expressed his strong willingness to develop networking with Finnish universities, 'my university would like to establish a formal relationship with a Finnish university and explore deeper cooperation for staff professional development. This could be done either by inviting the Finnish trainers to train Chinese teachers in China, or by sending Chinese teachers to be trained in Finland'.

Logistics

Participants agreed that well-organized logistics was an indispensable element of ETPD. They were satisfied with excellent service in both trainings. The training schedule was rich and time was well utilized. T1-VP3 said: 'Although T1 is only three days, the service is excellent, including transport, training rooms, accommodation, and food. Everything is inside one campus and easy to access.' T2-P1 echoed: 'The training schedule was rich and full in Finland. Everything was detailed and well-organized. Almost every working day we started from 8:30 to 17:00. Although there was no time to take a nap, like what we have in China, no one complained.' However, T2-VP6 was unsatisfied with the inappropriate training time. As he said, 'It was a pity that we did not have the chance to have discussions with Finnish students and could not see more, because they were on holiday in May'.

Finally, all the participants highly stress the importance of local context while learning TPD:

ETPD must combine international experience and local practice together. China is a huge country: every province is different, every city is different, and every university is different. We cannot blindly copy international experience without carefully considering local context. (T1-VC1)

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter aimed to increase understanding of how CULs perceive ETPD in a transnational context, particularly in Finland. Their training experiences in other developed countries are also covered in order to gain broader perspectives on ETPD. The findings, which were based on an analysis of CULs' subjective experiences, highlight many issues that deserve further investigation.

The findings confirm that effective professional development is featured in various learning opportunities (Hannum & Martineau, 2008), problem-based learning (Davis et al., 2005), cohort learning (Barnett et al., 2000; Dyer & Renn, 2010), self-reflection (Davis et al., 2005), clear aims (Guskey, 2000), networking (Barnett et al., 2000), and the availability of competent trainers (Levine, 2005). They are also consistent with studies that address the practices of training planning, topics, logistics and pedagogy for training CULs (Cook, 2014), as well as rushed visits in training abroad (Yu, 2014; Xing & Dervin, 2014). However, issues such as some poor Finnish lectures, improper choice of Chinese trainers, insufficient and unmatched cases, and inappropriate training time seem not to have received enough attention in current training programmes.

CULs put forward certain wishes for ETPD. The wishes include more targeted training for certain universities, conducting surveys prior to training, the involvement of more practitioners, professional dialogues, a communication platform for those have trained abroad, an E-learning platform for training materials delivery, more comparative case studies on university and curriculum, more time for field visits, and cooperative training between Chinese and foreign universities. They also stress the importance of 'seeing is believing' and 'doing homework' for ETPD. In

other words, TPD can become more effective when CULs are located in a different educational environment and a different culture and society, since the positive shock changes their mindset and enhances their responsibilities as educational leaders. TPD also becomes effective when both trainers and trainees fully prepare for training in terms of questions, education systems, and cultural difference in advance.

The data variations in T1 and T2 need to be taken into consideration. In T1, participants seem to report more data on the targeted university, translation, training material delivery, and the establishment of a communication platform. In T2, participants appear to report more data on Finnish university pedagogy, visit time, peer dialogues, and networking. Such variations can be explained from two aspects. Firstly, the duration and size of the two trainings are different. T1 is a very brief (3-day) training seminar with many CULs (100 people) in China, while T2 is a longer (21-day) training programme with fewer participants (20 people) in Finland. It can be difficult to offer a targeted training that matches every university leader in a limited time. As a consequence, in T1, it is extremely important to deliver qualified translations during training and training materials afterwards. In T2, sub-groups aligned with sub-aims can be organized due to the nature of small group and longer duration. Secondly, the participants' training experience can affect such variations. The issue of establishing a communication platform for those who have trained abroad is raised in T1, since the participant has trained abroad earlier and realized the importance of further communication. In T2 CULs have experienced different pedagogy, visited institutions, and had dialogues with foreign peers, while there was no visit in T1.

One limitation of the current study is the unbalanced number of participants. Most participants are vice presidents while fewer participants are presidents, chairmen, or vice chairmen. The involvement of more presidents, chairmen, and vice chairmen can yield more diversified findings. Yet, the study solicits CULs' views on ETPD from a comparative perspective, given the fact that CULs have attended the Finnish training programmes either in China or in Finland and that five of them had even taken training in other countries. It yields an organic and realistic picture of ETPD from the trainees' perceptions and draws thought-provoking implications for the practice of TPD for CULs in particular. The first

implication is that CULs' perceptions must be taken into consideration for building qualified and effective TPD. It sounds simple, but unfortunately, their voices have not always been heard. Therefore, efforts from both the Chinese training organizer and foreign training providers are required in order to achieve a common goal for ETPD. Secondly, ETPD requires qualified teaching from Chinese trainers as well, especially when training takes place in China, because they know the realities of the local context. Rather than working alone, foreign training institutions must find proper ways to cooperate with Chinese partners to carry on TPD. This has also been confirmed by previous research (Hölttä et al., 2009; Cook, 2014). Future research is needed to study what CULs have learnt and implemented after TPD, and how to build a quality assurance system for TPD. In conclusion, TPD will become dramatically more effective when the trainees' perspectives and local contexts are carefully considered.

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4

Narrative Inquiry of Beginner Teachers' Experience and Changes in Beliefs in the Danish Secondary School Context

Li Wang

Introduction

Teacher change is an important dimension in teachers' professional lives because teachers constantly involve themselves in belief change in their process of learning to teach (Guskey, 1986, 2002). However, many studies focus on the contents of teacher belief rather than the process of change of teachers' beliefs, especially for those teachers in their early years of the profession (Borg, 2006; Scherff, 2008). Although teachers' challenges in their first years of teaching have been widely studied, little attention has been paid to the factors that would help researchers understand the process in which individuals modify their beliefs in order to adapt to new teaching contexts (Fantilli & McDougall, 2009). Existing studies on belief change primarily focus on how teacher education

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programmes change student/pre-service teachers' beliefs or on comparisons of novice and expert teachers, which generally lack longitudinal perspective. Previous empirical work on teacher belief and its change is mainly in the fields of English as Foreign Language teaching, science and mathematics (Borg, 2006). It is important to gain in-depth understanding of teacher belief and its change process from teachers of less-researched subjects, such as Chinese as a Foreign Language (CFL). Although there is a fair amount of research into teachers' personal histories, with a focus on analysis of their past experiences in general and how these experiences influence their beliefs, teachers' narratives could be explored more fully, examining such critical aspects as specific working contexts and teachers' experience, and how the interplay of these factors influences the way teachers change in their early years of teaching. Moreover, very few studies have explored the experiences and beliefs of CFL teachers in the Nordic context from narrative perspectives.

The increasing worldwide need for learning Chinese calls for research into the experiences and beliefs of CFL teachers. Existing research on CFL teachers has mainly investigated experiences of teachers in Anglophone countries, such as Australia, New Zeeland, the UK, and the US, and, while teachers practising in European contexts, particularly in Scandinavian countries, have thus been studied very little (Wang & Du, 2014). Since studying Chinese has been an emerging phenomenon in the past decade, teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (TCFL) in Denmark is a newly established profession without traditional practice, which leads to challenges and opportunities for teachers (Wang & Du, 2016). Many international teachers, mostly native speakers of Chinese, and local Danish teachers have been recruited to fill the increasing need for educators who can teach Chinese, a trend which is changing the landscape of foreign language education in Denmark.

Given the increasing rise of CFL teachers, and also in order to fill in the gaps identified in existing research on teachers' belief change, this longitudinal study investigated the narratives of experience and belief change of two beginner CFL teachers of different cultural and educational backgrounds, as situated in the Danish context. The aim of the study was to elicit beginner teachers' life histories and their experiences and views on teaching, thereby discovering the complexity of the belief

change in their process of learning to teach. The research questions guiding this research are: *How do CFL teachers' beliefs change in their early years of teaching, and what are the key factors shaping teachers' belief?* To answer these questions, this study provides narrative accounts of two beginner CFL teachers' experiences, supported by data collected from classroom observations, in their first years of teaching at two different Danish secondary schools.

Theoretical Underpinnings

This section begins with uncovering the complexity of teacher belief by exploring belief systems and orientations. Next, we present a review of influential factors for teacher belief and belief change.

Understanding Teachers' Belief Systems

In order to understand teaching from teachers' perspectives, we have to understand the beliefs through which they conceptualise their work. Teachers' beliefs guide their actions and decisions regarding content and curriculum, and they are foundations for professional growth and learning (Kagan, 1992). The term teacher belief has been used with some overlap with other formulations, including teacher cognition, teacher knowledge and conceptions of teaching (Kember, 1997; Cheng, Chan, Tang, & Cheng, 2009; Borg, 2006). However, most researchers shared a common understanding that teacher beliefs are implicit and that they are filters through which teachers interpret new teaching situations and accept new information (Berliner, 1987).

Teachers have beliefs about different aspects of teaching (Pajares, 1992). In this study, teachers' beliefs include teachers' personal practical knowledge along with their implicit personal assumptions and theories about their roles and relationships with students, objectives for teaching, teaching content, teaching approaches and the interplay of all the above elements in a certain context. Beliefs exist as a system in which certain beliefs are core and others peripheral (Rokeach, 1968; Pajares, 1992). The

most core beliefs are most closely related to an individual's self and are formed based on teachers' schooling experiences as learners while observing their teachers' teaching (Clark & Peterson, 1986). However, little is known about what constitutes a core belief and which kind of beliefs are easier to change and which are not (Phipps & Borg, 2009; Zheng, 2009).

Postareff and Lindblom-Ylänne (2008) identified two broad categories of teachers' beliefs: content- or teacher-oriented and learning- or student-oriented. Teachers with the traditional teacher-oriented beliefs put emphasis on 'imparting subject matter and the reproduction of knowledge' (Meirink, Meijer, Verloop, & Bergen, 2009, p. 90), and they think they bear the main responsibility for students' learning process. The learner-oriented beliefs stress students' construction of knowledge and fostering of their learning abilities; here, students are encouraged to take responsibility for their own learning and work together. The frame in this chapter is not a dichotomous one, holding that teachers have either teacher- or student-oriented beliefs. Rather, the author argues that there are shifts in emphasis, moving from more traditional notions of learning and knowledge to conceptions that are broader and more nuanced.

Factors Shaping Teachers' Beliefs

Numerous research projects have highlighted the personal and contextual nature of teacher beliefs, the decisive role of experience and context in the development of these beliefs and the way in which teachers' instructional practice and beliefs are mutually informing (Burns, 1996). Experiences are culturally rooted; teachers interpret teaching through their own particular cultural lenses. Cultural traditions and values, especially those associated with teaching and learning, contribute to informing teachers' beliefs about the educational process. Teachers' past experiences, especially their schooling experience and critical incidents, are major determinants in formulating the beliefs they hold when they enter the teaching profession (Pajares, 1992). The significance of contextual factors in understanding teachers' beliefs has been demonstrated in numerous studies (Richards, Li, & Tang, 1998). The contextual realities, including the cultural context of education, society, school policies, school leaders' orientations, and so on not only shape teachers' practices and beliefs, but

also affect the degree of consistency between their stated beliefs and practice (Beach, 1994; Borg, 2006).

Teachers' Belief Change

In their process of learning to teach, teachers constantly involve themselves in cognitive change (Guskey, 1986). However, teachers' beliefs are believed by many researchers to be difficult to change during the course of a school year or a career path (Lavigne, 2014). Some research on teacher education programmes or in-service teacher training, which aim to develop teachers' more sophisticated beliefs of teaching (Entwistle & Walker, 2002), provide many insights into teachers' belief change. Some studies reported changes, and some indicated that these activities do not bring about any change when they fail to address teachers' prior beliefs (Cheng et al., 2009). It is believed that the earlier a belief is formed and integrated into a belief system, the more difficult it is to alter (Pajares, 1992). Novice teachers enter the classroom with well-established beliefs about the nature of teaching and learning, and the teacher's role in these, which are based on the thousands of hours they have spent in the classroom as pupils (Tang, Lee, & Chun, 2012). Those teachers' well-formed beliefs are hard to modify without some dramatic disequilibrium, as teachers tend to teach in the way they were taught (Pajares, 1992).

Beginner teachers have been defined as those 'in their first five years of teaching', and researchers have identified two phases through which those teachers have to go: (1) the survival and discovery phase that begins when they start their teaching careers and are 'overwhelmed with managing the complexity of teaching'; and (2) 'the stabilisation phase' that begins when they feel greater competence as teachers and begin to master the curriculum (Lavigne, 2014, p. 33). Some research into the process through which language teachers' beliefs and practices are transformed as they accumulate experience is based on comparisons of novice and experienced teachers (Borg, 2006). Novice teachers with less than three years of classroom experience tended to be more concerned with emulating their images of teaching by managing the classroom and controlling students (Berliner, 1986). Their understandings about teaching as well as teaching skills transform in their professional careers as they move from novice

teachers to expert teachers (Berliner, 1987). Over time, teachers tend to think about the subject matter and departures from the lesson plan more from the learners' perspectives (Borg, 2006; Alger, 2009; Vermunt & Endedijk, 2011).

Some studies have reported on CFL teachers with Chinese educational backgrounds transforming their beliefs from those more aligned with traditional educational schemas to those aligned with constructivist education in an overseas teaching environment (Moloney & Xu, 2015). However, a very limited number of studies have focused specifically on the experiences and beliefs of beginner CFL teachers of different cultural backgrounds. This paper focuses on the experiences and belief change of individual CFL teachers in the Danish context in order to pay particular attention to those whose voices have thus far been unheard (Chase, 2005; Creswell, 2008).

The Methodological Design

A qualitative case study methodology was chosen for the exploration of teachers' experiences and beliefs in the secondary school context. This decision was made because this empirical inquiry facilitates 'exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources' (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 544) and provides 'holistic description and explanation' (Merriam, 2001, p. 29), especially when the researcher wanted to 'cover contextual situations deliberately' (Yin, 2003, p. 13). The study was also approached from a narrative paradigm, which means the research requires 'the description of specific cases, through narrative expression and analysis' (Scherff, 2008, p. 1322). As a 'systematic exploration that is conducted by teachers and for teachers through their own stories and language' (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 309), the narrative paradigm provides teachers with a retrospective look at their various life stages and a means to reflect on and learn from their underlying beliefs. Through listening to, interpreting and reconstructing the stories of teachers' experience, narrative researchers gain access to teachers' implicit beliefs that are grounded in their personal and cultural histories (Conle, 2001).

A purposive sampling method was employed to select two CFL teachers, Li Na and Peter (both are pseudonyms), at two different secondary schools in Denmark. The reasons for choosing them are listed below: (1) Li Na was a native Chinese teacher educated in mainland China and Peter was a local Danish teacher with educational background in China area studies and Chinese language, and together they represent the two largest groups of CFL teachers in Denmark because of their cultural and educational backgrounds; (2) teachers experience more challenges and changes in their early years of teaching (Fantilli & McDougall, 2009), and both participant teachers were young, beginner CFL teachers; and (3) the schools where these two teachers were working were very different regarding school type and student age group—Peter was working at a high school and Li Na in *efterskole*[1]—which brings diversity in their experience and teaching contexts.

Teachers' Working Contexts and Profiles

Li Na was a female Chinese teacher born in 1986 in the southern part of China. She had English as her major at university and had taught English for two years at a secondary school in China before she came to Denmark in 2011. After working as an *au pair* for two years, she got a full-time job teaching Chinese in a Danish *efterskole*. It was a residential lower secondary school located in a rural area. Students were from grades 9 and 10. Along with the same subjects offered at other lower secondary schools, this school also provided some special subjects such as Chinese to promote educational and personal development of students. The teachers and students had very close relationships due to the long hours they spent at school. The school had a part-time Chinese teacher three years before Li Na became the first full-time CFL teacher. Two types of elective Chinese classes were offered by Li Na at this school: one was an 'interest' class without credits, and the other was for students who would take part in exams in order to gain credits. Most students were total beginners in both courses.

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[1] A Danish boarding lower secondary school system; for more information about *efterskole* in Denmark see: http://www.efterskole.dk/en/In-english/Facts-about-the-Danish-Efterskole

Peter was born in 1982 in a Danish town close to the German border. He completed his undergraduate education in a city in the northern part of Denmark, with Chinese and rhetoric as his majors. He went to China on an exchange in 2004, during his second year of university, attending a Chinese University for language study and remaining there for six years, studying and working as part-time tour guide. During this same period, he was enrolled in a Danish university in Denmark doing his master study in Chinese and linguistics. He enjoyed teaching and knowledge dissemination. He had worked as a part-time CFL teacher at a Danish university before his first full-time job as CFL teacher at a Danish high school. The Chinese programme at the high school was part of the national curriculum. Almost all of his students were total beginners. Students choosing Chinese as an A level course had to take three years to learn this subject and then take part in the exam in the third year.

The Data Collection and Data Analysis

Data was collected through a series of semi-structured, in-depth interviews, informal talks, participant observations, teachers' lesson plans and reflective diaries, among other sources. The interviews are a means to elicit participant's life histories, and in this social meaning-making process, the researcher and the researched are co-constructing understanding of the told stories (Spector-Mersel, 2010). Six interviews were conducted with each teacher over two years, including three post-class interviews and the last one conducted over the phone. Follow-up conversations and e-mails continued throughout the initial writing of the manuscript and during the revision process to provide clarification and fill in missing details. The first interview was about teachers' backgrounds, their life histories and their initial teaching experiences. The subsequent interviews were carried out to ask them to clarify and elaborate on some prominent themes from the first interviews. Additionally, three double-lesson participant observations were conducted at different stages of the two years to provide a secondary data resource with which to triangulate the interview data in order to better understand teachers' change of beliefs and practices during the course by relating their stated beliefs to their practice in a particular context. Three interviews lasting 30 to 50 minutes

were conducted each time after classroom observations to ask each teacher to recall and explain their classroom instructions and decisions. Questions from the field notes taken during classroom observations regarding the teaching aims, methods, procedures and activities were asked during after-class interviews.

The data analysis went through two phases, the first being a vertical analysis in which each teacher's interview data, field notes and lesson plans were analysed separately to identify their critical experiences. Initial coding of the topics that emerged were categorised and organised around research questions. Data from later interviews was compared with preliminary data gained through earlier interviews to track the change in beliefs and practices as well as key events. In the second phase, a cross-case analysis was carried out to look for common patterns and differences. Since narrative inquiry is open-ended, the process of data analysis was ongoing. During the process of selecting stories, careful consideration was given to the following criteria: (1) the story indicates a change in teacher's beliefs, (2) the experience involved a particular event that significantly influenced teachers' beliefs and (3) the theme reoccurred frequently in the interviews. A more in-depth understanding of the shared meanings and differences between the two teachers and the interplay between their beliefs, experiences, contexts and practices was reached after comparison of two cases.

The Findings

'I have partly changed and partly reserved'

Prior Learning and Teaching Experience in a Teacher-Centred and Exam-Oriented School System Context

Recalling her classroom learning experience, including learning English at secondary school, Li Na regarded it as an 'old, tedious style of teaching'. The teachers tended to use a lot of repetition and asked students to repeat after them again and again. Teaching was 'about teachers lecturing and students listening'. In general, Li Na's memories at university were

about listening to lectures, doing lots of reading and taking written exams. Due to the infrequent chance to speak and communicate in English both inside and outside of the classroom, most of her classmates learned 'mute English', which means that they dared not speak and that their reading and writing was much better than their oral skills.

Li Na got a full-time job as an English teacher at a junior secondary school in a western city in China after graduation. As a new teacher without formal teacher training, she did not have any specific ideas about how to teach beyond recalling what her former teachers had taught her in her English classes. Given the fact that a teacher's salary and bonus depended on students' academic achievements, Li Na regarded improving students' scores on English exams as her main responsibility. All instructions in the class served this goal. She followed the fixed PPP (presentation, practice and production) teaching procedures and focused on grammar teaching and translation. Students' communications skills were not emphasised because they were not assessed. Li Na managed the class 'in a military way' and requested students to follow her lesson plan stringently and maintain discipline. After two years working there, she found it 'hard to bear the pressure' that came along with 'test-oriented teaching and teacher evaluation'.

Eventually, Li Na found a job as au pair in Denmark. She chose to take it because 'Denmark was a country with happiness' and she hoped the job could help her learn Danish language and culture, which provided more job opportunities. Living with the Danish family was 'a very different experience' in terms of 'their lifestyle and the relationship between parents and children'. Li Na found the kids were 'very good at arguing, negotiating and expressing their own ideas'. Li Na had been studying Danish and passed the highest level, PD3, in Danish language school. She attributed the success to her 'great efforts, memorisation and repetition in language learning'.

Initial Teaching Experience at the Danish Secondary School: Experimenting with Alternative Methods and New Roles

With Danish language proficiency, teaching experience and qualification in TCFL, Li Na luckily found a full-time job in an *efterskole* as a Chinese

language teacher. In the first year, she taught Chinese in an elective 'interest class' without exams or credits. It was 'a very exciting start' since there were 'no specific requirements from the school with regard to the curriculum' or how she should teach. Li Na could finally 'break down the restrictions from examination-oriented teaching' and 'have a say in what and how to teach'. She decided to get rid of the 'boring and old style of teaching' and began actively trying 'alternative methods' to make the class interesting.

She encouraged students' participation in the class by applying lots of cultural projects and communicative tasks. Classroom observations show that a variety of activities, such as physical movements, Chinese children's songs and cartoons were employed to motivate students to learn Chinese and make learning fun. Li Na began to value students' roles and opinions in teaching and designing the lessons so that 'students would retain and continue learning'. In one of the classes observed during the project, she invited students to tell the class their motivations for choosing Chinese and their preferred cultural topics, which she had never done in China. Students' interests in 'Chinese food and bargaining culture' were integrated into the lesson design. Different textbooks and materials from the internet were incorporated into a 'flexible curriculum'. Grammar and Chinese characters were not stressed, as students were 'more interested in oral communication'. Li Na started to believe that 'students should be active language learners'.

Li Na realised that her former 'authoritarian big boss image' would not be appropriate at the Danish school, where relationships among people were 'more equal'. Since her students lived in the school, there was an opportunity for close personal interaction between teacher and students. Li Na thought of herself as 'a big sister who should take care of students' and 'a playfellow and a friend who should join students' games and have fun with them together'. Instead of commanding students, Li Na was 'a big bird playing with the little birds'.

However, without evaluation or exams, students in this class did not take the course seriously enough after several months of 'honeymoon phase'. The Chinese course did not receive as much attention as other subjects like English and math. Li Na felt it 'more difficult to motivate students and sustain their interest'. For example, she found that most

students complained about the homework in spite of it only requiring 20 minutes. Even the principal of the school suggested she not give too much homework in the Chinese course because it served only as an interest class. Li Na faced a dilemma; she felt a strong need to motivate students to work harder using her power and authority as a teacher, but she was afraid that she was exerting too much control and being too harsh on students. Therefore, she tried her best to adjust to students by eliminating homework and organising diverse cultural activities to make the lessons 'easy and relaxed'. To her disappointment, only 7 of the 32 students stayed in the course until its completion a year later.

Second Year of Teaching at the School: 'I kept some of my previous practices such as pattern drills, repetition, and translation method'

In the second year of teaching, the school leaders set up another type of Chinese course, wherein students needed to take the *Cambridge IGCSE*[2] Chinese (mandarin) as foreign language exam. A total of 15 students from grades 9 and 10 signed up for the course, and most of them were total beginners, with the exception of two students whose parents were from Asia. However, passing the exam required 1200 Chinese characters, which seemed to Li Na to be 'an impossible mission to fulfil' in one year of teaching with five weekly lessons (45 minutes each). However, the parents and school leaders still expected that students could obtain the certificate. All students who signed up the course were 'very motivated' and decided to take the exam, to Li Na's surprise.

In order to motivate students to work hard for the exam, Li Na stressed that she maintained some 'good old things'. The first thing she did was to 'imbue the Danish students with Chinese virtues and ideology such as diligence and a strong work ethic', to establish 'students' good attitudes towards study'. In the first class, she made it clear to all students that there were 'no short cuts for language learning, particularly for Chinese with its distinctive character system'. 'No pains, no gains' was stressed

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[2] For more information about Cambridge IGCSE subjects, please go to: http://www.cie.org.uk/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-secondary-2/cambridge-igcse/subjects/

quite often as the 'learning motto' in the class. Li Na frequently shared her successful Danish language learning experience to encourage students and highlighted the importance of 'hard work and memorisation'.

'The good things' Li Na preserved from her former practices and teaching philosophies included pattern drills, repetition, memorisation and the translation method. Those methods were thought of by Li Na as 'more teacher-oriented, but more efficient to help students pass the exam'. Holding the belief that 'through constantly repeating the words and sentence structures to the point of memorisation, students' language competence would come naturally', Li Na usually spent fifteen minutes each class reviewing and repeating the key words and sentences in the previous lessons, which was proven by classroom observations. After students had mastered some grammatical rules, they were guided to apply those rules by doing lots of translation exercises and drills. She believed the translation method was 'helpful for students to shift into a Chinese way of thinking and speaking'. In order to fulfil the aim of mastering 1200 characters, memorisation and repetition were highlighted in the class. Faced with Danish students who 'enjoy life too much' and were 'comparatively lazy', she switched to the role of a 'strict teacher' who set up lots of rules. In every class being observed by the researcher, the lesson started with dictation and homework checking, a routine in each class to evaluate students' learning. Students automatically went to Li Na to report their homework. Even without Li Na saying anything, students would take pens and notebooks out to prepare for dictation.

Given the fact that most students were total beginners, Li Na did not favour group work. She believed it was 'not efficient' for them to make significant progress by working with peers whose language proficiency was also very low. Li Na noted she derived this idea from observing one local teacher's class. She recalled the Danish teacher used a lot of group work in class but she could only focus on one or two groups. Most students in other groups were chatting or doing something else and they did not get sufficient support and instruction from the teacher. Li Na turned back to the leading role to provide accurate pronunciation and grammatical structures to students. Li Na believed she had sufficient time to attend to each student and help them individually in a small class. Classroom observations showed that most of the classes were rigidly

structured, as Li Na often took a linear teaching approach and divided content into smaller parts which were presented in a sequential and graded manner. Classroom discipline was emphasised more than it had been in the first year in order to 'create an environment conducive to language learning'.

Although culture was seen by Li Na as the significant 'invisible root of the language tree', which helped students to learn language more effectively, she was not able to organise many cultural activities or cultural discussion due to time constraints. She followed the corresponding textbooks and word lists without resorting to supplementary teaching materials. She integrated some cultural information only when it could facilitate students' understanding of the meaning of some characters and phrases. Her lesson plans in a journal centred round 'words, grammar and sentence structures'.

After some time, Li Na saw that students were making steady progress and were getting used to regular homework and dictation. No students would complain to her about the homework and strict rules, as these were established based on negotiation with students to help them obtain the certificate. Her positive character, open-mindedness and Danish language proficiency helped her to build a close relationship with students. Li Na concluded that she enjoyed teaching at this school because of the 'democratic school atmosphere' and 'the development' she gained through adjustments and change.

Peter: 'I have become a much more realistic teacher'

Prior Learning and Teaching Experience in Different Contexts

Peter started learning Chinese when he went to university. He chose Chinese mainly because there would be an opportunity to go to China on an exchange and learn about its people and culture. After he started, he found learning Chinese was 'very interesting, but difficult'. It was also 'very different' from Danish and English in its pronunciation and character system, which 'demanded lots of effort' in learning. Most of the courses at the university focused on grammar and syntax, and they were

taught in 'a very traditional way' by teachers who were mostly sinologists with 'profound knowledge in Chinese language, literature and history'.

In the second year of university, Peter went to China to study Chinese and martial arts. He felt 'the teaching system was more systematically structured'. The Chinese teacher was 'very strict in classroom discipline and checking homework', which was 'very different' from what he had experienced in the Danish classrooms. Peter was impressed by how good the Chinese teachers were at making the most of the time in class. He recalled how his former Danish teachers would normally not do anything when they only had five minutes left before the class finished. Chinese teachers, however, would take the time to make students repeat word lists and do some additional practice. Peter thought the 'Chinese way of teaching' was 'more efficient and effective', and it helped him to make significant progress in learning Chinese. During his stay in China, Peter made significant progress not only in communicative skills in Chinese, but also in knowing the 'authentic culture'. He realised that he had removed lots of stereotypes about China by interacting with the people and experiencing life in China for himself.

Initial Teaching Experience: 'I taught Chinese in the same way I was taught and learned'

After Peter returned to Denmark, he got a part-time job at the university, teaching grammar and translation to students who majored in Chinese and China Area Studies. Without any experience in teaching or teacher training, Peter taught by emulating his university teachers' methods, which featured centring on the textbook, explaining grammar and giving lots of exercises to students in class. The new lessons often began with looking through the exercises together with students. After two months, he got a full-time job as Chinese language teacher at a high school where the Chinese programme had been established for five years. Students taking Chinese classes were from grades 1 to 3, and they would take an exam in the last year of high school.

One belief Peter held from day one was that he would not take 'a parental role' for students. His main responsibility was 'teaching Chinese

language and culture as a guide', 'not teaching students how to behave'. He treated students like 'adults instead of children'; he never shouted at a student or had to impose very strict discipline in class. 'Like those of most other Danish teachers', he expected students to be 'more reflective and independent in thinking, learning and behaving'. To get 'a secure start' in high school teaching, Peter 'basically copied what he did at university' and taught based on his previous learning and teaching memories. He focused on following the textbook *Kinesisk* (Danish word for Chinese) used by many other Chinese language teachers in high schools. At the beginning, the stress was on students' correct use of grammar rather than communicative skills because he thought grammar was the most essential foundation for students' foreign language learning. Classroom observation showed that he spent a significant amount of time doing grammatical analysis to help students to get the right sentence structures and to create new sentences.

However, Peter was 'disappointed' to see that most students seemed to be 'too quiet in classes'. There were many times when students did not understand the grammatical terms or possess the knowledge of history and philosophy that he assumed they would hold, resulting in very slow progress in teaching. In his first year of teaching, his lesson planning was derived mainly from what he 'wanted to teach and deliver to students', namely the textbook with the character list that would be featured on exams. Peter applied many 'old ways of teaching', such as repetition and memorisation, which he believed were 'more efficient than other methods, especially for teaching and learning characters'. Character learning was stressed since it was a major part to be assessed in the exam. However, from Peter's perspective, teaching characters was always a challenging job, and there was 'no short cut to it'; it could 'only be done through repetition and memorisation'.

Second Year of Teaching: 'I have become a much more realistic teacher'

After teaching at high school for some time, Peter was shocked and frustrated when he found out that high school students, compared with

learners at university, were 'less motivated' and they had 'less time to concentrate on learning Chinese'. Chinese, being a 'small' subject, had difficulty competing with other subjects such as Maths, Danish and English at the high school level. Therefore, the students always prioritised other subjects and did not invest the time needed for learning Chinese, particularly characters. Peter gradually realised that the biggest challenge for teaching was students' lack of motivation to learn. For example, when he assigned homework that would require about 15 minutes of effort, only half of the students would actually complete it. Peter realised that part of this may have been a result of his approaches to teaching, such as repetition and grammar teaching, which were not very attractive to students. He felt a strong need to be 'more realistic' in his teaching and to adjust himself to the classroom realities. He reflected upon his previous practice and realised that 'teaching was not about how much material you as teacher go through, it is about how much the students have understood'. Peter began to take actions to be 'more realistic' and make change.

The first strategy Peter applied was to create a safe and supportive classroom atmosphere by being more relaxed and adding humour to his teaching. He also began to speak more slowly and slowed down the pace. He did not stress students' language accuracy as he did before and avoided correcting their pronunciations and tones too often, feeling that 'this might discourage students' willingness to practice'. Moreover, Peter also made an effort to learn students' needs and interests, and he discovered that these were in oral language and Chinese culture, not just the exams. He therefore redirected the strategic focus from grammar teaching to communicative competence. Though he still took the exam into consideration, he put the priority on students' communicative skills and aimed to motivate students beyond the exams. He also spent more time on culture teaching and discussion on some topics in which students were interested. Classroom observations showed that he often invited students to comment on his teaching pace and topics, and then adjusted his teaching plan based on their feedback.

In terms of the teaching materials and content for teaching, Peter no longer just followed the textbook *Kinesisk*, which he found later was 'outdated and poorly organised'. He discovered more complementary materials from the Confucius Institute, and designed his own materials for

grammar teaching. He also felt 'braver and more secure' in getting different available online resources for his teaching. Peter realised the contents relevant to students' daily life were more popular and attractive. As a result, he often referred to his own intercultural experience in China and 'put things into context with references into real life'. He added cultural knowledge and phenomena through written texts, movies, documentaries on Chinese society and so on, and used these as 'starting points' to encourage students' 'critical analysis and reflection on Chinese culture and western philosophies and societies'. Peter believed the important aims of teaching culture were to 'avoid stereotypes and bias, and to cultivate open-mindedness'. He rejected 'putting things into fixed boxes' and thought students learned 'day-to-day culture' best through their own experiences.

As to the teaching methods, Peter made his lessons more fun by varying the teaching approaches and using different techniques, such as 'competition and projects'. He utilised inductive methods to teach grammar rather than employing direct methods. He used more interactive and communicative teaching, emphasising interaction with students. Soon, he found that most students 'came to life' when they were offered opportunities to work with classmates. Peter organised more group work and saw this as a good way of organising his teaching. As he put it, 'the students get to solve problems together and they get to speak a lot…And they learn how to cooperate and use each other to practice'. In one of the observed classes, 85% of his class time was occupied by students working in groups, practicing characters with flash cards and doing dialogue, exercises or projects. Peter was there, providing some instructions and explanations as necessary. However, he expressed in the interviews after classroom observation that 'I could have spoken less and given students more time to practice, as it was the students who made learning happen'.

During the process of becoming a more realistic teacher, Peter saw himself as 'a person who facilitated students' learning and enquiries, and to help, correct and guide them, not a parent to make them behave better'. He treated students like 'equal adults', as he thought they should be 'independent, active and self-directed learners who are mature enough to reflect upon their own behaviours'. He did not want to fit the image of 'a strict teacher by telling students to maintain strict discipline because he

strongly believed a friendly relationship with students was more conducive to learning. As long as students did not disturb others' learning, they were even 'allowed to use computers' in his class.

After the Teacher Training: 'I have become a better teacher'

After Peter entered his third year of teaching, he finally had time to join in-service teacher training, which consisted of workshops, classroom observations, theoretical courses and lesson planning activities. He followed an experienced Spanish teacher from whom he learned how to organise classes and reflect on his own teaching since he was the only CFL teacher at his school. 'It was the first time that I felt I had become a better teacher', he stated, as he could 'finally have deep and profound reflections on my own classes and think about teaching from the perspective of students' learning'. He started to link his goal of teaching to the important educational objectives of high school, and he arrived at the belief that 'cultivating a complete human person' should be his ultimate aim of teaching. As he stated in the last interview, 'at high school, a teacher was not only preparing the young people for higher education, but also for their better life and being part of the society as democratic citizens'. He began to think about his practice beyond the narrow scope of Chinese language and culture teaching.

Discussion

Change in Teachers' Beliefs and Practices as Overlapping Stories

The overlapping stories of these two teachers confirmed the findings from other research, indicating that there are shared beliefs and stories among teachers teaching in similar contexts and professional communities (Breen, Hird, Milton, Oliver, & Thwaite, 2001). Both stories show the tensions between many areas: participants' authority as teachers and students' learner autonomy and freedom of choices; struggle with adequate

teaching instruction and meeting the needs of students and schools; difficulty in motivating students to learn Chinese, particularly Chinese characters; challenges in relation to what they wanted to achieve and what they could actually accomplish in reality; and dilemmas in changing and fitting their beliefs to different teaching contexts and types of students. The shared stories also confirmed some of the themes addressed by research on beginner teachers' experience and challenges (Lavigne, 2014; Fantilli & McDougall, 2009). In addition, both teachers held some core beliefs about how language should be best taught and learned, these being formed in their early formal or informal learning experiences and proving resistant to change (Pajares, 1992; Moloney & Xu, 2015). For example, Li Na strongly believed in the role of 'grammar teaching, memorisation, repetition, pattern drills and translation' in motivating students to learn when there was an exam. Peter believed in 'group work', cultivating 'students' self-reflection and independent learning.

