The Pursuit of Transnational Capital:

Constructing and Utilizing International Cooperative Education Programs

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APPROVAL OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation, "The Pursuit of Transnational Capital: Constructing and Utilizing International Cooperative Education Programs", has been approved by the Graduate Faculty of the Curry School of Education and Human Development in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

This dissertation explores how the capital of global education is constructed and appropriated at different levels towards local and individual purposes by vested parties in a joint Chinese-American cooperative degree program based in China. I use qualitative analysis as the methodological orientation, because my goal is to examine the emic beliefs, knowledge, and practices concerning the use and appropriation of global education and transnational capital in China. Data in this dissertation come from two semesters of qualitative field observations in a second-tier university in northern China, as well as a brief comparative visit to its partnered university in the U.S. In China, I conducted participant observations of the program's regular courses, career recruitment events, off-site field trips, and special cultural exhibitions and performances. I also conducted participant interviews with the program's administrators, faculty instructors, and university student members.

By analyzing the actions and interactions of the Chinese faculty and students in this particular China-based joint cooperative degree program, I examine how vested parties from the Chinese and American sides construct, negotiate and utilize the dual-cultural environment to their competitive advantage. Rooted in the Chinese government's push to develop "World-Class Universities," the joint Sino-Foreign cooperative program is an alternative means to producing both globally competitive Chinese universities, and globally competent Chinese graduates. In turn, this kind of program provides an alternative means to cultivate symbolic, economic and transnational capital. It fosters networks, affiliations and skills that transcend national boundaries, without having to cross them physically. Cultivating this kind of transnational capital also provides a way for students to overcome barriers that would otherwise hinder their success.

My study fills a significant gap in the literature on diversifying paths in globalized education. It provides a more authentic look at what a typical Chinese university is like, and an alternative to the dominant narrative that globalization and the acquisition of global capital must follow Western paradigms and produce students with Western values. It also adds to the literature by providing new insight on a growing phenomenon of compensatory economic practices and transnational capital used by the exploding Chinese middle-class to compete in the global education arena.

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PART I

VISUALIZING GLOBAL EDUCATION

Chapter 1 Introduction: Global Education with "Chinese Characteristics"

On May 2, 2018, Xi Jinping, President of China and General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, conducted an inspection tour of Peking University, one of China's top universities, ahead of China's Youth Day and the school's 120th anniversary. "To understand China, [you] must understand Chinese history, culture, thought and development stages," he admonished foreign students studying at the campus, "In particular, [you] must understand Marxism in contemporary China." At the end of the tour, he remarked, "Cultivating socialist builders and successors is the educational policy of our party and the common mission of all levels of schools in China. Only by grasping the fundamental task of cultivating socialist builders and successors can colleges and universities successfully run a world-class university with Chinese characteristics."

In pursuit of this goal, the Chinese government is spending more on education than ever before. Shortly after President Xi's public visit to Peking University, the Ministry of Education released statistics that China spent 4.3 trillion RMB (675.3 billion USD) on education in 2017, up by 9.43% from 2016. Spending on higher education alone was over 1.1 trillion RMB, up 9.72% from the previous year. Yet, despite the massive push by the Chinese government, and the subsequent growing phenomenon of Chinese universities pursuing globalized education, the literature on globalization has been limited in surprising ways.

Predominantly examined and presented from Western perspectives and formulations, the discussion of globalization from non-Western perspectives has been largely marginalized. Much like the American path to global education, the academic discourse on globalization in the West has become another way to reflect on and

experience the self, rather than the other. In speaking on globalization, Balagangadhara (1998) elaborated, "Social sciences generate Orientalism when the West looks at other cultures. Looked at in isolation from Orientalism, social sciences are how the West experiences itself. Social sciences teach us about Western culture. (p. 115)"

In many ways, globalization and global education have also become increasingly commodified and standardized by U.S. universities in the ways it is presented to students. The path to become a global citizen is often presented in concrete, easily digestible steps, almost linear in its progression. Study at least two years of a foreign language. Purchase a study abroad experience at least once before graduating. Take a set number of classes categorized as *Global Learning* or *Non-Western Perspectives* to fulfill general education requirements by the university. Rather than presenting a different system of life that exists and operates in a different country, world cultures have paradoxically become neatly standardized, packaged products for student consumption, and globalization an added point to the graduation requirements checklist. This, ironically, results in a very Americanized version of "global" education programming. However, the push for modernization by many non-Western countries is still deeply influenced by their historical and cultural roots, and results in global expressions that the West does not experience in the same way. What if globalization and the development of global education does not necessarily equal Westernization and the assumption of a Western identity?

In addition, the scope of studies on global education, especially within the Chinese context, has been limited and repetitious. President Xi did not randomly choose Peking University for his visit. He chose it because it was the best, the Harvard of

Chinese universities, with a stellar reputation for faculty, students, research and facilities. Those are the same reasons many other academics have chosen to focus their research on Peking University, as well. A cursory look at the existing research on Chinese higher education will quickly show the name of Peking University – and a few other select elite universities – over, and over, and over again. However, with as widely growing a phenomenon as globalized education is in China, researchers cannot continue putting the same universities in the spotlight which have already dominated for many decades, and expect the literature to produce an accurate portrayal of the topic.

As a result, I have chosen to study this increasingly important phenomenon of the globalizing Chinese university, with a particular focus on the construction and appropriation of global education in international cooperative programs. This phenomenon of Chinese universities importing and appropriating foreign education in order to increase their global outreach sets the context for cultural negotiations at multiple levels that feeds into larger questions about the globalizing process of education. This inquiry was formulated around the broader, overarching question:

> How is "global education" conceived, constructed and ultimately appropriated at an imported U.S. undergraduate degree program at a second-tier Chinese university?

In trying to answer this question of how global education is designed and used, I focused on three distinct categories in terms of how they played out in the imported degree program: cultural value negotiation and construction, institutional design and constraints, and student capital. As such, the main research subquestions are:

1) What are the cultural values that contribute to the construction of the imported curriculum and the local Chinese contexts, and how do students, teachers and administrators negotiate them?
2) How do partnered institutions negotiate value conflicts between opposing educational paradigms to construct an international cooperative partnership program?
3) How do different students, faculty and administrators from two partnered Chinese and U.S. universities make sense of the dual degree and similar partner programs in China, and appropriate them towards their own uses?

Reasons for Choosing This Topic

As the fastest growing and second largest economy in the world, China has become a key player in major fields like technology, politics, business and philanthropy. For this reason, it is crucial to understand the kinds of education available to and taken advantage of by students in the country. Understanding the education people want and choose provides great insight into not only the kinds of people who will be involved in shaping the future of the country, but also what possible shapes the country might take -- or avoid. Essentially, in order to understand issues of law, economic development and social justice, it is fundamentally important to understand the educational foundations underlying them all. Thus, it is increasingly important to learn about what kinds of students will be taking the field, and from what kinds of educational backgrounds.

When looking at Chinese education, it is also important to examine a variety of schools, not just those listed at the top. America would probably be a very different country if all of its college graduates had only attended Harvard. Obviously, not

everyone who goes to college in America does, or even can, attend Harvard. That does not mean non-Ivy Leagues are not also suitable alternatives for pursuing a college education. All different kinds of American higher education institutions produce graduates who go on to do great things for themselves and for the good of the country. If institutional studies in the U.S. were only ever conducted at Harvard, then the resulting research would produce a skewed view of what higher education is like, the kinds of students who inhabit its space, and in what direction they might take the country in America. However, this is often what happens with many studies conducted on Chinese higher education institutions. Researchers often focus on top-name "first-tier" schools that are more popular, because many people believe that these schools are the sites of cutting-edge educational innovation and development.

By looking at schools whose names may not be in the national limelight, but are still good schools with accredited programs, we can get a more nuanced picture of what Chinese higher education actually looks like. In many ways, these "second-tier" schools are just as important as the first-tier, as they also produce graduates who then take their places as functioning members of society. In reality, first-tier schools are a minority in the Chinese higher education system, yet are severely overrepresented in the literature. A majority of college graduates in China come from other schools, and also compose the complex tapestry of China. These second-tier schools need to be looked at, and their information added to the current body of research.

Organization of Dissertation

My dissertation is divided into in four parts iterated across nine chapters. Part I gives an overview of how global education has historically been implemented, and how it

is now being visualized and conceptualized within an international cooperative partnership program in China. Chapter 1 sets the scene for globalization in Chinese higher education and covers the history and previous paths universities in China have pursued in constructing global education. It traces the history of international education exchanges and policy changes that have affected the course of global education. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on educational borrowing and transnationalism in globalized educational contexts, and explains the theoretical framework used to explore and analyze the hidden processes and meanings present in my research. In Chapter 3, I describe the research design for this dissertation, and its overarching methodology.

Part II focuses on how the two universities worked together to construct a global education program. In Chapter 4, I look at how the cooperating Chinese and American university construct the organizational structure for the joint-degree program in China. In Chapter 5, I describe the primary cultural paradigms each side implemented in their construction of a global education curriculum, and the negotiations and compromises that take place between their competing educational and cultural paradigms. In Chapter 6, I detail the physical spaces built to house the joint-degree program, and how they reflect the construction of the curriculum, while raising questions about student access to resources.

Part III examines the ways in which different parties appropriated global education, sometimes utilizing the international partnership program to meet other needs and goals, and overcome barriers to advancement. Chapter 7 looks at how institutions strategically form these partnership programs, and the benefits that they gain as a result. In Chapter 8, I observe how mainland students utilize the global education of this

partnership program in unexpected ways to overcome challenges, and broaden their future career and study opportunities.

Part IV concludes the dissertation with a discussion about future aspirations and implications for global education. In Chapter 9, I revisit the theoretical frameworks outlined in Chapter 2, and present my research from these analytical perspectives. In Chapter 10, I present typical student outcomes from the program, and explore implications for students and universities engaging in global education in the future. I also question the nature of global education, and whom it serves, before concluding with a discussion of future implications for research.

Background

Educational cooperation is a seemingly simple idea with more advantages to offer, than disadvantages. As schools may have different resources available in terms of funding, faculty and leadership, they will consequently have different areas of focus and specialty. Therefore, two schools that work together can combine their resources to provide a wider array of program options for students that neither would be able to offer on its own. However, achieving this can prove to be a complicated task. The differentiated resources that are the very strength of a collaborative partnership can also become a source of conflict. Schools are institutions organized and governed depending on their purpose, goals and resources, meaning they can vary greatly in how they function, operate and are organized. The resulting fundamental organizational and physical infrastructures of schools can differ greatly within countries, before even comparing them to those of schools in other countries which are set in and shaped by completely different historical, political and cultural contexts.

From athletics to fundraisers to budget cuts the ultimate mission of education is to support and facilitate the learning of students. Changes at any level, in any department, can affect the shape and direction of student learning in ways both seen and unseen. This is fundamentally important, since these students then take their skills, knowledge and experiences from their schools out into the work place, subsequently influencing the government, economy and society.

Pursuing globalized education in the past: a brief history of Sino-U.S. educational exchanges

Globalized education in China is not a new phenomenon, and exchanges with the U.S. date back nearly 200 years. The first educational interactions between the U.S. and China began in 1830 with the arrival of American missionaries to Guangzhou in 1830. Missionaries were limited in their numbers and expansion due to the Chinese government's ban on foreigners until 1844, when treaties were signed on both sides loosening travel regulations, among other things, between countries.

During this time, the first Chinese students sailed to the U.S. to study abroad in 1847. Yung Wing, Wong Foon and Wong Shing from Guangdong province were the first recorded international Chinese students in history to study overseas. After graduating from Yale in 1954, Yung Wing then returned to China and persuaded the Qing government to enact the Chinese Education Mission in 1872. Under this act, 120 Chinese students successfully studied abroad in the United States for civil services, engineering, and science, later making significant contributions in China after their return.

Educational expansion continued until 1904, although it became much more one-

way in its flow of ideas after the Chinese Educational Mission was disbanded by the Qing government in 1881. Missionaries opened more schools in China with the express purpose of proselytizing and converting, although increasing numbers of individual Chinese students also went to America for education. However, a Western-style education was not very popular at the time because many of its core values (e.g. independence, individualism and self-determination) were largely incompatible with those of traditional Chinese education backed by the Qing court in power at the time (e.g. Confucian values of filial piety and communalism), which desired a very loyal demographic of subjects.

However, after the fall of the Qing court, educational exchange took on a new dimension. Indeed, "The most striking phenomenon in the relations between the United States and China in the twentieth century was the emergence of educational exchange as the strongest tie despite sharp differences in their cultural, political, and economic systems (Li, 2008)." Even though educational exchanges abruptly halted during the periods of the Korean War and Cultural Revolution, they quickly resumed during the Opening and Reform period. In addition to trying to mediate and normalize relations between countries, both the U.S. and Chinese governments had other significantly vested political and economic interests in resuming such exchange programs.

The Chinese government saw educational exchange programs as a necessary means to modernize the country, and make up for lost time, knowledge and learning. During the Maoist regime, schools were first reformed into party-line propaganda institutions, then later closed altogether. The result was an entire generation that had failed to progress academically and socially. After such a period of political upheaval,

repression and social hardship, Deng Xiaoping knew there was a high risk of defection in sending government-sponsored cohorts to learn abroad. Yet, as long as at least *some* came back to contribute their new knowledge and skills to the reconstruction and development of China, that risk was still considered a better alternative to continuing in economic, political and educational stagnation. At present, Deng's gamble appears to have paid off considering many of the top officials in government and executives in business in China have had some form of education in the U.S.

In contrast, the U.S. government saw educational exchange programs as a form of soft power by which it could subtly influence politics overseas. By training people who would later be involved in government work to be educated and literate in American culture, the U.S. government hoped to ease mediations and communications between countries and help support U.S. interests internationally. This motivation also appears to have paid off for the U.S. in several ways, most notably in how trade relations with China developed afterwards and very strongly favored U.S. interests for the next several decades.

However, scholars disagree on the extent to which the foreign culture of the curricula being learned by the Chinese actually played a role in the fast growth and development of their home country's Opening and Reform period. Many believe the Chinese still exerted agency over their own cultural dynamics and national development at the time. Ruth Hayhoe, a prominent scholar in the field of Chinese education affirmed, "The contribution of western scholarly values and patterns to China's cultural modernization was, in my opinion, secondary to a dynamic of change located within Chinese society. (1985, p. 676)"

Pursuing globalized education in modern China: a policy perspective

Being highly internationalized strengthens the reputations of institutions, as well as the marketability of students to find a job after graduating college. As many academic scholars argue that educational trends around the world are becoming more similar over time, Chinese universities are working on ways of also becoming highly internationalized to produce workers who are competitive and literate in the global market. To that end, the Chinese government has passed several special policies to promote educational development and advancement. In particular, Project 211 and Project 985 have had a significant globalizing effect on educational institutions, even though that was not their explicitly stated purpose (see Table 1).

Project 211 is an education policy that was implemented in 1995 with the specific intention of strengthening the academic rigor and standards of Chinese universities. In the first phase, the policy designated the top universities to be the beneficiaries of roughly 2.75 billion RMB worth of aid from 1996-2000. When the Ministry of Education revisited the policy in 2000, they decided to allocate 6 billion RMB for the 2000-2007 period, due to rapid economic growth. In the third phase, the specially allocated budget for 211 universities was increased to 10 billion. The rationale behind this funding effort was to be a trickle-down effect. By strengthening key schools and their faculty, the Ministry would be strengthening the quality of students being produced by the universities. By strengthening the quality of students, the Ministry would thus be strengthening the subsequent labor markets students entered. The hope was that later effects of this policy would fix some of the major social and economic problems in China.

One of the major outcomes of Project 211 was a significant internationalizing effect on the designated institutions. Universities wanting to be recognized as "world-class schools" used this funding not just to expand study and research opportunities for locals, but to make them available to foreigners, as well. At present, Project 211-sponsored universities support 50% of foreign students studying abroad in China. Typically, these foreigners will study in China only for a short time (i.e. one summer to two semesters), later transferring credit back to their home institution. Although very few foreigners will enroll for a full degree program, their presence is still seen as an important part of the university's mission to provide international experiences for all its students, including foreign, but especially local.

While Project 211 has been used to strengthen domestic institutional standards and social outcomes, Project 985 has been focused on strengthening China's international reputation abroad. Established in 1998, Project 985 has arguably had the most significant influence on the explicit internationalization of Chinese higher education of any educational policy. Project 985-designated universities were allocated funding to hold international conferences, both to bring in foreign scholars, and to showcase their own research. They also have more funding to send their own Chinese scholars to attend and present at international conferences held abroad, thus visibly increasing their global scholarly presence, and subsequently, China's. Additionally, 985 universities try to attract more foreign and visiting scholars to be faculty in their institutions, again, in order to include more globalized perspectives and experiences in the student instruction.

Table 1

Project 211 & 985 provisions & outcomes

Category	# of Universities	Policy provision(s)	Outcomes
Project 211	116	• Domestically focused • raise university research standards • cultivate strategies for socioeconomic development • **meet certain scientific, technical, and human resources standards**	• Used to provide research and incentives to attract foreign faculty and students
Project 985	39	• Internationally focused ("World-Class Universities) • build new research centers, improve facilities • host international conferences • attract foreign faculty and visiting scholars • help Chinese faculty attend conferences abroad	• Enhanced international collaboration • Enhanced Chinese university international recognition

As a result, Project 211 and Project 985 universities have had a profound effect on the shape and standard of exchange programs between the U.S. and China over the past two decades, yet constitute a small minority of the higher education system. At present, there are only 116 Project 211 universities out of over 1700 standard higher education institutions in China (i.e. 6% of the total). Project 985 universities number even fewer. Originally designating only nine schools in the first phase from 1998-2004, the Ministry of Education expanded Project 985 to thirty-nine schools at the end of the second phase (i.e. 2% of the total) -- officially closing membership in 2011.

Much like how only certain cities like Shanghai and Shenzhen were allowed the privilege of exemption from government policy and given the freedom to experiment

with Foreign Direct Investment during economic reforms, only certain universities like the 985's and the 211's were given the financial security to experiment and take risks with educational reform. The remaining universities in China's higher education system were limited not just in terms of funding, but also in many other ways, such as general government oversight on what could and could not be included in research projects and degree curriculum.