Though many studies show teachers' beliefs as rather stable (Pajares, 1992; Meirink et al., 2009), change is obvious in these two participants' ideas about their ambitions, expectations, reflectivity levels, awareness of their own roles in students' learning, views on teaching methods, objectives, teacher-student relationships and so on, which demonstrates the potential for a change in teachers' beliefs when they adapt themselves to new contexts and accumulate more experience (Borg, 2006; Lavigne, 2014). However, when teachers change their practices and their beliefs, alternative options generally do not disappear; there are still ambiguities and doubts that may be actualised later. In Li Na's case, she experienced a nonlinear way of shifting towards student-oriented teaching, as in the second year of teaching she returned to a more conservative teaching approach due to the academic requirements and stress on exam performance.

The development of foreign language teachers' beliefs is a complex, contextual and dynamic process, which takes place between the individual and the context (Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2015). The difference in two participating teachers' individual experience and working contexts explained why they did not change in a homogeneous way or went through different phases in their early years of teaching in the Danish context. Unlike many other native Chinese teachers who start teaching CFL abroad in a way aligned with the principles of traditional Chinese educational schema

(Moloney & Xu, 2015; Wang, 2015), Li Na began her first year by espousing student-centred teaching strategies according to the situation and students' diverse needs, and her awareness of students' active role in learning led her to change her teacher role from that of an authoritarian 'big boss' to that of a facilitator and guide. Instead of entering the 'survival phase' many beginner teachers experience (Lavigne, 2014, p. 33), she started experimenting with alternative methods. In her second year, she did not further consolidate this student-centred belief orientation, for she was faced with stress from academic tests.

Peter went through three phases in his early years of teaching. He started his career by copying his former teachers' ways of teaching, with a focus on grammar, accuracy and relying on a single textbook as a survival stage. When he had a better understanding about students' low motivation levels and their lack of participation (the discovery stage), he became more realistic and gradually moved away from the more teacher-oriented beliefs, taking up a perspective that valued students' involvement and more interactive teaching methods. In his third year of teaching, with in-service teacher training, Peter was able to reflect upon his practices and gained confidence in his teaching practice, as well as the sense of a good teacher.

This finding is consistent with previous research on teacher expertise and career phases. When teachers develop from novice teachers to expert teachers, they will show greater respect to students (Berliner, 1986, 1987). The findings showed that both teachers' beliefs have become more sophisticated and context-oriented, and they could draw elements from both content-oriented and learner-oriented beliefs and apply different teaching methods to fit their beliefs to different teaching contexts and types of students. Their belief change is purported to be a process of learning to teach and a nonlinear developmental process towards student-centeredness rather than 'a linear series of events' (Lavigne, 2014, p. 33; Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2013).

Factors and Forces Shaping Teachers' Beliefs

The study reveals that teachers' beliefs are based on their individual experiences, shaped by context and mediated by their classroom practices

(Pajares, 1992; Borg, 2006). The differences between the two participating teachers' beliefs are attributable to their personal lives and schooling experiences rooted in their homeland culture, educational schema, teaching practice and different contextual challenges (Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2015; Wang & Du, 2016). A teacher with more experience as a student learning within a learner-centred classroom has more potential to further develop his or her capabilities to use interactive and communicative approaches in the classroom (O'Sullivan, 2004). In our case, both teachers' previous learning experiences and beliefs differed considerably before they began their professional lives. Peter spent many years in the Danish school system which favoured students' active role and participation (McNess, 2004), and he felt very comfortable developing group work and alternative teaching approaches even when he had pressure from exams. Li Na, however, was educated in China and had vast learning and teaching experience in teacher-centred and exam-oriented school systems wherein exams and students' scores, rather than students' learning experience and participation, were the priority (Gao & Watkins, 2002). When Li Na's professional working environment resembled the one she had experienced before, she turned back to her traditional teaching approaches and practices that stressed students' academic achievements. Peter's pedagogical discourse started to focus on 'democratic education' and 'overall development of students' after he took part in in-service teacher training, which indicates that beliefs can change as a result of the impact of teacher education programmes and teaching practice (Borg, 2006; Tang et al., 2012).

According to Alger (2009), direct teaching experience in the classroom, particularly as it relates to new understandings about students' characteristics and needs, is the main force for change in teachers' conceptual metaphors for teaching. Teachers readjust their beliefs more substantially as they begin to interact with students in real teaching situations (Richardson, 1996). As the participant teachers gained more clear understanding of students' characteristics and needs, and the curriculum in teaching, they developed a more complex view of their working worlds and more integrated views of teaching and learning, which helped them deal with challenges they came across in their work. Teachers' deliberate reflection on their experience and beliefs is central in teachers' belief

change (Hiebert & Carpenter, 1992). Through self-reflection and questioning of the old beliefs and practices, new beliefs can be established (Tang et al., 2012).

Ultimately, our results confirmed previous research findings indicating that teachers' beliefs and practices may be, at least to some extent, dependent on context (Knoblauch & Hoy, 2008). Contexts, such as attributes of the schools, foreign language programme types and academic stress, play a significant role in teachers' beliefs (Borg, 2006; Al-Amoush, Usak, Erdogan, Markic, & Eilks, 2013). Li Na provided more fun, cultural and practical activities to students in an elective interest class. Chinese course with an exam for students to take in the second year more or less determined the curriculum and her main teaching objective, and it influenced the motivation of students, thus leading her to change her teaching strategy to one 'more efficient' in terms of improving students' academic achievements. When encountered with students who were lacking motivation and in low levels of preparedness for the course, Peter developed from a 'traditional', 'simple' form of teaching to one that was more communicative and interactive to motivate students to learn. The context dependency of teachers' professional beliefs can also be interpreted as a natural and necessary adaptation in the different situations (different classes, students, tasks, school leaders) that teachers face in their work (Ahonen, Pyhältö, Pietarinen, & Soini, 2014).

Conclusions

This study revealed that both beginner CFL teachers' beliefs and their belief change processes were idiosyncratic. When they started their teaching careers, they were more concerned with their own teaching according to previous experiences and beliefs, but they gradually developed a better understanding of their classroom contexts, including curriculum and students' needs and characteristics. Their beliefs became more context dependent and they improved at drawing elements from both content-oriented and learner-oriented belief orientations, and different teaching methods, to reconcile their beliefs and pedagogical instructions with the realities of teaching. Since teachers' beliefs and their change are closely

related to factors such as teachers' prior learning experience, classroom practices and teaching contexts, it is better to see their belief change as a nonlinear process of learning to teach and developing towards being professionals (Zheng, 2009).

The power and strength of stories in the professional development of teachers should be recognised. By relating teachers' experiences and beliefs, and the way these factors influence practice, narrative stories enable teachers to reflect on their work and develop more alternative conceptions and practices, ultimately helping them develop into professional and experienced teachers. In addition, the voice of the novice teachers in the Danish school context, with particular reference to their beliefs, professional experiences and challenges faced in the early years of teaching, ought to be fundamental in creating or modifying any teacher training programme or relevant policy that is aimed at mitigating challenges for new CFL teachers and promoting their professional development. In essence, understanding the CFL classroom realities in Danish schools must include the multiple voices of the CFL teachers on whom the quality of TCFL relies.

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Part II

Nordic-Chinese Intersections: Conceptual and Methodological Aspects

5

Beyond Comparative Methods in Research on Transnational Education Cooperation: A Proposed Theoretical Model for Examining Contextual Complexities

Jin Hui Li

Introduction

Transnational higher education cooperation in China has been rising steadily since the government began allowing transnational education programs to be set up in the mid-1980s (Mok, 2012). A new period began in 1995 when the Chinese government allowed the establishment of jointly led universities (He, 2016). Among the countries that China cooperates with are the Nordic countries. As of August 2016, both undergraduate and graduate programs based in China exist, jointly administered by higher education institutions in China together with higher education institutions from Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Denmark. Recently, universities in Finland and Denmark have been engaged in

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creating new collaborative ventures with Chinese universities: the Sino-Danish Center (SDC) in Beijing and the *Sino-Finnish Centre* (SFC) at Tongji University in Shanghai (Ministry of Education in China, 2016a, 2016b). These institutions are comprised of students and faculties with different national education experiences and practices, primarily from the Nordic countries and China. The sociocultural conditions for education and students' subjectivity in these new kinds of university centers are under-explored in the field of education.

The exploration of transnational processes in education has, so far, been dominated by comparative approaches. These approaches focus on analyzing the process of transnational or international schooling by finding explanations of the students' behaviors and academic achievement through comparisons of different education systems and their representatives (Bereday, 1964; Dale, 2003; Green, Preston, & Janmaat, 2006; Yan, 2010). These are also based on the idea of the students as representing a homogeneous national education culture, something which becomes visible in their encounters with another system of education. In particular, Asian international students with roots in a Chinese-speaking country have gained a lot of attention in English-speaking universities and have been problematized in educational practices as well as in research on international schooling (e.g. Biggs, 1996; Chan, 2010; Watkins, 2008). Attention to this has been rising as the number of such students enrolled in English-speaking universities has increased significantly in recent years. These students are sometimes constructed as a group labeled "Chinese learners" (Rastall, 2006). The group is often problematized as demonstrating "Chinese behaviours in Western classrooms" (Ibid.). This is articulated as a negative encounter between the pedagogical tradition of Western universities and the Chinese tradition of learning. "Chinese learners" as a group are depicted as being blind in the face of authority, inactive in class, lacking critical thinking skills, and poor at adopting learning strategies (Saravanamuthu & Yap, 2014). Other studies in this field have focused on understanding the problems of the "Chinese learner," through the investigation of the misconceptions Westerners have about Chinese learning styles and by highlighting how the Chinese mind functions and why certain styles of learning are preferred by Chinese students (e.g. Biggs, 1996; S. Chan, 1999). These studies are also based

on exploring differences between Chinese and Western approaches to teaching and learning (C. Chan, 2010; Hu, 2002). In this framework, a range of assumptions imply that Chinese students, as a homogenous group, bring their learning practices into the new context unchanged. These studies are being criticized for reproducing stereotypes of the pedagogical subject linked to categories such as "Eastern" and "Western," as comparative studies rely on dichotomies between Western and Eastern cultures, and thereby neglect the changing conditions for learning (e.g. Coverdale-Jones, 2006; Jin & Cortazzi, 2006). The aim of the chapter is to create a new framework to explore the changing conditions for learning and socialization in newly established education institutions in transnational contexts. This chapter will therefore argue that institutions such as SDC can be conceptualized as new and emerging transnational educational spaces which differ from the contexts in previous studies. This difference is due to the fact that, at SDC, the national ideas of education may be even more disturbed and transformed since the education programs are no longer controlled by one national state institution. SDC can hence be viewed as an educational context with transnational space. Faist, Fauser, and Reisenauer (2013) argue, in their analysis of the development of transnational migration flows, that the transnational space consists of "combinations of ties and their contents, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that can be found in at least two nation-states" (Faist et al., 2013, p. 13). The transnational space is a space where new connections and combinations can be made across national borders. The chapter will thus argue that there is a need to apply a different approach in order to investigate the formation processes of student subjectivity in such a context. This approach seeks to add new aspects to the research field by drawing inspiration from the so-called situated approach (e.g. Clark & Gieve, 2006; Gu & Schweisfurth, 2006). In analyzing transnational education processes the situated approach does not look for differences and similarities between students based on an essentializing concept of nationality, but rather it seeks to understand how students' encounters with different educational practices disturb and moderate their values and identity. Hence, the focus is on how these encounters produce sociocultural conditions for subjectivity and learning. In order to understand the complexities that occur in this new con-

text, one must examine the process of education in the institutional setting rather than conduct "traditional" comparisons of differences in national state systems and cultures of education based on dichotomies.

Cosmopolitan Citizenry and the Micropolitics of Knowledge

When considering questions regarding the production of subjectivities in schooling within a transnational context, one may ask whether this kind of educational practice can fulfill the Enlightenment's ideal concerning the creation of world citizens (e.g. Heater, 2002; Vertovec, 2002). Ong criticizes these positions, arguing that the governing of subjects crossing national spaces is not a realization of the universality of cosmopolitan ideals; rather, the emergent cross-border identities, affiliations, and nationalisms in the so-called global assemblages actually demonstrate the limits, not the universality, of cosmopolitan ideals (Ong, 2006a; Ong & Collier, 2005). Moreover, the aforementioned new university centers based on transnational cooperation, such as SDC and SFC, can be viewed as sites of "global assemblages" in which it is assumed that these situations are ever-changing and are not attached to the terrain of a nation-state (Ong & Collier, 2005). In Popkewitz's view, schooling in an institution is exactly where the limits of cosmopolitan ideals can be traced, arguing that schooling is both about fabricating national imaginaries that give cohesion to the idea of national citizenry and the images of cosmopolitan subjectivities (Popkewitz, 2000a). Consequently, following the argument from Popkewitz[1] in connection with Ong's, the question of exploration will be posed differently: Which forms of cosmopolitan citizenry are fabricated in schooling in a transnational space (understood as global assemblages)?

Exploring today's inscriptions of cosmopolitanism in schooling, Popkewitz argues that we have to look at reform which has promoted the reconstruction of the school, the child, and the teacher: "That

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[1] In this, I use the analysis from Popkewitz both historically and analytically, as it is my intention to apply his notion of cosmopolitanism as a critical strategy used to understand education in a transnational space as a kind of reform—from a national to a transnational curriculum.

reconstruction was part of the 19th-century globalization in which the nation-state was formed, and again today with different assemblies and connections about the global citizen and cosmopolitan future" (Popkewitz, 2007, p. 2). The thesis of cosmopolitanism was the Enlightenment's hope for a world citizen whose commitments transcended provincial and local concerns with ideal values about humanity. The universalizing idea of cosmopolitanism was historically attached to projects to create the citizens of a nation-state in the name of cosmopolitan values. Ironically, the idea was to emancipate the individual from local and national attachments in favor of the transcendental values of a unified humanity (Popkewitz, 2007). In terms of schooling, throughout the nineteenth century to the present, the ideas and aspirations of cosmopolitanism have exercised a powerful grip on pedagogical projects. Cosmopolitanism is "often traced to Northern European and North American Enlightenments, faith in cosmopolitanism is the emancipatory potential of human reason and science" (Popkewitz, 2007, p. xiii). However, it is perhaps less interesting to trace the faith in cosmopolitanism than to study the politics of knowledge that are embedded in the practices of schooling to reflect on the "reason" of cosmopolitanism through its circulation in the "problems" of current educational reforms (Popkewitz, 2007). The reason and rationality of cosmopolitanism were assembled with the notion of agency, which enables individuals to affect lives and their communities through reason and science by making life something outside of God's wisdom (Popkewitz, 2007). The theories on which the notion of agency is built envisioned people as self-governing subjects with motives and perceptions to regulate actions that form the future. The future becomes embedded in problem-solving and concepts of agency and action. Pedagogy becomes a way to cultivate, develop, and enable the reason necessary for human agency and progress. The function of modern schools is therefore to instill cosmopolitan principles of reason in children. The reforms of pedagogy express the principles of the making of the cosmopolitan child, who acts and thinks as a "reasonable person," as a cosmopolitan citizen of the future (Popkewitz, 2007).

Cosmopolitanism implies ideas about liberty and freedom, human agency, reason, and rationality that are linked to the problem of social management of a child so that the child can come to be a cosmopolitan

citizen of the future. Hence, the cosmopolitan child "is not born but made, and schooling is the central site for this production" (Popkewitz, 2007, p. 3). "The Enlightenment's hope in human reason was to produce a progressive future" (Popkewitz, 2007, p. 13). The historicizing study of schooling is hence a diagnosis of the system of reason as practices of cultural theses that shape the global citizen and the cosmopolitan future. So, the study of cosmopolitanism can be viewed as "a strategy to explore historically the intertwining of the problem of social exclusion with the very impulses to include and to 'enlighten'" (Popkewitz, 2007, p. xiv). This is to think of cosmopolitanism as a process of abjection, a mode to think about complex assemblies of relations of inclusion and exclusion. The cosmopolitanism of schooling is the same phenomenon as the act of thinking of being cast out, placed in an in-between space, and excluded. These principles of cosmopolitanism hence exemplify the comparative distinction that defined, separated, and rendered abject those groups and individuals that are not "civilized" and therefore not qualified for participation. The governing is not only about imposing transcendental values, but also about qualifying individuals for and excluding them from participation and action (Popkewitz, 2007). The politics of knowledge in the production of the self and the world is brought into focus by cosmopolitanism, with the notion of childhood and family as governing practices. Cosmopolitanism, then, is about constructing cultural ideas about ways of life structured in pedagogy. Discussing cultural theses is then to focus on how different assemblies of ideas, institutions, and authority relations are linked to order the principles of conduct—the politics of knowledge (Popkewitz, 2007).

This is the analytical strategy used to comprehend "how particular forms of knowledge inscribe power in ways that qualify and disqualify students from action and participation" (Popkewitz, 1998, p. 7). In this sense, power is operating through circulation of knowledge or rules of reason, in which the principles by which individuals can act and participate in the world are created. The way the rules of reason select the "objects" that contain the issues, problems, and practices of daily life is then how power is exercised (Popkewitz, 2000a). Hence, knowledge is attached to power through "micro processes in which individuals construct their sense of self and their relations to others. Power functions

through an individualization that disciplines and produces action rather than merely repressing action" (Popkewitz, 2000a, p. 17). The disciplining is thus never totally forced, as production of knowledge functions through those governing codes, which are applied in the micro processes as "reason" and "truth" (Popkewitz, 2000b). The disciplining, regulating, and organizing components of knowledge—as a material practice in which the subject is constituted—are what Foucault called *governmentality*[2] (Foucault, 2002a; Plum, 2010; Popkewitz, 2000a; Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998). Thus, the focus on cosmopolitanism is "its systems of reason in governing who the child is, who the child should be, and who does 'fit' in the images and narratives of that child" (Popkewitz, 2007, p. 4). In other words, exploring the students' subjectivity (by seeing them as becoming the cosmopolitan citizens of the future) in institutions such as SDC can be done through detecting the systems of reason in SDC, which govern who the citizen is, who the citizen should be, and who "fits" in the images and narratives of the citizen.

Exploring the Processes of Subjectivities Through Translocal Governmentality and Intersectionality

Ong takes the notion of governmentality a step further into the studies of subjectivity processes in globalization and develops the notion of *translocal governmentality*. Translocal governmentality refers to new modalities which are emerging in global assemblages (Ong, 1999, p. 6). Translocal governmentality in global assemblages is viewed as "ideas and techniques for acting on the self and for reforming/reengineering the self in order to

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[2] Foucault argued that we live in the age of a governmentality, which was discovered in the eighteenth century (Foucault, 2002a). Foucault analyzed this shift in his lecture on governmentality in 1978. He demonstrated that government, as a general problem, occurred in the middle of the sixteenth century. He found it remarkable that "from the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth, there develops and flourishes a notable series of political treaties that are no longer exactly 'advice to the prince,' … but are instead presented as works on the 'art of government'" (Foucault, 2002a, p. 201). The governance of the prince was connected to sovereignty, which operates on a territory, and thus on the subjects who inhabit it. This he called "sovereignty," and the altered kind of governance he called "the art of government."

confront globalized insecurities and challenges" (Ong, 2006a). Translocal governmentality is formed through mutations in citizenship. Analytically, there are two processes that underlie the mutations: "On the one hand, there is the emergence of new political spaces, and on the other, the disentanglement of citizenship components" (Ong, 2005, p. 697). The new political space challenges the notion of citizenship attached to the territory and imagination of a nation-state, as the space is a constant changing landscape shaped by the flows of markets, technologies, and populations. The mutations of citizenship can thus be traced as global movements and their formation of new spaces of entangled possibilities. The site for new political mobilizations and claims is a space of the assemblage, rather than the territory of the nation-state (Ong, 2006b). Systems of translocal governmentality are related to transnational strategies of flexibility as, in an era of globalization, individuals, along with governments, develop a flexible idea of citizenship and sovereignty as strategies to accumulate capital and power (Ong, 1999). In the processes of mutations of citizenship, the rights and protections long associated with citizenship are becoming disarticulated from the state. They are reshaped with elements such as market-based interests, transnational agencies, mobile elites, and marginalized populations (Ong, 2005). The mutations show that citizenship becomes flexible. "Flexible citizenship" refers "to the cultural logics of capitalist accumulation, travel and displacement that induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions" (Ong, 1999, p. 6). Flexible citizenship is then an effect of translocal governmentality, which operates through an ensemble of institutions, such as schools, museums, corporations, and NGOs (Ong, 2006a). Where Ong discusses these processes through the idea of citizenship, I will use the notion of citizenry from Popkewitz in relation to Ong's analysis of flexibility, as citizenry refers to the sense and ideal of citizenship rather than to the legal components connected with it. Sites like SDC can thus be seen as new spaces of entangled possibilities and actions where the political rationality and cultural mechanisms continue to deploy, discipline, regulate, or civilize subjects on the move (Ong, 1999).

This implies that an analysis of the exercise of power in global assemblages like SDC requires an exploration of the development of how knowledge, as a regime, is evolving—the objectification process of

students who have learned to recognize themselves as cosmopolitan citizens of the future under transnational cooperation. Furthermore, the limits of the cosmopolitan ideal in these global assemblages can be traced through the search for which governmental apparatus is functioning in transformations of citizenry as effects of these translocal governmentalities, and how the governmental apparatus is creating the transformations. Consequently, the examination of transnational processes in education will be accomplished through the analytical lenses of the transformed cultural logics which play out in the microphysics of students' choice and motivation for and in education (the micropolitics of knowledge in schooling) rather than making comparisons based on the students' nationality.

Knowledge As the Rule of Reason: Disposing Desirable Citizenry

Exploring which forms of cosmopolitan citizenry are being created in schooling in a transnational space as a global assemblage is then exploring the politics of knowledge (using the concept of translocal governmentality). In this sense, searching for the effects of translocal governmentalities is a search for how "reason" and "the reasonable person" are produced as power operates through the circulation of knowledge, which is tied to political rationalities in the governing structures of our individuality. Translocal governmentality can then be thought of as power-as-effects, though it is possible to move toward self-governance and act within a more or less open field of possibilities (Popkewitz, 2000a); for Foucault, the operation of power is the "'conduct of conducts' and a management of possibilities" (Foucault, 2002b, p. 341).

In what follows, the approach will search for the structure of reasoning in which students act and participate in the world as "knowing-being," which is part of the process of becoming a desirable citizen. The structure of reason as an issue of governing can be found in examinations of curricula in schooling, as curricula are "historically formed within systems of ideas that inscribe styles of reasoning, standards, and conceptual distinctions in school practices and its subjects" (Popkewitz, 2001, p. 151). So, as subjects of schooling, we are not only learning what to know through

learning about things such as spelling, science, mathematics, or geography, but also "learning dispositions, awareness, and sensibilities about the world" (Popkewitz, 2001, p. 159). The fabrication of certain dispositions, awareness, and sensibilities is thus inscribed in the rules of reasoning in schooling. In exploring the question of knowledge and reason in schools with transnational spaces, it can also be assumed that the fabrication of certain dispositions, awareness, and sensibilities is not enacted through brute force, but through the rules that organize the symbolic systems by which one (as becoming a citizen) is to understand, organize, and participate in the world (Popkewitz, 2001).

The knowledge of schooling that this approach aims to explore is not the concrete scientific knowledge and skills which students have to pursue to obtain their university degrees, but rather what is required of them to be able to "receive" the transmitted knowledge of the institution. In other words, the self-knowledge and self-reflection about their learning and socialization processes required of the students to become the ideal cosmopolitan citizens of the future. And especially in connection to schooling in a transnational space, the ways students ascribe this self-knowledge to certain national education traditions and experiences (see e.g. Li, 2016).

Subject Positions and Intersectionality in Governing Practices

In this theoretical framework, the transnational educational processes at institutions like SDC are thus understood as governing practices. Whereas Popkewitz gives his attention to and uses the part of Foucault's work on governance where knowledge relations are emphasized in forming subjectivities, it is my ambition to develop an approach which goes beyond this particular reception of the relationship and to include a focus on the interactions between students in schooling in a transnational space. Popkewitz's analytical conceptions of power and knowledge are valuable in studying the structures in power-as-effects. However, they are limited when interpreting the embodied interactions of students, as their primary focus is on how subjects are shaped by specific practices of

governance. Moreover, they do not discuss the varieties and differentiations in constructing subjectivities in lived life, such as how different categorizations intersect in different subjects in the processes of subjectification. To capture the multiplicities of the process of subject construction and the effects as the different social categories are embodied at the interactional level, we need to add another analytic interpretation of Foucault's notion of subjectivity—one with a focus on power as a relational concept that operates in a field of positions that shapes subjects (Foucault, 2008). This draws on receptions of Foucault's work studying the objectivizing of subjects, particularly the later part of his work where he sought to study "the way a human being turns him- or herself into a subject. For example, I have chosen the domain of sexuality—how men have learned to recognize themselves as subjects of 'sexuality'" (Foucault, 2002b, p. 326). As for the specific object of study of this chapter, a similar question could be posed: How have students in transnational education contexts learned to recognize themselves as subjects of "education," "nationality," and "future citizenry" or other categorizations? The concept of "doing intersectionality" will be useful here. Doing intersectionality is a social constructionist understanding of Foucault's notion of subjectivity[3] combined with a reworking of the concept of "intersectionality" by Crenshaw.[4] Doing intersectionality is developed to explore how different social categories intersect in the performative embodiment of the students in the context of schooling (Staunæs, 2003, 2004, 2005). Crenshaw's notion of power is merely about domination and subordination. Staunæs argues that there is a need to relate intersectionality to power in the

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[3] Staunæs was inspired by the school of Foucault reception which interprets his subject notion with performing, acting, doing, and becoming as vital aspects of subjectivity constitutions (Butler, 1999; Davies, 2000; Søndergaard, 1996) rather than merely organized and structured by power and knowledge relations. In this, she is inscribed, herself, within the tradition of the fields of pedagogy and psychology, particularly in that part where poststructuralist and social constructionist researchers have developed their perspectives on the processes of subjectification in relation to discourse theory. However, they continue the sensitive view of the subjectification processes, "in which people take up, ignore or resist the accessible discourses, make them their own and in this struggle constitute subjectivity" (Staunæs, 2005).

[4] In Crenshaw's framing of the concept of intersectionality, she argues that "[i]ntersectionality is a conceptualization of the problem that attempts to capture both the structural and dynamic consequences of the interaction between two or more axes of subordination" (Crenshaw in Lutz, 2014, p. 3).

Foucauldian sense: "It must include thinking in terms of power, but not just power as oppression; rather, it should allow space for reconfiguring power relations in processes of subjectification and in relations between subject positions and intertwined social categories" (Staunæs, 2005, p. 154). In the reworking, Staunæs integrates two approaches that she calls majority-inclusive and non-additional (Staunæs, 2004). A majority-inclusive approach is a Foucauldian approach focusing on how someone comes to be un/marked, non/privileged, how these processes are constructed, sustained, and disrupted, and how power is part of this (Staunæs, 2003, p. 155). The majority-inclusive constitutes "an analytical move away from the exotic spectacle of the Other and towards a way of pointing to the mutual constructions between the discursive constructions of 'Firstness' and 'Otherness'" (Staunæs, 2003, p. 103). In such an approach, social categories such as ethnicity and gender are not perceived as exceptional minority problems, and social categories are not the privilege of certain actors but rather categories that are constructed, sustained, and disrupted in relation to one another (Staunæs, 2003, p. 155).

The non-additional approach is, as many feminist critics have suggested, a model which goes beyond the additive models of oppression (e.g. Brah, 1996; Crenshaw, 1991; Razack, 1998). As Staunæs underlines, "[t]hat means not just adding categories but rather looking into how they interlock with one another and the kind of difference a difference makes for the individual and how a space with different categories makes subjective experiences qualitatively different" (Staunæs, 2005). It is about questioning how subjectivities are constructed through the intersections of manifold dimensions. In this perspective, social categories are something one does, thinks, and says. Social categories are parts of positions of the subjectivities and some of the discursive structures through which people find their behavior can be studied as social categories (Staunæs, 2003). Such are the positions in the discourse in which the subject can act and speak. Social categories are structuring principles for the interaction between humans, but, at the same time, also structured by the interaction between humans. Social categories are tools for orientation in which we decode, construct, and position ourselves. They are selection tools which are used to attach, detach, include, and exclude specific subjects (Staunæs, 2004).

Hence, Staunæs advocates for the examination of lived life through the approach of the doing of intersectionality, where the way the categories intermingle, their concrete dominance, and their elaboration must be studied in concrete situations. It is important to point out that categories do not mingle equally. This entails an exploration of the doing of the relation between categories, the outcome of this doing, and the effects of this doing on the various subject positions (Staunæs, 2005). Therefore, she suggests bringing the doing of intersectionality to the foreground, as social categories do not merely intersect, but also interlock and form new meanings (Staunæs, 2004). In this perspective, the approach requires a focus and sensitivity about "details of how the concrete doings and intermingling of categories work in a specific context—i.e. how … they saturate, tone, overrule, and support one another" (Staunæs, 2005). The social categories are thus not something one bears, but rather they are what one becomes through how one's acts are regulated by power relations (Staunæs, 2003). Seeing social categories in this way is to explore the subject in a more vigorous way, by seeing the subject as "constructed becoming" in the concrete situation rather than "essential being" (Staunæs, 2005). What become central, then, are the concrete becomings of the subject in specific situations (like the situated approach emphasizes), rather than an inherited social variable which can explain the behavior of the subject (as in the comparative approach). By illuminating these processes, the formation of subjectivity through the new meaning of social categories formed by these interlockings and the visibility of the organizations of social life in schooling (in transnational space) will be elucidated (Staunæs, 2004).

The assumptions for subjectivity in the concept of doing intersectionality are the same as in the situated approach. However, with the notion of "constructed becoming," we now have a deeper understanding of the specificities of the processes by which the students become the "knowing being" in the transnational educational space. Such a theoretical angle enables an explorative curiosity toward the lived life in schooling as a microcosm in which the subject is developing, changing, and forming in specific situations (Staunæs, 2004). In this sense, Foucault's idea of a subject having two meanings in power complexities is modified in Staunæs'

interpretation[5] and turned into a two-sided view of the human as a doing actor, "as both a subject acting upon contextual conditions and as being subject to, in the sense of being determined by, contextual conditions" (Staunæs, 2003, p. 103).

This means when viewing the interactions of students in schooling in a transnational space, we understand the students as doing actors who are able to negotiate their positions through their methods of performing within the interlocking of social categories. However, these negotiations in the social categorization process should not be understood as the actors being led by their "own" desire, but instead as historical constructions led by the specificities of translocal governing practices, where the individual's subjectivity can be expressed. The approach works with power relations in the construction of subjectivity in ways where students' subjectivities are governed by the rules of reason (the limits of cosmopolitan citizenry) and at the same time, the students' subjectivities are differentiated by how they are "doing" different categories.

Conclusion

Building on the situated approach in studying education processes in a transnational context as for the cases of the Chinese-Nordic cooperation in higher education, this model goes beyond comparative methods. It emphasizes the processes of making of the social categories of differentiation and identification for students' subjectivity in schooling rather than trying to understand the behaviors of the students through the social

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[5] Staunæs tries to make sense of Foucault's notion of the two meanings the subject has in power complexities by using Davies and Harré's (1990) interpretation of Foucault's (2008) early work in the sixties, such as the idea of subject positions as effects of discursive regularity together with his later ideas of the embodied "on-going subjugation" in the late seventies (Foucault, 1980, p. 97). By emphasizing the processes that Foucault called "on-going subjugation," Staunæs ties the positions regulated by the discourses and the subjects' embodiments of the positions together. In this Foucault has turned his analytic eye toward the interactional level, as he questions more concretely the processes in subject-making—the processes of how our bodies, gestures, and behaviors are constituted in their material instances. Staunæs argues that in the establishing processes of subjectivity, questions of how bodies, gestures, and behaviors are shaped operate through material instances as social categories (Staunæs, 2003).

categories and educational traditions (like Western vs. Eastern) that they are ascribed to represent.

The theoretical framework argued for in this chapter is a model in which the construction of subjectivity in an institution like SDC can on one hand be understood as governed through the dispositions, awareness, and sensibilities by which the students "tell the truth" about themselves and others, which may be founded on the rules of reasoning. On the other hand, however, it may be seen as being constructed through the effects of the doing of intersectionality—how the students' subject positions are shaped through negotiations in the intermingling of social categories in specific situations. Students' interactions will thus be studied through how the categories emerge in the lived lives of students—through, on one hand, the translocal system of reason providing particular dispositional ways to tell the truth (which social categories are provided e.g. in connection to the desired future flexibility), and, on other hand, as the various ways students take up different dispositions and turn them into their own (how these categories are embodied or performed through the negotiations in the processes of the intermingling of social categories). Connecting those two perspectives means viewing subjects as positions, where potential opportunities for acting are regulated by categorization and disposition through translocal systems of reason in the particular transnational context of schooling. The space is consisting of educational practices with intersections of ties that can be ascribed to at least two nation-states (like Denmark and China in the case of SDC). In this perspective, the schooling in transnational spaces is understood as global assemblages where the limits of the cosmopolitan citizenry can be traced.

The research questions asked through this model will thus also be different from those in comparative methods and go beyond the focus on dichotomies associated with Western and Eastern educational cultures. For the comparative method, the research questions would go something like: *How can the students' learning strategies or behaviors in the transnational context be understood qua the national education culture/tradition they come from?* In this model, however, the analytical strategy is to explore subjectivity construction in education in transnational spaces by asking research questions such as: What are the practices of categorization and

negotiation through which translocal governmentality functions are fashioned in the lived life of schooling in a transnational space, and how do students take up the different dispositions and social categories which are provided and turn them into their own in the process of becoming a desirable cosmopolitan citizen of the future? In the theoretical framework suggested in this chapter, the eye of investigation can thus be specified through the politics of (self-)knowledge in schooling in a transnational context where certain kinds of subject positions become possible for students through translocal governmentalities.

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6

Lutheranism and Confucianism Between National Education and Globalization: A Theoretical Discussion

Mette Buchardt and Xiangyun Du

Introduction

In most part of the historical and comparative scholarship on education, the importance of religion and religiously related phenomena in education is said to have dissolved during the twentieth century due to modernization in economic as well as cultural terms (Buchardt, 2016). In the case of People's Republic of China (PRC) and Denmark (DK), this influence seemed to dissolve from especially the middle of the twentieth century, due to the secularization ideologies of respectively the Communist rule (PRC) and the Social Democratic rule (DK). However, both nation

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states have in the 1990s experienced a renaissance, whereby new interpretations of 'Confucian values' (PRC) and ideas of 'Christian Lutheran cultural heritage' and 'values' (DK) have reentered the educational arena. This chapter proposes a methodological and theoretical frame for how this can be understood and further explored. As a theoretical and methodological approach is being followed, the main question to be explored in this chapter is thus how these resurgences of allegedly religious systems of value in relation to education in two different national contexts can be compared. More specifically: How do we conceptualize Confucianism and Lutheranism as historically and socially transformable entities that not only transform in time but should also be understood as transformed due to the social fields in which they are put to action, for instance in the field of education?

Inspired by new trends in the methodological borderland between history of education, Comparative Education, and global and transnational approaches to history, our basic claim is that an approach for such comparison needs to focus on the way transnational challenges are met with nationally contextualized answers in the two contexts in question, looking for similarities rather than differences as well as for parallels and entanglements.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: With the recent policy development as a point of departure, we contextualize the new interpretations of 'Confucian values' (PRC) and ideas of 'Christian Lutheran cultural heritage' and 'values' (DK) that have reentered the educational arena since the 1990s in light of globalization, and thus increasing global competition as well as reinterpretations of the nation state. From this basis, we move on to discuss how the two systems throughout the twentieth century have been increasingly reinterpreted as economic factors rather than, for instance, spiritual phenomena in twentieth century social theory. Such theoretical constructions of the two phenomena in question provide keys to understanding these phenomena academically, but they may also influence their status in educational policy and educational political debate at present. Finally, we present two historical examples, pointing to the role of the two phenomena in question in the rise of

modernization, namely in the nation-state building periods in China and Denmark in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Based on this, we conclude that a comparison of the role of Lutheranism and Confucianism in Denmark and China could fruitfully provide answers to the challenges of economic and cultural competition in light of today's globalization.

Point of Departure: Lutheran and Confucian Traditions Reenter the Field of Education from the 1990s Onwards

From the 1990s, in the People's Republic of China (PRC) as well as in Denmark the educational field experienced an intensified focus on 'culture', 'tradition', and 'values'. Though such movements and tendencies can be said to have mirrored a global trend, a main characteristic was in some sense the opposite, namely a quest to rediscover the national cultural heritage and to find values embedded in tradition in order to strengthen the future citizens and labor force through education. This also happened elsewhere. For instance, in the USA the Moral Education Movement can be seen as another example of this—as well as the back-to-basics movements, which date further back, that is to the 1980s.