As such, many studies on internationalization of Chinese universities often focus on the elite frontiersmen in the field, the "first tier" of universities granted special privileges under these policies. With their greater flexibility and risk-taking in curriculum design, these first-tier universities certainly are much more exciting to research, and strike the most dramatic contrast to the stereotype of Chinese education as strict, rote and subservient to government agendas. However, this also does a disservice to studies on Chinese education, as it consequently excludes the much larger and more typical "second tier" of average colleges and universities that most educated Chinese students will attend. This study adds to the diversity of research, by providing data on a university that is not part of the elite, yet still provides an international curriculum. It paints a more realistic portrait of the challenges, adaptations and outcomes of most universities in China during the process of becoming more internationalized. While not necessarily generalizable, this provides important insight on what steps other non-elite universities take to adapt to the trend of internationalization while more constrained in resources.

Pursuing globalized education in modern China: an institutional perspective

At the same time, the forms and paths of study abroad and educational exchanges

for Chinese students are becoming increasingly diverse, yet are still much more invested compared to the shorter-term programs traditionally engaged in by U.S. students. In the past, when Chinese students wanted to study abroad, they required significant economic resources, high TOEFL or IELTS scores, and SAT or GRE/GMAT scores depending on if they were applying to undergraduate or graduate programs. The emergence of programs such as the 2+2 and 1+2+1 now offer more flexible options for Chinese students wanting to study abroad than would have considered before, especially as they may make exception to one or more of the prerequisite criteria mentioned above.

Many Chinese schools have successfully forged educational cooperatives with foreign schools in an attempt to cater to the demand of local students and the job market for the credentialing experience of foreign education. The primary reasons for doing so involve money, prestige and a sense of social responsibility. With China working to become globally competitive in its own right, the government and many of its citizens have pushed for access to foreign education to acquire the necessary skills to compete on an international stage, in terms of law and politics, as well as business and economics. Yet within this righteous narrative of advancing the nation, many push for globalized education programs for more private individual reasons. Foreign skills are an incredibly lucrative commodity, one that schools can charge a higher tuition for, and that students can ask a higher salary for. Foreign education is also a way for both schools and students to set themselves apart from others, to add a level of distinction to their reputation, to their "face." This push for globalized education has led to several different forms available to Chinese students, that differ slightly from traditional U.S. offerings.

In contrast, the majority of overseas study programs targeting Americans reduce

global education experiences to a commodity they can take or leave, rather than undertake as a serious form of immersion and investment. The most commonly known form in the U.S. is the traditional exchange program set up between universities. If not opting to enroll in a foreign university outright and travel abroad for the entirety of their undergraduate or graduate degree, many students will enroll in their home country, then study abroad at a partnered school for a short period of time. Most of these programs only last for one summer – some even just a couple weeks – while less common ones may last one semester or full academic year. This is commonplace in many schools such as Yale (with The Chinese University of Hong Kong), Harvard (with many schools, including Beijing Language and Culture University, and Beijing Normal University), Carnegie Mellon University (with Shanghai International Studies University) and the University of Virginia (with East China Normal University).

Within the past ten years, newer routes to internationalized study have evolved, sometimes even combining with traditional routes. Many U.S. universities are now partnering with Chinese universities in what are called 2+2 and 1+2+1 programs. The 2+2 programs developed for market in China originally offered an accelerated curriculum where students study at a Chinese university for two years, then study at a U.S. university for two years, graduating at the end with a degree from each institution. The 1+2+1 program is very similar, except that the student starts with one year in China, followed by two years in the U.S., before returning to China their graduating year. This latter model was developed in response to visa restrictions, concerning students ending with their graduation in the U.S. The purpose of these programs was to provide international exposure at half the price. While a little strenuous and complicated, the outcome of two

degrees from two schools is the same. Both models result in time spent abroad, and an American diploma to bring to the competitive job market.

However, the program focus of this study is a lesser well-known - but increasingly popular - variety of partnership in the form of China-based Sino-foreign educational cooperatives. These programs are marketed for domestic Chinese nationals who wish to study abroad and have the "foreign experience" and credentials, but may lack the economic means to do so for four years. The participating schools essentially form a contract to "import" a foreign curriculum and program into the structure of the Chinese university, creating more prestigious dual-degree granting programs. At the end of the program, the student usually receives two degrees, one from the Chinese university, and one from the foreign university. Thus, the student can earn a degree from the foreign institution without ever leaving the country, but in theory still reap all the benefits of creative thinking, communication skills and foreign exposure owning such a degree implies in China. This project will add to the current body of literature on study abroad and educational exchange between the U.S. and China, by mapping a "study abroad" program available at a U.S.-partnered Chinese school, whose sole purpose is *not* to send students abroad. In this way, educators and researchers can better understand some of the more creative ways schools are responding to the push for increased educational exchange opportunities around the world.

Examining globalization in non-Western education

What happens when Chinese universities in pursuit of globalized education elect to import a foreign undergraduate degree program wholesale into their school? Schools are institutions of culture that reflect the norms, values and beliefs of their respective

societies. As such, school curricula incorporate and transmit more than technical knowledge and skills, but also underlying cultural logics and rationales, as well. As the importing school and imported degree program are both educational products of different cultures, they are not necessarily commensurable with one another (Benedict, 1934), and may elicit reactions of adaptation and change as both those implementing and experiencing the foreign curriculum try to reconcile the different goals, values and messages that are being presented simultaneously with those of the home country. What then are the cultural values being transmitted by the imported global curriculum into the Chinese classroom, and how do students, teachers and administrators react to them?

The explicit purpose of pursuing these questions is two-fold. The first is to examine how universities conceptualize and practice globalized education through importing an American degree program and curriculum into the Chinese education cultural context. Often, the ideals and rationales behind any education program interact with many forces in local contexts that alter implementation. Hence, classrooms using a "national curricula" often look different across China depending on the geographic location, socioeconomics and teachers of the school -- much like in the United States. Similarly, when the ideals and rationales of both parties behind the initial brokering of an international education program meet different structures and values from the opposite side, conflict and change take place from the original program to its final adopted state of globalized education. This research will explore what the intended implicit and explicit goals are of the imported U.S. curriculum, how that curriculum translates into ground-level practice when taught by Chinese teachers to Chinese students, and specifically how cultural dialogue informs and shapes these translations and interactions into a perceived

ideal global education.

The second purpose of this research is to explore what the meaning of these programs is to different Chinese university students, faculty and administrators in a partnership program, and how they utilize them to their own benefit as a result. In exploring how different interest groups make sense of this program, this study will attempt to construct what their larger ideological frameworks are for students engaging and participating in these kinds of partnerships. Modern public education in the United States has a comparatively short history of less than two centuries. Established within the social, economic and political context of religious freedom, democracy and market economy, American education is now often marketed as a consumable good, be it public or private in the political debates. On the other hand, modern Chinese education, while undergoing rapid transformation and innovation at both the local and international level, is still very deeply informed by Daoist, Buddhist and Confucian traditions. More than just a service or a consumable good, education is also treated as a form of self-cultivation, providing moral and ethical components necessary for a student's personal development. Qualitative research of these partnerships and their cultural structures, patterns and exchanges will provide understanding of the envisioned end goals of the program to different levels of participants, and provide an alternative perspective on global education to Western audiences.

Motivating Factors for Study Abroad

China faces a particularly unique and vexing set of constraints on its education system. The rise of the middle class and its disposable income coming out of the Reform and Openness era has resulted in a dramatic increase of college applicants in the most

populated country in the world. From 1999 to 2008, the number of college applicants skyrocketed to 10.5 million from the previous two decades' range of around 3 million per year (CGTN, 2018). To meet this rising demand – and create an educated population that will be taken seriously in all domains of international affairs – the government has been hard at work to expand existing university facilities and construct new ones in needed areas. This has been a very slow, imperfect process. Because the excess of demand still far outweighs the limited supply of higher education institutions, the process of applying to college in China is one of the most stressful and competitive in the world. The acceptance rate of those applying to college during this extreme growth period averaged around 55-60%. While this is certainly not an ideal admission rate, it is still much higher than the majority of previous examination years where the acceptance rate varied greatly, but was usually below 40% (CGTN, 2018).

Yet, the process of reaching equilibrium is not as simple as focusing national resources on providing enough schools for all the student applicants in China. Information released by the Chinese Ministry of Education also showed that despite the *percentage* of the college-eligible wishing to pursue higher education continuing to increase, beginning in 2009 the *number* of students actually sitting for the *Gao Kao* (the National College Entrance Examination) has been steadily decreasing for the past several years (People's Daily, 2016). While the One Child Policy is a major contributing factor to this decline [1]– fewer births means fewer possible applicants overall – the surge in Chinese students opting to study abroad rather than study domestically has also had an enormous impact on the pool of local applicants. In 2016, 544,500 Chinese students

[1] Government statistics project population of 18-22-year-olds to decrease 40 million in the next ten years (circa 2014).

studied abroad, more than triple the 179,800 who did the same in 2008 (Luo, 2017). According to U.S. reports, international enrollment has been increasing dramatically for the past decade, with Chinese counting for nearly one-third of all international students at 328,547 in 2015-2016 – up significantly from the figure of 194,029 in 2011-2012 (John, 2016; Redden, 2012). And, the U.S. is not the only country Chinese students are choosing for study abroad. Australia, New Zealand, the UK and Germany, among others, have all experienced, and anticipate continued, rapid growth of international Chinese enrollment in their systems of higher education (Redden, 2012; Colson, 2018; Liu, 2018).