In PRC in the past decade a 'national learning' (*guoxue*) fever has encouraged the 'back to tradition' movement in Chinese education. Following this movement, projects focusing on teaching traditional Chinese culture and virtues represented by Confucianism have been launched at all educational levels from primary schools to universities (Wei & Jiang, 2007; Liu, 2014; Li, 2014). In particular, the so-called Classical reading trend saw the light of day together with a renewed interest for the teaching and rediscovery of 'Confucian values' as a subject matter as well as a basis for education outside as well as inside the state education system (Yu, 2008; Billioud & Thoraval, 2014). Generally speaking, the movement and projects have voiced a need for integrating basic and sound moral values instruction based on the time-honored

Confucian tradition into moral education (Li, Zhong, & Zhang, 2004; Lee & Ho, 2005; Zhang, 2011).

In the Nordic states, parallel movements took place, namely a renewed attention towards learning values and/or culture in the public school. In Denmark, this included ideas of a 'Christian Lutheran cultural heritage' as the basis for education, especially in the public primary and lower secondary school. This attention drew on ideas from the educational policy of the 1980s, inspired by so-called canon approaches and back-to-basics philosophy from the US-American context, and it became part of the official policy during the 1990s. Particularly the Act of the Public School from 1993 is an example of this trend (Telhaug & Tønnessen, 1992; Rasmussen, 1996; Buchardt, 2011, 2016).

Such tendencies in educational policy across nation states—and thus traversing many and varied national education systems—can be said to have mirrored the more general political climate after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1990 and the breakdown of the socialist states and plan economies in the Soviet sphere of interest, and thus also the end of the Cold War and its ideological juxtaposition between state socialism and capitalist market economy. Post-Cold War intellectual authorship such as the work of political scientist Francis Fukuyama declared the end of history, specifically the final victory of capitalist market economy and Western style democracy, while other political scientists suggested new geopolitical distinctions. Samuel P. Huntington's work *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (1996) thus predicted new distinctions replacing the Cold War geopolitical scheme, namely a range of geopolitical entities where some were characterized by geographical notions such as the 'Western civilization' and the 'Latin American civilization' and some by religious categorization such as the 'Orthodox civilization' (former Soviet Union, parts of former Yugoslavia, Greece, etc.), the 'Hindu civilization', and the 'Islamic civilization'. Huntington also pointed to a so-called Confucian civilization consisting of China, the Koreas, Singapore, Taiwan, and Vietnam, a group which also included the Chinese diaspora, especially in relation to Southeast Asia. Categories connected to what had since the European enlightenment project increasingly been labeled *religion* formed an important part of the distinctions,

but as a geopolitical category. Hence, the so-called Western civilization was also seen as characterized by religion, namely Protestantism and Catholicism. Also, what was in addition called the Sino civilization was dubbed by means of Confucianism, a phenomenon which since the early religion studies, first connected to religious missions and later to the new academic discipline of comparative religion in the late nineteenth century, has been viewed as religion. Though giving religiously flavored categories a central position in the geopolitical landscape that was carved out, such ideas also partly emptied and transformed the meaning of religion as connected to, for instance, ritual practices, worship of transcendent beings, and personal piety. A similar pattern can be detected in what we can broadly call the educational back-to-basics movements in different national contexts.

From being connected to religious institutions and during the twentieth century—due to secularization movements—increasingly separated from the state education systems, phenomena such as Protestantism and Confucianism, from especially the 1990s, reentered the educational scene in meso- and microlevel movements as well as among policy makers, and thus the political elite (Yu, 2008; Buchardt, 2016). A double move could here be said to be at stake, namely on the one hand, an increased ideological attention in educational politics towards national heritage and values, including religiously categorized phenomena such as 'tradition' and 'national culture', and not (necessarily/primarily) in the sense of the worshipping practice of transcendent beings. On the other hand, this national education renaissance, besides being a global phenomenon, could also be said to be part of the national answer to the challenges of globalization as these were articulated on the state-political level. In 1997, political scientist Philip G. Cerny formulated the thesis that the nation state transformed into a so-called competition state in light of globalization, but that political globalization was simultaneously promoted through actions taken by state actors and institutions. The state action taken in order to adapt to what the actors formulated as 'global "realities"' promoted and forced the pace of globalization (Cerny, 1997, e.g. pp. 1–2). It might be worth considering whether this also in some sense applies to the return and transformation of religion as culture and tradi-

tion in general and in particular in the educational back-to-basics movements.

Another important element of political globalization with regard to education is the role played by interstate completion in relation to achieving the lowest possible costs as well as the highest possible effectiveness of the state education system (e.g. Illeris 2014a, 2014b; Pedersen, 2014). In the Nordic context this had for instance led to increasing attention towards what is seen as other effective education systems, such as in Canada, Finland, and not least Asian education systems such as those in Singapore, Hong Kong, and PRC due to their success in international assessments (e.g. Buchardt & Plum, forthcoming). Conversely, in the Asian states in question, for instance, Singapore showed an increasing interest in developing critical skills, which has led to a renewed interest in such experiences in other education systems (e.g. Sharpe & Gopinathan, 2002). Thus also the so-called Nordic model of Education and the experience with problem-based learning have been objects of interest in PRC for example (Du, Liu, Toft, & Sun, 2010; Du, Su, & Liu, 2013; Li & Du, 2013).

To sum up, the increasing interest in consolidation and reinvention of tradition in light of global competitiveness takes place in a context where state actors on nation-state as well as on supra-nation level display an increasing interest in effectively including critical skills for the future citizen and labor force. This complex situation calls for comparison of 'the traditions' in question—in this case Lutheranism and Confucianism—in relation to education. First and foremost, a broader and more basic discussion on how to understand the phenomena in light of the historical changes and transformation they have undergone when related to the state, the economy, and the education system is needed. As precondition it is, however, useful to deal with how the phenomena in question have been conceptualized in twentieth century scholarship. Though Confucianism and Lutheranism have both played a significant role in crafting the state in the regions where they were developed, something which we will return to, it is not least due to the significant role for the development of the economy which is ascribed to them that the phenomena in comparison have caught the attention of twentieth century scholarship.

Comparing Confucianism and Protestantism/ the West in Relation to Economy: A Perspective Based on Difference

A significant example of comparing Confucianism and Lutheranism in relation to economy, more specifically economic development, is the research building on the so-called Neo-Confucian hypothesis which, since the late 1970s, has inspired economical thought as well as management studies, for instance organizational anthropology. The hypothesis derives from the futurologist Herbert Kahn's understanding of the so-called cultures of the successful Asian economies such as Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore as 'neo-Confucian'. The hypothesis, in other words, builds on 'culture' as the main explanation, understood as 'the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one category of people from those of another,' an idea which has been developed by for instance the organization scholar Geert Hofstede in order to understand the behavior and mindset behind success (Kahn, 1979; quoted after Hofstede & Bond, 1988, p. 6). According to this approach, however, Western thought is understood in light of Christianity in a broad sense, which is compared to Confucianism in order to explain the success of some Asian economies, whereas Lutheranism is not mentioned specifically.

The 'neo-Confucian hypothesis' scholarship can be said to build upon but also turn around another significant example of conceptualization, namely the sociologist Max Weber's comparison of Confucian and Protestant rationality from the early twentieth century in order to understand the reverse situation, namely that Capitalism did not seem to develop in China like it did in Northern Europe and North America. Where the interest in Confucianism, in order to explain the economic growth in Asian economies, is the point of departure for scholarship building of the neo-Confucian hypothesis, Weber's scholarly interest derives from the opposite situation earlier in the century. In the case of Weber, Protestantism, especially in its Calvinist form, such as the Anglo-American Puritanism, is at the fore of the analysis, but Protestantism in its Lutheran form is also included.

Weber's analysis of Confucianism builds on and is preceded by his groundbreaking work *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904, 1905), which articulates the thesis that Protestant Christianity such as Calvinism and Lutheranism played a significant role in the success of Capitalism in Northern Europe and especially in the USA. Hence, Protestantism is understood as a type of rationality enforcing the Protestant to achieve success in the worldly sphere in order to achieve signs of salvation. Since salvation in such Protestant theologies is not possible to achieve through deeds, the only sign of being predestined to salvation is a productive and successful work life. In this sense, a Protestant work ethics developed in relation to the shift into capitalist modes of production, Weber claimed.

A few years later Weber developed his theory in another study that sought to explain the relation between the lack of success in establishing Capitalism as a mode of production in China and Confucianism as an ethic and form of rationality. In this analytical endeavor, the success of capitalism in the West served as a comparative connection (Weber, [1915, 1920] 1951, 1989). Among the main differences in what Weber conceptualizes as 'Puritan rationalism' and 'Confucian rationalism' is the status of the human world. In contrast to 'the Protestant', 'the Chinese' believes in a natural harmony in heaven that can be found in the human world as well:

> Confucianism […] was (in intent) a rational ethic which reduced tension with the world to an absolute minimum. […] The world was the best of all possible worlds; the human nature was disposed to the ethically good. […] The right path to salvation consisted in adjustment to the eternal and supra-divine orders of the world, Tao, and hence to the requirements of social life, which followed by cosmic harmony. (Weber, 1951, pp. 227–228)

Where a tension between nature and deity, according to Weber, does not exist in Confucian rationality, Puritan rationalism saw the world as sinful. Where Sin in Confucian rationality is a question of breaking social norms and thus rather a breach of decorum than a real sin, the Puritan has an eternal obligation to work solely for the greater glory of God without any guarantees for salvation in order the bridge the unbridgeable gap (in German 'Kluft') between God and the sinful world. In the words of the

Weber scholar Christopher Adair-Toteff, '[t]he Calvinist worked end-lessly with a single focus on the afterlife, the follower of Confucius appre-ciated handwork and enjoyed the beauty of life' (Adair-Toteff, 2014, p. 92).

It is important to be aware of the fact that Weber was aiming at carving out so-called ideal types, as well as the fact that Weber's distinctions were meanwhile based on nuanced sociological and historical perspectives. A discussion of the adequacy of Weber's notions of Confucianism is, how-ever, not the point of this chapter. Rather, the point is to examine the resemblances as well as the differences between the neo-Confucianism hypothesis and Weber's classical comparison.

Both approaches seek to explain the relation between economy ('eco-nomic growth', 'development of capitalism') in relation to Confucianism ('the East') and—let us say—something similar in 'the West'. In the case of Weber, the comparison focuses on Protestantism—in the case of Kahn followers such as Hofstede and Bond, 'Western culture' associated with Judaism, Christianity and Islam, more specifically religions that claim and seek truth, are foregrounded (e.g. Hofstede & Bond, 1988, p. 19).

Among the significant differences is, however, that while Weber based his theoretical distinction on a concept of rationalities, the Kahn-inspired approach works with a concept of culture that applies to corporate cul-ture as well as culture at 'the national level' (Hofstede & Bond, 1988, p. 6). Hofstede and Bond hence explain the success of the Asian econo-mies due to what they see as 'values associated with Confucian dyna-mism' (Hofstede & Bond, 1988, p. 17). Whereas Weber understands the status of social hierarchies in Confucianism as part of its conformism, Hofstede and Bonds find what they call 'the heart of the Chinese concep-tion of being human' in 'the sense of hierarchy and complementarity of relations', which they see as something which 'undoubtedly makes the entrepreneurial role easier to play'.

Nevertheless, both approaches are focused on carving out ideal typolo-gies rather than exploring empirical and historical traces. Another impor-tant similarity between the two approaches is that both deal with phenomena that comparative religion deals with as religious phenomena, but these approaches deal with them without, for instance, religious insti-tutions and ritual practices as the main focus. Rather, the phenomena in question are dealt with as respectively 'culture' and 'type of rationality'.

This is done in a way where distinctions and thus differences are not only at the fore of the search, but the whole point of it from the outset: How to explain differing degrees of success in economic development and growth at different times and in different situations. This leads to the result that for instance Confucianism is described as conformism leading to a lack of development in one approach (Weber's) and is conversely described as dynamism leading to growth in the other approach (Kahn and followers). It seems, in other words, that such approaches depend heavily on the current situation that is dealt with and sought to be explained, in order to optimize the situation rather than primarily to explain the phenomena as well as the situation.

While drawing on the theoretical understandings embedded in both approaches since it enables us to explore phenomena such as Lutheranism and Confucianism as systems of mentality with a social impact much broader than their classical pre-secularization spaces, we also want to explore other ways of understanding the phenomena. Instead of providing explanations that take differences in what is seen as success in economy and/or education as their point of departure, it might make sense to pose questions the other way around, and shed light on the challenges that the states and educational movements of professionals and grassroots in both states in question seek to answer. More specifically, how to explore the similarities in the way the educational challenges are posed and the nationally contextual answers are provided. By extension, it will be necessary to look at the relations between on the one hand, the state and education and on the other, Lutheranism and Confucianism historically rather than conceptually.

Comparing Confucianism and Lutheranism in Relation to the State and Education: A Perspective Based on Similarity

Confucianism and Lutheranism are very different with regard to time of origins but they share the premise of having originated as reform teaching. Besides, both can be understood as not least social ethics and social philosophies.

The teaching of Confucius (551–479 BC) took place at the end of what is called the spring and autumn period in Chinese historiography (approximately 771 to 476 BC) and thus in the first half of the early Zhou dynasty. The reformatory struggles in Europe, including the Lutheran reformation, named after Martin Luther (1483–1546 AD) as the central theologian, took place approximately 1000 years later, namely at the end of the so-called Medieval period in European historiography, which is often seen as a central part of the beginning of the so-called early Modern period. Despite time distance there are clear parallels between Confucianism and Lutheranism, not least that both embed a social philosophy deriving from their teaching of governance, though in different ways. Scholar of Asian history Thomas D. DuBois uses for instance the notion of 'school of thought', a description which captures the fact that Confucianism, on the one hand, can be understood as a religion but, on the other hand, shares similarities with other schools of thoughts, for instance political philosophy (DuBois, 2011, pp. 15, 21). The same can be said to apply to Lutheranism.

Confucian teaching derives from the so-called Ru tradition, the teaching and body of knowledge developed by scholars and officials connected to the state. The new element in Confucius' reform work was to develop this from a philosophy of governing and into a broader social philosophy aiming at social harmony and personal perfection. While the sovereign (the king, the emperor) was still at the center, a broader range of social hierarchical relations were sketched out systematically in Confucian teaching in order to achieve harmony through clear (and ritualized) social roles and thus expectations about different forms of responsibilities. In the social hierarchical relations such as the king and the subject, the teacher and the student, and the father and the son, the one at the top of the hierarchy is to be responsible and the one at the bottom is to be obedient (DuBois, 2011, pp. 18ff; Cheng, 2012; Li & Hayhoe, 2012).

In Lutheranism, the question of governing is equally crucial. Central is the dogma about the power of the church as subordinate to the worldly rulers in all other matters than in questions of preaching and instruction as well as administration of the sacraments. This was for instance formulated in the central Lutheran creed *Confessio Augustana*'s article 28, which

was adopted by the Danish Kingdom in 1536. The Lutheran idea of three holy orders of society; magistrates or estates ordained by God (Priesthood, marriage, and the worldly magistrate) should also be taken into consideration in order to understand the social ethics or social philosophy that developed. During the eighteenth century, the so-called period of Lutheran Orthodoxy, this Lutheran creed was understood as a governing estate (the king and officials and their subordinates), a teacher estate (priest and teachers and their followers), and a house estate (masters versus servants, parents versus children, husband versus wife), all respectively organized in a hierarchy of parent-children relations (Stenbæk, 1990, p. 67; Markkola, 2000, pp. 15f; Buchardt, 2017/in press). The parent-child axis in social relations in Lutheran thinking is in other words close to the responsibility-obedience axis in Confucian social philosophy.

For instance, church historian Jørgen Stenbæk has noted how the European Reformation on the one hand meant secularization since the church was separated from political power, but that on the other hand the social sphere and the worldly power were simultaneously seen as holy and ordained by God. To serve in society was hence a calling, an ordained vocation (Stenbæk, 1990; see also Buchardt, 2017/in press). If different with regard to concepts such as sin and salvation (as e.g. Weber pointed out), both Lutheran and Confucian social philosophy share the central premises that the social sphere is seen as a field of servitude due to a moral codex of hierarchy. The social field thus in both cases can be said to be part of a cosmological order.

The education of loyal servants of the state has thus been crucial to the spread of the two schools through dissemination in society. In the Danish realm, the so-called Lutheran *Small Catechism* was the central reading book in the schools for commons, beginning to be increasingly disseminated during the eighteenth century. Part of the teaching transferred from this book was the social ethics on the three societal estates (Buchardt, 2017/in press). In the Chinese realm, Confucian teaching was the core in education and examining of civil servants and remained so up until to fall of the Chinese Empire and the introduction of the Republic in 1911 (DuBois, 2011; Cheng, 2012; Li & Hayhoe, 2012; Billioud & Thoraval, 2014).

The question is, however, how to conceptualize Confucianism and Lutheranism as historically and socially transformable entities that do not only change in time but should also be understood as transformed due to the social fields in which they are put to action, for instance the field of education. In the Nordic context, scholars such as the welfare state historian Pirjo Markkola have pointed out the Lutheran layers in and behind the Nordic welfare state model, underpinning the spread and transformation of Lutheran ideas in social practice inside as well as outside state institutions (Markkola, 2000, 2011; see also Markkola & Naumann, 2014). Thus public schooling as well as for instance philanthropic societies should be understood as sites for understanding the impact and transformation of Lutheranism (Buchardt, Markkola, & Valtonen, 2013; Buchardt, 2017). To conceptualize this as Lutheran ideology (Markkola, 2000) as well as Lutheran ideologies (Buchardt, 2017) makes it possible to capture—in this case—Lutheranism as socially transformable ideas; how Lutheranism or maybe rather *Lutheranisms* have been part of the social and political development in the Nordic states as a common frame of reference, but with important differences with regard to time and space. The same could be considered to apply for understanding Confucianism as socially practiced ideas in different social and historical spaces, and thus also for studying and comparing the phenomena in and in relation to the field of education.

The basic question, in other words, may now be formulated as follows: How different *Lutheranisms* and *Confucianisms* influenced as well as were transformed in the field of education. Based on a notion deriving from curriculum sociologist Basil Bernstein this can be described as recontextualization of forms and knowledge and social structure from other social fields and into the field of education. The process should also be understood as working the other way around: the transformation and production of mental and social structure taking place in the field of education also impact other social fields and thus the rest of society (Bernstein, 1990, 2000; Buchardt, 2013a). It is, however, important to note that Lutheranism and Confucianism almost from the outset were not least educational ideas and practices, and it was as such that they were spread in and became part of the mentalities and institutional structures in the states where they became central and active.

What a concept such as recontextualization, however, does not in itself capture, but is not in contradiction to either, is the global character of educational challenges. Educational science disciplines such as Comparative Education have formed a central part of the crafting of national education systems since especially the rise of mass education systems worldwide during especially the nineteenth century (Ramirez & Boli, 1987; Schriewer, 2000; Plum, 2012; Kubow & Fossum, 2007). To compare education, in other words, is in itself to be understood as part of dealing with modernization, and thus dates back to at least the nineteenth century in Denmark as well as in China. This also points to the fact that globalization is a process that can be traced back long before the late twentieth century, such as for instance the pioneering scholar of global history Serge Gruzinski has pointed out (e.g. 2002), and that it can be understood as a policy strategy in itself, as suggested by political scientists (e.g. Cerny, 1997) as well as education scholars (e.g. Rizvi & Lingard, 2000; Hedegaard, 2012).

Newer trends in Comparative Education by extension suggest that the scholarly discipline takes a step further. Patricia K. Kubow and Paul R. Fossum thus detect and advocate for the fruitfulness in using a so-called issues-oriented approach to Comparative Education research that can go beyond national boundaries in the investigation in order to capture the global, international, or cross-national character of educational challenges (Kubow & Fossum, 2007, pp. 22f). Such an approach could also expand ways of viewing education, for instance from looking at problems to understanding dilemmas (Kubow & Fossum, 2007, pp. 23ff). Transnational and global history, including the history of education, has in this context developed concepts and research strategies that could prove conducive to a comparison of the study of the educational aspirations of Lutheranism and Confucianism, which we will tentatively try out on two brief historical examples. Read in continuation with each other the examples point to how a perspective of so-called entanglement could be useful, on the one hand in order to extend the national boundaries in the scope of education comparison, on the other hand in order to pay attention to the contextual differences that relate to the nation states and their education systems in light of their specific historical development.

Educational Lutheranism and Confucianism in Nation-State Building, Late Nineteenth Century Onwards: A Perspective Based on Entanglement

To understand the global character of educational processes, historian of education Noah Sobe suggests the concept of *entanglements*, to enable research to understand the historically, spatially, and socially intertwined characters of education. Whereas, for instance, the *Histoire croisée* approach developed by Werner and Zimmermann (2006) aims at moving beyond classic comparison by means of crossing space, focusing on the movement of ideas and practices between contexts over time and the role of different agents and trading spaces in this process, an entanglement approach rather seeks to understand assemblages that gather and *put together* time, space, and sources (Sobe, 2013). Instead of looking for processes of crossing—as can also be found in studies of educational transfer—entanglement and assemblage approaches are critical towards such approaches: For instance, transfer approaches are looking too narrowly at fixed points of departure and arrival, working on the basis of diachronically prefixed categories and embedded Nation-centrism (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2004; Sobe, 2013). Instead, research aiming at being global and transnational should search for *the apparatuses*, matrices for thinking and acting through looking at "[…] heterogeneous set consisting of discourses, institutions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions" (Sobe, 2013, pp. 101–102, drawing on Foucault, 1980, pp. 194–196).

While such approaches open the possibility to go beyond a one-to-one comparison just as they open up transnational perspectives besides transfer studies, it is, however, also of relevance to capture the nation-state specificities when looking at the educational forms of Lutheranism and Confucianism. Though the discourse and logic of the nation state should not go unquestioned in direct comparative research, the building of nation states from the nineteenth century onwards has been of pivotal importance to the development of education systems. What is needed in order to understand the role of phenomena such as educational

Lutheranisms and Confucianisms is in other words transnational approaches, sensitive to understanding the impact of and framing related to the nation states in question as well. Pauli Kettunen, a welfare state historian and scholar of the transnational character of the Nordic welfare state, suggests for instance that the Nordic welfare state model (in its many forms and historical layers) could be understood as a transnational construction of formulations of and answers to national challenges (Kettunen, 2011). Hence, we could understand the phenomena in question—Lutheranism and Confucianism as part of reforming national education—as the contextual and thus national answer to transnational challenges. The contextual perspective and thus the core of the comparison should then be how Lutheranism in Denmark and Confucianism in China have become national and contextual answers to the transnational questions concerning how to craft the nation in a globalized world: How to cope with international competition and demands for innovation by means of crafting nation and citizenry?

An example of such historically specific forms of educational Lutheranism and Confucianism can be found in both state contexts—Denmark and China—in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The systems of mass education in both states developed into their full shape during the twentieth century under different forms of socialist rule—in Denmark under Social Democratic rule from the 1920s and in PRC under Communist rule from the 1940s. However, in both states the preceding periods—roughly speaking late nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century—are also of importance. In the case of Denmark, the period was marked by early parliamentarianism after the cease of absolutist monarchy (in mid-nineteenth century). In the case of China, it was a period of struggle concerning the emperor rule as well as foreign powers and leading up to republicanism (in 1911). The period was in other words the early stages of the Danish and Chinese nation-state building and thus also the foundations for a modern nation-based education system for the whole population.

In China during the 1890s, reformers such as Kang Youwei (1858–1927), on the one hand conservative, on the other nationalist and anti-imperialist, suggested that Confucianism should function as a national church, and thus an ideological tool to build a modern state

through teaching the virtue of Humanness (Ren) and the ideal of Great Community, but freed from the authoritarian dimension connected to Imperial Confucianism. Since Christianity was seen as having been used as a tool for Western imperialism, Confucianism as a sort of civil and secular religion could be the cure to knit together the Chinese nation and republic under construction (Tay, 2010, e.g. p. 101). Kang drew on inspiration from, amongst others, the Northern European model of national churches (actually Protestant, mainly Lutheran churches) and suggested that temples should be changed into schools (Tay, 2010, p. 105). On the one hand, the idea was to desacralize the monarch, but on the other hand, to sacralize the republican nation through a modernized, educationalized Confucianism which prepared the ground for and inspired modern educational effort in for instance the 1920s (Yuan, 2001, pp. 194f; Borevskaya, 2001, pp. 34f). The back-to-basics element was in other words part of a modernization effort, something that lead his pupil, Liang Qichao, to dub him the 'Martin Luther of Confucian religion' (Tay, 2010, p. 97).

In the Nordic states, for instance Denmark and Sweden, similar Lutheran reform tendencies occurred from the 1890s onwards, where young so-called Cultural Protestant and liberal theologians took part in a so-called Luther renaissance, aiming at making Christianity and themselves useful to the new modern states under construction. Part of the effort was to develop the national churches that previously had been churches of the absolutist King into so-called folk churches. The churches were to function as a frame for the people or masses of the nation state. Other directions of the reform movements were, however, to make Lutheran Christianity useful, not as religion, but as the culture of the new state, and thus moving Christianity from the church institution and into being part of building the sacred dimension of the modern nation state. Pedagogical interest in reforming the school to serve this direction formed an important part of the effort, as did comparative studies of other religions that were also a source of inspiration for schooling new citizens in the schools, for instance the teaching of Zarathustra and Confucius (e.g. Lehmann, 1918b, pp. 116f). The Danish-Swedish professor, theologian and Comparative Religion studies pioneer, and early reform pedagogue Edvard Lehmann is an example of such neo-Lutheran

actors, wanting for Lutheran Christianity to be transformed in order to have social impact on the new Nordic parliamentary nation states (Buchardt, 2013b, 2015, 2017; Lehmann, 1918a).

The two examples illustrate that secularization and bodies of knowledge from religion do not necessarily contradict each other in the history of Chinese and Nordic education. Rather, forms of religion can be understood as part of what historian and educational theorist Daniel Tröhler calls *languages of education* and as a transformed part of the salvation project of modern schooling (e.g. Baader, 2005; Popkewitz, 2011; Tröhler, 2011; see also Buchardt, 2016). The two cases from each of their geographical and political spaces—though close to each other in time—also point to the challenges of on the one hand separating state institutions from religious institutions (developed under absolutist reign) and on the other hand transforming Lutheran and Confucian teaching into the new forms of state and schooling, maintaining and renewing their contributions to social cohesion. In other words, the examples show how the global challenge of transforming the absolutist state into a nation state produced and reinvented Lutheranism and Confucianism as part of the effort to teach into and solidify the new nation state. 1890s Denmark and 1890s China exemplify how the nation state—a transnational body of ideas—was crafted and contested locally. Thus, read in continuation of each other, the examples make it possible to understand similarities in the practiced matrices for the thinking and acting at stake. The 1890s examples also guide our attention to an earlier historical layer behind the national renaissance of Lutheranism and Confucianism from the 1990s onwards.

Concluding Remarks

Summing up, a transnationally entangled study of educational Lutheranisms and Confucianisms might enable comparative educational scholarship to grasp how the quest for national values based on allegedly religious systems of thought and mentality can be fruitfully compared across nation states. As a point of departure for analyzing, such systems should be understood as moving objects; as related to the quest for eco-

nomic growth, for national social cohesion, and state crafting, and thus as politically and socially transformable phenomena. As such the renaissance and reentering of respectively 'Confucian values' (PRC) and ideas of 'Christian Lutheran cultural heritage' and 'values' (DK) could be explored as an interplay between providing contextual answers to global questions and globalized answers to local challenges within each of the nation states' educational political contexts. We will also point to the profitability of dealing further with the possibly transnational forming of local questions and thus of comparable challenges. How can we understand the rise of such ideas in the context of increased international measurement of educational results, for instance? What role is ascribed to what is seen as 'Confucian values' and 'Christian Lutheran cultural heritage' and 'values' in this context? In addition, such studies would make it possible to comprehend the complex character of phenomena associated with religion in relation to the field of education, and could, as such, provide fruitful knowledge to the scholarly field of history of education, Comparative Education, and religion studies as well.

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7

Twenty-First Century Competencies in the Chinese Science Curriculum

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Introduction

The concept of twenty-first century competencies (hereafter referred to as 21st CC) has been discussed in educational policies all over the world and refers to the ideas about which knowledge and skills should be taught and which competencies the next generation should learn at school (Reimers & Chung, 2016). Many supranational organizations, such as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the European Union (EU), were the first to publish documents outlining educational goals for the twenty-first century using

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specific frameworks. Meanwhile, international companies such as the Intel Corporation and Microsoft have collaborated with educators and educational institutions to develop frameworks for teaching or assessing 21st CC (e.g., Assessment and Teaching of 21st Century Skills, ATC21S). Following these institutions, countries around the world have proposed their own frameworks for 21st CC (e.g., China, Finland, Singapore, and the United States). On the one hand, it suggests a global trend toward reform for learning 21st CC, changing the focus from knowledge to competencies, as the EU declared that education plays a key role in ensuring that citizens acquire the key competencies needed to live in our changing world (EU, 2007). On the other hand, terms and definitions of 21st CC vary in the considerable amount of literature published on this topic. Without clarified terms and their explanations, it is difficult to identify if the discussions on the topic are in the same vein. Thus, comparing frameworks for 21st CC at national and supranational levels can be helpful to delineate the "concept" of education for 21st CC.

Moreover, how to implement 21st CC in school curricula and how to teach these competencies through learning activities in different subjects are some of the most important and challenging issues since the framing of the 21st CC proposition (Korhonen & Lavonen, 2016). Consistent with the changes in education for 21st CC, the goals for science education have evolved over the past decades, changing from the teaching of subject knowledge to nurturing transferable knowledge, skills, and attitudes (Heiman & Slomianko, 1987; Pellegrino & Hilton, 2012). We may ask what the key competencies are and if they relate to science education in school. Therefore, the analysis of a national science curriculum can be an example to find if 21st CC exist in the subject curriculum at the national level and, if yes, whether there are differences in which competencies are emphasized.

A national curriculum is a plan that guides educational practice in a country and directs teachers to instruct students according to the needs of a given society and its learners (Oliva, 1997; Schmidt, Raizen, Britton, Bianchi, & Wolfe, 1997). At the beginning of the 2000s, learning 21st CC was proposed in many countries' curricula as an educational goal (Reimers & Chung, 2016). China published its National Primary Science

Curriculum in 2001, a document that shows great interest in scientific literacy and converts a knowledge-centered approach to a competency-centered approach (Wang, 2016). At the beginning of 2016, the Chinese Society of Education released a document called the *Core Competencies for Student Development Proposal* on behalf of the Ministry of Education (Wang et al., 2016), calling for comments from educators, teachers, and researchers. Once this feedback has been taken into account, the revised proposal will be officially published and will serve as a guide for future educational reform (Lin, 2016). Since China intends to use 21st CC as a guideline for educational reform in the near future, it is necessary to know how these competencies are understood in the documents for the current curriculum and how they are characterized for certain school subjects, such as science.

The research question is: how is the goal of 21st CC integrated into the current Chinese National Primary Science Curriculum?

To answer the question, the first section of the chapter compares the selected frameworks for 21st CC developed by different organizations at national and supranational levels. The second section begins with presenting an analytical framework for 21st CC and then moves on to observe and analyze the appearance of the aims of 21st CC in the Chinese National Primary Science Curriculum.

Section I: Comparative Analysis of the Selected Frameworks for 21st CC

This section analyzes the descriptions of the aims of 21st CC by reviewing eight selected frameworks. The frameworks have been purposely chosen to cover different "cultural" contexts following the comparative view proposed by Bray and Thomas (1995) (see Table 7.1).

Following the principles of content analysis, the observation was conducted from six viewpoints: intention, target group, terminology and connotation, basis for categorization, general competencies, and competencies linked with traditional school subjects. Specifically, based on a taxonomy of curriculum ideologies, the descriptions in the frameworks referring to "intention" are coded into six categories: *academic rationalism*

Table 7.1 Selected frameworks

Level	Eastern context	Western context	Global context
Country	Core Competencies for Student Development Proposal (China)	National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014 (Finland)	
Cross-country		Key Competences for Lifelong Learning (EU)	
International			Learning: the treasure within (UNESCO), Toward Universal Learning: What Every Child Should Learn (UNESCO), The Definition and Selection of Key Competencies (OECD), The Programme for International Student Assessment Frameworks (OECD), ATC21S (an international project group)

stresses the learning of academic disciplines to enhance learners' intellectual capabilities and cognitive skills; *social and economic efficiency* envisages education as a means for developing the human capital needed in a society (e.g., "competencies should be valued, applied in relation to measurable benefits for both economic and social purposes"); *social reconstructionism* views education as important for bringing about social reform and improvement (e.g., "the focus was largely on addressing the ecological impact of ever-increasing unrestricted development"); *orthodoxy* sees the function of education as inducting learners into a particular religious or political orthodoxy (e.g., "cultivating socialist builders and successors"); *progressivism* centers on learners by providing opportunities for enhancing their personal and intellectual development (e.g., "particular support to fulfill their educational potential"); *cognitive pluralism* refers to multiple intelligences, competencies, and attitudes (e.g., "building on diverse individual competencies, the differing needs of learners should be met") (Adamson & Morris, 2014). Additionally, the six categories can be summarized from society-demand-centered and learner-need-centered views.

Given the following purposes, the frameworks were analyzed with the other five aspects: the "target group" determines the certain groups of beneficiaries whom each framework targets, coded by educational level, such as school education or lifelong learning, and the intended region,

such as local or global; "terminology and connotation" aims to investigate which term is applied and how it is defined or described in each framework in terms of the concept "competency"; "basis for categorization" aims to demonstrate the starting point and how competencies are grouped by different organizations and countries; "general competencies" is intended to identify the transferable competencies mentioned in each framework instead of those that are discipline-specific; "competencies linked with traditional school subjects" aims to recognize the abilities typically nurtured through traditional school subjects, such as mathematics, science, literature (mother tongue), and foreign languages. Findings were discussed and summarized in the following four points.

Similar Emphasis on Intentions with Small Differences

Most of the frameworks show intentions in the categories of academic rationalism and social reconstructionism. In general, society-demand-centered intentions are the principal drivers of the framing of 21st CC frameworks, but small differences exist. For example, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)'s emphasis is on social reconstructionism, whereas the EU focuses on education's social and economic efficiency (see examples below). Paralleling with an internationalized tendency, the development needs of individuals are taken into consideration in the frameworks, as learner-centered educational philosophy is a modern idea consistent with the popular development of cognitive psychology. However, most descriptions of the value of promoting 21st CC are from the perspective of society's demands rather than from the perspective of individual development. The EU example below demonstrates that individual development is seen as a way of adapting to societal changes.

 Examples:

UNESCO
[E]ducation has a fundamental role to play in personal and social development. The Commission does not see education as a miracle cure or a magic formula opening the door to a world in which all ideals will be attained, but as one of the principal means available to foster a deeper and more harmonious form of human development and thereby to reduce poverty, exclusion, ignorance, oppression and war. (Delors, 1996, p. 11)

EU

   Education in its dual role, both social and economic, has a key role to play in ensuring that Europe's citizens acquire the key competences needed to enable them to adapt flexibly to such changes. (European Union, 2007, p. 3)

Various Terms with Shared Connotations

Among the frameworks, various terms (slogans) are used to indicate the goals for 21st CC, and different approaches are used to categorize the set of competencies, yet they have similar connotations at the core. For example, "competency" is generally accepted as an integration of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values (Ananiadou & Claro, 2009; European Union, 2007; Voogt & Roblin, 2010; Pellegrino & Hilton, 2012), and "key competencies" are considered the general abilities required for citizens to fully participate in society in the twenty-first century (Ananiadou & Claro, 2009). The phenomenon is understandable by tracing the emergence process of the aims. Aims for educating citizens confronted with the twenty-first century were first proposed by UNESCO and developed by the OECD and the EU (Lin, 2016). These organizations with their well-developed frameworks and discourses have significantly influenced the development of frameworks at national levels (Halász & Michel, 2011; Meyer & Benavot, 2013; Lin, 2016). For example, the generation of the Chinese framework was based on the adoption of frameworks of 21st CC from supranational organizations and various countries (Lin, 2016).

   Moreover, the literature shows that each internationally mentioned competency has the same meaning without cultural differences, including critical thinking, creative thinking, problem solving, and innovative working (Binkley et al., 2012; Voogt & Roblin, 2010; Pellegrino & Hilton, 2012). Traditionally, it has been argued that even if western countries and China use the same term, such as creativity, they interpret the concept differently (Lubert, 1998; Fryer & Fryer-Bolingbroke, 2011). With the advance of globalization, it is claimed that the connotations of each internationalized key competency in China are not to be culture

dependent any longer (Niu, 2006; Reimers & Chung, 2016), yet there is a difference in emphasis in the choice of competencies under the umbrella slogan "21st CC."

The umbrella slogan 21st CC, appearing to be an internationalized convergence, needs to be applied with caution to avoid simply copying and overusing it by governments to follow the trend. This is important not only because the apparent different terms may hinder the implementation of the aims due to the potential divergent meanings but also because it is important to recognize if each competency belonging to 21st CC as mentioned in policy documents should have the same meaning (Binkley et al., 2012; Voogt & Roblin, 2012).

Similarities and Differences in Choosing Competencies As 21st CC Among the Frameworks

There is a distinctive similarity in the selection of competencies as 21st CC: competencies of learning to learn, critical thinking, creativity, problem solving, information and communication technology (ICT) skills, communication, and collaboration are the generic competencies mentioned in all frameworks; the competencies learned in traditional subjects, such as literature (reading), mathematics, and foreign language, are addressed in most of the frameworks.

Yet the difference in selection of competencies as 21st CC in each framework is recognizable, which may be influenced by a cultural hallmark of the context. For example, the EU said, "it is important to recognize that many Europeans live in bilingual or multilingual families and communities, and that the official language of the country in which they live may not be their mother tongue" (2007, p. 5); therefore, it is understandable that learning foreign languages is one of the core aims in European documents. Another example is the framework from China. The framework not only includes all the generic competencies noted in the other frameworks (except communication) but also specifically underlines Chinese culture-related competencies, such as cultural heritage and political identity (Chinese Society of Education, 2016).

Challenges of Integrating the Aims of 21st CC into the Curriculum Based on Traditional School Subjects

The description of competencies for the twenty-first century is not a new idea, but the current discourse of the aims shows a fresh trend in education reform. It suggests a tendency to broaden and even replace the goals for learning traditional school subjects with the umbrella concepts, such as lifelong learning (Pellegrino & Hilton, 2012; Voogt & Roblin, 2010). However, the relationship between the generic competencies as 21st CC and competencies achieved through the traditional school subjects is obscure and even neglected in most of the frameworks. For example, the Chinese framework highlighted the value of learning competencies such as *collaboration, as well as personal, social, and global responsibilities* (Lin, 2016) but has not connected the competencies with traditional school subjects. If connected with school subjects, such as science, the global responsibility means the ability to create sustainable development and to protect the environment. There can be twofold reasons for the detachment of the aims of learning 21st CC from traditional school subjects in the frameworks. First, as all the frameworks come from policies, their natural focus was on introducing a blueprint for education in the future rather than paying attention to connecting the designed plan with practical contexts in schools. This is proved by the fact that few suggestions are given on how to integrate these competencies into school subjects or how to realize the objectives in the frameworks. Second, as research in this field is lacking, it is difficult for the designers of the frameworks to develop operational approaches, let alone to combine the advanced goal with traditional school educations (Pellegrino & Hilton, 2012).

However, delineating the connections between aims for learning 21st CC and traditional school subjects should not have been omitted. Some countries have attempted to integrate these aims as 21st CC into their curricula in subjects despite the challenges. For example, the current Finnish National Curriculum was purposefully designed to illustrate the combination of learning 21st CC with various school subjects (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016; Vahtivuori-Hänninen et al., 2014).

Given that China proposed the framework for 21st CC recently in order to set forth a new round of curriculum reform after that in the 1990s, it is valuable to understand to what extent the current Chinese National curriculum in different subjects has been aligned with the aims of 21st CC with an international perspective (Wang, 2016; Reimers & Chung, 2016). Moreover, as argued above, there appears to be an internationalized agreement on the competencies for 21st CC. Therefore, the following section will present a case by examining the implementation of the internationalized standards of 21st CC in the *Chinese National Primary Science Curriculum*.

Section II: Analysis of 21st CC in the Chinese National Primary Science Curriculum

Analytical Framework and Coding

In this chapter, 21st CC are defined as an integration of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values that young people are required to have in the twenty-first century (Ananiadou & Claro, 2009; European Union, 2007; Voogt & Roblin, 2010; Pellegrino & Hilton, 2012). We have chosen the ATC21S framework as a start for developing the internationalized standards (analytical framework) for three reasons. First, the general scope of ATC21S fits with the idea of the chapter in principle, as it aims at recognizing generic competencies instead of competencies for specialists in certain disciplines and includes dimensions of knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and ethics defined as competency. Second, the list of 21st CC from ATC21S is based on a research project comparing relevant frameworks drawn up by countries and organizations, and the competencies in ATC21S are consistent with the competencies in other frameworks regarding the findings in the first section (Binkley et al., 2012). Third, because ATC21S is an assessment-driven framework, it offers a start for the development of codes in this chapter by its operational structure of the competencies.

The analysis followed the deductive content analysis process using the revised framework based on ATC21S (Mayring, 2015; Schwarz, 2015).

Table 7.2 presents the analytical framework with four main categories and ten subcategories. Each coding unit includes one idea without being limited to a word, sentence, or paragraph. The code will be assigned when the text in the curriculum includes any aim of the competency as follows (see the coding examples below). *Creative thinking and generating of innovations* means the imaginative and inventive competencies, which involve either the generation of new ideas or the production of relevant and effective novelty (Fisher, 1991; Cropley, 2011). *Critical thinking* is assigned when a text shows the skills of evaluation, analysis, synthesis, and interpretation of something in order to provide a judgment with different perspectives (Villalba, 2011; Mason, 2007). *Problem solving* means the competency of organizing an approach whereby the person overcomes obstacles and moves from a start state to a goal state (Ward, 2011). In the start state, one recognizes or formulates the problem and then generates alternatives, ideas, or possible solutions to the problem, chooses and combines ideas in order to find the best solution, and finally implements the solution (Fisher, 1991). *Decision making* is a competency appearing during the process in problem solving when one identifies and chooses alternatives based on the values and preferences of the decision maker. *Learning to learn* is the ability to pursue and persist in learning and to organize one's own learning, including through effective management of time and information, both individually and in groups (Hoskins & Fredriksson, 2008; European Union, 2007). *Metacognition* is the "knowledge and cognition about cognitive phenomena" (Jaušovec, 2011,

Table 7.2 Analysis framework for 21st CC in primary science curriculum based on the revised ATC21S framework

Category	Subcategory (Code)
Ways of thinking	Creative thinking and generating of innovations
	Critical thinking, problem solving, decision making
	Learning to learn, metacognition
Ways of working	Communication
	Collaboration (teamwork)
Tools for working	Information literacy (research on sources, evidence, biases, etc.)
	ICT literacy
Living in the world	Citizenship, personal, local, and global
	Life and career
	Personal, social, and global responsibility

p. 107). *Communication* means the ability to use words, sounds, signs, or behaviors to express or exchange information, such as ideas, thoughts, and feelings, to someone else with respect (Merriam-Webster online, n.d.). *Collaboration* is the ability of an individual to work together with one or more people with complementary skills in order to create a shared understanding that none had previously possessed or could have come to on their own (John-Steiner, 2011). *Information literacy* means the ability to recognize, locate, and use information needed for a certain context efficiently and effectively (Eisenberg, Lowe, & Spitzer, 2004). *ICT literacy* is defined as the ability to use information and communication technology efficiently and effectively when it is needed for a certain context. *Citizenship* means knowledge, skills, and willingness to participate in civic activities. *Life and career* is a set of different competencies shown when one aims at sustainable living confronting the changeable world. *Personal, social, and global responsibility* means tolerance and respect for people of other backgrounds, races, ethnicities, and lifestyles, with expanded cultural and global awareness and sensitivity, including self-identity (Musil, 2009). This competency particularly stresses cultural awareness.

Examples (the examples have been translated from Chinese into English by the first author, but page numbers are from the original *Chinese National Primary Science Curriculum* [in Chinese]):

Creative thinking: Cultivate students' creative thinking skills. (p. 3)
  Critical thinking: Be open to different opinions and understand the ideas of others. (p. 8)
  Problem solving: Develop students' ability to analyze problems and solve problems. (p. 4)
  Metacognition: Guide students to summarize and reflect on what they have learned. (p. 4)
  Learning to learn: Make students learn to regulate study by themselves and study individually. (p. 4)
  Communication: Actively participate in communication and discussion. (p. 8)
  Collaboration: Learn to collaborate with others. (p. 3)
  Information literacy: Stress learning by doing and cultivate students' ability to collect and process information about science. (p. 6)

Citizenship: Improve the ability to facilitate the development of society and economy. (p. 2)

Personal, social and global responsibilities: Respect others' emotions and attitudes in inquiry activities. (p. 8)

To increase validity and reliability, the three authors worked together on the analytical process. The first author read the text several times and translated it into English. The first two authors then participated in a pilot analysis. Based on the pilot coding of the curriculum, the three authors further discussed and revised the categories and coding rules. Thereafter, the first author went through the text and analyzed it twice.

The Chinese National Primary Science Curriculum has four parts in total: preface, general aims for science education, content area of science, and practical suggestions for classroom practice. The preface presents the role of science education at the primary level. The general aims for science education outline the aims from the perspectives of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and society. Practical suggestions are empirical ideas for teaching and assessment. Because the practical suggestions are unrelated to educational goals, the authors decided after discussion to omit that part from the analysis. Then, the authors calculated the frequency and percentage of units in each subcategory, because that can reflect the emphasis on each competency in the curriculum.

Results

Distribution of 21st CC in the Curriculum According to the Structure

A total of 108 units relate to 21st CC in the curriculum (see Table 7.3). Descriptions of 21st CC mostly use the "competency word" directly, such as "creative" and "collaborate" (see examples above). Few detailed descriptions can be found (using words with meanings related to 21st CC). This indicates that the goals for 21st CC are not fully integrated into the science curriculum, but the 21st CC designers may have implicit ideas about these competencies, or they may have a latent belief that general competencies can be taught through science. According to the

curriculum structure, most of the 21st CC units (98%) are represented in the preface (31.5%) and the aims section (66.7%), whereas only two units appear in the content goals section (see Table 7.3). This may suggest that most of the 21st CC are mentioned as large, wide-ranging goals instead of being systematically integrated into the science content. Without clarifying the relationship between school science education and the cultivation of 21st CC, the curriculum may confuse the teachers, and 21st CC may be ignored in practice. Thus, in the wake of the *Core Competencies for Student Development Proposal*, China needs to reorganize the subject curriculum in order to make the general competencies consistent with the subject teaching goals.

Distribution of Categories of 21st CC in the Curriculum

The results show differences in the frequencies of the 21st CC in the curriculum (see Table 7.4). "Ways of thinking" has the majority of units

Table 7.3 Distribution of 21st CC

Structure	Frequency of units (percentage)
Preface	34 (31.5%)
General aims for science education	72 (66.7%)
Content area of science	2 (1.9%)
Total	108

Table 7.4 Frequency of the categories of 21st CC

Category	Frequency and percentage of unit appearance	Subcategory	Frequency and percentage of unit appearance
Ways of thinking	72 (66.7%)	Creative thinking and generating of innovations	17 (15.7%)
		Critical thinking, problem solving, decision making	40 (37.0%)
		Learning to learn, metacognition	15 (13.9%)
Ways of working	26 (24.1%)	Communication	12 (11.1%)
		Collaboration	14 (13.0%)
Tools for working	1 (0.9%)	Information literacy	1 (0.9%)
		ICT literacy	0 (0.0%)
Living in the world	9 (8.3%)	Citizenship, global, and local	8 (7.4%)
		Life and career	0 (0.0%)
		Personal, social, and global responsibility	1 (0.9%)

(N = 72). The number of units in the "ways of working" category was the second largest. "Tools for working" is the least represented in the curriculum. Almost 37% of the units are found in "critical thinking, problem solving, decision making." About 15% of the units belong to "creativity and innovation." Most of the 21st CC units found in the category "ways of thinking" may relate to Chinese education traditions and the policies published in the past several years. Chinese education has a preference for improving children's thinking skills. The Entrance Examination for Higher Education is a good example of one of the intensive thinking skills examinations. Since the 1990s, China has realized that creativity and innovation in science and technology are sources of power for a country's development, and many policies encouraging that have been published. With the innovations in policy, education has been changing from examination-centered with an emphasis on memorization to creativity-centered with an emphasis on critical thinking skills (Wang et al., 2016). "Learning to learn" in the curriculum is consistent with the goal of primary-level education in China as well, which aims to cultivate good habits for lifelong learning. Because lifelong learning relates to "learning to learn," we coded lifelong learning in this category. In the curriculum, "lifelong learning" as a term was mentioned several times. These results show a typical consideration in education, namely that thinking skills and science education are connected. Additionally, changing the ways of teaching guided by new aims may be one of the approaches to achieving educational goals in the new century.

About 11% of the units are located in "communication" and 13% in "collaboration" (see Table 7.4). The emphasis on communication and collaboration in the curriculum is not unique. As mentioned before, China has been changing its pedagogy for years. Together with its famous inquiry-based teaching and learning, teamwork and communication have been encouraged as well (Wang, 2016). China also has a tradition of valuing collaboration. Interestingly, communication is not explicitly mentioned as a 21st CC in the *Core Competencies for Student Development Proposal*. But this does not mean that this competency is not important. At least in the curriculum, it is explicitly stressed several times, which demonstrates the importance given to it and shows the consideration of new teaching approaches.

"Tools for working" is the least often mentioned. Surprisingly, only one unit is in "information literacy" and none are in "ICT literacy." However, in practice, ICT has been introduced in Chinese classrooms for years, and computer science has been one of the basic courses in primary schools. One probable reason for the lack of units in ICT is that "tools for working" are taught in other subjects, such as computer science. Moreover, the curriculum puts the emphasis on concepts and competencies students should acquire in the subject (science), rather than the basic methods (tools) students learn to use. The absence of information literacy in this analysis may be connected to the coding method. In this research, competencies explicitly related to science were not included, such as identifying scientific issues, explaining scientific phenomena, and drawing evidence-based conclusions. Thus, the absence of units in information literacy does not indicate its neglect in the curriculum.

The number of units in "living in the world" is 8.3%. The percentage (7.4%) in "citizenship" fits well with a characteristic of Chinese education, that is, an emphasis on social reconstructionism. However, "personal, social, and global responsibility," which focuses on cultural awareness, appears much less than "citizenship." One reason for this is the nature of the subject. Because science is a more international and potentially culture-free subject, it is possible that cultural awareness is less often mentioned in connection with it. The lack of "life and career" is understandable as well. The curriculum analyzed is for primary school students, who are not studying for careers. Additionally, in Chinese educational culture, there is a lack of career guidance to prepare students for a job or a career.

Cultural Paradox of Teaching 21st CC in Science

Critical thinking is the most favored in the curriculum, as shown in Table 7.4. This is consistent with the goals of education in China as formulated in the reforms of the 1990s. Additionally, the teachings of culture, such as Confucius, are also part of China's educational values. However, the tradition of teaching culture may impede education in scientific thinking, especially when both Chinese tradition and science are

taught at the same time in primary schools. For example, teaching "critical thinking" appears to be in conflict with Chinese tradition. This is because Confucius highly valued the role of teachers and officials, whose authority cannot be challenged. In contrast, the "culture" of science is to be critical and to value approaches of scientific inquiry or facts instead of idealized persons. Thus, a deeper analysis is required on how to achieve a balance of these seemingly opposite competencies in school teaching, especially at the primary levels.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, we attempted to explore how goals of 21st CC are characterized in the Chinese National Primary Science Curriculum. In order to obtain a broader understanding of 21st CC, we chose eight frameworks, both international and local, for a detailed analysis of their main contents. Our analysis revealed that 21st CC are mostly discussed at a very general level without concrete descriptions for integrating them into educational contexts. The frameworks used different terminologies in characterizing these competencies, but they also had qualities in common. All the frameworks emphasized some renewed competencies for the twenty-first century; for example, critical and creative thinking were included in all of them and can be seen as culture-invariant competencies for twenty-first century education all over the world. We also found some culture-dependent competencies, such as cultural heritage and language. Based on the comparative results, we revised the ATC21S framework for deductive content analysis.

This chapter used the Chinese National Primary Science Curriculum as an example to show how 21st CC is adopted in a science curriculum at the national level. In order to identify the main characteristics related to 21st CC in the curriculum, we deductively analyzed the curriculum using the revised ATC21S framework. According to our results, most units of 21st CC were represented in the preface and aims sections of the curriculum, whereas only two units (1.9%) appeared in the section devoted to content areas. The analysis of unit distribution in terms of curriculum structure indicates that elements of 21st CC are included in the curriculum but are not added in a systematic way.

The distribution of categories of 21st CC indicates the culture dependence and subject relevance of 21st CC in the national curriculum. Most of the 21st CC units found in "ways of thinking" were related to Chinese educational tradition and the reform policies published in the past several years. Approximately 11% of the units were located in "communication" and 13% in "collaboration." This trend is related to educational reform in China as well, in which teacher-centered instruction is being replaced with student-centered learning. The consequences of this reform for science education have been to encourage inquiry-based teaching and learning, which demands collaboration and communication. The number of units in "living in the world" is quite low (8.3%). The idea of "citizenship" fits well with the characteristics of Chinese education, which emphasize reconstructionism. "Personal, social and global responsibility," which focuses on cultural awareness, is less represented in the curriculum than "citizenship." One reason for this could be the nature of the subject of science with its preference for objective and culture-invariant content. The absence of "life and career" might be related to the age of the students, who are in primary school, and to the lack of a career education tradition in China. However, no units of "ICT literacy" were found. The absence of ICT in the curriculum is not consistent with the Chinese educational context, as ICT is highly respected in China. This may imply that ICT is seen as a tool for teaching rather than as an integrated goal in education.

As a whole, 21st CC are not integrated systematically into the curriculum. A future challenge for Chinese education is to develop a new national curriculum consistent with the *Core Competencies for Student Development Proposal* and to find the right balance for all the competencies mentioned in the curriculum. Moreover, teachers need more guidance on how to integrate 21st CC from the science curriculum into teaching and learning in primary school.

European countries have some experience in incorporating 21st CC into national curricula and other documents (European Commission, 2012), even if they face challenges in designing strategic approaches of implementing 21st CC in schools as well. European countries are steps ahead of China, and we argue that China can learn from them. The Nordic countries, including Finland, Norway, and Sweden, jointly worked on a project named the Key Competence Network on School

Education to identify and analyze the implementation of key competencies in primary school education. Moreover, Finland has published its National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014, where each subject mentioned is guided by "transversal competences" (equal to 21st CC in this chapter) (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016; Vahtivuori-Hänninen et al., 2014). This implies the significance of research on the Finnish curriculum and how it can enhance the communication and collaboration of Chinese and Finnish educational systems. According to another comparative research analysis we have done on primary science curricula in Finland and China based on the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) science framework, culture-invariant features have been found; aims for competencies, attitudes, and learning context are strengthened and encouraged in both curricula. Similar goals and culture-invariant features of science education and trends of integrating 21st CC into the teaching of school subjects in Finland and China can build a strong basis for communication between the two countries.

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8

Policy Intersections in Education for the Gifted and Talented in China and Denmark

Annette Rasmussen

Introduction

Global education policies are widely aimed at both inclusion and excellence; sometimes these aims are combined in order to cater for the needs of those considered particularly talented. In Denmark, the latter has come about as an explicit policy objective since 2011, when a government-requested report on talent development in the educational system was published. Its recommendations included an enhancement of teachers' competences in terms of 'upward differentiation'. It also suggested that teachers should work actively to 'spot and develop students with special learning potentials' (Ministry of Education, 2011). This can be seen in relation to political interest in attending to excellence in education on a global scale (Ball, 2015; OECD, 2009). Since the turn of the century, there has been increased educational focus on the segregation of sup-

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posed higher ability students, as reflected for instance in programmes for the 'gifted and talented' to attend summer schools, take more extra-curricular activities and study for 'world class tests' (Tomlinson, 2005, p. 125, 2008).

While setting up special programmes for the gifted and talented is a very recent phenomenon in the Nordic countries, with their strong traditions for a comprehensive school without ranking and streaming (Rasmussen & Moos, 2014), China has had special gifted children's programmes, schools and classes for more than thirty years (Yu-feng, 2012; Wen, 2004). Thus, in modern day China it is considered important to design educational programmes that cater to the needs of individual children, serve the interests of society and develop 'a continuing source of national pride'. The country's education system has become a high-priority area for the government (Chan, 2007; KPMG, 2010).

The chapter focuses on policies and programmes for gifted and talented students in China and Denmark, and the general purpose is to understand *the meanings of the terms of giftedness and talents in the national policies, when they aim to identify and develop the talents of particular student groups*. National practices of gifted and talented education relate to global policies of education in this area, but they also remain national and localised, reflecting and affecting differing dispositions (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Lingard, Rawolle, & Taylor, 2005). The analysis will focus on answering the question: *how do the talent policies of the two countries intersect and contribute to globalising education policy in this field?*

The chapter proceeds as follows: (1) an outline of a conceptual framework for understanding the notion of the 'gifted and talented' in education and (2) educational provisions for this group, followed by (3) an analysis of the policy aims (target groups) and organisation of programmes (types of provision) in China and Denmark. On the basis of the local particularities found in such programmes, the chapter will conclude on differences between the two countries and finally discuss the intersections in education for the gifted and talented as they appear.

Providing Education for the Gifted and Talented—Why, for Whom and in Which Ways?

The United States is a pioneer in education for the gifted and talented and has set up provisions at first local and later national levels. From the late 1800s, gifted education was practised as 'special education for high ability students' in individual schools, until the National Defence Education Act of 1958, following the 'Sputnik Moment', became the first national level policy in the field. While the United States is known for its historical pre-eminence in setting up provisions for the gifted and talented, in comparison with Asian countries it is now considered in decline, missing out in the 'race to the future', and suffering from 'brain drain' to Asia (Ibata-Arens, 2012; Ornstein, 2015).

The need to provide education for the gifted and talented was considered important to develop the young American nation. Widespread use of IQ tests and special arrangements for the highest scoring students characterised the American educational system from its early days, where tests were conducted at all levels to identify specially gifted students (Kaufman & Sternberg, 2007). American bureaucrats and businessmen, facing a rapidly growing and heterogeneous population, saw the IQ tests as a means to develop society and create economic wealth. In 1957, the launch of the Russian Sputnik satellite triggered a flood of criticism of the American educational system. A high-ranking admiral in the American Navy warned that if the United States wanted to compete on equal terms with other countries, it had to focus more on selecting and offering the gifted special opportunities in school; it became a common assumption in the early years of the Cold War that the talent mass in science could guarantee national security.

Identification of the target group of special educational provisions—in the United States and elsewhere—was accompanied by much psychological debate and research concerning relevant testing measures and conceptions of giftedness (Robinson & Clinkenbeard, 2008). Qualities and distinctions vary across cultures and socio-economic contexts as do criteria for excellence (Philipson & McCann, 2007).

One distinction has been conceptualised as schoolhouse giftedness (being an excellent consumer of knowledge) versus creative-productive giftedness (being an excellent producer of knowledge) (Renzulli, 2005). In this definition, giftedness develops in certain people, at certain times and under certain circumstances; but the socio-economic context of the factors and the behaviour is not visible. In other contributions to the research literature, the understanding of talent concerns the origin of talent, that is, nature versus nurture. Used synonymously with giftedness, talent might communicate the conception that certain children have 'it' while others do not, that it was a gift, not something you worked for (Feldhusen, 1998). Commenting on the words 'gifted' and 'talented', Winstanley (2004) writes that they may sometimes be understood as respectively raw ability and developed power, but also notes that sometimes the reverse meanings are found.

Another distinction concerning the identification of talent is whether it is conceptualised as individual performances or potentials, also modelled as critical states and exceptional performances (Ziegler & Heller, 2000). This raises the question whether talent should be subject to objective measurement or, as conceptualised by Ferrari (2003), judged against a normative standard shaped by the cultural-normative dynamic. Considering the distinction between performance and potential, Sennett criticises an emphasis on potential for undermining dedication and hard work. He describes the talent needed in modern economies as 'an ability to think prospectively about what might be done by breaking context and reference', which 'cuts reference to experience and chains of circumstance, and penalises digging deep', and which reflects a state of living in pure process and a focus on potential rather than achievement (Sennett, 2007, p. 121).

Focusing on student *potential* can be seen as an individualising move which obscures the social conditions of student *achievement*. In contrast to focusing on achievement, which compounds social and economic circumstances, fortune and chance, with self, potential ability focuses only on the self and makes a more fundamental claim about who you are. Lacking potential conveys uselessness in a more profound sense than messing up performances (Sennett, 2007, p. 123). In this way, the identification of talent becomes linked to the person in question rather than

to the skills that the person has achieved and to the hard work involved in this; it becomes a judgement of person rather than a judgement of achievement. Additionally, assessment procedures used to identify talents in school can be considered exclusionary, as they indirectly create a mass that could be labelled 'untalented'.

Worldwide, a wide variety of provision types cater to the gifted and talented (Moltzen, 2006). They can basically be divided into either *segregation* or *inclusion* approaches, and special programmes are set up either outside or inside the ordinary school system. Additionally, *acceleration* may be approached in both ways (ibid.). But schools do not necessarily pursue just one of the approaches in a pure form; in practice, different approaches might be and often are combined. In addition to designating practical approaches to the organisation of differentiated education for the gifted and talented, they represent the different positions held in debates about whether gifted and talented students should be educated with age peers or intellectual peers. This issue touches on broader philosophical, political, social and cultural values, influences on which might be similar throughout the globe, but which result in practices that have a vernacular character as they build incrementally on what has gone before within the specific educational systems (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 97). Such distinctions of approaches and values will be framing the closer studies of the Chinese and Danish systems in the following parts of the chapter.

Education for the Gifted and Talented in China

Generally, education for gifted and talented students in China did not receive much attention before the late 1970s. Until then, educators and government officials de-emphasised the importance of individual differences in achievement, which was not considered in line with socialist philosophy. The disorder caused by the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, disrupting educational efforts, further contributed to this (Stevenson, Lee, & Chen, 1994). But with the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, in 1978, a 'Reforms and Openness' programme was initiated that entailed modernisation policies, triggering major economic growth

and growing expenditure on education. Investment in education was seen as an investment in future generations of human capital to fuel further economic growth (Chiang, Meng, & Tian, 2015). Even so, the education system was characterised by scarcity of places and hence has always relied heavily on examinations to regulate admission and graduation (Chan, 2007).

Especially after the Cultural Revolution, China was considered in need of talented people to rebuild the country. Hence, it was seen as essential to identify gifted students and invest in education so that their talents could be turned into human resources. Both parents and educators therefore strongly encourage children to participate in extracurricular activities to facilitate their academic achievements. This has given rise to tutorial centres in the most prosperous areas, such as Beijing, Hong Kong and Special administrative regions of China (SAR), and to a culture, where students experience increasingly high pressure to perform above average (Chan, 2007).

Since 1978, Chinese psychologists from the Cooperative Research Group of Supernormal Children have used the term 'supernormal children' to define gifted children (Wen, 2004). Some reasons for employing this term are:

1. To avoid the term 'gifted', which in Chinese means 'God's bestowal'.
2. To indicate that supernormal children are not to be seen as separate from other children, but as relatively superior to most normal children (Wen, 2004).

The term further indicates a statistical significance, as children whose performances do not follow the normal distribution on the Bell curve but are above average are 'supernormal'. Thus the term is used as equivalent to the term 'gifted and talented', which is commonly used in English to describe this group (Kwok & Harris, 1991). As mentioned, the term 'giftedness' in China connotes a heavenly endowment and thus reflects the belief that it is an inborn quality. Even so, according to Chan (2007), some Chinese think that everybody is gifted in some way and that perseverance and industriousness can compensate for incompetence. Similar to the proposition of multiple intelligences in the United States, they

have a saying that 'there will always be a number one for every trade' (Chan, 2007, p. 45). Thus, giftedness is seen as a product of both nature and nurture, of both a unique and general appearance, and as domain specific.

Gifted children are estimated to count for one to three per cent of the total children population in China (Ibata-Arens, 2012). From the sheer number of Chinese people, it has been estimated that there should be between 7 and 10 million gifted and talented children (Wen, 2004; Ibata-Arens, 2012). On this background, there is a broad potential for recruitment for special provisions within this area. This potential or demand for gifted education is further exacerbated by the 'one child policy', which has made parents put increasingly more time, energy, and money into raising and educating their child (Wen, 2004).

Provisions of gifted education in China are practised in three general modes: advancement, enrichment and pull-out (Ibata-Arens, 2012). *Advancement* is practised as early admission or grade skipping, which means that gifted children can begin primary school earlier than age six to seven, or that they can be allowed to skip grades and thus accelerate their schooling. *Enrichment* is a process that extends instruction beyond the bounds of curriculum and offers students the opportunity to undertake original research and solve problems which are considered beyond the interests and abilities of students in general (O'Reilly, 2006). *Pull-out* implies that the provisions take place at other locations and outside regular school classes; sometimes as extra-curricular activities, sometimes in separate schools or classes. Gifted education in China thus includes many approaches that are commonly known and used elsewhere in the world.

Olympic Schools are one of the best known extra-curricular programmes for gifted students, most of which focus on mathematics, physics, and chemistry (Wen, 2004). The special classes here are often affiliated with universities, and students usually follow them for about ten hours a week in addition to their regular school activities.

Youth Classes at Universities are considered the most competitive and difficult among the programmes for gifted students. The first Youth Class at University was set up at the University of Science and Technology in China in 1978, and since then several others have been set up at key uni-

versities in the country. They admit youth at age 15 or 16, that is, three years earlier than other students enter universities.

Key Point Schools and *experimental classes* constitute other pull-out options for gifted students that have also existed since 1978. They are characterised as 'schools that meet the needs of the gifted', are set up in most provinces and municipalities, and are better funded than regular schools (Wen, 2004). Some of these schools offer 'experimental classes' for the very elite achievers, held to be 'key students' at the Key Point Schools. Such students are supposed to finish schooling two to four years earlier than students who are not considered gifted, but as a rule, they receive more teacher attention. Some regular schools also have key classes where the best teachers are chosen for the key students (Wen, 2004).

Special schools and *Children's Palaces* are aimed at children who are gifted and talented or have a particular interest in a special domain, such as athletics, painting, music, dance or foreign languages. The programmes take place as after-school programmes or in some cases at weekends; special public athletic schools offer both athletic training and a regular academic curriculum at elementary and middle school level. *Children's Palaces* offer enrichment programmes that any student in primary or secondary school may apply for and they usually take place at weekends. There are thousands of special schools and more than 1000 Children's Palaces all over China. Summer Camps are organised around different interests and take place at different places.

Such special provisions have strong appeals to parents who care about the fierce competition for the scarce spots in top classes, schools and universities in China. Chinese people value education highly, but according to critics 'mainly out of necessity and to cope with an authoritarian and hierarchical system' (Zhao, 2014). Thus, many practices flow from a hierarchical model, which includes that the educational system is highly reliant on ranking. Schools are ranked by governments and given resources according to their ranking status. When people protested against the inequality, the officials stopped designating key schools and called them 'demonstration schools' instead, which, however had no practical consequences. People know that if they are ranked at the national, provincial, and municipal levels, such 'good' primary schools will still provide their students with better chances to enter a stronger middle school, an even

stronger high school, and of entering one of the '985' or '211 universities' (Zhao, 2014, p. 127).

In the very competitive Chinese system, there is one gateway to universities: the national examinations at the end of the upper secondary school. Marc Tucker, a leader of the standards-driven education reform movement in the United States, considers this system advantageous in numerous ways, especially in relation to Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), because in high-performing countries like China 'with gateway exam systems of this sort, every student has a very strong incentive to take tough courses and to work hard in school' (as cited in Zhao, 2014, p. 131). But according to Zhao (2014), students work hard to prepare for exams, *not* to meet a high standard. The system produces similar skills in a narrow spectrum of talents, which is why China has been a top-performer in PISA surveys right from the beginning and will continue to be so. Although the opposite is maintained, this system of massive tests results in cheating, disruption and distortion. Awarding bonus points to students who demonstrate talents in creative fields puts poor and rural students without access to expensive opportunities at a disadvantage (Zhao, 2014, p. 148).

The exam and test focused system produces great pressures on students and has paved the way for an education market with 'new' devices. Thus activities for gifted and talented such as the Math Olympiad and other science and technology competitions also serve as means of gaining extra credit or bonus points that can improve chances of being admitted into prestigious schools and top universities. As such, education for the gifted and talented can be seen as a device for legitimising the more advantageous students who are given even more advantages and thus as something that contributes to increased inequality in the education system.

Education for the Gifted and Talented in Denmark

In the Nordic countries, education for the gifted and talented as a special target group was considered subordinate to the development of an undivided comprehensive school up through the twentieth century. The

'school for all' vision was dominating and political majorities gradually amended legislation to describe a school for all with no streaming, which in Denmark was institutionalised in the Folkeskole—the municipal primary and lower secondary school (Rasmussen & Moos, 2014). Academic gifts, intelligence or talent, it was believed, were evenly distributed in the population across all social groups and constituted unexploited 'talent reserves' (Hansen, 2003; Husén, 1968). Thus, the dominant idea was that the school would have to cultivate unexploited talent from all social groups, including the lower societal strata, more efficiently (Olsen, 1986; Husén, 1968). This was seen to require a flexible educational system in which the definitive choice between different educational lines was postponed as long as possible rather than a system with early selection, which was largely dependent on social background.

The aim to give all students adequate challenges was, in principle, adopted in the school's requirement of differentiated teaching, which was gradually implemented legally in Denmark during the prosperous 1960s–1970s and fully implemented with the Primary Education Act of 1993. The development of this school system paralleled other democratisation initiatives in society and followed similar paths in the other Nordic countries (Antikainen, 2006; Arnesen & Lundahl, 2006; Telhaug, Mediås, & Aasen, 2006), where massive investments in education assured an increasingly high educational level in the population.

From the 1980s, however, economic austerity set in, and accountability and differentiation gained increased importance in the Nordic education policies because of a political desire to increase the competitive strength of the education system (Blossing, Imsen, & Moos, 2014). It was claimed that many gifted and talented children were not sufficiently challenged in this school system, where the allocation of resources primarily considered the needs of less able children, it was alleged (Baltzer, Kyed, Nissen, & Voigt, 2006). Since the turn of the millennium, changing ministers of education in Denmark have competed to put talent on the political agenda in a different sense.

At the annual education political meeting in 2004, the Danish minister of education said that 'plenty of talent has been hushed up in the Danish primary schools and raised the question whether it is not up to the school system to create stars' (Tørnæs, 2004). Addressing the elemen-

tary school system, the minister defined the task that potentials in special talents be better exploited.

In the years to follow, talent manifested itself on the education policy agenda in the following initiatives:

- 2005: Talent Camp 05
- 2006–2007: Talent Fund established by the Ministry of Education
- 2008: Talent report to the parliament
- 2009: Establishment of a knowledge centre for talent management, Maersk Science Centre
- 2011: Report on talent development in the education system, commissioned by the Ministry of Education
- 2014: Reform of the Danish elementary school

Talent Camp 05 was a 48-hour 'innovation camp' organised by the Ministry of Education to gather ideas for better talent management in Danish education. The participants were representatives from different educational institutions, research, businesses and sports. After the 48-hour camp, a working group was formed to look at project proposals and discuss their implementation. The Ministry of Education in the 'Talent Camp 05' defined talents as 'children and young people with special abilities in one or more areas who attend regular schools and institutions. A talent is a person who is good at something and has the potential to be one of the best if talents are stimulated' (Kyed, 2005). In this definition, talent is associated with abilities and potential. It is thus described as something inherent that can be developed and places a person among 'the best'; as a personal inherent quality that contributes to personal or individual competitive advantages. However, the potential has to be stimulated for a person to benefit from these advantages. In other words, something exterior is added to the inner quality in order for the talent to unfold.

The *Talent Fund* was established the following year and consolidated the political focus on developing and incorporating talent development in the Danish educational system. It was established to help ensure that differentiated teaching would also benefit the so-called gifted students. DKK 5 million were allocated annually for 2006 and 2007 to support

talent development in the schools. The special allocation and the funded projects followed in the wake of Talent Camp 05, where many of them had been presented as project ideas. The fund secured resources for such talent development projects. The Ministry of Education's justification for the talent fund was that 'differentiated teaching should also benefit gifted children and young people (EMU, 2008). The special allocation funds targeted primary school, high school, vocational and higher education. The largest share of the funds went to primary schools where the projects typically focused on up-skilling teachers to be able to spot talents and to develop educational offers, especially in science, targeted at gifted students.