This surge in study abroad goers also has many serious implications for the direction of higher education in China. Study abroad offers many opportunities that domestic college enrollment does not. First of all, the testing and application process is much easier. Tests like the IB, AP and SAT are only a couple hours in length each and can be taken several times a year starting at any point in the student's high school career. In comparison, they are comparatively much more forgiving and less stressful than the Chinese National College Entrance Examination -- a culminating test that takes place only once a year for three days straight the final year of high school. Essays necessary for application can be revised and proofread many times before final submission. Overall, the student has more control in the application process.

Secondly, study abroad and foreign degrees often carry more value for students than many domestic diplomas (Li, 2017). The student is assumed to have more language and creative thinking skills, as well as first-hand experience collaborating with people from a variety of different backgrounds. These experiences are seen as very valuable for business and government positions that require a lot of foreign travel and interaction as a

daily part of workplace responsibilities. Additionally, in showing that they can adapt to and survive in a foreign culture operating by different rules, the students also show they can adapt to a new workplace culture, even if it is purely domestic. Thus, study abroad makes candidates stand out at a time when the Chinese job market is now saturated with college degrees, and Chinese business, trade and politics are increasingly focused on the international stage.

Thirdly, and most importantly, there is the appeal of "transnationalism" as an ideal trait that can be achieved by studying abroad and exposing oneself to foreign cultures and experiences (Ong, 1999). Many international Chinese students desire to be world travelers who can help build bridges between countries. Others wish to learn and contribute abroad in order to bring this knowledge back to China and continue contributing at home, as well. Through this, many Chinese students want to become not just responsible citizens of their locality, or even country, but contributing citizens of the world.

However, there is a downside to study abroad with respect to the country's future wellbeing. While study abroad is both desirable and highly encouraged, students who leave to study abroad for their college degrees are less likely to come back and contribute their skills to China, versus students who attain their degrees domestically (Zweig, 2013). More students leaving to study abroad means more finding jobs and staying abroad. Chinese students often build networks around their institutions during their study there that they use to help find employment after graduating. Building these networks abroad equals a much greater chance of finding employment abroad. There is also a common perception of less competition for jobs, more employment opportunities, and in some

cases, changes in social identity and freedoms that lead many to stay abroad, rather than return to China upon completion of their degrees. In this way, China is experiencing a kind of "brain drain[2]" of those most skilled and qualified to handle the kind of cross-cultural and international interactions in which the government wishes to be respected and acknowledged as competent by traditionally Western-dominated domains.

This is not to say that study abroad is a threat to Chinese education, but rather that study abroad adds a complicated dimension to it. Most will agree, especially those in the government, that the positive gains of Chinese students studying abroad far outweigh any of the negatives. In an internationalized market where countries' economic well-beings are increasingly interconnected and interdependent with one other, study abroad is one way to navigate said intricacies of connections to keep pace with the latest developments in prominent fields.

Regardless, the factors of declining applicants, market demands, and job competitiveness create a bit of a conundrum for higher education in China. The decreasing supply of students and changing demands of education and employment have begun to shift the onus of competition from the students to the institutions. Students currently have increasingly less competition and higher acceptance rates in their college application process; schools have fewer candidates and less capacity to be selective about the applicant pool. While the top first tier schools (the Chinese equivalent of Ivy Leagues) have not suffered much from lack of applicants, many second and third tier schools have had to come up with new ways to attract high quality students for enrollment. Some have simply admitted more students from lower test-scoring ranks,

[2] While the rate of those staying overseas has remained stable at about 30% for the past several decades, more students studying abroad overall means that more students are staying abroad in absolute terms.

and/or more foreign students for whom they can set a higher economic price point of enrollment, in order to offset their applicant pool deficit.

China-based dual-degree cooperative programs are at least part of the answer to this curious question, as they have a unique way of maximizing benefits for multiple domestic Chinese interests. While the price point of a domestically-based foreign diploma program is usually much higher than a standard domestic diploma (roughly 20,000RMB/3,300USD per year vs 4500RMB/740USD circa 2010), the cost is still a fraction of that for actually studying abroad for a degree. This allows more students to earn foreign degrees and be competitive in the domestic Chinese job market. From a government and economic standpoint, the practice not only increases the amount of revenue available to Chinese universities, it also takes advantage of the maximum price points of different demographics, and keeps educational pursuits focused on the domestic market so local revenue can continue to support local economies rather than be "exported" to support foreign institutions. Additionally, because the networks they develop during their study are local rather than foreign, graduating students are more likely to enter the Chinese workforce and contribute to the country's current and future growth, rather than "drain" away to the foreign, even if only temporarily in the long run.

Significance of study

This study is significant for several reasons. It has important implications for the current transformations taking place in the educational landscape of China. China is not only well-known, but also often stereotyped, for its standardized testing system, with the tradition of entrance examinations for every aspect of civil service dating back thousands of years. Another common perception is that students' creative thinking simply cannot

exist in the Chinese education system. Yet, as the home to the fastest growing economy in the world, China has many schools that have worked to battle these stereotypes in an effort to be recognized as an equal among its international peers in all aspects of education, and subsequently, society. This has led not just to a push for internationalization of higher education, but also intentional diversification of educational resources based on meeting different goals (versus unintentional based on context), as many of the top elite schools experiment with their own takes on more internationally accepted "creative" and "problem-solving" curricula.

This research paints a portrait of a second-tier university that provides a more realistic picture of Chinese higher education, and the challenges that face most universities. By presenting a more realistic portrayal of what "cutting edge" means to the average Chinese university, researchers can then have a better sense of the diversity available in Chinese education, and the possible directions taking place in curricular programming, rather than continuing in their insular, elitist research circles among the top tiers. Thus, this research on the Sino-foreign cooperative program adds to the body of literature on Chinese higher education by painting a portrait of a modern second-tier public university, one that lacks the illustrious 211 or 985 category, and instead uses foreign partnerships as a means to validate its higher education curriculum and reputation. It paints a more detailed picture of the wider range of cultural negotiations that occur at both the macro level of program adoption and administration, and the micro level of teacher and student learning.

Second, this research is significant, because it captures an alternative means of conceptualizing and implementing global education. This course of action serves the

purpose of being both domestically competitive among other universities, and internationally competitive in the pursuit of becoming a world-class university. Looking at the cultural negotiations that take place throughout a foreign-imported curriculum set in a Chinese educational context provides new insight and new paradigms on the non-Western orientations being undertaken in the globalization of education. This current dissertation addresses this new, increased scale of curriculum borrowing in China, and attempts to fill the gap between research at the abstract policy level, research on teaching and learning methods at the classroom and individual level, and unintended student outcomes. In doing so, it also seeks to address how the changing political and social contexts have shaped the cultural process of importation and localization of the foreign degree program curriculum in question.

Third, this research is significant, because it provides additional insight on the topic of transnational capital in education. Students who enter this program initially appear to fall into Vanessa Fong's category of better-endowed middle-class individuals able to pursue better opportunities at home, compared to those who turn to study abroad after finding limited opportunities in China. However, there are questions about why these students choose to stay in China, compared to those who studied abroad in Ong's study

Aihwa Ong (1999) provides a brilliant framework for transnationalism, and its practice among diaspora Chinese in accumulating transnational capital, but there is further scholarly opportunity to be had in examining its different understandings and manifestations of its application to the new, global ready mainland Chinese youth. Rather than being outside and looking into China, the Chinese youth in this research

study are looking beyond their mainland hometowns to the outside world. However, while similar, this research focus still differs from Vanessa Fong's study on Chinese students who study abroad, in that the research student participants have not yet studied abroad. Rather, they are "studying abroad at home." They are in a position to develop the global capital and linguistic skills without crossing the national borders associated with the educational and social credentialing of earning a foreign degree. This research would add to the body of literature on transnationalism and transnational capital, by examining it from the perspective of Chinese university students who have the opportunity to gain cultural and transnational capital that helps them navigate international contexts successfully, yet still remain embedded in a context that may allow them to maintain distinct non-Western orientations and identities. Thus, this research is significant in how it documents a new, growing trend in "imported globalization" and "home-grown global capital" taking place in many of the universities across China.

Contributions to existing body of research

This dissertation makes empirical contributions to the existing literature by adding to the diversity of research on global education as conceptualized and appropriated by vested parties who are not involved in elite universities. By documenting a typical university, not elite university, in China we gain a more realistic picture of what global education actually looks like when constructed and implemented at the university level. This can be beneficial to other universities in the future that are looking to engage in international partnerships, and need to know what that kind of partnership might look like at a university that is more similar to its own scale, operations and capabilities.