A report on talent development to the parliamentary committee on education in 2008 explained the talent initiative in the following way:

> *In recent years, we have seen an increasing focus on making an extra effort for talents in the Danish educational system so that we can maintain and develop Denmark as a society in continued growth and prosperity. We cannot afford that young people with the will and talent to make a special effort lack challenges in our educational system and perhaps lose interest in taking an education. Denmark's competitiveness in the global knowledge society depends on our ability to develop talents. We therefore have to give the most gifted room to perform so that they can exploit their potential to the benefit of society and their own future.* (Haarder, 2008)

Thus, talent development was justified as benefiting young people with will and talent, economic growth, international competitiveness and the nation's development as knowledge society.

The Maersk Science Centre for talent development in science was established in 2009 as collaboration between the Danish government and shipping magnate Mærsk Mc-Kinney Møller. It was financed by an A.P. Møller Fond donation of DKK 130 million, and the Ministry of Education subsidises its operations. According to the centre's vision and strategy, the objective is 'to make extra curricula provisions for the talented pupils in science between 12 and 20 years'. The centre defines itself as the physical framework for national talent development in sciences. It offers activities for young talents and their teachers in primary school and high school. It defines science talents as 'students who are good at science

and have potential to be among the best if that potential is stimulated' and talent development as 'giving gifted students more challenges and developing their potential'. It further assumes that 'talents can contribute to improving the academic environment at the schools' (Science Talenter, n.d.).

In the 2011 talent report, the parliamentary committee justifies the increased focus on talent as 'necessary in order to increase Danish competitiveness and thus preserve and develop the country's prosperity and welfare; because the gifted students inspire classmates, fellow students and teachers; and because too many gifted students, who have the right skills, have become demotivated and tired of school' and so concluded that 'a greater focus on talents will benefit all' (Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 5).

For primary schools, the report recommends:

- A broad lift in teachers' competences and education with a view to mastering talent activities and differentiating upwards
- One talent counsellor at all schools, as a main rule, by 2016
- Full line organisation in 7th–9th grades within the framework of the comprehensive school where the students are grouped according to interests and subsequently according to pedagogic and academic criteria
- Fewer teaching objectives than now and with talent focus as a natural element

The recommendation that the teachers' competences in terms of 'upward differentiation' need to be enhanced, especially in relation to gifted students, builds on the general assumption that teachers do not master differentiation, at least not in an upwards sense. It is further recommended that differentiation in teaching is transferred to talent development projects in the daily teaching and that teachers work actively to 'spot and develop students with special learning potentials' (Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 58), which is also supposed to be a task for the recommended talent counsellor at each municipal school.

One rationale behind the recommendations is that 'a greater focus on talents will benefit all' (Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 5). Pointing to the common good supports the idea of a comprehensive school for all.

But in other ways, though maintaining reference to the framework of the comprehensive school, the recommended reform represents a break with its basic idea of un-streamed schooling. This goes for its recommendation of 'line organisation in 7th–9th grade', with students being grouped primarily according to interests and subsequently according to pedagogic and academic criteria. An obvious interpretation of the line organisation or 'specialisation' is to see it as a reintroduction of streaming in the oldest grades in primary school. The specialisation will be based on 'continuous evaluation of the students', implying that the massive introduction of test systems in recent years will have direct consequences for the students' ranking and grouping according to performance.

The last recommendation challenges efforts in Danish education policies over the last two decades—with inspiration from the Anglo-Saxon world—to define a series of, often detailed, teaching or learning objectives. On this background, the report states fewer objectives as an aim and later describes the necessity for an 'enriched curriculum', which extends instruction beyond the bounds of curriculum and allows children to work at their own speed with more challenging problems (Baltzer & Kyed, 2008; Wallace, 2006).

The impetus to recommend an enriched curriculum thus follows from the recent education policy reforms of defining curricular objectives, detailing the subject and academic skills to be achieved, which has been a general tendency and formed part of the Danish education reforms since 2006. This represents another rupture with a Nordic tradition, which in addition to developing academic skills emphasised the school's responsibility for general education and formation of the student's personality, thereby creating the foundation for citizenship (Carlgren & Marton, 2002). In the didactic tradition, instruction was guided more by the needs of the particular student group and context than by nationally defined learning objectives, and so in principle established a framework of differentiated instruction.

In the agreement behind the recent Danish school reform, like in the earlier policy documents, the discourse on the academically gifted students being let down by the Danish school system continues: 'Denmark has a small number of academically gifted students relatively. If the students' academic level and the academic level in the public school are to be

improved, then it is crucial for all students to get the opportunity to unfold their potential fully and for Denmark to be able to compete successfully on the increasingly international market' (Agreement, 2013, p. 1).

There is a duality in this statement. It points to the 'small number of academically gifted students' and indirectly states that this number has to be increased. It also points to the importance of 'all students' unfolding their potential fully, and thus seems to maintain a 'school for all' approach, which should cater to the needs of all children. Similarly, the reform of standards states as the first of three main objectives that, 'the Folkeskole must challenge all students to reach their fullest potential' (Ministry of Education, 2014, p. 17). And while earlier the main task of the school in Denmark appeared to be education for democracy, it is now seen to be education for an international market competition.

Discussion and Conclusion

Differentiation and focus on children considered gifted and talented reflect an individualisation trend in various ways. This goes for the education policies to make provisions for the gifted and talented in both China and Denmark, and this links to wider, underlying globalisation issues. But before the discussion of the link to such global policies, some differences between China and Denmark in their pursuance of talent need to be located and highlighted. Both countries are pursuing individualisation and market-oriented strategies in their education policies, but they are embedded in different traditions and have different outcomes.

In the Chinese education system, policies and programmes that cater to the needs of the gifted and talented appear to have assumed a function of equipping students with competitive advantages when they apply to highly ranked educational institutions. This system has developed on a background of economic scarcity, which in spite of increasing investments in education, still means that there are not enough places to cater to the growing needs for education. This again has been conducive to an extremely competitive and standardised educational system, which is effective in eliminating individual differences, transmitting a narrow

band of predetermined content and skills, and imposing conformity (Zhao, 2014).

In Denmark, talent development was not an explicit issue on the education political agenda until the late 1990s. Education policies were generally aimed at assuring equality in education and therefore followed a tradition of postponing grading and streaming for as long as possible. The Danish policies were dominated by visions of equality and democracy, with an education for all as the main focus. But increased economic austerity, internationalisation and accountability pressures in the late 1990s gave rise to a push for specific initiatives aimed at talented students. This put talent development on the education political agenda and, in 2011, it was developed into an official strategy. The public comprehensive school was indirectly blamed for promoting mediocrity rather than talent, which opened up for funding of specific talent initiatives and programmes.

The Danish report on Talent Development in the Education System and the various papers on this issue in a Chinese context all state the needs for special provisions for gifted and talented and endorse an education political vision of global competition and talent development as the driving forces for economic growth and development (cf. OECD, 2012). Such policies are a response to local political pressure from neoliberal policy-makers and to external, global pressures that advocate for the educational imperative of globalisation in a normative sense. In other words, this refers to an economic policy aimed at unifying the economic field by a whole set of measures, designed to remove all the limits to that unification (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 224; Ball, 2008).

The claim that certain student groups are neglected in the comprehensive, mainstream system is politically appealing to expectations of anxious middle-class parents to provide identification and selection of their children for the intellectual elite in an increasingly competitive education market. This results in pressures to differentiate provision in schools and to create selective schools of various kinds. Further arguments for making special provisions for the gifted and talented are based on assumptions of an unexploited intellectual potential in the student population that, if properly realised, would benefit the nations' educational standard and competitiveness on the global market. Proponents contend that in the

regular, comprehensive school system the best performing students are prevented from developing and performing to their full potential because instruction and resources are primarily aimed at the needs of low-achieving students while the 'gifted and talented' tend to adapt their achievement level to their lower-achieving peers in order to be socially accepted.

In the contemporary discourses in China and Denmark, talent primarily points in the direction of increased individualisation coupled with economic growth. But the coupling of competitive individualisation supported by massive testing with the development of talent and economic competitiveness is neither uniquely logical nor unambiguous. Test-oriented systems that seek to fix students' deficits according to externally prescribed standards and rank them accordingly can also be seen as detrimental to the development of individual strengths and talents in education (cf. Zhao, 2014). Further, there are no indications that the focus on and development of a strong comprehensive school culture in Scandinavia has reduced these countries' international competitiveness. In contrast, comparisons with countries with selective and divided school systems document that the former countries are characterised by higher social equality and cohesiveness (Green, Preston, & Janmaat, 2006; Wiborg, 2009) and thereby more conducive to economic growth.

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Part III

Transnational Cooperation in Education: Policies and Practices

9

Comparing Doctoral Education in China and Finland: An Institutional Logics Perspective

Gaoming Zheng, Jussi Kivistö, Wenqin Shen, and Yuzhuo Cai

Introduction

Although higher education cooperation between China and Finland has, in recent years, strengthened due to reciprocal interests (Cai & Hölttä, 2014), it is still at a very preliminary stage, and cooperation at the doctoral level is even less developed. It has been argued that, in general, educational cooperation at the doctoral level between China and European countries is rather limited (Zheng & Cai, 2018). Some comparative and international education studies (e.g. Bray & Gui, 2001; Crossley & Jarvis, 2001; Yang, 2011) suggest that one key motive for comparing education systems is to enhance an understanding of the contexts of educational systems, which will contribute to cooperation

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development between the systems. While such a point can be easily assumed, the difficulty in research lies in the lack of an appropriate theoretical framework with which to analyse and to concretise the context of education systems, particularly in the field of doctoral education.

Some comparative research on Chinese and Finnish higher education systems (Cai & Kivistö, 2011; Cai & Kohtamäki, 2014) has shed light on our understanding of the doctoral education systems of both countries; however, among these collections of academic papers, none have ever adopted a consistent analytical framework for comparison. Meanwhile, the existing studies on either Chinese doctoral education (e.g. Ma, 2007; Wang, 2008; Yang, 2012) or Finnish doctoral education (e.g. Ahola, 2007; Hakala, 2009; Kivistö, 2011; Nummenmaa, Pyhältö, & Soini, 2008) have rarely explored the social and cultural contexts of each system. Rather, they deal mainly with the activities and functions of doctoral education.

According to institutional theory, the context of the higher education system is seen as an institutional environment (Cai & Mehari, 2015), which is composed of various aspects of institutions. 'Institutions can be generally understood as social orders, social rules, or taken-for granted norms and beliefs, which are seen by actors as natural, rightful, expected, and legitimate' (Cai, 2013, p. 462). With an aim to concretise the very abstract concept of institution, an institutional logics perspective (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) was developed which identifies a set of supra-organisational patterns that provide meaning to actions and conflicts, largely reflecting the nature of institutions (Cai & Mehari, 2015). An institutional logic can be defined as 'a set of material practices and symbolic constructions' that constitute an institutional order's 'organising principle' and are 'available to organisations and individuals to elaborate' (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 248).

To fill the aforementioned knowledge gap, our chapter systematically compares the Chinese and Finnish doctoral education systems, with a focus on their institutional contexts and their underlying institutional logics in particular. The primary research questions are the following: (1) *From the perspective of institutional logics, to what extent can the Chinese and Finnish doctoral education systems be compared?* (2) *To what extent are they compatible?*

To answer the research questions, we employed the perspective of institutional logics to make the institutional context of both doctoral education systems tangible through on-desk research of second-hand data, including relevant academic literature concerning doctoral education and higher education in China and Finland, government policy documents related to doctoral education reforms in both countries, some university strategy documents, news and the like.

The chapter is structured as follows. An introduction of the theoretical framework of the study, the institutional logics perspective, is followed by a brief description of the Chinese and Finnish doctoral education systems. Next, it respectively examines the underlying institutional logics of each of these doctoral education systems. It continues with an analysis of the compatibilities and differences of both systems from the institutional logics perspective and finally provides implications for cooperation between Finland and China in the field of doctoral education.

Theoretical Framework: The Institutional Logics Perspective

The institutional logics perspective, a recent development in institutional theory, was introduced in the works of Alford and Friedland (1985) and Friedland & Alford (1991). The concept has become more popular in organisational studies, with contributions from Thornton and his co-authors (Thornton, 2004; Thornton et al., 2012; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). There has been a recent trend in applying the institution logics perspective in higher education research (Cai & Mehari, 2015; Lepori, 2016), as well as in the context of Chinese higher education (Cai & Zheng, 2016) and in settings for comparing Chinese and European experiences (Zheng, Cai, & Ma, 2017).

In this chapter, we applied the framework developed by Zheng, Shen and Cai (2018), who used a typology of societal institutional logics proposed by Thornton et al. (2012), including logics of state, market, family, profession, religion, community and corporation, to identify multiple institutional logics in the field of Chinese doctoral education. This is also consistent with the argument of Thornton et al. (2012), which maintains

that the actions and interactions at the organisational field level are subject to societal-level logics. An analysis of the extent to which these logics are reflected in Chinese doctoral education focused on the following six dimensions: admission, doctoral training, quality assurance, graduation, governance and funding; these dimensions have been commonly discussed in the literature on doctoral education systems (e.g. China's quality assessment group for doctoral education, 2010; Yang, 2012). Zheng et al. (2018) also suggested that five logics (i.e. state logic, profession logic, family logic, market logic and corporation logic) are particularly relevant for understanding doctoral education systems, such as the Chinese system, while the religion and community logics are less salient.

By combining the five logics and the six dimensions of the doctoral education system, we constructed an analytical framework for understanding the institutional logics underlying the Chinese and Finnish doctoral education systems (see Table 9.1). Following the framework, by cross-examining each dimension of the doctoral education systems (Y-Axis) with the type of institutional logics (X-Axis), it is possible to identify the reflections of the underlying institutional logics in each dimension of a doctoral education system. As the framework was originally modified based on the Chinese context, when conducting a comparative analysis in this chapter, we paid special attention to its relevance to other contexts, such as the Finnish context.

Table 9.1 Analytical framework for understanding institutional logics in doctoral education systems

		X-Axis: ideal types of institutional logics				
		state logic	profession logic	family logic	market logic	corporation logic
Y-Axis: dimensions of doctoral education systems	admission					
	doctoral training					
	quality assurance					
	graduation					
	funding					
	governance					

Source: Modified from Zheng et al. (2018)

In addition to proposing the two-dimensional framework, Zheng et al. (2018) interpreted the five logics in the context of doctoral education. As these are crucial for the analysis of the current study, each of the doctoral education logics is explained in the following paragraphs.

- State logic

According to Thornton et al. (2012), the state is understood as a redistribution mechanism. With respect to state logic in the field of doctoral education, actors with bureaucratic power, such as state governments and university administrators, have the dominant influence. They intend to construct a doctoral education system through government policies and regulations, routine administration and the redistribution of resources. Doctoral education is deemed a public good and should represent the interest of the state government.

- Profession logic

Driven by profession logic, a person's status in doctoral education is built on his/her personal expertise in disciplined research. Doctoral supervisors who have more advanced expertise in the discipline enjoy a higher reputation in the academic community and have more authority in doctoral education. In terms of profession logic, actors in the field of doctoral education, both doctoral supervisors and doctoral students, seek to enhance their personal expertise, get recognised by their peers and enhance their status in the academic community.

- Family logic

In the context of doctoral education driven by family logic, a supervision group, which comprises a supervisor and his/her supervised doctoral students, becomes a family unit in which the doctoral supervisor acts as the patriarchal leader, and the supervised students become sisters and brothers. The relationship between a doctoral supervisor and the supervised doctoral students is a patronage relationship based on reciprocity. Doctoral students and doctoral supervisors behave like family

members, express their unconditional loyalty towards their supervision family and seek to enhance the family honour together.

- Market logic

According to the market logic, doctoral education, doctoral degrees and doctoral graduates become profitable commodities and valuable assets in the market. The pursuit of a doctoral education is driven by the intention to increase the stakeholders' profits. Market and market-like activities are introduced, which increases competition in the context of doctoral education and promotes applied doctoral research, especially industry-collaborative research.

- Corporation logic

Driven by corporation logic, the efficiency of doctoral education is emphasised, and performance-based management is implemented, in the organisation of doctoral education. Hence, on-time graduation, academic publication and other activities that can manifest the effectiveness and efficiency of doctoral education management are encouraged. An employment relationship between universities and doctoral students is established as a part of the process of managing doctoral education.

The Chinese and Finnish Doctoral Education Systems

The sections below present a brief introduction of the doctoral education systems in China and Finland, which will facilitate the readers' understanding of the analysis that follows.

The Chinese Doctoral Education System

The Chinese doctoral education system was established in 1981 (China Academic Degrees and Graduate Education Development Center, 2014).

During the nearly four decades since its inception, it has developed into one of the largest doctoral education systems in the world (Yang, 2012). By 2015, out of the 1129 Chinese universities that provide higher education offering degrees (Ministry of Education of China, 2016), 335 universities have been granted the authority to provide doctoral education and to confer doctoral degrees. According to the latest statistics (2015), the Chinese doctoral education system as a whole had 326,600 doctoral students, with 53,000 outgoing doctoral graduates and 74,400 newly-recruited doctoral students (Ministry of Education of China, 2016).

In alignment with the Chinese educational system's examination tradition, doctoral students in China are recruited mainly through entrance examinations. However, the admission system has been under reform in recent years and now allows more diverse means for recruiting students, such as application materials, constituted mainly of candidates' research proposals (Ministry of Education of China, National Development and Reform Sector of China, & Ministry of Finance of China, 2013). More and more universities are adopting this means for recruiting students. The duration of doctoral study in China, usually three to four years, has recently extended to a maximum of eight years.

The state plays a decisive role in the system's governance by approving the universities' applications to offer doctoral education, being involved in deciding the annual recruitment number of doctoral students and acting as the major funder of the doctoral education system (Zheng et al., 2018). Nevertheless, with the launch of the 'Supervisors' Accountability Policy' and the 'Supervisors' Financial Support Policy' in 2006 (China's quality assessment group for doctoral education, 2010), more autonomy has been given to doctoral supervisors and universities. Currently, in many Chinese universities, doctoral supervisors act as the decision makers and quality assurers (J. Guo, 2009); this includes deciding whom to recruit, approving doctoral students' research plans, evaluating their performance, examining their dissertations, allocating financial resources and even arranging for their employment after graduation (Zheng et al., 2018).

Further, a unique *shi-men* phenomenon can be observed in current Chinese doctoral education. Literally, *shi* translates from Chinese as 'a supervisor' or 'a teacher', and *men* translates as 'group' or 'family'. A *shi-men* is a supervision family that includes a doctoral supervisor and his/her

supervised (doctoral/master's/bachelor's) students. Within a Chinese *shimen*, the relations between doctoral supervisors and their supervised students are patronage relationships, which means that as the group leader, the supervisor 'takes care of the group within a hierarchical governance mode' (Leisyte & Dee, 2012, p. 157).

Since 2014, Chinese universities have begun to charge doctoral students tuition fees (maximum 10,000 RMB per year; Ministry of Education of China, 2014; Ministry of Finance of the People's Republic of China, 2013). Nevertheless, through a national postgraduate student financial-support system, the government financially supports individual doctoral students with various subsidies, grants and scholarships (Ministry of Finance of the People's Republic of China, 2013). For instance, the state government subsidises each individual doctoral student with a minimum of 10,000 RMB per year (Ministry of Finance of the People's Republic of China, 2013), which means that eventually the tuition fees of doctoral students are covered by the state government. The state government also funds the universities based on the annual number of full-time doctoral students (Ministry of Education of China, 2014) with an amount of 28,000 RMB per student per year.

In recent years, Chinese doctoral training activities have transformed under the impact of internationalisation and marketisation. Doctoral students are encouraged to participate in all kinds of international doctoral training activities, such as international conferences, student exchanges and international publications, to gain advanced knowledge in research areas and to become involved in the international academic community (Sun & Liang, 2009). Meanwhile, along with the marketisation of higher education in China, the funding structure of doctoral education has been diversified, and one of its increasingly important resources has been funding from industry. As a result, more applied doctoral research has been conducted in doctoral training in close collaboration with industry. Changes can also be seen in the career choices of doctoral graduates. In the 1980s, 80% of doctoral degree holders entered into academic careers; however, in the twenty-first century, only around 40% of doctorates are expected to continue with academic careers after graduation even though an academic career remains the main career choice for doctorates (Z. Liu & Luo, 2015).

The Finnish Doctoral Education System

Currently, there are 14 research universities (including one university of arts) in Finland that have been granted the authority to offer doctoral training and to award doctoral degrees. Annually, Finnish universities award 1800 to 1900 doctoral degrees, which is about 5%–6% of all the degrees granted (Vipunen Education Statistics Finland, 2016).

Doctoral students are recruited into the Finnish doctoral education system through application, a process which assesses the applicants' research proposals, academic transcripts, application letters, etc. The target duration established for each doctoral programme is four years; basically, however, doctoral students have an almost unlimited right to continue their studies longer if necessary (cf. Ahola, 2007). Doctoral students do not pay any tuition fees, but the national student aid system does not offer coverage as wide as that offered for bachelor's- and master's-level students.

Universities are highly autonomous in terms of how they organise their doctoral training with respect to government steering. More importantly, universities are able to determine their enrolment numbers, contents of the curriculum and fields and programmes of doctoral training (within the pre-determined disciplinary fields in which a university has the right to offer its degrees). However, the government rewards universities with a funding formula that includes the number of doctoral degrees awarded. Currently, the formula is 9% of the core funding allocated to universities (Ministry of Education and Culture of Finland, 2015). In their performance negotiations, which take place every four years, universities and the Ministry of Education and Culture agree on the specific degree targets for each of the universities. These negotiations are one of the few instruments available to the government in steering doctoral training in Finland.

There is no accreditation required for the doctoral programmes. Instead, quality assurance processes are integrated into the institutional quality assurance systems of the universities, which are subject to external reviews (quality audits) conducted by the Finnish Education Evaluation Centre, the national quality assurance agency responsible for evaluations of higher education, every six years.

Traditionally, doctoral training in Finland follows the form of supervisor–student individual apprenticeships. To internally coordinate their doctoral education more effectively, over the past five years, most universities have established 'graduate' or 'doctoral' schools that are based partly on the example offered by the graduate school model of US universities. In many universities, this has resulted in stricter internal rules for admission criteria, supervision of doctoral theses, designing of curricula and grading of the completed doctoral theses. The current trend in many universities is to emphasise 'quality over quantity' with respect to the admission and supervision of doctoral students.

Analyses

Our data analysis reveals that both Chinese and Finnish doctoral education systems are underlined by the multiple logics of state, profession, family, market and corporation even though the extent of the logics' impacts varies with respect to the different dimensions of doctoral education in each system. In the next sections, we first present the reflections and impacts of the five underlying logics, one by one, for both doctoral education systems and then compare the findings of the two systems, analyse their similarities and differences and explore the possible reasons behind these.

Institutional Logics of Chinese Doctoral Education

As Zheng et al. (2018) have provided vivid illustration on the institutional logics of the Chinese doctoral education system based mainly on their interview data, our chapter will further testify to and enrich the findings based on a review of literature.

State Logic

The state logic of the Chinese doctoral education system stems from the historical development of the system, which was established for the devel-

opment of the socialistic modernisation of the country (Office of the State Council Academic Degrees Committee of China, 1980); its developmental path also indicates strong promotion and tight control by the Chinese central government (Yang, 2012). Currently, the impact of state logic is reflected largely in the government's stringent control of the system's size through a series of admission and external quality assurance policies, the government's role as the decision maker in the system's governance and financial resources distribution and, to a lesser extent, in the regulation of doctoral training and graduation requirements.

The state controls the size of the doctoral education system strictly by deciding which institutions are qualified to offer doctoral training and the enrolment scale to which the universities can admit students (Yang, 2012). Since 2005, institutions that were approved to offer doctoral education were also under the state's regular evaluation every six years (Ministry of Education of China, 2005). Further, the expansion of the system since the 1990s has also been driven and strategically planned by the state government (Zhao & Shen, 2013). Most universities still utilise entrance examinations to recruit students, which is also a reflection of the state logic in doctoral student admission. Except for the strong regulation of entrance of the doctoral education system (for both students and institutions), the state tries to externally assure the quality of the outcomes of doctoral education. For example, a random assessment of doctoral dissertations at the national level is conducted annually by the National Academic Committee; if any dissertations are found to be unqualified, the degree holders lose their degrees, and their supervisors and institutions lose their supervisory rights (China Academic Degrees and Graduate Education Development Center, 2016b).

The state government not only acts as a gatekeeper or external quality assurer of the doctoral education system, but it is also a system scenario designer. On one hand, through the promotion of the elite universities policy, such as Project 985 and Project 211, the development of graduate schools in some selected universities and the implementation of the key disciplines policy, the Chinese government has constructed a hierarchical pyramid of the Chinese higher education system. As Fig. 9.1 shows (Cai & Yan, 2015; X. Guo, 2003), universities at the top receive more government financial support and enjoy more autonomy (Wang, 2008). On the
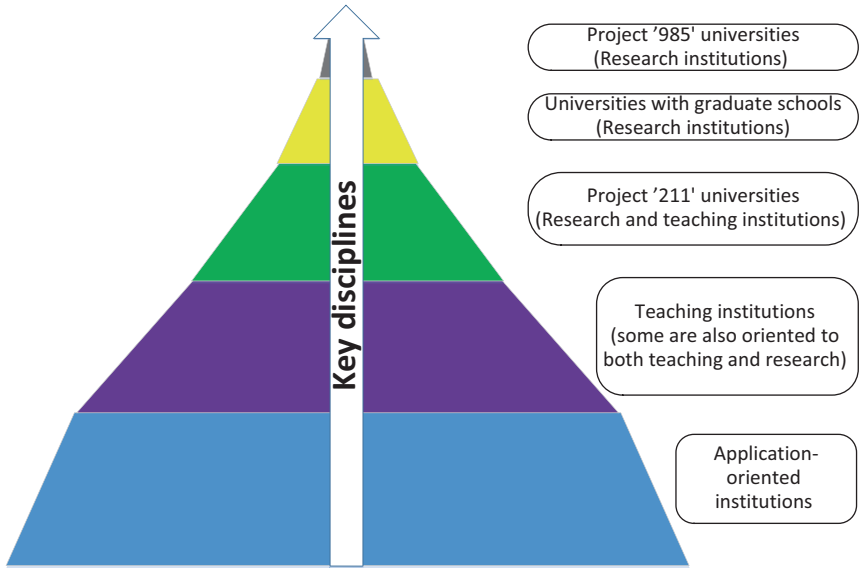
Fig. 9.1 Pyramid of the Chinese higher education system. (Source: Cai and Yan, 2015; X. Guo, 2003)

other hand, following the guidance of the State Council of China, a national-provincial-institutional three-layer governance structure of the Chinese degree management system was established, as Fig. 9.2 shows (China Academic Degrees and Graduate Education Development Center, 2016a). In so doing, the state government has extended its influence on doctoral education from system governance to institutional governance.

Further, through providing special funding to universities via Project 985 and Project 211, research project funding to supervisors and financial support to doctoral students directly through the national financial support system and indirectly through support universities based on doctoral students numbers, the state government influences the doctoral education system as a major funder and resources redistributor, which is also a reflection of state logic. In addition, the impact of state logic can be discerned in the state's promotion of international doctoral training activities (Han, 2010) and its general requirement of politics education.
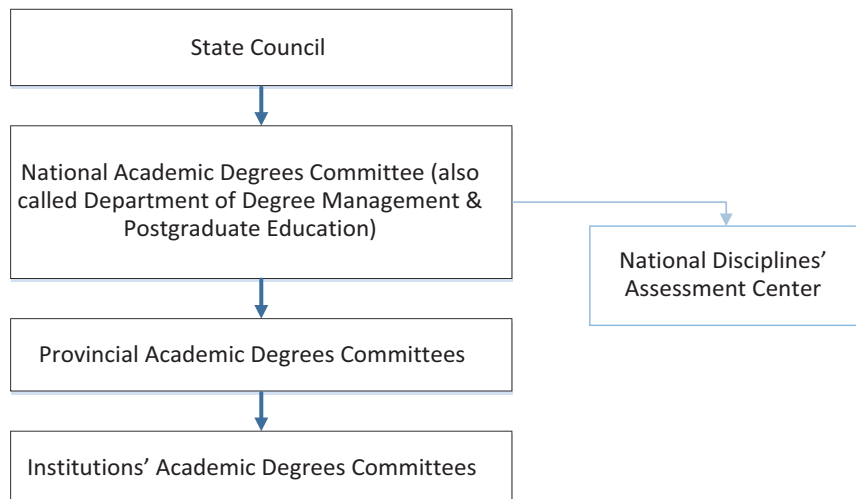
Fig. 9.2 Governance structure of Chinese academic degree management. (Source: China Academic Degrees and Graduate Education Development Center, 2016a)

Profession Logic

Like state logic, profession logic has been embedded in the context of Chinese doctoral education since the system's establishment, which lies at the base of doctoral education, i.e. scientific research (European University Association, 2010). The impact of profession logic in Chinese doctoral education is seen in all the dimensions of its system. Mainly, it is reflected in the emphasis on research capacity in the whole life-cycle of doctoral education from admission to graduation, the development of a strict quality assurance process and strong academic power in terms of institutional governance.

Driven by profession logic, the majority of doctoral supervisors in China understand the quality of doctoral education to be exceptional (China's quality assessment group for doctoral education, 2010; Zheng et al., 2017). Underlined by this concept, a doctoral candidate's research capacity is regarded as the main indicator of the quality of a doctoral education programme (China's quality assessment group for doctoral

education, 2010), and it is highlighted in the whole life cycle of doctoral education in China. For instance, during doctoral admission, many doctoral supervisors in China prefer to enrol students based on evaluations of the candidates' research outputs and their performance in personal interviews (China's quality assessment group for doctoral education, 2010). As mentioned, more and more universities are recruiting students based on the evaluation of an applicant's research proposal, which is an indicator of the applicant's research capacity. When it comes to doctoral training, enhancement of the research capacity of doctoral students is deemed the core of doctoral training. Doctoral students in China are seen as both students and junior academics (China's quality assessment group for doctoral education, 2010). In order to upgrade the research capacity of Chinese doctoral candidates and get them recognised by international academic peers, doctoral training activities in China have been internationalised in recent years; for instance, doctoral candidates are encouraged to participate in international conferences, to publish in international peer-reviewed journals and to be involved in international projects (Sun & Liang, 2009). Accordingly, academic publication in peer-reviewed journals is seen as an important performance indicator of doctoral candidates, and doctoral dissertations must be sent to external reviewers for evaluation before final submission (China's quality assessment group for doctoral education, 2010).

Meanwhile, driven by profession logic together with state logic, the deans of graduate schools, the government and some doctoral supervisors see quality as perfection/consistence (China's quality assessment group for doctoral education, 2010; Zheng et al., 2017). Hence, process-oriented quality assurance approaches have been adopted in China, and a strict procedure of quality assessment (starting with doctoral admission and continuing with research proposal defence, midterm examination, pre-defence, external review and public defence, and ending with the random quality assessment of doctoral dissertations after graduation) has been well established in the Chinese doctoral education system (China's quality assessment group for doctoral education, 2010).

In the last decade, along with the implementation of the Supervisors' Accountability Policy, the autonomy of doctoral supervisors has been gradually increased within institutions, especially concerning academic

issues. For instance, doctoral supervisors in China are fully responsible for selecting doctoral students among applicants and for evaluating their performances via the established quality assessment procedure. With the Supervisors' Financial Support Policy, project funding allocated by supervisors has been an increasingly important funding source for doctoral study, which has strengthened the influence of doctoral supervisors.

With the exception of that which has been discussed here, the impact of profession logic can also be observed in the fact that an academic career is still the main career choice among doctoral graduates and that some national scholarships are merit-based, that is, allocated based on the evaluation of a doctoral candidate's research capacity.

Family Logic

Family logic has a long history in the Chinese education system. As the old Chinese saying 'one-time teacher, life-long father' indicates, in Chinese tradition, the relationship between teacher and student is similar to that between parents and children (Li, 2002). Under the influence of this tradition, along with its embedded family logic, the unique *shimen*—or supervision-family culture—is formed in the Chinese doctoral education system, which affects the practices of doctoral education, including admission, supervision, quality evaluation, graduates' employment choices and the institutional governance of supervision groups.

Driven by family logic, supervisors in China are patriarchal leaders of their supervision families, and the relationship between supervisors and students is hierarchical (Yue & Zhou, 2008). Even the relationships between different cohorts of the supervised students are hierarchical. For instance, latecomers to the supervision groups call the older cohorts *shixiong* or *shi-jie*, which literally means 'elder academic siblings', and respect them as their seniors. Supervisors have the full autonomy to decide how to supervise students (Yue & Zhou, 2008), and the supervision is not limited to academic issues; it may also include life guidance (Zhou, 2009). Further, driven by family logic, nepotism can be observed in the admission process of doctoral students in China (Yue & Zhou, 2008) even though, in recent years, it has been reduced due to state interference.

The same phenomenon can be seen in the employment of doctoral graduates who wish their supervisors to act as their sponsors in the academic labour market and to help them with employment issues, as parents help their children in China. The impact of family logic can also be seen in the quality evaluation process. In the last decade, the reciprocity between supervisors and students has affected the quality of the evaluation process of doctoral student performance; as a result, some supervisors have lowered their academic standards to allow students to pass even though the students are not sufficiently qualified (Yue & Zhou, 2008), which contributes to the high completion rate of doctoral education in China.

Market Logic

Market logic and corporation logic, in conjunction with the global trend of academic capitalism, were introduced into the Chinese doctoral education system in the mid-1990s (Slaughter & Leslie, 2001). This market logic has mainly affected Chinese doctoral education in the aspects of its funding system, doctoral training and the employment of doctoral graduates. Driven by market logic, financial resources for doctoral education have been diversified in recent years. Industry and the private sector in general have become important stakeholders for doctoral education, as they are now allowed to financially support doctoral education, especially in applied sciences, through research projects led by related supervisors (Peng, 2009). Through the implementation of the Supervisors' Financial Support Policy in 2006, supervisors can directly financially support their doctoral students through their project funding (China's quality assessment group for doctoral education, 2010); this means project funding has gradually become an important financial resource for doctoral students (Peng, 2011a). In return, the doctoral students participate in the supervisors' research projects as research assistants and improve their research expertise through the projects' work (Peng, 2011b). This has led to the reform of doctoral training from traditional apprenticeships to project-based supervision. Further, in response to the needs of markets, knowledge production in universities has been transforming from 'Mode 1' to 'Mode 2', which diversifies the profiles of doctoral degrees and

encourages the development of professional doctoral degrees (Chen, 2010). Along with the change in the knowledge mode and the diversification of funding, more connections with industry have been established in the process of doctoral training and have transformed the ways of doctoral training (Chen, 2010). With the changes in doctoral training, both students and supervisors realise and expect that continuing with an academic career is not the only option for doctoral employment (Chen, 2010). More and more graduates enter the non-academic market (Z. Liu & Luo, 2015).

Another reflection of market logic in doctoral education is that the doctoral degree is regarded as a profitable asset in career development, thus devaluing its academic essence. In some extreme cases, the doctoral degree has become a 'visa' through which politicians advance their political careers. Since most of these politicians do not have the interest in or capacity for doing proper academic research, they plagiarise the work of others (X. Liu, 2016). This no doubt distorts the academic value of a doctoral degree. Similarly, the establishment of a doctoral programme is regarded as a valuable and profitable asset for universities, which enables them to gain more research funding from the state. As a result, many universities, even those that are not research institutions, have attempted various means to gain the government's approval to provide doctoral education (Gu & Chen, 2007).

Corporation Logic

Compared to other logics, the impact of corporation logic on doctoral education in China is rather limited and is focused mainly on doctoral training and graduation. Driven by corporation logic, the relationship between supervisors and students is changing towards one of quasi-employment (Yue & Zhou, 2008). Doctoral students get paid for their work on their supervisors' research projects and even call their supervisors 'boss' (Yue & Zhou, 2008). Nevertheless, as the state remains the main funder of doctoral education, the management of universities has never been fully corporationalised, and a real employment relationship between institutions/supervisors and doctoral students has not been established in

Chinese universities (Yue & Zhou, 2008). The nature of the relationship between supervisors and students remains one of patronage based on reciprocity. Further, under the impact of corporation logic, efficiency and performance management are increasingly emphasised in China's doctoral education. As a result, students are encouraged to have at least one published academic paper before graduation, and most doctoral students want to graduate and enter the labour market as soon as possible (Zheng et al., 2018). Supervisors also hope that their students will graduate within the expected duration, without any delays.

Table 9.2 summarises the key points of reflections of institutional logics of the Chinese doctoral education system.

Institutional Logics of Finnish Doctoral Education

State Logic

For many years in Finland, the state's approach to doctoral education has been strongly characterised by certain founding principles rooted deeply in the Humboldtian tradition and the Nordic welfare state model (Ahola, 2007). This includes free tuition, substantial autonomy of universities to arrange their doctoral training in a way they deem appropriate and a high overall emphasis on equality (Hölttä, Jansson, & Kivistö, 2010). The state plays a minor role in regulating and governing doctoral education compared to the level of regulation they perform at the undergraduate level. National level legislation sets a very broad and loose regulative framework, which universities then supplement with their own internal rules and policies. Current legislation regulates doctoral education only by prescribing minimum admission qualifications (applicants for doctoral studies need to hold applicable types of master's degrees), what elements are needed for completion of a doctoral degree and details related to the student's right to appeal during the grading process of a doctoral dissertation (Universities Act 558/2009; Government Decree on University Degrees 794/2004). Moreover, the legislation prescribes that universities must participate in external evaluations of their activities and quality assurance systems on a regular basis, but it does not include any

Table 9.2 Institutional logics in the Chinese doctoral education system

		X-Axis: ideal types of institutional logics				
		state logic	profession logic	family logic	market logic	corporation logic
Y-Axis: dimensions of doctoral education system	admission	state's regulations regarding admission: entrance examination system, decision-making power regarding number of enrolled students	emphasis on research capacity in recruitment of students	nepotism phenomenon	(no obvious reflection)	(no obvious reflection)
	doctoral training	state's support of international training activities state's requirements for politics and ideological philosophy courses	emphasis on enhancement of research capacity in doctoral training internationalisation of doctoral training activities	supervision of doctoral training + life guidance	(applied) project-based doctoral supervision	quasi-employment relation between supervisors and students
	quality assurance	state's regulation over which institutions can provide doctoral education and regular evaluations of approved institutions random checks of doctoral dissertations	seeing quality as exception and perception research capacity as the major performance indicator of doctoral students the establishment of strict quality assurance procedures	possibility of supervisors lowering their academic standards in the quality evaluation	(no obvious reflection)	(no obvious reflection)
	graduation	state's general regulations for graduation requirements	graduates' entry into academic careers	supervisors as sponsors in the academic labour market nepotism phenomenon	doctoral degree = a profitable asset in career development increase of graduates in non-academic sectors	academic publication as a graduation criterion graduation as a general plan without postponement
	funding	the state as the major funding resource	(no obvious reflection)	(no obvious reflection)	increase of research funding from industry–collaborative research projects doctoral education = a tool for gaining financial resources	(no obvious reflection)
	governance	state as the gatekeeper and scenario designer of the system represents the will of the state and serves the socialistic modernisation	strong academic power in institutional governance	supervisors' strong academic power in institutional governance, especially within supervision group: supervisors = patriarchal leaders; doctoral students = family members (children) hierarchical relation in supervision groups	(no obvious reflection)	(no obvious reflection)

Source: The authors

specifications about what these evaluations should contain and how they should be performed.

The state, however, has a strong role in funding doctoral education. This is realised through the national funding model, which is heavily performance-driven (currently 75% of the state funding is performance-based) (Ministry of Education and Culture of Finland, 2015). Universities are able to generate more state funding mainly by awarding more doctoral degrees but also by producing more highly rated publications and accumulating more competitive research funding, which are all measurable performance indicators included in the funding formula. Moreover, the state has indirect and non-binding means of influence through information steering by publishing policy documents (e.g. reviews and evaluation reports, planning documents and strategies) and by offering recommendations for ways in which to develop doctoral education, especially with respect to its labour market relevance.

Profession Logic

According to the principles of the Humboldtian tradition, academics, most specifically professors, are considered to be the guardians of academic quality. This is particularly evident in admission practices, where the professor's judgement of an applicant's quality plays a key role. Admission processes vary to some extent among universities; in most cases, however, central criteria for admitting students are the quality and relevance of a research proposal. This proposal is reviewed and approved/rejected by the professor or other senior academics in charge of the field of study. The academic power also extends to the final stages of the doctoral training; the supervising professors have traditionally played a role—sometimes stronger, sometimes weaker—in grading the theses they have themselves supervised.

Finnish doctoral education still follows the 'dissertation-centred model' originating from the German-based Humboldtian tradition in contrast to the American tradition, which is characterised by an emphasis on systematic training based on coursework. For this reason, doctoral students are considered primarily as junior members of the academic pro-

fession rather than as students to be educated. A student's main task is to work on his or her dissertation under the supervision of one or more senior academics, thereby forming a kind of master-apprentice relationship (Hakala, 2009). However, disciplinary differences also have an influence on supervisory relationships. In the natural sciences, the novice researcher is a part of a hierarchically organised research group; however, in the social sciences, doctoral students are often given more freedom and are treated more strongly as colleagues (Delamont, Atkinson, & Parry, 2000; Hakala, 2009).

Even though students are required to complete courses as a part of their training, most of their time is dedicated to writing their dissertations and to other publishing activities. In addition, many full-time doctoral students work as graduate assistants in those cases in which the academic units do not have enough senior staff to fulfil all the teaching responsibilities. While doing this, the students learn a wide variety of skills and gain confidence and independence. This approach continues the Finnish tradition of unstructured research training, which places a high level of emphasis on individual capability and self-initiative (Hakala, 2009). At the same time, professors and other supervisors can benefit by having extra workforce for easing their teaching loads.

The format of the doctoral dissertation has changed over the years. Dissertations consisting of articles published in international refereed journals or of book chapters (typically 3–5) and an integrating summary became almost the norm in the 1980s and 1990s in 'hard sciences' such as medicine (Hakala, 2009). Now, 20–30 years later, this practice has also become an accepted alternative to the monograph-type of dissertation in the social sciences and humanities. This is at least partly due to the fact that the current state-funding model rewards publishing activity in highly ranked journals more than before. Sometimes the articles are published together with the thesis supervisor and possibly with other members of a research group. This offers more incentives for the professors to provide their supervision in the form of co-authorship, in which the essential part of the training of a student is 'learning by doing' together with the supervising professors.

The graduation of a student brings academic merit for the supervisor, which is counted as one important aspect of academic expertise. In addi-

tion, doctoral graduates who leave academia to work in business or in the public sector are often in leading or highly rated expert positions immediately after the graduation or a few years after getting more non-academic work experience, although the unemployment of doctoral graduates has been rapidly increasing in recent years (Haila, Karinen, Kaihovaara, Eronen, & Haapakorpi, 2016).

Family Logic

In Finland, strong welfare state ideals, a high level of individualisation and, simultaneously, the erosion of the role of the extended and nuclear family as a basic societal unit are all significantly lessening the influence and meaning of family logic as a motivational factor. This is highlighted in many ways; outright nepotism of any sort is strictly prohibited by the legislation, and it is considered socially unacceptable in all parts of the society, including in the academic world. At the same time, supervisor–student relationships are formal in the sense that their scope of activity does not typically extend beyond what is considered professional. For instance, giving advice on how students should live their lives outside academia would be considered, in most cases, unethical and intrusive behaviour.

However, all of this does not make Finnish universities and doctoral education totally immune to practices that can be connected to the idea of family logic. For instance, the admission of doctoral students is always at least partly based on the research interests and fields of expertise of the professors in charge in addition to the 'objective quality' of a research proposal. This directs, at least to some extent, the research interests of prospective doctoral students according to the existing research interests of their potential supervisors; it thereby resembles reciprocal and unconditional obligations oriented to the reproduction of the interests of 'family members'. Moreover, when it comes to training and quality assurance, given the high autonomy of professors in monitoring the quality of the education/supervision they themselves offer, one cannot escape the idea that students who are closer to their supervisors, either in terms of their research subjects or in personal relationships, could get more and better

opportunities for higher quality supervision or for training throughout their studies as a sign of 'patronage'.

In a similar vein, this relationship can affect getting more and better letters of recommendation as a sign of the 'supervision family's' loyalty. For instance, higher-profile/higher-paid positions in research projects led by their thesis supervisor could be examples of family-type professional nepotism. Unfortunately, empirical, research-based information in the Finnish context is totally absent in the literature, thereby restricting the discussion on this topic here to the level of anecdotal evidence and presumptions based on common sense.

Market Logic

To a large extent, market logic has been absent from Finnish higher education in many ways; education at all levels from primary school to doctoral education has been more like a basic right rather than a commodity to be bought or sold (Hölttä et al., 2010). However, especially over the past decade, the role of markets and market logic as such has effectively penetrated doctoral education in several ways. For instance, transformation towards a more competitive and commercialised climate in Finnish academia has, in many fields, led to a situation in which doctoral students are seen primarily as cheap labour to be utilised in externally funded projects (Hakala, 2009; Kuoppala, Pekkola, Kivistö, Siekkinen, & Hölttä, 2015). At the same time, the ability to generate competitive research funding is considered an indicator of the capacity to conduct high-quality research. Further, research projects result in an increasing number of publications that are, again, crucial impressions of scholarly productivity in research markets.

Success in generating more research funding can increase the possibility of more doctoral education. At the same time, the volume of attracted project funding and publication productivity can be considered representations of success symbols in winning 'market shares' in research markets. Successful professors have the talent to combine entrepreneurial activities (more research funding) and academic excellence (better quality training); unfortunately, however, the relationship is not always that straight-

forward. Competition is an essential part of academic life, and it is reflected throughout all stages of doctoral studies. According to extreme views, the Finnish higher education system is increasingly based on a 'tournament model' in which students play something akin to a zero-sum game as they compete against each other in admissions, scholarships, fixed-term paid positions, roles and responsibilities in research projects and so on (Ylijoki & Henriksson, 2015). However, this competition does not end with graduation. As the number of PhD holders has grown rapidly over the past 20 years, increasing numbers of qualified junior academics wishing to continue their academic careers after graduation constantly compete both for university positions and for external research funding from national research councils, the EU and other funding bodies (Ylijoki & Henriksson, 2015).

Another remaining under-studied aspect of market logic is related to practices in which graduates do professional favours for their former supervisors. Driven by the thinking that 'market exchange is loyalty', some professors can expect that their graduates are their personal 'business cards' and would pay back the services and opportunities students received from them throughout their training by offering professional counter-favours of different kinds. Indeed, some professors likely expect to benefit in many ways by having their former students in positions that bring them visibility, prestige or joint undertakings (e.g. lucrative consultation or research projects, prestigious expert roles in committees and visibility in media).

Corporation Logic

Corporation logic is closely manifested in the ongoing performance-based management practices of Finnish universities. Since the latest reform of Finnish university legislation, universities have gained significantly more autonomy in their staff management, for example, in terms of recruitment, promotions, salaries and workloads. The University Act of 2010 separated Finnish universities from the state budgeting bureaucracy and transformed them either into independent corporations under public law or foundations under private law, thereby granting universities

financial autonomy and liability. At the same time, civil-service employment relationships were changed to contractual relationships (Pekkola & Kivistö, 2012; Ylijoki & Henriksson, 2015). This, along with several other transformations, such as the introduction of a performance-based salary system, has intensified management orientation in doctoral training.

Here we provide some examples to further illustrate this point. For instance, in admissions procedures, the trend towards more selective admissions is perfectly in line with the increased emphasis on institutional efficiency and productivity (e.g. improved throughput and graduation rate and prospective publishing productivity). Some doctoral students have an employment relationship with the university, either as full-time and paid doctoral students or as part-time/full-time project researchers. In both cases, remuneration and other terms of employment are at least partly related to output. Since employee behaviour guided by the managerial orientation is much stronger than student behaviour guided by supervisory orientation, conflicts between these two simultaneously existing roles may appear. At the same time, the institutional value of doctoral education can be determined with a cost-benefit approach, that is, how much money or prestige it creates for the institution as an exchange for the resources it consumes.

The main analysis of logics within the Finnish doctoral education system is summarised in Table 9.3.

Comparison and Discussion

We compared the aforementioned findings of both systems and found that similarities and differences co-exist between the two systems.

On one hand, similarities between the two systems mainly concern profession logic, market logic and, partly, state logic. First, in both systems, the impacts of profession logic pervade all dimensions of doctoral education. This is related to the basis of doctoral education (i.e. research) and to the nature of doctoral candidates (i.e. often future academic professionals), which are beliefs shared by both countries. Second, along with the global trend of academic capitalism, the force of market logic has been transforming doctoral education systems in both countries with

Table 9.3 Institutional logics in the Finnish doctoral education system

		X-Axis: ideal types of institutional logics				
		state logic	profession logic	family logic	market logic	corporation logic
Y-Axis: dimensions of doctoral education system	admission	weak state regulation in admissions; only indirect influence on number of enrolled students	selection of the most academically qualified and promising applicants by professors	student admissions partly based on research interest and fields of expertise of the professoriate	(no obvious reflection)	selection of students with best prospects for publication productivity, project-building capacity and on-time graduation
	doctoral training	setting broad, non-binding recommendations for skills acquired through doctoral training and about relevance to labour market	co-publishing with supervisors; incorporating students into graduate training	possibility of giving more and better supervision to students who have formed closer personal relationship with the supervisor	integration of students with research projects and other activities that generate external revenue (project funding)	emphasises employee role of a student
	quality assurance	legislation requiring universities to take part in external evaluation of their activities and quality assurance systems on a regular basis	supervision in progression of studies, grades and publishing activity	possibility of lowering academic standards and violation of good ethical conduct in cases of students who have formed more closer personal relationships with supervisors	attract project funding and publication productivity as success symbols and winning 'market shares' with good-quality outputs	(no obvious reflection)
	graduation	loose requirements in terms of basic requirements for completing a doctoral degree and a student's right to appeal during the dissertation grading process	number of graduated students under supervision as an academic merit	reproduction of own scholarly identity in students	exchange of favours between supervisors and graduates	completed doctoral degree as measured institutional performance
	funding	state-funding model that rewards universities based on the number of conferred doctoral degrees, publication productivity and the amount of competitive research funding acquired	supervisors assist students to gain scholarships or research funding	supervisors play a stronger role in securing funding for the 'inner-circle' students under their supervision	role of doctoral students in projects generate income from the markets, with positive and negative effects	value of doctoral education determined based on how much money or prestige it creates for the institution
	governance	state governance via the use of three policy instruments: loose regulative instruments, strong financial instruments, and persuasive informational instruments	strong academic power determines all the phases of doctoral education	(no obvious reflection)	(no obvious reflection)	doctoral education governed as one of the performance areas of a university

Source: The authors

respect to many aspects, such as the emergence of project-based doctoral training, the increase of doctoral graduates in the non-academic sector and the popularity of competitive project funding. Third, although sternly influenced by state logic, doctoral education continues to be regarded as public goods in both countries, thus decoupling the effect of market logic on governance as well as on admission in both systems. Further, driven by state logic, the states in Finland and China both have a very strong role in funding doctoral training in that they both provide most of the resources and allocate these resources to universities.

On the other hand, differences between the two systems relate to state logic (partly), family logic and corporation logic. First, in terms of state logic, the regulative role of the state is significantly weaker in Finland than it is in China, where the state plays an active role in all dimensions of the doctoral education system, most notably in regulating admission, quality assurance and governance. In contrast, the level of autonomy of Finnish universities in terms of organising doctoral education is significantly higher, as the state has almost no role in regulating doctoral education by legislation or other binding norms.

Second, due to the different extent of the impact of family logic, there is a huge difference between the two countries with respect to understanding the relationship between supervisors and students. While in Finland, the relationship between supervisors and students is professional and usually contractual in the sense that the scope of supervision activity does not normally extend beyond academic issues, the doctoral supervisor–student relationship in China follows a hierarchical patronage model which allows the supervisors to extend their influence to students' non-academic issues. This difference may date back to the two countries' deeply rooted societal and cultural traditions, which inevitably are generally reflected in understanding the roles and relationships between individuals, families and society.

Third, differences concerning corporation logic are rather noticeable between the two systems, as the impact of corporation logic on the Finnish side can be revealed in most of the dimensions, whereas in China, it is just slightly reflected in doctoral training and graduation. When the practice of performance-based management is deeply rooted in Finnish universities, stemming from the 20-year tradition of state-driven

performance-based funding, it has not penetrated the educational system to a similar extent in China, despite the strong marketisation of higher education in general. This is also related to the stronger influence of other institutional logics, such as state and family logics, in the Chinese system.

Conclusion

By using an analytical framework grounded in the insights of institutional logics, this chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of both Chinese and Finnish doctoral education systems in terms of the similarities and differences of underlying institutional logics. Although the analytical framework was originally developed by Zheng et al. (2018) and used only in the Chinese context, our present study has proved the usefulness of the framework in comparing Chinese and Finnish doctoral education systems. Hopefully, this framework has the potential to be applied in efforts to understand and to compare doctoral education systems in larger international contexts.

The results show that the two systems share some similarities in all dimensions of doctoral education. In terms of the underlying logics, both profession logic and market logic exist in the two systems and have wide impact. In this sense, both systems are potentially compatible. Meanwhile, some differences are particularly noticeable in relation to the impact of family logic on the supervisor–student relationship and relevant aspects, the influence of state logic on system governance and matters of corporation logic concerning funding and system management.

Based on our comparative findings, we drew some implications for enhancing the practices of doctoral education cooperation between China and Finland.

First and foremost, when developing cooperation, policymakers and practitioners should be well aware of the dissimilarities and conflicts in the different logics of the two doctoral education systems and thus better reconcile them in practice.

Second, because of the different roles of the state as well as differences related to academic autonomy in the governance of Finnish and Chinese doctoral education, when establishing cooperation between

both sides, actors should be well informed about Chinese state regulations and policies and try to comply with them. Meanwhile, the academic power and institutional autonomy from the Finnish side should be maximally utilised so as to guarantee the success of the establishment of cooperation.

Third, as the understanding of the supervisor–student relationship is different in China and Finland, when one supervisor supervises doctoral students from the other system, he/she should pay more attention to students' anticipation of supervisors' guidance. It may be influenced by the student's institutional context, which is different from that in the supervisor's system. Supervisors should try to adjust his/her supervision style to delimitate conflicts and to provide optimal supervision. For instance, when supervising Chinese students, Finnish supervisors should encourage and empower them to exchange ideas with supervisors about academic issues openly and critically without concern for the supervisors' authority. When supervising Finnish doctoral students, Chinese supervisors should adopt a formal and professional supervisory relation and avoid extending their supervision beyond education-related issues.

Fourth, because actors' roles with respect to the quality assurance of doctoral education are different in Finland and China, assuring the quality of doctoral education cooperation or joint provision of doctoral education between Finland and China will be one of the most challenging in their practices. One should be aware that while, in both countries, the state takes part in external quality assurance, the role of the Chinese government is more decisive than that of the Finnish government, in which the state acts more like a facilitator. Supervisors are the primary actors in the internal quality assurance in both systems, but due to the impact of family logic in Chinese system, Chinese supervisors may lower academic standards to satisfy the needs of their 'academic children'. As such, in order to tackle this challenge, the body responsible for the quality assurance of doctoral education cooperation or joint doctoral supervision between China and Finland, as well as their responsibility scope, should be clearly identified, and the quality of doctoral dissertations should be strictly assured via peer review.

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10

Experience of Sino-Finnish Joint Degree Provision: Practitioners' Perspectives

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Introduction

In the last two decades, Finland has made cooperation with China a priority in their internationalisation strategy, due to the rapid Chinese economic development and the important role played by China in global economics and politics (Hölttä, Pekkola, and Cai, 2009). The bilateral social and eco-

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nomic relationships always include a significant education dimension, because education exchange can strengthen the value of cultural ties and create potential mutual business opportunities (OECD, 2004, p. 4). To achieve the overall objectives in the EU's strategy towards China, international cooperation and exchange between Chinese and European higher education institutions (HEIs) have been emphasised in strategies for the internationalisation of Finnish higher education (Finnish Ministry of Education, 2006; Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009).

Meanwhile, alongside the introduction of tuition fees for international students in Finland, China, as the biggest education market, has also become an important destination for their education exports. In general, Finland's interest in engaging in the internationalisation of higher education in China has mainly concerned student and staff mobility, research and teaching cooperation, and export of education.

Recently, Finland has become increasingly interested in strengthening cooperation with Chinese higher education by developing collaborative degree programmes. For Finnish universities, as the number of degrees completed determines the state funding allocated to the university, and especially due to pressure of introducing tuition fees for students outside of EU in 2017, they are keener to collaborate with international partners to develop dual or joint degree programmes, considering this an effective approach to maintaining or increasing the number of international degree students. China as the largest source country of international students is certainly a market that Finnish universities want to enter.

China has been exploring various forms of cooperation with foreign higher education institutions (HEIs) since the late 1980s and early 1990s, and this development has intensified since China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 and since the promulgation of the Regulations of Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running School (CFCRS) in 2003 (Cai, 2011). In China, the National Plan for Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development (2010–2020) issued by the State Council in 2010 states that "more support shall be given to exchanges of students and teachers, mutual recognition of academic credits, and mutual or joint conferment of academic degrees between Chinese and foreign colleges". Encouraged by the governmental strategy, many Chinese universities have not only become more active in

collaborating with advanced HEIs abroad, but also use this as a means for quality and capacity development (Cai & Hölttä, 2014). In recent years there has been a growing interest in China in collaborating with Finnish HEIs (Cai & Hölttä, 2014; Cai, Hölttä, & Lindholm, 2012) due to the relevance of the Finnish higher education system to Chinese higher education reforms (Cai & Kivistö, 2011; Cai & Kohtamäki, 2014; Cai, Yang, Lyytinen, & Hölttä, 2015).

While the future is bright, the path towards that end is by no means easy. As observed by the Netherlands Education Support Office in China (NESO, 2010, p. 37): "Institutional cooperation (in China) is not established overnight… it requires a substantial amount of planning, exchange and commitment". The challenges lie in many aspects, such as legal and administrative systems, university regulations, the compatibility of curriculum, and cultural issues. While a growing number of Finnish and Chinese universities have embarked on various efforts at developing double degree programmes, they often struggle with the same problems and try to find solutions quite independently. Thus, both research and practical needs should be explored to find out the challenges faced in developing collaborative degree programmes.

In the existing literature, there have been few studies specifically tackling the challenges in Sino-Finnish cooperation on degree programmes, and even broadly in the Sino-Nordic context. Some relevant ones include, for example, Cai (2013)'s examinations of the challenges in the development of an Erasmus Mundus Joint Master's Degree course, with both a Chinese and a Finnish university involved as full partners, and Cai, Hölttä, and Lindholm (2013)'s call for one specific model for Finnish HEIs to collaborate with Chinese partners in joint degree cooperation, establishing sub-campuses in China or a kind of Sino-Finnish cooperation in running schools according to the Chinese legislation. Guo et al. (2015) discussed the administrative challenges inherent in a double degree programme between a Finnish and a Chinese university. Zheng, Cai and Ma (2017) analysed the challenges in quality assurance in joint PhD provision between Chinese and European institutions. Nevertheless, there is a lack of systematic reviews and detailed analyses concerning best practices and the difficulties of planning and implementing Sino-Finnish

joint degrees as well as possible guidelines for newcomers to start their efforts for degree collaboration.

This chapter is an effort to bridge this gap by asking the following research question: what are the best practices and challenges in developing various collaborative degree provisions between Chinese and Finnish universities? As our aim is to extract lessons from different types of degree cooperation, we chose two very different cases in which the three authors have been respectively key actors in planning and implementing. The analysis of the chapter is thus heavily based on the perspectives of the authors as practitioners of Sino-Finnish degree cooperation.

The two cases are respectively an Erasmus Mundus Joint Master's Degree course—the Master in Research and Innovation in Higher Education (MARIHE) and the Nursing double bachelor's degree programme between Satakunta University of Applied Sciences and Changzhou University. The experiences of some other joint degree provision discussed at the Nordic Double Degree Workshop organised by Fudan University Nordic Centre on 17 October 2016, which one of the authors attended, will be used as supplementary material to identify some different issues in developing joint degree provision not explicitly reflected in our two cases. We believe that other Nordic countries' experiences of collaborating with Chinese universities in joint degree cooperation are relevant to Sino-Finnish degree cooperation due to their similar social contexts and higher education systems. The programmes discussed in the workshop include:

- Double master's degrees in European Studies, International Administration and Global Governance, and Political Science between the University of Gothenburg and Fudan University, beginning in 2017.
- Multiple master's degree in China Studies between the University of Copenhagen, Zhejiang University, University of Oslo, Stockholm University, Aarhus University; since 2012.
- FuTuRE: Double master's degree in information and communication technology between the University of Turku and Fudan University; since 2013.

- Double master's degree in Sustainable Energy between the Norwegian University of Science and Technology and Shanghai Jiaotong University; since 2015.
- Various social sciences double master's degrees between the Lund University and Fudan University; since 2011.
- An Erasmus Mundus Master in Research and Innovation in Higher Education (MARIHE) programme between the University of Tampere, Beijing Normal University and other universities; since 2012.
- Master of Business Administration between B.I. Norwegian Business School and Fudan University; since 1996.

Joint Degree Provision: Clarifying the Concept and the Two Cases

Terms related to joint degree provision, such as international collaborative programmes, joint degree programmes, double degree programmes and multiple degree programmes, often "mean different things to different people within and across countries" (Knight, 2011, p. 299). For instance, in the Finnish context, there are clear distinctions between double and joint degrees, as recommended by the Ministry of Education in Finland (2004, p. 1):

> In principle, the term joint degree means a degree programme developed and organised by two or several HEIs in collaboration which leads to one joint degree certificate. Double degree in turn refers to a degree programme developed and organised by two or more HEIs in collaboration which leads to two or several degree certificates, in practice to one from each partner HEI.

As noted by Knight (2008), the Finnish way of understanding is different from the definition included in the Lisbon Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications, which considers joint degree to be a generic term that may encompass several kinds of degrees issued by cooperating HEIs. Thus,

[a] joint degree may be issued as 1) a joint diploma in addition to one or more national diplomas, 2) a joint diploma issued by the institutions offering the study programme in question without being accompanied by any national diploma or 3) one or more national diplomas issued officially as the only attestation of the joint qualification in question. (EC/UNESCO, 2004, p. 4)

To respond to the confusing situation, Knight (2008) developed a typology of international collaborative degree programmes and defined the concepts of 'international joint degree programme', 'international double/multiple degree programme' and 'international combined/consecutive degree programme' as follows.

A joint degree programme awards one joint qualification upon completion of the collaborative programme requirements established by the partner institutions. (p. 15)

…

A double degree programme awards two individual qualifications at equivalent levels upon completion of the collaborative programme requirements established by the two partner institutions. (p. 16) … At the international level, it is normally used interchangeably with [dual] degree. (p. 17)

…

A combined degree programme awards two different qualifications at consecutive levels upon completion of the requirements established by the partner institutions. (p. 17)

Knight (2008) also identifies two common characteristics among these types. First, there is a formal agreement concerning collaboration on degree education between partner institutions from different countries, meeting the appropriate national/institutional quality standards of the countries in question. Second, the degree education is jointly provided by the partners with various kinds of activities, such as teacher and student exchange, joint teaching, supervision and mutual curriculum/credit recognition. As the common features are the focus of this chapter, we use the term "joint degree provision" to refer to all kinds of collaborative education provision leading to degrees, for instance those mentioned by

Knight. Joint degree provision may be at different levels of degree education, namely bachelor's, master's and PhD.

Currently only a limited number of joint degree provisions are offered by Chinese and Finnish HEIs. This study reports on two cases, which are at different stages of development. While the first case has passed through both stages of planning and implementation, the second one is only in the planning stage at the time when the study was conducted.

The first case is the Master in Research and Innovation in Higher Education (MARIHE), the first Erasmus Mundus Joint Master's Degree programme with a Chinese university (Beijing Normal University) as a (potential) degree granting partner. The other three cooperation partner institutions are respectively the University of Tampere in Finland, the Danube University Krems in Austria and Osnabruck University in Germany. The involvement of the Chinese partner university in the consortium is mainly based on the previous academic collaboration between the University of Tampere and Beijing Normal University.

The first cohort of students enrolled on the programme in autumn 2012 after joint selection by the consortium. The MARIHE students study in turn at the Danube University Krems, the University of Tampere and Beijing Normal University during the first three semesters. For the fourth semester, the students decide whether they want to specialise in the professional track (in Osnabrück) or the academic track (in either Krems or Tampere) when writing their theses. Although the consortium is keen to issue joint or double degrees with Beijing Normal University, in practice the goal has not been achieved yet due to some legislative obstacles to be discussed in detail later.

The second case is the nursing double bachelor's degree programme between Satakunta University of Applied Sciences (hereafter SAMK) and Changzhou University with a formal agreement signed in October 2016. Students in the programme will successively take two years studies in Changzhou University and two years in SAMK. Changzhou City is twinned with the Satakunta Region in Finland, and the two collaborating universities in the two regions have been developing university partnerships for years. To strengthen the communication between SAMK and Changzhou University, SAMK also established a China Office in Changzhou, which played a key role in facilitating the discussion on the

double degree programme. The establishment of this programme is also intended to support the strategic plans between Changzhou City and Satakunta Region for enhancing elderly care in Changzhou. As one challenge identified is the shortage of both professionals and professional education in elderly nursing, a joint degree programme in the field is considered to be one particular instrument among others to resolve the problem.

Best Practices of the Two Cases

Before describing the challenges, we first address some best practices underlying the establishment of the two programmes.

Aligned Motivations and Interests on Both Sides

In the MARIHE case, Beijing Normal University was invited to join the consortium for the Erasmus Mundus application at the beginning of 2011 through the University of Tampere. The operating unit at Beijing Normal University is the Institute of International and Comparative Education (IICE), while in Finland it is the Higher Education Group (HEG), School of Management, University of Tampere. The respective units of the two universities participating in the MARIHE degree programme had already collaborated on research on Sino-Finnish higher education with a particular focus on the role of the university in the innovation system. Both units consider that joint degree provision is not only a tool for strengthening research in the field but also a means of cultivating a new generation of researchers. In addition, intense collaboration on degree education conferred a more permanent status on earlier academic cooperation activities between both units, such as staff and student exchange, guest lectures and research collaboration.

The other reason for including Beijing Normal University as a partner in the programme is that the IICE had just started an English-language International Master's Degree Programme in Educational Leadership and Policy and the first enrolment was to take place in 2011. This also

demonstrates the capacity of the university to provide one semester's education for the students taught in English, as planned for the MARIHE programme. At the university level, the programme is seen as a flagship in enhancing the international visibility and reputation of both universities. These shared interests motivate both sides to be committed and invest great effort to proceed regardless of challenges.

The SAMK nursing double degree case was first broached at a meeting aimed at mutual research cooperation in March 2016. Before that, the SAMK China Office had conducted market research on Chinese elderly care for half a year. Professional elderly care or gerontology has yet to be included in the Chinese tertiary education curriculum list; in other words, it is a new field. Thus, in that meeting, Changzhou University asked the SAMK side whether it would be possible to arrange degree education in this field.

After that meeting, SAMK sent two senior lecturers to China from the Health and Welfare department. Under the coordination of the SAMK China office, two Finnish teachers visited all types of service centres such as public and private care homes for the elderly, hospitals and welfare homes, and rehabilitation centres. The teachers also visited Changzhou University for preliminary discussion on the degree issue. Both sides exchanged opinions and expectations regarding this programme.

Trust and Effective Communication

To move from visions to plans requires hard work and patience. Success cannot be achieved without trust and effective communication between the Chinese and Finnish partners. In the MARIHE case, communication between Beijing Normal University and the European partners in the consortium during the application stage was mainly through IICE and HEG, who have developed trust throughout intense academic collaboration in previous years. One teacher from HEG took the main responsibility in the detailed negotiations with Beijing Normal University on behalf of the European partners. He travelled to Beijing Normal University for two days at the beginning of March 2011 to discuss with a variety of actors at the University, including academics at the IICE, the Dean and

Vice Deans at the Faculty of Education where the IICE was located, the head of the Office of International Affairs and the Graduate School, and University leaders. During the visit, he introduced the policies of Erasmus Mundus, explained the procedures of the application, identified conceivable barriers and discussed possible solutions together with the Chinese colleagues. In the meantime, he maintained information and idea exchange with colleagues of European partner universities. Beijing Normal University provided quick feedback and raised questions and concerns. At the end of the visit, some possible scenarios were envisioned, together with a brief benefit/challenge analysis.

In the SAMK case, the success is attributed to efficient communication between Changzhou University and SAMK, supported by the SAMK China Office. SAMK set up its first overseas office in China in 2016 as a bridge to contribute to Sino-Finnish cooperation and communication. In this case, the office paid marked attention to going through curriculum comparison and to checking the feasibility from both sides with nursing teachers. Teachers from Changzhou University were very careful in their curriculum report and articulated their queries and comments on the comparison report. The China office sent this report back to Finland immediately and requested a prompt response. In the meantime, the office took an active part in discussing with decision-makers; one vice director from Changzhou University who is in charge of education spoke highly of the programme and gave his full support. The party secretary of Changzhou University's Nursing Faculty used his social networks for helping the programme development. The programme planning team also updated the planning process to the International Offices on both sides to make sure the agreement could be ready on time.

Top-Level Decisions on Commitment Regardless of Uncertainties

Despite a number of foreseeable challenges in the joint application, the attitude of Beijing Normal University was positive and flexible. The Faculty reported the matter to the University leaders. They confirmed their participation and stated as a principle that if the barriers concerned

University regulations, the University would try their best to make possible adjustments; if the barriers concerned administrative procedures and policies at the national level, they would take the initiatives to discuss these issues with the Ministry of Education.

In the SAMK nursing programme, Changzhou University also provided full support in cooperation. Unlike other disciplines, the nursing programme itself has numerous restrictions and regulations. For example, the practice of nursing requires specialised skill and knowledge to avoid the risk of harm to the public. It requires nursing students to take at least 40 weeks of compulsory clinic practice before qualifying as nurses. However, the laws of the nursing profession on learning in practice can only function properly in their own state. Cross-border nursing qualifications can be recognised within European countries, but not in China. In other words, clinical practice determines where a student can work after graduation. Moreover, whenever the negotiations encountered any deadlock, Changzhou University encouraged both sides to explore the solution with help from University level or personal resources.

Challenges and Responses in Developing Sino-Finnish Double Degrees

Here we identify some common challenges in both programmes concerning legislations and policies, administration, curriculum and teaching development. Although we try to group the challenges in both cases into some categories for comment, the concrete problems and issues vary due to the different nature of the two cases.

Legislation Barriers

The MARIHE Programme

In the MARIHE case, according to the original plan of the programme application, the four universities intended to jointly recruit students, cooperatively offer courses and issue joint or double degrees. While

the first two objectives have been successfully implemented, there are legislative barriers to Beijing Normal University's issuing degrees. Since the current Chinese legislation on higher education degrees—the Degree Act of 1980—stipulates that higher education degrees are national degrees, a Chinese university cannot independently offer joint degrees with foreign universities. The MARIHE consortium has thus been mainly considering the possibility of a double degree arrangement, which is not rare in Chinese universities' collaboration with their international partner institutions. However, such an option is also difficult for the MARIHE programme due to the following reasons.

First, although it is possible for Chinese HEIs to cooperate with foreign institutions on double degree programmes, such programmes normally target Chinese students who have formally enrolled in Chinese HEIs by passing higher education entrance examination in China. Since the MARIHE is an international programme, all students including Chinese students are selected based on admission procedures commonly used in European universities. Second, according to the Chinese policy, an international student must study for at least one year at a Chinese university in order to get a Chinese degree. However, in the MARIHE programme, students study only one semester at Beijing Normal University. Third, there may be some flexibility for Beijing Normal University to offer the international students in the MARIHE programme a (separate) degree regardless of their short study period, but it is impossible to issue a degree for the Chinese students on the programme because they don't meet a compulsory condition for a student of Chinese nationality to be awarded a Chinese master's degree. The condition is that a Chinese student must have passed the national master's programme entrance examination and formally enrolled in a Chinese HEI. Fourth, if degrees are granted only to foreign students by Beijing Normal University while the Chinese students are excluded, the principle of equality of Erasmus Mundus is lost.

As the degree issue can only be decided by the Chinese Ministry of Education, when developing the application for Erasmus Mundus funding it was stated in the programme plan that all partners would work towards having joint or double degrees with Beijing Normal University, but that the final result would be dependent on the decision of the Ministry of

Education. Although a decision from the Chinese Ministry of Education is still pending, the European Commission, for its part, has already allowed Beijing Normal University to offer joint or separate degrees with other European partner institutions.