This dissertation also makes theoretical contributions to the existing body of

literature by uncovering some of the unintended uses and consequences of global education programs. Students investing in and utilizing locally-based foreign programs is a concept that has not been discussed much in the current body of literature, and has little empirical research existing in the current body of literature of Chinese higher education. Rather, most of the research has focused on engagement with foreign programs from the perspective of students investing in study abroad. Although Aiwha Ong points out that the majority of her students who turned to study abroad did so after failing the *Gao Kao*, she does not extensively discuss methods students employed to stay in the country. At the time of her study, locally-based global education programs like the partnership program at the focus of my study were not a common phenomenon, and thus were not an option her students could explore, as an alternative to study abroad.

In addition, this dissertation questions the assumption that globalization and global education is a universal good. There are questions about the accessibility and universality of the resulting benefits of global education as constructed in the CU-HU cooperative program. Thus, through my research, I also explore and discuss the ways in which global education plays into economic equality and inequality, and its relationship to transnational capital.

Research Limitations

By design, this research is not generalizable to all Chinese universities, nor is it intended to be. It is meant to paint a portrait of a *typical* Chinese university, engaged in the pursuit of globalized education, and some of the cultural processes and identities that may be found therein. Culture is a very plastic entity, that can shift over time with the addition and subtraction of different influences. Values change with economic and

educational opportunity, and thus the culture found in this partnership program may not be the same found at other universities.

However, what this study lacks in scope and generalizability, it makes up for in depth and detail, giving a very clear and nuanced portrait of the shape one cooperative has taken as a result of cultural, social and economic demands of higher education in general in China. From it, we can learn the logics and patterns behind how some schools that are not supported as generously by the government may choose to respond to transnational pressures in globalized education, giving us a lens to reflect on how other countries may respond to similar issues, and broaden discourse on the topic of culture in education.

One of the research limitations encountered during the course of data collection is that Chinese administrators were not available for interviews. For students and faculty, both upper and lower division Chinese and foreign participants were represented equally. However, only American administrators involved in the upper division were willing to participate in interviews. This resulted in a lack of data representing the personal and professional perspectives from the Chinese lower division of the program, meaning there could be some gaps in the representing logics of Commerce University's actions and strategy. However, since this dissertation's focus leans more towards how students' make sense of the program, this gap in data is not anticipated to significantly affect the validity of the remainder of findings.

In walking with these students on their journey to self-cultivation and discovery, my personal experiences and lenses as an individual from a multiethnic and multilingual background also played into my interpretation and analysis of the data in this project

(Erikson, 1986). The data were seen through my eyes, the analysis filtered through my experiences, and the findings presented in my voice. Based on my experiences as a "third culture" individual, who also holds the benefits of different forms of transnational capital, my research may be presented from a different point of view compared to prior research conducted by those who identify with solely one heritage or national group, and do not frequently cross ethnic, linguistic and national boundaries in the same way.

Chapter 2 – Framing Global Education: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the background literature and theoretical framework for my dissertation research. In my literature review, I discuss higher education in China. Then, I look at the relevant literature on the internationalization of educational borrowing and lending. I conclude my literature review with an examination of education, student development and transnational capital. Finally, I explain how I use Pierre Bourdieu's forms of capital, Aihwa Ong's transnationalism, and Anselm Straus's negotiated order as the guiding theoretical frameworks for my dissertation's analysis.

Literature Review

This section will examine the current body of scholarly literature relevant to the topic of global education within the context of Chinese higher education. In particular, the first section will examine literature discussing the evolution and current state of Chinese higher education. Then, the second section will discuss literature on the internationalization of borrowing and lending. Lastly, the third section will review the topic of transnational capital and student development in Chinese education. At the broader level, this review draws from the framework of forms of capital, including the cultural, social and economic capitals involved in the educational processes and consequences of this kind of dual-country partnered program. The below discussions elaborate on the scholarship that has laid the foundation for this research, and ways in

which this study contributes to the existing body of scholarly literature.

Higher Education in China

Since the beginning of the Openness and Reform period, China's education system has gone through numerous changes as a result of the ensuing economic, political and social changes tied to post-1978 reforms. These changes laid the foundations for many institutional structures found in universities today, even as many tertiary institutions continue in their pursuit of self-improvement and modernization. This section looks at the existing body of literature examining the changes Chinese universities have both undergone and undertaken in recent decades, as well as makes note of what the existing potential for research could entail.

Nancy Lynch Street (1992) discusses the history of and status of the higher Chinese educational system in the late 80s during Deng Xiaoping's Openness and Reform era, and the impact of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution upon education, educators and the society in general in post-Maoist China. In her book, *In Search of Red Buddha: Higher Education in China after Mao Zedong, 1985-1990* (1992), she writes about her experiences as one of several invited from her US university to teach English at a Chinese university in Linfen, China through an exchange agreement. She notes how Chinese citizens were deeply distrustful of the post-Mao government, due to corruption not perceived as present under Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, and how economic conditions impacted studies, such as how food and nutrition were not always a constant in citizens' daily lives. At the same time, the government was also mistrustful of foreigners, often acting as gatekeepers between Street's colleagues and the Communist Party hierarchy, university and academic hierarchy, and Linfen residents. Yet, the role of

education remained a foundational pillar in Chinese society, and was one of the few conduits by which Chinese citizens had contact with foreign culture and influences. Many cities in China were entirely closed to foreigners for political reasons, except for these rare instances of educational exchange. As such, while Street writes of Chinese higher education as very Spartan and governmentally-regulated in its environment and operations, higher education also was one of the few allowable means of channeling and utilizing foreigners and foreign influences to help China continue in its pursuit of economic, social and political progress. Her book sets the benchmark for higher education in the post-Mao era, from which we can measure the development and growth of modern global education, and how far it has come.

Moving to the present day, in his book, *Liberal Arts Education in a Changing Society: A New Perspective on Higher Education* (2014), You Guo Jiang analyzes how contemporary policy makers, university administrators, faculty members and students understand liberal education, and how they view the role of liberal arts in the curriculum of colleges and universities. In particular, he touches on how Chinese universities have been shifting away from Soviet-influenced practices of narrowly focused vocational and professional training, still visible during Nancy Street's time in Linfen. The three universities he mentions in his book – Fudan University, Shanghai Jiaotong University, and East China Normal University (ECNU) – are used as examples of how Chinese universities have adopted more general liberal arts education in their curricula that impart greater theoretical, critical thinking and analytical skills, in their pursuit of becoming world-class institutions. For instance, Fudan University expanded available academic disciplines in the '90s to include humanities, natural sciences, management, social

sciences and technology, followed by a merger with Shanghai Medical University in 2000 to offer medical education. "Indeed, the reemergence of liberal arts education is a result of the great need to educate well-rounded global citizens who possess these skills, as well as a sense of social and moral responsibility in the Chinese context. (You, 2014)"

As Chinese universities have worked to incorporate liberal arts to develop more globally competent students, the success of schools in Shanghai on the PISA and TIMSS have also shown that perhaps Chinese paradigms of education are increasingly competitive with Western ones. In Chuing Chou and Jonathan Spangler's book, *Chinese Education Models in a Global Age* (2016), several scholars conceptualize Chinese education from three comparative viewpoints: past meets future, East meets West, theory meets practice. Under the first comparative viewpoint, Jun Li (2016) constructs the model of the "Chinese University 3.0," as the product of '90s era initiatives for "world-class universities" (WCU), massification and internationalization, all undertaken in the same decade. More than an imitation of Western academic models, the Chinese University 3.0 differentiates itself culturally from typical Western universities by drawing on key traits of China's scholarly tradition, values such as self-mastery, humanist mission and institutional diversity in its move towards world-class status. Under the second comparative viewpoint of East meets West, Weiling Deng (2016) further emphasizes this point, by elaborating that Chinese higher education is more than Western university design with Confucian traits and values, but an unusually collective effort from China to respond to global development and changes. Unlike western education models, Chinese higher education has continually adapted its structure to reflect political and social changes, while at its core still remaining a product of early 1900s massive social

mobilization and centrality of power. For example, the Cultural Revolution and subsequent political education adopted at the time were not a means of mimicking the West or adopting its models, but a negotiated response to the political and social changes brought by Western influences. In this way, Chinese higher education is and has been shaped not as much by Western influences themselves, but rather its processes of negotiation with the West.

In Ruth Hayhoe's *Portraits of 21st Century Chinese Universities: In the Move to Mass Higher Education* (2011), several scholars paint detailed portraits of twelve different cutting-edge universities, as a means of representing the resulting, present-day range of premier university types that have evolved since the 1990s. Through descriptive profiling, they examine the new ways in which Chinese universities representative of their archetypical category – comprehensive, education, science & technology, and private – are experimenting with new curriculum and cooperative programs in their institutions. For example, comprehensive Peking University, long regarded as the top university in China and cultural leader that all other universities turn to for guidance, used 985 funds not only to grow their program offerings through key mergers in the move towards massification, but also to attract free-thinking domestic and foreign scholars who would be committed to uphold a tradition of the "Beida*[3] spirit" of academic and intellectual freedom – even at personal cost. Peking University is also a leader in adopting bilingual programs in sciences and the social sciences that both equip Chinese students with global competencies, as well as attract more international students to the campus, increasing diversity and intercultural communication in the student body.