Beijing Normal University has been actively discussing this matter with the Ministry of Education. The joint degree is encouraged by China's National Plan for Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development (2010–2020). Thus, the Ministry of Education is also very interested in taking the MARIHE programme as a special case to pilot joint degree arrangements with European HEIs, while proposing a change in the Degree Act, for instance, by transferring the national degrees into the hands of HEIs.

SAMK and Changzhou Double Degree Programme

The SAMK case is different from MARIHE, as the students are all Chinese. Following the admission policy of SAMK, all students will be formally enrolled in Changzhou University before they register in SAMK. In this case, there is no problem in getting double degrees for students in the programme. However, this programme faces other challenges concerning students' clinical practice.

On both sides, clinical practice is not only an important part of the nursing degree programmes but also compulsory for students to qualify as nurses taking up nursing jobs. Chinese students must complete at least 40 weeks of clinical practice while taking a nursing programme. In addition, to be a nurse, one must pass the national qualification certificate exam. In Finland, clinical practice accounts for 75 European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) credits (50 weeks), more than one third of the entire credits of a bachelor's degree programme in nursing. Clinical practice is also an essential prerequisite of a nurse in Finland.

The legislative challenge faced by the double degree programme is that there is no explicit provision in the Chinese regulations as to whether overseas clinical practice will be recognised when applying for certification as a qualified Chinese national nurse. So far, the SAMK China Office

has found only one similar case, the Guangzhou Medical University's double nursing degree with international partners. Their solution is that every student in the double degree must sign an informed consent form acknowledging that there are two options: (1) they need to take an extra year for clinical practice in China in order to be eligible to apply for the Chinese nursing qualification; and (2) they take the risk of not being able to work in China as nurses if they only complete the required clinical practice in the degree partner's country.

Differences in Programme Administration and Coordination

The MARIHE Programme

The administrative structures of the three European consortium partners are quite similar: there is an academic coordinator and an administrative coordinator at each partner institution for the MARIHE programme. The situation at Beijing Normal University is different. In the application stage and at the beginning of the implementation period, it was the Director of the Institute of International and Comparative Education (IICE) who took the main responsibility for coordination. He worked closely on related issues with the key staff at the Faculty of Education and other relevant administrative departments at Beijing Normal University. Soon the Vice Dean of the Faculty of Education (in charge of international affairs) and the international coordinator of the Faculty became more engaged in communication with other consortium partners about the administrative issues of the programme. At the end of 2012, the IICE recruited a new faculty member to become administrative coordinator of the programme at Beijing Normal University, in addition to his other academic duties. The changes and uncertainties in programme administration at Beijing Normal University for some time caused anxiety among some administrators at the European partner institutions. They felt uncertain about appropriate communication channels since they could not find a counterpart to themselves in China. All this became clear to the European partners once the newly recruited faculty member was in

place. Although at Beijing Normal University the administrative issues concerning the programme are still handled by the international coordinator and the vice dean, he plays a role as a contact person/interface to European partners.

The SAMK and Changzhou Double Degree Programme

When planning the double degree case, the team from SAMK consisted of the dean and some teachers at the Faculty of Health and Welfare. Both the Dean as a decision-maker and teachers working on the concrete programme plan have background in nursing and work jointly as a consistent team. The difficulties they face include the complicated composition of the planning team of Changzhou University. The unit involved in the double degree programme at the Changzhou University is the School of Pharmaceutical Engineering and Life Sciences and the School of Nursing. It includes two schools but one set of school leadership. The School leaders as decision-makers for the double degree programme are from the discipline of engineering instead of nursing. Although some teachers from the School of Nursing are involved in discussing and commenting on the double degree curriculum plan initially drafted by SAMK, it will take a long time and special effort to synchronise the minds of the decision-makers and professionals on the Chinese side.

A specific challenge is that when the proposal on degree programmes was sent to Changzhou University, there were no established procedures and communication channels between the leaders and professionals for making an efficient response. The leaders were supposed to reply to teachers' suggestions, while the teachers hesitated to express their opinions without the leaders' consent. The unclear distribution of responsibility causes difficulties in communications between the two universities. For example, when SAMK sent the draft double degree agreement to Changzhou University, the co-ordinator from Changzhou University was unable to make any comment because he was not a member of the leadership team. He kindly suggested that the SAMK team send this agreement to the International Department and their Faculty Dean. However, the International Department was unable to check the content of the curriculum appended

to the agreement. They advised SAMK to negotiate directly with the Faculty Dean. Nevertheless, the Dean, not having a background in nursing education, was unable to go into the details of this agreement either. The agreement went back to the starting point.

To facilitate the discussions and communications between them, the SAMK China Office had to be more proactive by taking advantage of its proximity to Changzhou University. The manager of the office collected comments from professional teachers on both sides and had a long conversation with the Faculty Dean and the International Department of Changzhou University.

Difficulties in Credit Transfer

The MARIHE Programme

As a result of the Bologna Process, the European Higher Education Area has adopted the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS). ECTS education credits are based on the workload that students need in order to achieve the expected learning outcomes. In general, one academic year corresponds to 60 ECTS credits that are equivalent to 1500–1800 hours of study (Austria, 1500 hours; Finland 1600 hours). One credit point corresponds to 25–30 hours of work (e.g. in Austria, 25 hours, Finland, 27 hours) that students typically need to complete the relevant learning tasks required, such as lectures, seminars, projects, practical work, independent study and examinations (European Commission, 2009). To complete the MARIHE programme, students must acquire 120 ECTS, and in the programme 1 ECTS corresponds to 25 hours of work on the part of the students.

Since the 1950s, in Chinese higher education the academic year system has been the major approach to managing degree programmes, meaning that students' workloads were measured by academic years. This was a practice borrowed from the Soviet Union. Although since 1978 the credit system has been gradually adopted in China, the academic year system is still commonly used. In most Chinese HEIs, there exists a mix of academic year and credit management systems. However, there has

recently been a clear tendency for the credit system to assume domination, underscored by a shared belief that the credit system encourages student autonomy, facilitates student mobility and meets the challenges of the massification of higher education and internationalisation. In fact, more and more universities are implementing the credit system.

Nevertheless, Chinese universities are facing challenges with the credit system. First, there are no clear governmental regulations concerning how to implement the credit system. Second, credits from different universities are not comparable because the understandings and practices of the credit system vary between them. Third, it is hard to gain recognition for credits and learning outcomes among Chinese universities, and thus it is difficult for students to transfer credits between universities (Che, 2010).

In Beijing Normal University, the credit nominally measures student workload but in practice the calculation is based strictly on the hours of lectures. For instance, a course of 16–18 hours lectures corresponds to one credit point. Besides the lectures, students are certainly required to read course material, write papers and take exams, but the time spent on these activities is not specified in the credit system. While completing a master's degree entails 120 ECTS in European higher education, in Beijing Normal University the requirement for courses is 35 credits. The master's thesis is compulsory in the degree programme, but the credits are not counted. Currently Beijing Normal University is offering a number of master's programmes for international students in which the credit system is similar to the programmes for the Chinese students at the university, only with slight differences. On these international master's programmes, the course requirement is 34 credits and the thesis carries six credits.

On the MARIHE programme, Beijing Normal University offers one-semester courses for the students in the third semester. For this, the relevant academic and administrative staff at the university are seriously considering the compatibility between Beijing Normal University's credit system and the ECTS. According to the regulations of Beijing Normal University, all registered students have the right to attend all courses offered at the university. Therefore, when other students of Beijing Normal University take the MARIHE courses or the MARIHE students

take other courses of the university, it must be clarified how the credits from one system will be transferred to the other. Partially because of the difficulties of credit transfer between MARIHE and other programmes, the MARIHE teaching at Beijing Normal University (BNU) is available only to the MARIHE students in practice.

The SAMK and Changzhou Double Degree Programme

Due to different teaching arrangements in the two countries, the SAMK nursing programme requires 210 ECTS to get a degree diploma. Each ECTS credit represents 26.7 hours of study. However, in Changzhou University, the minimum requirement for a student to get a nursing degree is 180 credits with 18 hours of study per credit. Obviously almost all the SAMK professional courses carry higher credit requirements than their Chinese partner's. In this case, SAMK gave up using credit calculation for purposes of credit transfer. Instead, it made a first version of the curriculum comparison report according to Changzhou University's course descriptions and then invited Changzhou University to revise the report and present their queries. After several rounds of discussion, a credit transfer report was made.

Challenges in Curriculum and Planning of MARIHE Programme

In the MARIHE curriculum plan, teaching methods are various, including lectures, team projects, group discussions, oral presentations, case studies, workshops, paper writing and so on. Lectures normally account for a very small part of the student workload. For instance, when providing 5-ECTS module courses, there may be only 20–30 hours of lectures among the total 125 hours of total student work required.

In Beijing Normal University, lecturing is the main teaching method while there are few team projects, group discussions and student presentations. When implementing the MARIHE curriculum, Beijing Normal University encountered challenges in adopting local teaching practices to

the European styles. First, when Beijing Normal University teachers take responsibilities for MARIHE teaching, they face a dilemma between following their own methods of teaching and conforming to the MARIHE curriculum requirement. This may also result in tensions between teachers and administrators on the programme. The second challenge concerned the teachers' evaluation system in Beijing Normal University. In the University, teachers must fulfil a minimal requirement for teaching hours. When some come to teach in the MARIHE modules, they are likely to have fewer teaching hours compared to the equivalent local courses. However, it is worth noting that Beijing Normal University encourages teachers to teach in English. For instance, the workload of an hour lecture taught in English is counted as 2.5 times that of teaching in Chinese language.

Planning the MARIHE modules at Beijing Normal University challenges the traditions of teaching methods and administration at Beijing Normal University. However, the team at Beijing Normal University has been working on it intensively together with their European partners by identifying differences and reaching consensus. Actually, implementing MARIHE teaching at Beijing Normal University now goes smoothly. As most teachers involved in the programmes have either degrees from Western countries or study experiences abroad, there is less conflict in terms of teaching philosophy.

The SAMK and Changzhou Double Degree Programme

In the nursing programme, although both sides have initially been willing to cooperate, the teaching plan is the decisive factor for success. The content of the nursing programme at both institutions must share adequate similarities to make accreditation feasible. Otherwise, all efforts would be in vain. Thus, first of all, in July 2016 the SAMK Health and Welfare Faculty received an English translation of the Changzhou University nursing teaching plan. It took Finnish teachers two months to go through the document and give their feedback. After several rounds of negotiations, each side acquired sufficient information on the teaching plan from each other. The result shows that nursing in China and in

Finland has much in common, especially in core modules. This enhanced mutual confidence in cooperation.

One thing to be highlighted here is that pedagogy is quite different in Chinese and Finnish teaching practices. In the Finnish context, the curriculum of a university of applied sciences pursues evidence-based competence practice. Students' learning is supported by flexible and individual solutions. The Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs and Health has drawn up an action plan for health care which emphasises evidence-based assessment and treatment, while in China evidence-based education for nursing students is still a goal to pursue. Chinese teachers generally choose to impart knowledge to students using a textbook. Also, in terms of areas of responsibility of being a nurse in the two countries, a Finnish nurse has the right to prescribe while a Chinese nurse has not. Thus, nurses are trained as assistants or helpers for doctors in China. The nursing teaching is dominated by traditional learning through lectures. The clinical practice for the student is an introduction to their future work rather than evidence-based assessment and review.

Due to the difference in teaching philosophies, the structure of the curriculum differs between the two sides. For example, in nursing treatment, five procedures of care are regarded as essential: needs assessment, diagnosis, planning, implementation and evaluation. In SAMK, each curriculum follows this rule strictly to maintain the integrity of the nursing care procedure. However, in Changzhou University, the five-procedure care is divided into a separate study module.

Some Essential Issues Not Reflected in the Two Cases

The above cases are only two examples of joint degree provision between China and Finland. Due to the specific nature of the two programmes, the lessons discussed above may not concern other kinds of joint degree provision. Here we also briefly discuss some essential issues not explicitly reflected in the two cases, based on the experiences exchanged at the "Double Degree Workshop".

First, degree provision is organised in different forms, basically falling into two categories, either registered by the Chinese Ministry of Education as Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools (CFCRS) or not. China has developed a series of regulations on CFCRS since joining the WTO in 2001. These provide three models of CFCRS: joint programmes in Chinese universities, joint colleges affiliated to Chinese host universities and joint venture institutions (Cai, 2011).

Second, the required length of degree studies is not the same in the two countries. In China, normally the bachelor's, master's and doctoral degree programmes take four, three and three years, respectively. There is some variation between different disciplines. In Europe, the normal study periods for the three levels of degrees are respectively three, two and three years as per the Bologna Process. In joint degree provision, how to match the length of required study must be first discussed.

Third, as the Chinese and Finnish universities have different requirements for the language of theses, in double master's degree programmes students are often required to write theses in both Chinese and English languages, while in some cases students are allowed to write theses in English but with an extensive Chinese abstract as a supplement.

Fourth, in most of the programmes the emphasis of both sides is mainly on the content of teaching and other practical issues, whilst few have developed a solid quality assurance system to guarantee not only the quality of the programme but also the relevance to both contexts.

Conclusions

Although the focus of the chapter is mainly on the best practices and challenges in developing Sino-Finnish joint degree provision, we also tried to present a few suggestions on how to better plan and implement these collaborative programmes.

First, in developing joint degree provision both top-down support and bottom-up efforts are essential. While this may be true for both China and Finland, it is an even more subtle issue in the Chinese context. A collaborative programme can be initiated either from the top, for instance university leaders (at least faculty deans), or from the bottom, for instance

academics working on the programmes in question. To make programme planning efficient and successful, no matter from which end it is initiated, it is important to engage the people at the other end as early as possible.

Second, when it comes to detailed negotiations for degree cooperation, the process is likely to be smoother if someone who is familiar with both systems can coordinate the discussions on both sides. Such a person would not only help build trust among partners but could be especially useful in resolving many potential challenges caused by policy, administrative and behaviour gaps on both sides.

Third, among a variety of forms of joint degree provision, it is more complicated when both Chinese and international students are mixed, because the two groups of students follow different recruitment procedures. For instance, Chinese students must take and pass the national entrance examinations to the programme in question, while the international students follow the admission procedure of the Finnish universities.

In the end, we have two points to note. First, the issues encountered by Finnish universities in collaborating with Chinese partners for degree cooperation are also relevant for other European universities, especially those in the Nordic countries. Second, although we have tried to provide a concrete picture of the planning and implementation of joint degree provision with Chinese universities, our attempt is still preliminary and more studies on the topic are urgently needed to respond to the growing needs in both China and the Nordic countries for degree cooperation.

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11

Contemporary Danish Strategies of Internationalisation Through Student Mobility with China: The Development of Instrumentality in Interculturality

Niels Erik Lyngdorf

Introduction

Internationalisation strategies include various activities, of which study abroad is just one part. However, it is a part that has received increasing attention and investment from policy makers and institutions in higher education. In Denmark, the government has recently published a large-scale two-step strategy for internationalisation through student mobility titled 'Greater insight through a global outlook' (Danish Government, 2013) and 'Denmark—An attractive country for education' (Danish Government, 2014) [*my translations*]. The first title focuses on the mobility of Danish students, while the second focuses on international students in Denmark. Clearly, student mobility programmes have a growing importance in internationalisation strategies. These strategies are based

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on reports and analysis performed by various national and international bodies and councils related to internationalisation and education, and they are also a continuation and development of preceding policies. The importance and influence of such documents should not be underestimated. Different discourses on phenomena such as 'internationalisation' and 'culture' may lead to practical implications and ultimately different learning outcomes within a study abroad programme (Castro, Woodin, Lundgren, & Byram, 2016).

The basic assumptions as to what culture is or is not, and what internationalisation should bring about, form the background and backbone of study abroad activities. However, it is increasingly rare to find clear definitions, or indeed value statements in general, in political documents (Lundgren, 2005), which makes it difficult to deduce the logic that drives internationalisation. Thus, it is not immediately apparent whether current Danish internationalisation policies imply or presuppose any specific understanding of culture and internationalisation, as will be analysed in this study. Previous research (Kim, 2009; Rizvi, 2007) has identified neo-liberal discourses as dominating policy documents about internationalisation in many Western countries, but few have asked how these discourses relate to discourses on internationalisation and culture and, ultimately, the practice of student mobility. This relationship will be explored by interrogating strategies of internationalisation of the Danish government as discourses informing practices, to identify underlying conceptualisations of internationalisation and culture.

The first of the previously mentioned texts, 'Greater insight through a global outlook', will be the subject of analysis in this chapter using discourse analysis methods. The actual implementation of these internationalisation strategies in practice will not be investigated, since it is beyond the scope of this article.

Ideologies of Internationalisation and Culture

Internationalisation

Stier (2004, 2006) identified three idealised discourses related to internationalisation—idealism, instrumentalism and educationalism. These are

analytical constructs that do not mutually exclude each other in practice. Despite conflicting ideas, they co-exist in most current internationalisation efforts undertaken by universities and policy makers. However, some discourses can dominate and marginalise the others in some cases, with real-world ramifications (Castro et al., 2016; Lundgren, 2005). Next, I present a short description of each of the three discourses, as they will be a central part of the analysis.

Byram (2012) clarifies what Stier first described, using a rather generic term, as 'idealism' by specifying that 'internationalism' is the '-ism' behind many internationalisation activities. Internationalism embraces universalist ideas of democracy, tolerance and respect with the goal of creating a fair and equal world. Where internationalism is based on moral ideas and demands, the instrumentalist discourse of internationalisation is more pragmatic, taking as its point of departure an understanding of higher education as a global market space that creates opportunities for economic growth. Based on such an understanding, the role of internationalisation becomes maximising profit in this international market space. Finally, the educationalist approach focuses on individuals' learning and their development of self-awareness and self-reflection through internationalisation activities. It is based on the ideal of the empowerment of the individual through education in a broad sense. Stier compares educationalism with the two other ideologies, as ideologies of internationalisation; however, in this chapter I will argue that this discourse is appropriated by instrumentalism, while internationalism is marginalised in Danish internationalisation policy.

Culture and Intercultural Competences

Learning about the concept of culture, including intercultural competences, is an integral part of internationalisation and should be understood in relation to the discourses behind internationalisation described earlier. As such, learning about culture should help promote the aims of internationalisation. However, culture is a contested and idealising concept (Holliday, 2011); therefore, it is necessary to offer different definitions to understand the various ways in which it can be used for internationalisation.

In this chapter, I will use the opposing terms 'descriptive' and 'complex' culture, from the Danish researcher Iben Jensen (2007). In brief, the descriptive concept of culture is based on traditional understandings where culture is linked to geographical spaces, such as within national borders. Culture explains why people act as they do and forms entire national populations. In this fixed and homogenous understanding, culture can be (mis-)used to define people from certain geographical spaces in advance of 'cultural encounters'. Furthermore, intercultural competence, based on this understanding, includes fixed knowledge about national cultures that can be used to predict individuals' behaviour. Conversely, according to the complex understanding, culture is dynamic and seen as an active negotiation and construction of meaning; thus it cannot be bounded, for instance by national frontiers. As a consequence, intercultural competences based on this understanding focus on self-awareness and analytical skills and do not fix knowledge about the 'other'. How these concepts can be applied in relation to internationalisation will be part of the analysis.

Internationalisation and the Disappearance of Interculturality

Research on policy-making related to the concept of culture, and to some extent to the internationalisation of higher education, was earlier found primarily within foreign language education research. However, since most educational systems have a more comprehensive approach to internationalisation today, research on culture and internationalisation is no longer confined to the field of foreign language education research, which means that more studies are now emerging. In this study, I focus on the intersection of three related phenomena: internationalisation, culture and study abroad. The main learning goals of the new Danish internationalisation strategies are—according to the report itself—to improve students' language proficiency and 'international competences'[1] (Danish Government, 2013, p. 8) through an increase in student mobility with

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[1] As is typical of political documents, there is no definition of the term 'international competences', but it is repeatedly used in connection to skills related to navigating in an international context and seems not to differ substantially from other more commonly used concepts such as intercultural skills or competence, and cultural awareness.

BRIC countries like China. While the linguistic gains of studying abroad are rather well established, the intercultural competence gains are contested, which, again, is related to the contestation of the concept of culture itself. In academic circles, there has been increasing condemnation of culturalist and essentialist understandings of culture, which have been shown to be omnipresent among laypeople and often used as the basis for teaching culture. Post-structural conceptualisations of culture have emerged to move the field forward and avoid the perils of stereotyping and 'othering'. However, in a review on the state of internationalisation, Byram (2012) commented that these new(er) understandings of culture have not been well integrated into policy and curricula documents, where more quantitative aims and culturalist discourses still dominate.

In more recent years, a different tendency has been described by researchers, wherein the intercultural aspect, or culture in general, is simply left out of policy papers and disappears. The following section will focus on this tendency and include research from both of the aforementioned fields that analyse policy documents, and will consider the issue of the disappearance of interculturality in relation to internationalisation.

Lundgren (2005) published an early study commenting on this development in which she finds a discrepancy in discourses on culture between policy makers/authorities, researchers and practitioners (language teachers). In short, policy papers and curricula were vague, lacking guidelines and void of theory or citations of the literature. She concludes that this vagueness and lack of guidelines lead practitioners to teach based on a layman's understanding or stick to old practices. Another very relevant study for this chapter is Kim's (2009) research on what she calls the triad of academic mobility, internationalisation and interculturality. In the study, she finds that neo-liberalist policy and market forces enclose academic mobility and internationalisation, while interculturality simply disappears. Kim found no traces of statements referring to interculturality in British policy papers on internationalisation. Thus, she concludes that the major driving force behind internationalisation is economic—neoliberal competition in a global knowledge economy. Similarly, Woodin, Lundgren, and Castro (2011) found very few traces of intercultural dialogue in internationalisation policy papers from three different universities in Europe. They also find that economics and/or ranking of academic institutions are the real drivers of internationalisation. Dervin (2015)

also describes this development and notices that the issue of interculturality is 'quasi-invisible' in the official documents analysed in his study. Dervin critically interrogates the construction of interculturality in relation to internationalisation and nation branding and finds traces of descriptive culture discourses.

Most of the existing literature problematising interculturality in internationalisation policy papers either positions itself distinctively within the field of foreign language education research or focuses on the marketisation of higher education, and only lightly touches upon the issue of interculturality. As shown, some researchers comment on its disappearance or the lack of focus on this dimension of internationalisation, but few studies go into depth about the transformation of interculturality in the marketisation process of higher education. This chapter, however, finds that interpretations of culture do not simply disappear. Instead, the subtle and passive use of old essentialist understandings re-emerges in an instrumentalist spirit, a phenomenon closely related to the marketisation of higher education.

Text for Analysis

Originally, the publications by the Danish ministry of education from both 2013 and 2014 were selected for analysis in this study, as they together describe the action plan of the Danish government for the internationalisation of higher education in Denmark until the year 2020. However, in the following analysis, I will examine only part one of this action plan, 'Greater insight through a global outlook' (2013), since this document addresses the issue of internationalisation through student mobility with a strong focus on China. Furthermore, the logics, values and motivations behind the policies are similar in both documents, so there was no need to include the second part of the strategy, which focuses on internationalisation at home, in Denmark, through retention of skilled international students.

More than ever before, China is at the centre of internationalisation and student mobility strategies in Denmark. 'China' and 'Chinese' are mentioned 16 and 21 times in the text, respectively, making them by far

the most mentioned country and language in the document. Brazil, the second most mentioned country, has nine mentions, while the US, Australia and Great Britain are mentioned three, two and two times, respectively. The document also highlights country-specific initiatives in China and stresses the importance of the further development of 'innovation centres', particularly the high-profile Sino-Danish Centre for Education and Research. This centre is a partnership between all Danish universities and the University of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and enrols postgraduate and PhD students. Another Sino-Danish co-operation, the Confucius Institutes in Denmark, is only referred to indirectly when highlighting specific projects. Initiatives with other countries are mainly mentioned as part of more comprehensive projects, such as Erasmus and Nordplus (co-operation among Nordic countries).

The following analysis should be read within this framing and contextualisation, with China as an important target of Danish internationalisation and student mobility strategies. Thus, the analysis and findings of the following discourse analysis of the text will describe Danish strategies of internationalisation and student mobility in general, but with specific attention paid to China, and will thereby describe how these motivations, assumptions and expectations frame conditions under which Danish higher education facilitates internationalisation and student mobility with its Chinese counterpart at a structural political level.[2]

Basic Assumptions, Values and Logics

The text begins by presenting the vision of the new action plan. This is a key section of the document, since the general vision presented here encloses all the initiatives that follow. It describes how the government

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[2] Other policy documents regarding Sino-Danish internationalisation strategies in higher education were identified (Danish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Higher Education, 2012; Danish Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation, 2008), but they either predate or reflect and elaborate on some (mainly technical and quantitative) aspects of the agreements also mentioned in the document at hand.

sees the world and presents the basic values and motivations of the action plan. The following is a summary with keywords in italics.

According to the text, we live in a *changeable* and *globalised* world that creates new opportunities for *economic growth* and *job creation*. However, in order to take advantage of this, we *need companies and public institutions* that can act with a *global vision and insight* as well as *workers with international competences*. In the quest for economic growth, *knowledge* is the main commodity, and in a competitive market, an *education of high quality and relevance* is crucial. Also, as a side note, Denmark has an *obligation to take responsibility for global development* and contribute with solutions to *common global challenges*.

In this short summary, a typical need-policy structure is apparent. The text lays down the basic premises and argues based on these that there is a need for action—a policy. In this case, the 'need' is to make higher education institutions and students better able to produce and capitalise on economic growth in international contexts. One might question who defined the 'need' and how it is related to internationalisation and culture. Since there are no references to any research or theory, we can only speculate and try to make deductions from the text itself. In general, public institutions should respond to societal needs, but here it seems the need is mainly industrial and based on economic reasoning, and only secondly, and marginally, on an internationalist ideology of solving global challenges. The context of higher education and internationalisation activities is framed primarily as an international market space, and only secondly as an educational space that promotes internationalism. In general, the text expends very little space and effort on explaining how the initiatives will improve academic quality and promote internationalist values. Internationalisation is described as good not because of the values of internationalism or educationalism per se, but because of the opportunities for economic growth it offers. This preference shows, for example, in the selective focus on presence and study abroad activities in countries with high economic growth, like China and the other BRIC countries, which are economically rewarded (Danish Government, 2013, p. 21), and is substantiated by economic reasoning. Thus, the text draws heavily on the instrumentalist discourse, which is connected to the marketisation of higher education, as I will explain next. This global trend of economic

market-driven internationalisation of higher education can be observed in China as well, where there is fierce competition among universities for the highest ranking, which is determined in part by comparing internationalisation activities such as student exchange (Kim, 2016). Cai and Hölttä (2014, p. 333) also describe internationalisation activities in China as motivated by the goal of becoming globally competitive by providing globally competitive human resources to the working world. The initiatives proposed by the Danish and Chinese governments for meeting these challenges are very similar, as will be analysed in the following section.

Initiatives and 'International Competences': Fixed Knowledge in a Dynamic World?

One of the main aims of the action plan is to promote the development of students' language proficiency and 'international competences'. The main initiatives in this area are:

- To increase student mobility to a level where a minimum of 50% of all graduates have experienced a stay abroad for a duration of at least 14 days as part of their education by the end of 2020.
- To increase the number of Danish students on short-term studies abroad in high-growth countries by 15% every year until 2020.
- To increase the number of Danish students on short-term studies abroad to non-English speaking countries in Europe by 15% every year until 2020.
- To increase joint degree co-operation between Danish and foreign higher education institutions by 20% by the end of 2020.

The initiatives presented all revolve around quantitative increases in existing practices. The general theme is *more* study abroad programmes and *more* students joining these programmes. A similar approach is found in China, where promoting international exchange and increasing the number of Chinese students abroad and international students in China are stated objectives (Cai & Hölttä, 2014). In both cases, current initiatives

and practices are not questioned, nor their improvement sought, in a qualitative sense. Instead, the initiatives continue to build on assumptions that are undefined and therefore unclear, and that furthermore cannot be traced back to research, since there are no references to theory or empirical studies. For example, it is unclear what lies behind the term 'international competences', and it is unclear *how* an increase in study abroad will facilitate the learning of 'international competences'; this is quite noteworthy at a time when education policy is most often required to be 'evidence-based'. This orientation is also an example of the quantitative approach to measuring performance in higher education that dominates the text in question and is typical of the instrumentalist discourse of internationalisation.

At first glance, it seems there is no particular ideology behind the internationalisation initiatives, and no particular ideology of culture employed. However, the premises for the effectiveness of the initiatives are charged with a meaning that leads to a certain way of thinking about internationalisation and culture. Thus, a cause-effect logic is outlined. This logic is based on certain assumptions about what culture is and what internationalisation and study abroad can and should bring about. In many ways, the use of the term 'culture' is sought to be limited in the text. However, it is latently omnipresent throughout the document. For example, it is explained that to be able to take advantage of business opportunities and deal with people in different markets in foreign countries it is necessary to have 'international competences'. This linking of place (the national) to culture (behaviour) that needs to be met with 'international competences' is very similar to essentialist discourses based on earlier descriptive understandings of culture. The term 'international competences' seems to be a simple rebranding of the more commonly used 'intercultural competences', placing more emphasis on the national dimension. A few times, the term 'culture' does appear directly in the text. In these cases, culture is also described as a kind of barrier for making business. For example, it is stated that it is important to have 'knowledge about the culture and language of the relevant export market' [*my translation*] (Danish Government, 2013, p. 7). The descriptive understanding of culture is also evidenced in the logic behind the initiatives. For example, it is expected that students will have 'concrete experiences

with other cultures' [*my translation*] (Danish Government, 2013, p. 6) in foreign countries and thereby spontaneously develop international competences. This logic posits the idea that individuals are more likely to encounter other 'cultures' by travelling to foreign countries, thus relating culture to the national dimension once again.

Extensive research has illuminated the dangers of culturalist understandings, and many studies have shown that spending time abroad by itself does not necessarily promote intercultural competences or open-mindedness. In some cases, living abroad has been shown to lead to the strengthening of pre-existing stereotypical ideas and 'othering' (Castro et al., 2016; Dervin, 2009b). Yang (2016) illustrates how Chinese students on study abroad in Singapore developed stereotypical ideas about the Singaporean 'other' due in part to a failure to forge connections. Similarly, Dervin (2009a) has studied how views of differentialism and official and societal discourses impede the development of interculturality and integration of students abroad. The focus on developing internationalisation activities such as study abroad in purely quantitative ways rather than qualitatively therefore risks producing negative results in terms of interculturality.

The fixed essentialist approach to culture and international competences is perplexing considering that the text begins by asserting that the world today is changeable. How does fixed 'knowledge' become applicable in a highly dynamic world? It seems that the use of descriptive understandings of culture is related to the structuring of higher education as a global marketplace, as will be analysed more closely in the following section.

Instrumentalisation in the Competition State

The general economic and instrumentalist framing of higher education aligns well with the understanding of the nation state as an enterprise in competition with other nations in a global market. This understanding of the modern nation state has been described as the competition state (Pedersen, 2014). In the competition state, the function of public institutions and the individual citizen is mainly creating economic growth to

make the state stronger in its competition with other states. The state is run as an enterprise, and the most important value is competitiveness in the realm of economic growth (Brinkmann, 2008). Like universities in most places in the world, Danish universities have been under increasing pressure to perform under quantitative business-driven logic, which has led to the adoption of corporatist-style management (Kim, 2009). This change in the basic conditions of higher education has been pushed by globalisation and the competition state, and has led to a shift in the nature of the academic profession and the purpose of higher education. Rizvi and Lingard (2010) comment on this increasing connection between higher education and national economic advancement and the development of *human capital* from this relationship. An investment in developing the ideal citizen of the competition state was outlined by the Danish government in the National Competence Account [*my translation*] (Nationale Kompetenceregnskab, 2005). The report described ten key competences that Danish citizens should develop, intercultural competences being one of them, to ensure a prospering Denmark in a globalised world. Linked to the global knowledge economy, higher education can be seen as a platform where the state invests in the knowledge producers and users of the knowledge economy in a quid pro quo relationship (Bagley & Portnoi, 2016). In this case, the state invests in internationalisation activities with China and other countries to develop 'international competences' that should enable the individual to take advantage of business opportunities and create economic growth in the future.

By situating higher education mainly in a global knowledge economy, the purpose and practice of its activities change. The fact that the main drive of internationalisation is economic taints the discourses of culture and internationalisation, reducing them to instrumentalist means to an end. The analysed text presents the term 'international competence' as a tool that should ultimately lead to economic growth. As shown earlier, this term is heavily linked to culture and seems to be a simple descriptive rebranding of the more commonly used 'intercultural competences'. Culture and intercultural competences are thus reduced, respectively, to a national barrier and a skillset to break down

such barriers in an economically structured world. This type of discourse evokes associations to the managerial and business literature, where people are structured as either partners or opponents and cultural encounters are often described as a battlefield, where national cultural barriers need to be broken down. This literature finds inspiration from military jargon and strategy on how to manipulate negotiations with people from 'foreign cultures' and how to deal with the 'other' (Fang, 2006; Lam & Graham, 2006). The ideals of internationalism and interculturality that promote the appreciation of diversity, respect, tolerance and so on seem to conflict with such understandings.

The subtle and passive use of essentialist, culturalist discourses seen in the text is part of a dangerous development that other researchers have described as the disappearance, or invisibility, of interculturality, as mentioned earlier. By not questioning the understanding and use of the concept of culture critically to a satisfying degree, there is a risk of falling back on descriptive layman's understandings. However, the tendency toward a descriptive concept of culture is also a consequence of defining the world as an international market space where people are divided in nations, such as in the competition state theory; this results in practices that are contrary to the internationalist ambition of promoting and appreciating diversity. As for Sino-Danish internationalisation activities, this market-driven form of internationalisation means co-operation will mainly take place based on these shared understandings.

Conclusion

Returning to the three discourses Stier identified as driving internationalisation, it is clear that the instrumentalist discourse is dominating also in the case of Denmark. Internationalism is marginalised to a few side remarks in the text to the point where it seems to be unimportant to the government, while the educationalist discourse becomes enclosed and transformed by instrumentalism in the form of 'international competences'. The quest for economic growth and competitiveness in the competition state leaves little motivation for politicians and higher

education leaders to spend resources on qualitatively improving or exploring new practices based on internationalist and intercultural ideology unless there is an economic incentive, which is not immediately found in these. Furthermore, the absence of more value-laden ideologies leaves space open to expand internationalisation activities uncritically with other governments that do not necessarily promote democratic internationalist and intercultural values. The harmony that can be found in the instrumentalist discourses driving internationalisation displaces and marginalises other important discourses that need to be part of internationalisation.

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12

Educational Patriotism Inspired by China?

Arild Tjeldvoll

Introduction

The idea of 'educational patriotism' inspired me to write a book, *Can Norway learn from China? School Quality* (Tjeldvoll, 2016). The book is an education travelogue. Norwegian education is in decline. From my experiences in East Asia, I try to give advice to parents and grandparents in Norway about how to improve education. In the present personal essay, I highlight key experiences from my 20 years' international education experiences.

Foreigners See a Glossy Picture of Norway

Seen from abroad, Norway is a world champion of life quality. This is a natural image for those who only know the country from the international media picture. Positive reports about Norway are frequent. Three

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important factors are health, education and equality. The level of real democracy is high. The strongest foreign admiration comes from the country's impressive economy, a generous welfare state and higher education for everybody, free of charge. Norway has no national debt. A younger foreign colleague of mine told me that before her coming to Oslo, she believed that the stairs of the university were covered with gold. Foreigners think Norwegian education must be of high quality. It is not only poor immigrants from developing countries who think so. Norway is also attractive for well-educated European middle-class people.

Glossy Norway Is Cracking

On one occasion, a family moved from Germany to Norway. The father was Norwegian and the mother German. Their children had learnt both German and Norwegian. Settling in Norway, they could therefore choose between the Norwegian public school and the German School in Oslo. The German mother insisted on choosing the public Norwegian school, because she thought the German school was too strict. After one year, I had the opportunity of learning about her assessment of the family's experience of Norway. She had experienced several unpleasant surprises. The biggest negative surprise was the public school. The students behaved badly towards the teachers. Her children told about a lot of noise in the classroom. The testing system was quite relaxed. Feedback to parents about students' academic achievements was blurred. During the school year, she had increasingly become worried about what her children learnt in school.