[3] Colloquial shorthand for Peking University

Gaps in the literature on Chinese higher education. In surveying the current literature on Chinese higher education, there is still opportunity for additional research. The opportunity and demand for global influences and programming in education have widened significantly since Street's experiences in *In Search of Red Buddha: Higher Education in China after Mao Zedong, 1985-1990* (1992). While You Guo Jiang's *Liberal Arts Education in a Changing Society: A New Perspective on Higher Education* (2014) briefly touched on how liberal arts education is beginning to incorporate expanding opportunities in global exchanges and partnerships, it did not comprehensively examine what these programs, their curricula, or students and faculty looked like in great detail. His mention of ECNU and NYU founding NYU Shanghai University happened only within a brief explanation of how these partnerships are increasing in the process of Chinese universities trying to achieve word-class status. Jun Li (2016) and Weiling Deng (2016) both make valid cases for Chinese education remaining distinctly non-Western in their contributing chapters to *Chinese Models in a Global Age*, despite universities negotiating and incorporating Western elements. However, their analyses do not consider the importation of an entire foreign degree program as a negotiable foreign influence.

In addition, the majority of the schools examined in Jiang's (2014), Chou and Spangler's (2016) and Hayhoe's (2011) books, like Peking University, ECNU, and Fudan University, belonged to the illustrious Project 211 or 985 category, representing only 6% of the higher education institutions in China. The few in the last chapter of Hayhoe's book which were not 211 universities, were private institutions granted more freedom in their designs, and more funding through higher tuition rates. Both 211 and private

institutions have greater fiscal resources and greater political freedom and flexibility in their curriculum and research projects, than typical public universities do.

Internationalization of Higher Education

In the pursuit of providing globalized education in a domestic context, many institutions subsequently borrow and import foreign curriculum, policies and ideas. The draw of borrowing "best practices" from other countries is very powerful around the world. When this happens, curriculum borrowing serves as a legitimizing force for both the country borrowed from, as well as the country doing the borrowing.

In *The Global Politics of Borrowing and Lending*, David Phillips (2004) describes the catalysts that create the need or desire for "cross-national" borrowing in education theory, policy or practice, including:

- political change
- systemic collapse
- internal dissatisfaction
- negative external evaluation
- new configurations and alliances
- knowledge and skills innovations
- aftermath of extreme upheaval

These concepts are very easily applied to the Chinese educational context. For example, Soviet-style education was brought into China in the 1950s, after the establishment of the People's Republic of China under Mao Zedong in 1949 (political change). This was meant as a way to update and modernize an archaic system that overemphasized academic elitism over the worker class (internal dissatisfaction), and

adopt a system that was more in alignment with their Communist allies (new configurations and alliances).

Unlike before, international educational borrowing in China is happening at a more privatized, diverse, micro-level, instead of the public, standardized macro-level like it was in the past. AP curriculum programs are popping up both as specialized in-school curricula, or after-school preparatory classes. SAT tutoring is available one-on-one in the comfort of your own home, or with your friends in the city at a formal institution. Private English schools taught by foreigners and promising to immerse students in the language and culture of the West are available almost on every street corner in many cities, ranging in price from maybe a few USD per hour, to nearly rivaling colleges in their tuition rates, especially for TOEFL[4] or IELTS[5] training. And, more foreign dual-degree programs are appearing in a variety of Chinese colleges and universities around the country. In part, the variety of imported and privatized educational options is not only somewhat reflective of the increasingly diverse and stratified socioeconomic spectrum of the Chinese people, but also the major political and cultural shifts of society over the past few decades of modernization.

However, just because the education being borrowed originated from another country, does not mean that it stays unchanged in the imported context. Because education is embedded in a system of culture, methods of teaching, learning and

[4] Test of English as a Foreign Language, a standardized test based on American English originally designed to measure English proficiency of non-native speakers for use in the American school systems, now accepted at over 9,000 institutions in over 130 countries.

[5] International English Language Testing System, a standardized test based on British and Australian English, originally designed to measure English proficiency of non-native speakers according to three different tests depending on need of the institution and/or test taker: Academic, General Training, or Life Skills. Currently, IELTS is accepted at over 9,000 institutions.

developing curricula have different underlying rationales behind their formation and implementation across countries (Tobin, et al., 1986, 2001). When countries "borrow" educational methods from one another, they often miss these underlying cultural rationales when trying to implement them in new classrooms. For example, although many places in the U.S. have adopted "Japanese" lesson study groups, many U.S. teachers "may lack the nuanced understanding that is necessary to use lesson study in the way that it is intended," often focusing instead on mimicking specific structural or superficial features (Chokshi, Fernandez, 2004). This phenomenon of adaptation and localization also holds true for the Chinese educational context.

In their book chapter "Curriculum Reform and Education Policy Borrowing in China: Towards a Hybrid Model of Teaching" (2016), Charlene Tan and Vincente Reyes examine this practice of educational borrowing into the Chinese context. By applying Phillips' and Ochs' (2003) four stages of education policy borrowing (Cross-national attraction, Decision, Implementation, and Internalization/Indigenization) to China's curriculum reforms, they explore the challenges and developments that take during the process. Together, they explore how throughout the curriculum reform process, China has never borrowed education policies wholesale, but rather modified and adapted them to the Chinese educational environment. Neoliberal ideas about decentralization and autonomy, constructivist vs rote-learning, and alternative assessments to tests have been increasingly adopted by schools, giving them more Western characteristics. Yet, these practices have not replaced local ways of teaching, and have been combined with Chinese practices, that underscore didactic transmission and high-stakes testing. The result is a hybrid model of teaching and education, that bears Western traits on an underlying

Chinese model of cultural and educational transmission.

This practice of Chinese schools adapting imported foreign curricula to suit their own contexts showcases the resilience of the local culture, especially in how local actors perpetuate and reproduce their own cultural characteristics and logic through the new foreign models. For example, research by Ming-Tak Hue (2014) showed that despite following an otherwise "British" educational system, school administrators and teachers in Hong Kong middle schools are still very heavily influenced by Confucian and Buddhist values of self-cultivation in how they mentor and teach students. Within this context, the superficially Western curriculum of the school actually becomes a medium for the cultural reproduction of Chinese values regarding learning, morality and relationships.

Another study by Shi and Yang (2014) looked at how faculty in the Mainland adopted a foreign Community of Practice (CoP) approach to collaborate on lesson plans for students at the university level. While teachers felt they benefitted from the collective lesson planning discussions of the CoP model, they were also using CoP methods as a form of enculturation into local traditions. Writing classes intended to be "argumentative" in nature became cultural arenas where many of the teachers would teach the "right" answers to some of the debates put forth to students. There was a strong sense among the teachers that there was always a morally and culturally "right" answer that the students needed to be taught and enculturated into.

At the same time, it is important to look at not only the ways in which education is internationalizing, but also some of the deeper underlying forces and implications behind globalization in higher education. In his chapter, "The 'Public' Contribution of

Universities in an Increasingly Global World" from Brian Pusser's edited volume *Universities and the Public Sphere: Knowledge Creation and State Building in the Era of Globalization,* Simon Marginson (2012) writes about the concept of "publicness" in higher education in national and global settings. In exploring what is, what could be, and what should be "public" in universities, he touches upon the potential democratizing effect of globalization and global higher education. In defining and discussing the conceptual relationships between public goods, the public good and the public sphere, Marginson describes how one of the conditions that both create and limit public goods and the public good in higher education is the "network imaginary." This is the networked and egalitarian university world where as networks expand globally, they have the potential to benefit all members through shared knowledge, status and collaboration. Yet, in practice, the public goods, such as global knowledge in the form of research publications, produced in these international university networks often also serve to define institutional hierarchies and reinforce existing ranks, rather than equalize them. These universities that remain at the top then have authority to determine which kinds of knowledge carry value and merit within the systems. Thus, globalization often serves to reinforce existing elitisms present in higher education, rather than flattening them.

Gaps in the literature on internationalization of education. In surveying the current literature on internationalization of higher education, there is also additional opportunity for further research. In his framework of catalysts for global borrowing, David Phillips (2004) does not take certain cultural factors into account as potential impetuses for global borrowing. The new push for global experiences among the rising middle-class Chinese youth, and the desire for Chinese universities to be seen as globally

competitive do not fit neatly into his defined categories for why they wish to borrow and adopt foreign curriculum. The drive for self-cultivation of identity and global competitiveness cannot simply be explained as seeking the "knowledge and skills innovations" of the West, especially when many of the participants still seek to keep their orientations as separate from the West. Thus, this research on the CU-HU cooperative program contributes to the existing body of literature by providing new insight on different motivating factors behind globalized learning and borrowing international curriculum.

While there is literature on schools in China borrowing foreign curricula and techniques for instructions, there is little existing research on what happens to the larger-scale importation of entire foreign degree programs. Tan and Reyes (2016) look at the adopting and adapting of individual policies to curricula, but not concrete pedagogy, where teaching methods continue to remain the same at the classroom level. Hue (2014) presents a view of "Chinese education" as cultural resistance surviving throughout the colonially imported British system, but cannot account for the voluntary import and adaptation. Meanwhile, Shi and Yang (2014) account for a specific teaching method adopted in a foreign language course, but not across multiple courses throughout an entire comprehensive program.

Education, Student Development and Transnational Capital

In the current body of scholarly literature, there is a need for new ways to express Asian experiences, identity and global education development that do not fit previous Western paradigms. Much of the previous research on identity and global education has been predominantly presented from Western perspectives. At the same time, rapid

economic and internationalized changes in China, have led to radically different forms of social thought among the younger generations compared to the older generations, that need to be explored in terms of how they affect identity and capital development. While schools may seek to develop programs and curricula that produce the necessary capital to make desirable global citizens, students may also have their own ideas and plans regarding how they should build their own flexible identity and transnational capital. This section examines the existing literature on globalized and citizenship education, and subsequent attempts by students to develop their own forms of transnational capital. At the same time, it also shows how forms of global education may be appropriated and utilized to serve other agendas by interested parties.

In her collaborative book with Jonathan Spangler, *Chinese Education Models in a Global Age* (2016), Chuing Prudence Chou presents a non-Western approach and focus to citizenship education and identity development. Her chapter, "A Chinese Model of Citizenship Education in Taiwan: Under the Influence of Globalization, Localization and Cross-Straitization" shows how Taiwan has answered the push to produce global-ready citizens with the necessary global capital, by developing a very unique citizenship education system. While the rise of both the internet and democratic reforms initially seem to place citizenship education within an increasingly Westernized context, these influences are tempered by localized efforts that have increased indigenous Taiwanese language and cultural education in schools over the years. Additionally, cross-strait education exchanges and programs with the Chinese mainland have also had a large influence on citizenship education, as college students from both sides cross the straight to attend high school and university. The goal then in developing "global-ready" and

transnational capital lies not only in being able to navigate relations with Western countries, but also mainland China, while still being firmly rooted in local customs and languages. However, despite these efforts to provide a model of citizenship education that would help students remain rooted in the local and identify with the neighboring and the global, Taiwanese students proved to be surprisingly independent-minded and resistant to this education, calling it "indoctrination," and displaying a conflicted national identity that was deeply mistrustful of the local government, politicians and public education. In this case, a global citizenship curriculum was also used to meet local nationalist education agendas.

These kinds of non-Western models of citizenship education for student capital development can be tricky to navigate in terms of balancing how to be loyal to the local, while also facing towards the global. In *Education for Intercultural Citizenship: Concepts and Comparisons,* Anwei Feng (2006) writes in the chapter "Contested Notions of Citizenship and Citizenship Education: The China Case" about how the official conception of citizenship and appropriate citizenship education in mainland China has shifted since the founding of the country, especially in response to recent global influences. Citizenship as officially defined by the government falls under a collectivist socialist model. Additionally, citizenship education has traditionally been conducted as moral, political and ideological education, often criticized as indoctrination, as was the case in Taiwan. However, in recent years, Chinese scholars have pushed for citizenship education to include not only the study of human rights, democracy, legal and political systems, but also global and multicultural perspectives that situate China within a wider, international context for debate. The decentering of China in the citizenship education

model results in a deemphasis of the nation-state and ethnocentrism. This has caused conflict between the modern desire of scholars, students, and even the government, to engage in more globalized models of citizenship education, and the government's desire to maintain strong moral and political education that produces patriotic citizens, who thus have the ideal forms of capital to support the government. Yet, these debates towards interculturality have become more frequent as intercultural activities have increased in Chinese education, leading to greater facilitation of the intercultural citizenship experience.

Not simply passive recipients of citizenship education, students are very proactive in the process, often seeking opportunities to develop their global transnational capital. In *Flexible Citizenship: the Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (1999), Aiwha Ong proposes the framework of transnationalism. She discusses the concept of flexible citizenship as an awakening practice among diaspora Chinese. Often long displaced from the mainland, sometimes by several generations, many overseas Chinese are increasingly invoking their ancestral heritage in tandem with China's rapid economic and political rise. Rather than claim an assimilated overseas local identity like their parents, younger diaspora Chinese in Southeast Asia have increasingly claimed a dual identity: one of the nation-state in which they reside and may hold actual legal citizenship, as well as one of the powerful nation-state to which they claim ancestral heritage. Ong (2004) discusses the concept of transnationality as "the condition of cultural interconnectedness and mobility across space," and transnationalism as "the cultural specificities of global processes, tracing the multiplicity of the uses and conceptions of 'culture.'" By applying this concept to diaspora Chinese, particularly in Southeast Asia, she examines how

transnationalism equates to a flexible citizenship. Individuals can navigate the social, political and cultural logics of a nation-state, while still accumulating the cultural and economic capital to be not beholden to it. An example of flexible citizenship in practice is the Hong Kong citizen willing to self-censor to work with mainland parties, but who also holds multiple passports to several countries, in order to keep future options open. Long disconnected from the mainland, this kind of individual is willing to re-identify with China and claim Chinese cultural citizenship, while still accumulating cultural and transnational capital and hedging bets elsewhere. At the same time, her research points to how in the post-colonial era, Asian countries have largely abandoned their attempts to imitate their former colonial rulers. Instead a "different vision of the future is being articulated, an alternative definition of modernity that is morally and politically differentiated from that of the West. (Ong, 2004)"

In her book, *Paradise Redefined: Transnational Chinese Students and the Quest for Flexible Citizenship in the Developed World*, Vanessa Fong (2011) looks at transnationalism from the opposite perspective, examining how mainland Chinese students used study abroad as a path to transnationalism with the outside world. Study abroad was often used as an alternative means of attaining transnational capital through world citizenship and professional credentialing when educational, economic or social opportunities appeared to be otherwise limited in China. While middle-class status provided the initial common ground for student discussion of study abroad, those who seemed least likely study abroad candidates in terms of social and economic resources tended to be the ones who ended up abroad, while those who had the most resources tended to stay and pursue local career and education opportunities. Many who found

their way abroad encountered unexpected hardships that redefined their "paradise" view of the developed world, especially with some failing to achieve their dreams and regretting the wasted finances and opportunities involved. However, many others ended up utilizing their study abroad to secure more and better opportunities and capital for their futures. Some did this through acquiring permanent residence – but not citizenship – in a developed country, while still maintaining Chinese citizenship to ensure more flexibility in their future travel and potential career opportunities. Others who successfully completed their study abroad wanted to return to China, but equipped with the social, cultural and sometimes foreign citizenship acquired abroad that would allow them the prestige and opportunities of a higher-class lifestyle. These were some of the forms of flexible citizenship and transnational capital that participants attained.

In "International student migration and social stratification in China," Biao Xiang and Wei Shen (2009) discuss how students utilized foreign education as a means to acquire cultural and transnational capital, and how these uses and trends shifted over the course of thirty years. They map the progression of the ever-increasing standards for educational attainment to acquire the desired cultural capital to convert to social, political and economic capital, and how the elite have continually progressed in their advancement of keeping their social ranks impenetrable. As more Chinese students entered university and graduated with domestic degrees, elitism pushed first to study abroad, then later to study abroad at elite universities to gain sufficient cultural and transnational capital for students to differentiate themselves from the competition. Yet, even as the standards for educational credentialing and transnational capital was raised, the elites who already possessed a substantial baseline of economic capital would send their children abroad at a

younger age in secondary or even elementary schools, to begin the cultural capital acquisition process earlier. This resulted in easier access to higher-ranked foreign universities, even as it increased the convertible cultural capital of the students. Thus, foreign education became not only a way for the average student to seek better opportunities and higher social status, it also became a way for the elites to reproduce their elitist status in their children.

Gaps in the literature on education and transnational capital. While the above studies provide a solid foundation for understanding the role of education and student agency in capital accumulation and flexible citizenship, there are still additional opportunities to add to the existing body of literature. This research study on local cooperative programs seeks to add to the literature on how students acquire transnational capital through education, and in what forms, as well as consider alternative ways to construct global education, that may incorporate, but not necessarily revolve around, a Western paradigm. While global citizenship may be one form of transnational capital, is it necessarily the primary goal or students pursuing a global education?

Chou (2016) and Feng (2006) provide contrasting approaches to negotiating the local with the global. In Chou's research, Taiwanese citizenship education focuses on increasing educational emphasis and centering on the local and nation-state, while incorporating Western influences. Meanwhile, Feng's research focuses on how mainland Chinese citizenship education is actually decentering from the local and nation-state, as more global and intercultural influences are incorporated. However, neither study has analyzed the influence of such a large-scale incorporation of Western influence, like that of an entire degree program with both its curriculum and pedagogy, as opposed to

appropriating only snippets of pedagogical frameworks to deliver local content. The scale of curriculum importation gives rise to more opportunities for research on cultural negotiation on the part of the university, and global education and transnational capital development on the part of the student.

In addition, while Xiang and Shen (2009), provide a very detailed analysis of how education abroad imparts significant cultural and transnational capital, much has happened in the ten years since their research was originally published. Beginning in 2012, anti-corruption efforts have significantly affected the ability of government elites to invest the same economic capital in their families as they once did. Moreover, the number of foreign programs in China has exploded, and add a new dimension to the educational credentialing and cultural capital accumulation process that did not exist in the early 2000s. This shift provides an opportunity to examine how the rising middle-class is competing to gain the same privileges of transnational capital once afforded the elites, but through home-grown foreign programs, instead.

Theoretical Frameworks

In this section, I discuss the theoretical frameworks used to structure my analysis in my dissertation. Drawing from the works of Pierre Bourdieu and Aihwa Ong, I discuss how their definitions of capital and transnationality will be applied to frame my data on students in a global education program. Then, I situate the frameworks on student capital accumulation within Anselm Strauss's work on negotiations in the social order.