The very grotesque image of Norwegian schooling was her observation of the students' celebration at the end of secondary school. In several weeks, just *before* the final university entrance exam, students were partying day and night, consuming enormous amounts of alcohol. They used several hundreds of thousands Norwegian crowns (1 USD = 8 NOK) to buy buses and hire a driver—to carry the drunken students around to gatherings with other drunken students. Some turned so tired that they did not even bother to take the exam. In recent years, an increasing number of rapes of school girls has been part of the 'celebration'. The German

mother struggled hard to believe what she could see with her own eyes. Moreover, such irresponsible behaviour seemed to be accepted, and even supported, by many parents. Her glossy picture of Norway began cracking. As a mother, she was scared and concluded that she could not go on risking her children's schooling being jeopardized, or that her daughter should risk being raped as part of celebrations at the end of secondary schooling. The family decided that they had to look for alternative education. There were two options. Either the children could apply for the German school in Oslo, or the family could move back to Germany.

My Educational Patriotism

Patriotism inspired me to look at the education culture of other countries. Norwegian parents ought to be concerned. Internationally, we see many parents and grandparents sacrificing everything to secure their loved ones the optimal life insurance in a changing global world—*quality education*. To improve Norwegian education, I think parents and grandparents are more important than public authorities. One could argue that the most important person in a child's educational life is the mother. The mother is the child's very first teacher, said the famous Czech educator, Comenius (1592–1670). He is regarded as the founding father of the unified school for all, which became normal all over Europe in modern times.

Now, with Norwegian education in a misery, the political authorities no longer seem to take advice from the education professors, since their advices have not worked. What Norwegian politicians now see as 'the magic tool' to improve school quality is *in-service-training of teachers*.

In-Service Training: The Magic Tool or a Myth?

In the general election campaign of 2013, all main Norwegian political parties competed in overbidding each other in proposing a billion programmes for in-service training of teachers. Is it sure that this is the right strategy to increase school quality? I am in doubt. At all times, learning

achievements have been dependent on real motivation and certain intellectual preconditions.

Even if we accept to follow the logic of the politicians, it is fair to ask: Can one be sure that these (now) poorly performing teachers have genuine motivation for in-service training? And, how certain is it that they have the necessary preconditions to improve? *Over many years, weak graduates from secondary school were recruited in teacher training and education.* Is there any convincing reason to think that these people's skills have *increased* while they have worked as teachers? I am in doubt. Billions may be wasted.

Are there alternatives? Hardly. Norway is trapped with a teaching profession based on many years of recruiting weak graduates from secondary education to a teacher education of low quality. To succeed in a turn-around operation would require a miracle. *Better than waiting for miracles would be to make an educational glance outside Norwegian borders, to try to understand why other countries have succeeded—and, if it is possible for Norway to learn from them.* We could look in the direction of East Asia, where I observed diligent students, respected teachers, dedicated parents, the philosopher Confucius, as well as an impressive economic development and increasing standard of living in China and its neighbouring countries.

The Confucius World: A Culture of Learning

My first educational meeting with this part of the world was a tour to visit Japanese primary and secondary schools in 1991. In hindsight, I can see that impressions from this visit became the germ of my interest in Confucianist education ideas (Confucius, 1989). My next meeting with education in East Asia was a tour around China in 1995 to study higher education reforms. I often found a close relation between theory and practice at Chinese universities. Frequently, universities had factories on campus, where theories from the laboratories could be tested in practice and result in products. These could be sold, and thereby support the economy of the university. It was also impossible not to be impressed by the speed of building new infrastructure. Highways and skyscrapers were

finished in very short time. However, the picture was also a bit scary for a Scandinavian. People working on constructing a new skyscraper in Guangzhou did not leave the scaffolds for the night. They slept up there. I did not see any Labour Work Inspection denying such practice.

During the recent 30 years, China has grown from being a rather poor agricultural country to become the world's second largest economy. Economic experts think that in a few years China will be the strongest economy in the world (Zhang, 2012). As a visiting professor at Xiamen University between 2003 and 2005, I had the opportunity to come closer to China and the Chinese. This happened especially since I taught Chinese graduate students and learnt from them. I also learnt much from having an 11-year-old son as student at Xiamen International School. My knowledge of the Chinese world was enhanced by longer research stays in Hong Kong and Taiwan between 2006 and 2010.

I experienced *a culture of learning*, completely different from my native Norway. Students in schools and universities and, especially, *parents* are extremely motivated. Parents' ambitions have made commercial private education a light house for the public school. In 2013, there were 120,000 private schools in China, with 22% (34 million) of the country's students. Many parents are ready to pay extra for quality. The schools' owners invest much money to find the very best teachers and school leaders. They are employed on contract and given high salaries. There are no signs of 'schools as business' showing any negative effect on school quality. On the contrary, if the school is to be profitable as a company, it must deliver such school quality that parents are willing to pay for. The final goal for the parents is the university entrance exam.

Even if it is *China* as an 'education area' that is my focus, it is relevant to remember that similar education culture is found in other "Confucian countries" such as Japan, Korea and Singapore, as well as Taiwan, Macao and Hong Kong. A feature of these countries and provinces is their economic strength. Japan developed first, with a rapidly growing economy from the last decade of the nineteenth century. Then followed a remarkable development for the East-Asian small "dragons"—Korea (South), Taiwan and Singapore. From being poor dictatorships after World War II, they developed political democracy and grew into leading world economies. They have universities with high international rankings. Hong

Kong, with a smaller population than Sweden, had 3 universities among the 40 best in the world. According to the Times Higher Education ranking a few years ago, the University of Hong Kong was number 19.

There seems to be one common denominator for the populations of all the East-Asian countries: *Strong motivation for learning*. What is the root cause of this motivation? I think the source is the moral philosopher Confucius. He praised learning as the greatest of all virtues contributing to human beings' personal, moral refinement and to social harmony. I assume that his philosophy is the cultural foundation for the economic miracles of East Asia. The educational practice following from his philosophy seems to be the soft power of China's present development to economic super power and global exporter of culture. *Can a country like Norway learn from China?*

I take an educational story from Hong Kong as a starting point to see what the Chinese regard as school quality. A spread in a Hong Kong newspaper in November 2005 was a reminder of tensions between Eastern and Western views on education. A more relaxed learning environment at Hong Kong universities is attractive to the top graduates from Chinese secondary schools. "In Mainland China, we do not have as much choice as in Hong Kong, when it comes to choosing courses at the university. In Hong Kong, I can use my time more effectively on what really interests me", Liu Yang from Shenzhen told the *South China Morning Post*. The 18-year-old graduate had got the highest score among 450,000 students at the university entrance exam in Guangdong, the neighbouring province to Hong Kong. She could have walked straight into a prestigious university like Tsinghua in Beijing, but chose Hong Kong instead. Her story signals what is regarded as *quality* in primary and secondary schools in China, which "produce" a candidate like Liu Yang. In China, the achievements from secondary school, *Gaokao*, are the key to everything parents and students find most important in life. The achievements are dependent on the quality of teaching and the work efforts of students in primary and secondary school.

Student Liu became an inspiration to look more closely at the education system of this very city. I found that a particular education culture—a creative synthesis of different curriculum philosophies—has developed in Hong Kong during the last 160 years.

The Hong Kong Synthesis

Before taking a closer look at Hong Kong, it is useful to examine the backdrop of the education culture that the young Shenzhen student had experienced during her 18 years' life. Will to learn is a keyword. Motivation for school work in East Asia has been connected to academic achievements at exams. A school is good if it is an efficient tool for the parents' ambitions of high academic achievements. High motivation for education is a part of people's identity in East Asia, more than in other parts of the world. The parents themselves are brought up to see education as an especially important value. This in turn leads to high expectations from the child from an early age. Learning is crucial. The source for this respect for education is the ideas of Confucius. They have influenced the identity of the people of East Asia in 2500 years (Levinson, 1968).

When the English started colonizing Hong Kong 160 years ago, they met with a local population brought up and trained in the Confucianist cultural tradition. They met people very willing to learn, diligent, competition-oriented and with a deep respect for authority. The colonial masters were themselves educated at English elite schools and at the Oxbridge universities. They had also learnt respect for authority. They had been trained in a humanistic education culture where deep knowledge and wisdom were important goals. The English had, however, also been trained in democratic ideals. Therefore, parallel to Hong Kong's economic development, there was built an education system to care for the whole population of Hong Kong (Holmes & McLean, 1989).

The curriculum contained Chinese language (Mandarin) and Chinese culture. Outside the public education system, there were *English Foundation schools*. These were independent schools, but they had public financial support. Their curriculum was distinctly founded in typical English curriculum tradition. In addition, Hong Kong had an increasing number of other independent schools. These could be representing a certain country (e.g. *The French School*) or international associations (e.g. *United World College*). Therefore, in terms of education, Hong Kong, during the colonial period, developed an overarching structure, like what

is now developing in China—mass education *and* elite education with a distinct academic flavour.

Even if the Hong Kong school authorities over and above were satisfied with their schools' achievements, illustrated by their visibility in international rankings, there was some concern about a possible lack of being creative and innovative. Hong Kong has no raw materials and is completely dependent on what is produced by brains. Future survival in the competition, not least with Shanghai, is dependent on being innovative. Hence, the education politicians of Hong Kong started thinking about an education reform, and that there might be particularly interesting ideas to pick from the American curriculum tradition ('learning by doing'). Not least, such ideas came from the international business community.

Apparently, it looks like Hong Kong wishes to take careful reform steps towards a more student-centred pedagogy. However, it is not likely that it will happen at high speed. Because the traditional culture, or the basic understanding of what school is all about, is deeply rooted among the two most important actors, who decide what school quality in practice will be: parents and teachers. This was confirmed by angry letters to the editor of *South China Morning Post* when the reform was launched. And, parents and teachers have strong, historical allies on their side; Confucius and Plato, the key sources of educational tradition in China and England, respectively.

Parents and teachers in Hong Kong have more confidence in the two old philosophers than they have in the leading education philosopher of modern times, the American John Dewey, the founding father of the student-centred curriculum tradition. In addition to the USA, he has strongly influenced Scandinavia. Contrary to Norway, where less than half of the population see education as an important value, it looks like everybody in Hong Kong thinks that traditional quality education is the primary means to a good life.

It is the mix of curriculum traditions that makes Hong Kong particularly interesting. The historical English cultural influence, more recent international currents of student-centeredness and the present social dynamic following an intense struggle for more democracy make it likely that Hong Kong may be able to create a synergy effect from three different

curriculum traditions resulting in school excellence—Confucianism, English and American traditions (Holmes & McLean, 1989). However, Confucianism is the foundation. It is the cultural basis for a social development that has brought East Asian countries to become world-leading economies. It is this cultural basis that the rest of the world will get more curious about, both to understand China better, and for themselves even to take advantage of the philosopher's thoughts. Let us get better acquainted with the old master.

Confucius: East Asia's Greatest Teacher for 2500 Years

Confucius' educational philosophy sprang from social problems. In his time, China was ravaged by civil war. His thought was that only through education that enabled man morally could a peaceful and harmonious society be achieved. He became the great teacher and role model for teachers in East Asia ever since. One of his main theses was that everyone should accept their place in the social hierarchy and do their duty. Confucius believed that he had found the way to creating a great social harmony. Students should learn respect for others and do to others what they expect others to do to them. It is when you have done your duties, that you deserve others' respect. Everyone is benefiting from a harmonious society (Confucius, 1989).

It was only during my extended research stays in East Asia in the early 2000s that I began to sense the importance of Confucian thinking. I discovered that he was the source of how people perceived life and what was basic values related to living right in a harmonious society. The first and strongest signal of his existence was the countless Confucius temples I was invited to visit. The word temple pointed in the direction that he had created a religion. The great respect people showed when they visited temples pointed in the same direction.

The first direct touch with Confucianism I received was on September 28, my first autumn in China. This day my students showed me special attention, and I noticed that there were celebrations going on around the

university. What happened? It was *Teachers' Day*, and it was also Confucius' birthday. The celebrations took place not only at universities, but also in all schools. The Prime Minister's speech to all the country's teachers was the day's top story on the leading TV channels. The experience of this celebration and obvious respect for the teaching profession made me start questioning both my colleagues and students.

My students worked with master's and doctoral degrees in educational themes, and most of them were also in full work as teachers or school administrators. The Department Director, my host, had written his doctoral thesis on *The Imperial Examination* in China. Over and above, I received a thorough introduction to how Confucius was perceived by teachers, students and, especially, by parents. This insight was expanded in talks with my colleagues. They explained the nature of his ideas, stating the reasons why he had such great importance, and not least how he constantly had a decisive effect on educational theory and practice.

It was impossible not to notice the pride both among students and professors of this greatest of all legends of Chinese education. It is an admiration and respect which is also experienced in neighbouring countries. Confucian philosophy is a common value denominator for people in Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Macao, as well as for significant proportions of the population in Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Myanmar and Malaysia. Back in Norway also, I was reminded of the Master. The occasion was the establishment of the first Confucius Institute in Norway. I was involved in a friendly competition between the Norwegian University of Science and Technology and Bergen University College about the permission to establish the institute. The College won.

Humanism is the essence of Confucianism. He puts the family at the centre, and, per most commentators, he does not believe in gods or in an afterlife. His teaching is not a religion, but a moral philosophy. The society can be improved, because human beings can learn, improve and perfect themselves and in relation to others. Through self-development and self-cultivation, man can become a better member of society. Confucianism focuses on developing virtues and complying with ethical rules. Learning and knowledge are essential prerequisites for achieving moral virtues. Therefore, Chinese society after Confucius is characterized as a

meritocracy. Those at the top, the leaders, should be the ones who know the most and therefore are believed to be the morally best.

In Mao's time, Confucianism was opposed as reactionary cultural heritage. However, after Deng Xiaoping's ideological change in the 1980s, Confucius became increasingly accepted and is today embraced by the Communist Party. Many believe that Marxism with its distinct western ideological grounding did not connect particularly well with cultural roots of the Chinese masses. In addition, several negative events were associated with Marxism, not least the mistakes that were committed in the Mao era. They were further weakening Marxism's ideological position. Phrases such as "socialism and democracy with Chinese characteristics" are frequently applied.

After the weakening of Marxism, many people believe that there has occurred a moral vacuum in China. This vacuum is partially filled by, for example, Christian sects and extreme forms of nationalism. Such powers are feared by the Government. Such forces can contribute to undermine the positive social development in the country, which is a result of several generations of hard toil and sacrifices. As a strategic move to counter such forces, the Government and the Communist Party are encouraging interest in Confucianism (Bell, 2008).

Not only is Confucianism celebrated as an essential part of "democracy with Chinese characteristics", it is also actively used in China's export of Chinese language and culture. China now establishes Confucius Institutes worldwide. I think he is a major reason why East Asia in general and China seem to be the economic winners, when the world is globalizing. A country like Norway has been a victim of student-centeredness and misunderstanding of what is the school's function in society. Norway can regain its former days' school quality by looking to China.

What Norway Can Learn from China

The first thing we can learn from China is this old nation's vision of education as a means to achieve an important value; the refinement of the human personality or morality. By such refinement, education is influencing many people in a way that creates a better society for all. Norway,

after World War II, by American inspiration, changed its school to be an instrument for social integration, at the sacrifice of its role as a transmitter of academic subjects (Tjeldvoll & Welle-Strand, 2002). In the present education crisis, Norway can learn from China that a knowledge-focused education contributes essentially to create in students a strong identity and great mastery. Such strength is expressed in the ability to endure competition and will to work hard. Respect for education and love for education has been a central nerve of Chinese patriotism to strengthen the country in difficult times. This knowledge patriotism is perhaps the most important thing we can learn from China.

Moreover, we can learn how important it is to be conscious of our cultural heritage, our philosophical roots and on which curriculum tradition our school should be based. After World War II, Norway switched curriculum traditions. From having been part of a European, encyclopaedic knowledge tradition, we chose an American, pragmatic settler perception of knowledge and social integration. Was this a wise change for Norway? Hardly. The American philosopher Dewey conceived of the European cultural tradition as one of old elitist knowledge. This tradition he saw as a threat to the democratic and equal society that should be built in "the new world"—USA. Many poor Europeans had fled from the Old World, the European class society, where they were at the bottom of the social ladder. The people in the New World should break with the Old World's academic tradition. Instead, they would themselves detect and decide what valid knowledge was. It was this American mindset that Norway chose to apply in their school policy after World War II. This was the start of decline for the Norwegian school as a transmitter of academic knowledge (Tjeldvoll, 2002).

The Chinese have behaved differently. The conception of what is valuable to learn has remained constant for 2500 years. The exception is when China woke up to its technological backwardness of the 1800s and 1900s, and realized that they, like the Japanese, had to learn as quickly as possible the scientific way of thinking and technology that had developed in Western Europe. Concurrently with eagerly picking up useful knowledge and skills from the West, the Chinese insistently retained their own identity, rooted in Confucianism and several thousand years of Chinese heritage.

From China, we can learn that we should consider going back to the Golden Age of Norwegian schooling, to see what has been lost in the transition to an American, anti-European-academic, student-centred tradition, and, to see what could be recovered from what got lost. It may prove difficult in a rich nation with an oil lubricated economy and such strong social security for everybody that motivation for school work is at an all-time low. However, a starting point for recovery would be to gain awareness that we once have been a "knowledge nation". To gain such awareness may be crucial the day there is no more offshore oil, and Norwegians will again be forced to work and think innovatively. The Chinese story tells us the importance of teaching patriotism. From the Chinese, we can learn work ethics, to never give up and endure competition, even though we may not always win.

From the Chinese, we can learn how important parents are for a child's education. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Swedish feminist Ellen Key wrote the book *The Century of the Child*. One chapter is titled "The Child's Right to Choose Its Parents". Key puts matter to a head, but this chapter title says it all about what is the most crucial for the opportunities a child should get in life. Responsible parents are crucial. In the Confucian world, I have seen how this sort of responsibility works time and time again. I witnessed a Japanese mother who, when her daughter was sick, went to school to find out what the girl had missed by her absence and then hired a private teacher to teach the girl what she had missed. The poor parents of the famous Chinese professor, Pan Maoyuan, made it possible for him to continue schooling, although they could not really afford it (Tjeldvoll, 2005).

The most serious problem in Norway today is many parents' lack of interest in the school as a workplace for knowledge acquisition. This is the bleakest effect of *the unified school* as primarily a place to be socially integrated, more than a place to learn. Unless parents regard education as an important value and the school as an important means to achieve this value, teachers are working in headwind. Parents and grandparents should also recognize that the security arising from the welfare state may not last forever. They should think that one day their loved ones may have to take sole responsibility for survival in a tough world of competition of well-educated people from other countries. Then it may be essential to make

the young person believe in her/himself, and that s/he can master challenges. From the Chinese, we learn that we as parents and grandparents must have an active relation to the school. As parents, we do not have the moral right to sit quietly and observe the school failing to safeguard the knowledge responsibility that we have entrusted to the teachers and school management.

From Chinese history, we can learn that the teacher is the linchpin of a society's morals and learning. We can learn that Norwegian post-war efforts to raise teachers' status not only failed, it has been destructive. Largely the decline of status has followed as a side effect of student-centred pedagogy. Before World War II, Norwegian teachers had a high status. In addition to being teachers, they were famous politicians, writers and cultural figures. After the war, their social status has gone down. If you ask a middle school student if s/he would like to become a teacher, s/he responds by asking if you think *s/he is stupid…*

In addition to making parents take more responsibility for the school, the biggest challenge today for Norwegian schools is not only to restore Norwegian teachers' social status, but also to make it higher than other professions. Such is the case in China and Finland. In Chinese history, we find the figure of *The Responsible Teacher* repeatedly. It was such a teacher who *saw* schoolgirl Yang Ying, the waitress who later became a billionaire and created Xiamen International School. It was a Chinese *responsible teacher* who saw the poor boy and rice-cake-baker Pan Maoyuan and pushed for his continuing in school. Pan became the founder of research on higher education in China. The series of such *responsible teachers* is infinite in China. From China (and Finland), we can learn that it is the academic cream of the crop among graduates from upper secondary school that must be recruited as teachers. They are the ones that will lay the groundwork for the whole nation's creativity, competence and competitiveness. In Taiwan teachers were, for many years, exempted from paying tax. So important were they considered to be for the creation of the economic and political Taiwan miracle.

Confucius emphasized rituals and rules of conduct. It has had effects in Chinese schools. Teachers are met with great respect and courtesy. We can learn from the Chinese that to show respect for the teacher and other superiors is important and useful. It does not mean submission and

rejection of equality, but the acceptance of useful social rules that improve constructive interaction among people. The American education tradition holds equality and democracy very highly. It is understandable from the discomfort settlers had experienced at home in the 'nasty class society' of ancient Europe, where the settlers came from. However, the equality medal has a reverse side. It easily has some vulgar effects. Equality could result in it being "cool" to be rude to the teacher. When the teacher must be the chopping block for students' upbringing to independence and democracy, the very idea of a good school may be lost. A core factor of a good school is a teacher with knowledge-based authority and therefore one who earns respect. Without respect for the teacher, good learning is nearly impossible. When students' learning of democracy and independence comes at the expense of the teacher's self-esteem, the hen that lays golden eggs has been killed. Learning democracy without knowledge can result in a majority of the stupid, making bad decisions.

Chinese history teaches us to understand the importance of diversity and how it can be used constructively for society. One key word is *meritocracy*, leadership by the cleverest. This is of course a challenge for a democratic mindset. Since, however, it is a fact that some people are intellectually better than others, it becomes necessary to find other ways to safeguard democracy, than by hiding inequality. The Chinese deliberately emphasize mass and elite education simultaneously. This is a reminder of the school's possibilities and limitations in terms of creating equality. Since it is essentially impossible to change an individual's basic abilities for learning, the school can never do anything more than provide equal opportunities for education, in a lifelong perspective. That is how far the school can contribute in relation to equality and justice goals. What is the optimal a country can do to create equality and justice by education? That is to give all its citizens the chance to lifelong learning, to learn when they are really motivated for learning, at whatever age. In so doing, a country has done what is optimal in terms of using education as a means for equality and justice. As an important by-product, that country will also earn the optimal production of the human capital that secures the economic well-being of the whole society.

Deng Xiaoping underlined in his education policies that everyone, regardless of social background, should have access to university, provided

results from the secondary school were good enough. This is in contrast to Norwegian practice. University cannot give in on academic requirements when it comes to access to higher education. If the university is slackening entrance requirements, quality will go down. Those who are not good enough for university must seek education elsewhere. Society will lose if its elite universities are deteriorating. The equality and moral obligation for every school authority is to ensure that no one with abilities is prevented from moving upward in the education system. Allowing everyone academically qualified access, regardless of social background, is a fulfilment of a key human right. It is also a very good economic investment. This is what Deng understood, when he designed the new education policies for China. His education policies created the foundation for China to become the world's second strongest economy, and as a result several hundred million Chinese came out of poverty. In other words, the Chinese teach us that it makes sense to not let money be a hindrance for young people who are good and prepared to work hard. They shall have the resources needed. Such a policy serves the whole society. In Deng's socialism, it is okay that someone gets rich first so that the foundation is laid for several, preferably all, who may eventually be rich together.

From the Chinese, we can learn two things about *competition*. Firstly, competition is a universal phenomenon among people. It cannot be taken away. Secondly, that it can be constructive. There is a parallel thinking to how many Chinese see the "socialist market economy". Market economy is not congruent with capitalism. The market economy can have a socialist levelling goal. However, the market economy itself is a universal phenomenon, and it involves just competition between providers in a market. In Norway, there has been a remarkable attempt to remove the competition in schools. The Chinese have shown us that, under certain rules, competition is a key instrument for creating dynamics of development. As a universal aspect of human individuality, it becomes constructive to use competition consciously. Many have pointed out the paradox in Norwegian culture that competition is not only accepted but also embraced and admired in the sports context, while it is looked down upon in the school. In China and most other countries, this is not a valid view.

Because of Confucius' strong influence, the Chinese still have some values that Norway had before, but either has disappeared or diminished. An example is endurance. This quality is related to competition. Often stamina is necessary for a competition to be won. It also applies to schools and academic contexts, for example, when applying for grants or funds for research projects. In China, respect for endurance is expressed in the conviction that it is acceptable to fail at an exam, while giving up is a shame. This reminds me of Professor Pan Maoyuan. He flunked the first time he tried to get access to university. It did not stop him. He examined more thoroughly what it was that the entrance test required. Then he prepared carefully for taking the test again. Next time it went smoothly.

For thousands of years China was the centre of the world—the Middle Kingdom. Then China was humiliated and almost completely colonized before again rising to new greatness. The country's history thoroughly taught the Chinese the necessity of being aware of their own strength and confidence, while simultaneously being open to learn useful things from others. To thoroughly understand the importance of constructive self-esteem, of having a strong identity, and why skilled teachers with great authority are essential agents for pupils developing such confidence, is the school's main task. This we learn from the Chinese. For Norway, this is a problem, because most Norwegian teachers have turned into mere facilitators and are no longer the academically strong and responsible teachers they once were. Strong identity or self-esteem is crucial to acquire the other necessary element in the battle of life—*mastery*.

China's position in the world today means that the Chinese language is becoming increasingly important. Former Prime Minister Gordon Brown in the UK saw the challenge and declared that all British schools should have partnerships with Chinese schools, to facilitate the learning of Chinese. English is still the indisputable world language no. 1. However, Chinese is breathing English in the neck. Globally, there is an enormous increase in the number of people learning Mandarin. The reason is twofold—one is stimulation by China itself, and the other is stimulation by foreign countries, through global market thinking and interest in Chinese culture. China provides for the establishment of Confucius Institutes around the world to spread knowledge of Chinese language and culture. The market, whether it is individuals who think careers or

corporates that think business, sees the necessity of mastering Chinese language.

Having so far pointed to areas where Norway may have something to learn from China in terms of education, it is also important to mention aspects of Chinese educational culture that we should be wary of. A negative consequence of Confucius' intense emphasis on learning and knowledge is that there is complementarily not very much respect for practical and vocational training. Chinese educational researchers are aware of this as a major problem. China has the same distribution of people in terms of ability for academic learning as other countries. This means they also have a similar amount of people without motivation or abilities for theoretically orientated education. Hence, vocational training should be strengthened and given a higher status. It is important for individuals, and for the business sectors. Moreover, there should be awareness to negative effects of competition. However, it will not be easy. Confucius' tradition is stronger than ever. Mao's attempt to change this was unsuccessful, and Deng's priority was bluntly research and education that strengthened advanced economy.

From China, Norway can learn the necessity of going back in history and rediscovering the academic school that laid the foundation for a given country becoming a successful welfare state. Today's unified school—primarily for social integration—risks destroying the backbone of the nation's competitive power.

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Conclusion: Comparing Chinese and Nordic Education Systems—Some Advice

Ning Chen and Fred Dervin

横看成岭侧成峰, 远近高低各不同。
不识庐山真面目, 只缘身在此山中。

From the side, a mountain range; from the end, a single peak;
Far, near, high, low, no two parts alike.
Why can't I tell the true shape of Mount Lu?
Because I myself am in the mountain.

This famous poem by Su Dongpo 苏轼 (1084/1994, p. 108) summarizes well the final message of this book: Things can look very different seen from different perspectives.

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This book represents an attempt to help our readers see and understand Nordic and Chinese education beyond myths, and to consider some counter-narratives and different realities. In so doing, our authors were following Michel Foucault's advice: "A critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest" (1988, p. 154). The philosopher continues [a critique is also] "to show that things are not as self-evident as one believed, to see that what is accepted as self-evident will no longer be accepted as such" (ibid., p. 155). We hope that the book has convinced our readers to not take what they hear about Nordic or Chinese education as 'self-evident' and to consider, not their 'true shape', but their different shapes (like Mount Lu in Su Dongpo's poem).

According to Ni (2013, p. 15) Chinese civilization has always been very curious about, and open to, foreign ideas and material goods. He claims that "the greatness of Chinese civilization lies partly in its openness to the outside world" (ibid.). China is very open indeed, especially in terms of improvement in education; however, China should refrain from merely getting input from the outside but negotiating *win-win* relations: China is strong enough to receive and *to give*. In our own research on Finnish-Chinese edubusiness, we clearly noted an imbalance between Chinese and Finnish partners in co-developing professional development programmes, whereby Finnish partners were unwilling somehow to discuss learning about and from Chinese education (Xing, Dervin, & Fan, 2017).

In what follows, we propose four pieces of advice for when we compare Chinese and Nordic education. We also consider the advice applicable to other contexts of international comparative education. A few words about comparison before the advice: it is essential to remember that comparison is never neutral as it always has a starting point which relies on given contexts, ideologies, imaginaries and even stereotypes about the things being compared. For Radhakrishnan (2013, p. 16) comparisons "are inevitably tendentious, didactic, competitive, and prescriptive. Behind the seeming generosity of comparison, there always lurks the aggression of a thesis".

Education is too complex a context to make simple comparisons such as *Danish, Finnish children are happier than Chinese children*—something we often hear from people who have never visited Denmark/Finland or

met a Danish/Finnish kid. As such not two schools are the same, even two classrooms in the same school. In the Nordics, a classroom somewhere cannot fully generalize what is happening in smaller and isolated places in other parts of the Nordics. The same applies to China: a school in Zhongguancun in Beijing can hardly compare to a school in an isolated part of the country. To compare, one needs to homogenize, and thus create an imagined majority with positive or negative characteristics that can too easily be used to idealize or denigrate someone or something. This also leads to an overemphasis on difference between contexts, which may be biased if similarities are not also considered. This can also too easily lead to stigmatization of difference ("Chinese education is too competitive and thus bad for the children"). Obviously, education systems are too complex to be considered homogeneous.

Our first advice relates to a very famous quote from the 'father' of international comparative education, Higginson (1979, p. 49): "We cannot wander at pleasure among the educational systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and then **expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant**" (our emphasis). So-called good practices elsewhere may not function in a different context, partly or fully. For instance, in Finland, parents receive a lot of financial support for their children's education (education is the responsibility of the state) and thus transferring some practices from the Finnish context to China might require making fundamental societal changes, which are neither possible nor compatible with current politics in China. Some practices that might appear appealing in Finland may not work in China because of parents' views and wishes for their children's education and future (e.g. little testing, short days at school, etc.).

The second advice is to bear in mind that whenever we hear "Nordic education is…" or "Chinese education is…", whatever follows is too general to apply to the generality of the complex educational contexts found in these two contexts. From our experiences of Chinese and Nordic education we think it is fair to say that China and the Nordics both have good and bad systems of education; they both have different schools with different socio-economic statuses (The Nordics: city centres

vs. some suburbs in cities; rural/urban divide; private vs. public schools). If we compare, we need to take into account all the different characteristics of the contexts we compare, and look into both differences and similarities.

The Nordics often bring to mind the 'miraculous' case of Finnish education. More recent critical pieces of news or books published about Finnish education actually show that Finnish education faces very similar issues as Chinese education. In her book in English titled *School's Fault*, Finnish teacher Maarit Korhonen (2018) shares scenes of her everyday experiences as a teacher in two different schools in Finland (an affluent school and a not so affluent one). In the following excerpts, we can see many problems similar to China:

- about discussing the children's future:
  (Teacher) But having a great future doesn't necessarily require money, does it? It could also mean happiness and achieving your dreams?
  (Student) Someone who works as a cleaner can't be happy. A cleaner hasn't made it if he's a cleaner, this ten-year-old claims.
- about success:
  (Student) My dad works at Nokia and he says that only those people who do well at school will be successful elsewhere, too. And then they'll be rich.
  (a student after having received a fairly good grade on a test): "I didn't do well enough, sobbing more loudly"
- about misbehaviour in class:
  (…)
  a couple of them continue to be difficult the whole term. The conversation we have is always the same:
  (Teacher)   —   Would you take your book out, please?
  (Student)   —   Do I have to?
  (Teacher)   —   Yes, you do.
  (Student)   —   But I don't want to.

In autumn 2018, many pieces of news reflected the increasing problems faced by Finnish education. The following headlines give a clear hint of these issues:

(Yle News 8.10.2018) Integration of special needs pupils adds to teacher workload (teachers feel increasingly stressed and incapable of facing students' individual problems)

(Yle News 12.9.2019) Teachers' Union: Finnish schools need €1bn to return to Nordic standards to ensure well-being of pupils and teachers.

The third advice relates to the current global contextual factors that need to be borne in mind when comparing Chinese and Nordic education. These include: (1) global educational systems are governed and oriented by international rankings that have an influence on how we talk about 'good' and 'bad' education, and how we pick 'good' and 'bad' systems of education (e.g. PISA studies); (2) since the early 2010s the Nordics have experienced intensive nation/region branding (packaging the Nordics as a product) and the marketization of its education to the rest of the world (e.g. Finnish education export). Edubusiness is about selling educational services, materials and institutions outside national borders, which might entail using 'white lies' to sell Nordic education. As much as a company like Apple would not admit to their products having potential defects, selling Nordic education might mean camouflaging some of its less successful aspects (e.g. growing achievement gap between social groups, boys and girls).

Edubusiness from Finland, for instance, involves sale of made-to-order trainings, knowledge, services and consultancy to other countries (Cai & Kivistö, 2011). According to the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture (2010), "Higher education institutions will be encouraged to be active and assume a major role as education export operators". This means that scholars' activities and discourses on Finnish education might also be influenced by market-oriented agendas. The consequences might be the development and spread of ready-made discourses on Finland/Finnish education (with the idea that what is heard from "the horse's mouth" must be 'true'); a thirst for Finnish presence in foreign media, which can serve as advertising; (auto-)censorship with a potential loss of criticality, use of white lies and potential manipulation; an overemphasis on Finland as an exotic place; and the development of a specific pedagogical industry: Places and people are chosen for pedagogical tourists (international schools/'normal schools' attached to universities that train student teachers).

The next piece of advice will sound naïve, but having met hundreds of educators, scholars and even parents in China, we often feel that this is a problem: There is no 'paradise' on our planet! The word *Nordics* seems to bring up certain overly positive images that could easily be questioned. The *2018 World Happiness Report* published by the United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network, which was reported globally by the media, placed Finland number 1—the happiest country in the world (the other Nordic countries followed). But what is the meaning of happiness here? A look at the criteria makes us wonder if the whole world understands this notion the same way. The criteria for determining happiness in the report include:

Social support corresponds to answers to the question: "If you were in trouble, do you have relatives or friends you can count on to help you whenever you need them, or not?"
Freedom to make life choices: "Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your freedom to choose what you do with your life?"
Generosity: "Have you donated money to a charity in the past month?"

Can one *really* compare answers to these questions across national, cultural and linguistic borders? For instance, the words used are necessarily polysemic: *relatives, friends, freedom* and so on and can lead to potential misinterpretations. In China, for example, family comprises more individuals than in the Nordics. Charity can mean more than donating money in some countries. So are we comparing apples and oranges here? Considering the high levels of depression, suicide and alcoholism (see e.g. the following study on Finnish adolescents: Torikka et al., 2017), Finnish researcher Martela (2018), specializing in both the psychology and philosophy of well-being and meaning in life at Aalto University, explains:

What I'm trying to say is that, regarding happiness, it's complicated. Different people define happiness very differently. And the same person or country can be high on one dimension of happiness while being low on another dimension of happiness. Maybe there is no such thing as happiness as such. Instead we should look at these dimensions separately and examine how well various nations are able to support each of them.

Finnish education exporters and some Finnish researchers have used and abused the rhetoric of Finnish education being based on the ideology of Joy of Learning/Fun learning, which seems to confirm and go hand in hand with 'Finnish happiness'. However, this has misled people from outside Finland to believe in this potential white lie.

As a final point, in Li and Dervin (2018), one of us suggests considering any system of education by means of ideological continua (in terms of policy, pedagogy, educational actors, etc.), rather than single indicators. These are examples:

Fun/student-centered learning <…..> teacher-centered learning
   Inequality <…..> social justice
   Inclusion <…..> exclusion
   Parents involved <…..> not involved
   Motivated teachers <…..> Unmotivated parents
   "Good" <…..> "bad" teachers
   Hard-working students <…..> Not-so-hard-working
   Good school buildings <…..> bad school buildings

This is important to avoid creating certain international hierarchies that are not always founded. For example, the idea that Nordic education is more student-centred than Chinese education is not always correct. Many teachers alternate between student- and teacher-centredness or use forms of student-centred approaches which are actually teacher-centred. In a similar vein, some parents in the Nordics are very much interested in their children's education and offer all the support that they can, while others will rely too much on teachers educating their children for them.

Beyond media, academic and supranational mantras about the 'good' and 'bad' educational performers of the world, there is a need to dig into wider ecosystems and to systematically dispel myths about the 'best' performers. Finally, we suggest that we work with each other to learn *with* each other about what we can each bring to the table. We can all contribute to good education by sharing, negotiating and constructing 'good' and multifaceted practices. It means for China to also be somewhat more confident about its (already) admirable achievements in education.

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