Forms of Capital

Pierre Bourdieu's *forms of capital* as the primary theoretical framework for the

data analysis. In his essay, "The Forms of Capital," Bourdieu (1985) describes three forms of capital that promote upward mobility through their acquisition by an individual: cultural capital, social capital and economic capital.

Cultural capital consists of the intangible assets acquired by people through learning. For example, the formal education, knowledge sets, and patterns of behavior and social norms that a person acquires to facilitate their social mobility are all forms of cultural capital. Most notably, cultural capital can function as symbolic capital, where the transmission process can act as an official marker of the cultural capital (e.g., attending university), and the end product (e.g., a university degree) is taken at face value as a symbol that assumes the individual has attained a legitimate competence.

Social capital consists of the resources that are linked to more institutionalized social networks that surround people, and to which they belong. Typically, these resources are only available to members within these networks. Examples of institutionalized social networks that may hold exclusive membership and resources include school, work or religious organizations. Membership in these networks can also result in symbolic profit, such as the honorary prestige of being affiliated with a high-ranking institution like Harvard.

Economic capital consists of assets and resources that can be immediately converted into money. This can include institutionalized forms, such as property rights and investments. Under the right circumstances, both cultural and social capital can be converted into economic capital. In fact, this conversion is often the goal of acquiring cultural and social capital. For example, an individual will often acquire a formal education and join certain networks in order to find and attain a well-paying job.

These forms of capital can be situated more deeply in the context of his previous work, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1984). In *Distinction*, Bourdieu discusses how taste is not innate, as most people presume, but a learned marker of class. "Culture also has its titles of nobility – awarded by the educational system – and its pedigrees, measured by seniority in admission to the nobility (p. 2)." Thus, as people accumulate education, and thus, cultural capital, they endeavor to showcase this learning through the display of class markers of taste. In this way, peoples' manners, actions, and preferences are used to communicate and signal their class and status, even as they use the accumulation of taste, and other class markers, to climb different "ladders" in the process of social stratification. This social climb then results in the conversation of cultural capital to other capitals, like social or economic, from the acquisition of higher social statuses.

For my dissertation, I will be using Bourdieu's framework to analyze the international cooperative program in question to see if it affords different participants different kinds of capitals, and if so, what kinds. At different levels, the cooperative program may take on new roles, and change between cultural, social and economic capital, depending on the actions and intents of participants. Participants may showcase their learning through different markers of taste, to differentiate themselves along a new form of social stratification, as mentioned by Xiang and Shen (2009), especially as compared to their Chinese counterparts who are not involved in this cooperative program.

Transnationalism and cultural capital

Aihwa Ong's concept of *transnationalism* provides a subset lens for the data analysis in this dissertation. While globalization is often described as the flow of capital,

ideas and people across national borders, transnationalism in the context of globalization adds an additional layer of economic rationalities and cultural dynamics into the framework for analysis.

In her book, *Flexible Citizenship,* Ong (1999) describes transnationality as the condition of cultural interconnectedness and mobility across space, and refers to the "cultural logics of capitalist accumulation, travel and displacement that induces subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions (p. 21)." It is not only the process by which a citizen gains the necessary capital to move horizontally and relationally through different social, economic and cultural spaces, but also the situated response to new configurations of more decentralized and globalized regimes of politics and business. Thus, for my dissertation, I am defining transnational capital as the specific forms of cultural capital that can enable transnationality according to Ong, and provide the individual with the necessary knowledge and skills to "cross borders," both national and cultural. This does not mean that transnationalism is a universalized phenomenon that looks the same around the world, or an automatic result of the accumulation of transnational capital. Rather, this kind of citizenship is embedded within and adapted to the arrangement of spaces crossed by subjects, and connects cultural specificities to global processes by examining the cultural logics that inform both human practices and state strategies. In addition, one can accumulate transnational capital without necessarily assuming a new, transnational identity.

Because of its focus on connecting macro global process to micro human and state actions, this framework is especially appropriate for examining the connecting logics between personal, institutional and social processes that take place in and around

the university partnership being researched. In particular, Ong writes that her goal in discussing transnationalism is to "redirect our study of Chinese subjects beyond an academic construction of Chineseness that is invariably or solely defined in relation to the motherland, China (p. 39)." She originally applied this concept to diasporic Chinese – historically regarded as less culturally "authentic" compared to mainland Chinese – to argue that their practices and mobility were actually indicative of larger questions of cultural and transnational accumulation. In essence, the diaspora was just as authentic, but had also gained the flexible cultural capital to claim solidarity with the mainland, without fully submitting to its cultural and political governance. They accepted, rejected and negotiated different cultural capitals depending on what they deemed best able to help them succeed across different international contexts.

Because transnationalism is something that is acquired through education, it can be used to expand on Bourdieu's concept of *cultural capital*, adding a nuanced subset, which I will refer to as *transnational capital* throughout my dissertation where appropriate. Transnational capital will refer to the cultural capitals acquired and used by students to operate within and across international and global contexts, whether in China or abroad. With the rise of social, economic and political power within mainland power, the Chinese middle class is now more mobile than ever. Foreign cultural capital that aids in this mobility – especially across national borders – is a highly sought-after commodity. Thus, the partnered university program at the center of this research study can be seen as part of a larger trend towards global education and transnational capital accumulation among mainland youth, where both the Chinese state and Chinese individual endeavor to be recognized as a globally competent power. While I may not fully utilize the concept

of students developing transnational identities, as outlined by Aihwa Ong or Vanessa Fong, I will use the concept of transnational capital to examine how students approach global education in the partnership program.

The Negotiated Order

In his book *Negotiations: Varieties, Contexts and Social Order,* Anselm Strauss (1978) refines his concept of the "negotiated order" to describe the way interacting participants perceive the organizational structure in which they are embedded. To paraphrase, the original formulation of the negotiated order states:

1) Social order is negotiated order. Organizational relationships require accompanying negotiations.
2) Specific negotiations seem contingent on specific structural conditions (e.g., who, when, about what), and are patterned, not accidental.
3) Products of negotiation (e.g., rules and contracts) were not permanent, and would inevitably be revisited and revised.
4) Negotiated order needs to be worked at, and the bases of action continually reconstituted, and negotiations created and terminated every day.
5) The negotiated order could be conceived as the sum total of the organization's rules and policies, including overt and covert agreements at every level.
6) Any changes that may affect the negotiated order required negotiation or reappraisal, often resulting in changes in the negotiated order.
7) The daily negotiation process not only allowed the daily work to get done, but also responded to set rules and conventions, the latter of which set the limits and some directions of said negotiation.

To further elaborate on this theory, the negotiated order recognizes change is ongoing, as participants at different levels continually react and adjust to imposed limits and structures in their operational contexts. Uncertainties are negotiated by participants to bring about stability and change. Thus, in the negotiated order, the organizational order is not structurally determined, rather is it actively constructed, mediated and modified by participants on an ongoing basis through social interactions.

In looking at how participants make sense of the CU-HU partnership program, I will be examining and situating their negotiations from the definition and perspective of the negotiated order. In particular, I will examine how participants at different levels, such as students, faculty and administrators, interact and negotiate with one another to create the social order present, what the negotiated order means in terms of daily operations and participant gains, and how those meanings are changed through constant negotiation.

Coda: Situating Global Education

In this chapter, I reviewed the current body of literature that sets the research context for global education in Chinese universities. First, I reviewed the historical development of the literature on Chinese higher education, starting with empirical studies from the 1980s following the Openness and Reform political movement when foreign influences were still viewed with deep suspicion, and moving to 21st Century models of highly experimental projects adopting and implementing foreign education programs. Next, I reviewed the primary impetuses for borrowing foreign curriculum, and many of the resulting shapes and adaptations foreign programs took upon being adopted into a new social, cultural and political context. Then, I reviewed the literature on education,

student development and transnational capital, and discussed the attempts of several schools to impart specific forms of cultural capital to students with the intent of making them global ready, while students often implemented their own ideas and plans to attain transnational capital, sometimes in spite of the schools. Finally, I detailed the theoretical framework of transnational capital that I will use in analyzing my dissertation research, and how it is situated within Pierre Bourdieu's work on forms of capital, and Aihwa Ong's work on transnationalism.

This is the body of literature which has contributed to the current conceptualizations of global education, and in which I have chosen to situate and contribute my dissertation research and findings. Having now situated my research, in the next chapter, I explain how I then chose to approach the research both theoretically and methodologically in my dissertation's research design.

Chapter 3 – Research Design

In this chapter, I explain the overall research design for my dissertation, and provide a background introduction for the cooperative program being studied. First, I describe the overarching methodology and research paradigm used to conduct the research. Next, I describe the site of the study, outlining and defining the organizational structures that create the spaces for cultural interactions and negotiations to take place. Lastly, I review the methods used to collect data, and disclose potential conflicts of interest that existed during the data collection and research period.

Methodology

For this dissertation, I conducted a fieldwork-based qualitative study of a second-tier Chinese university. Qualitative research involving participant observation is an appropriate means for studying not just the *what*, but the *how* and the *why* behind social science inquiries. By analyzing behaviors, words and actions for patterns of culture, a qualitative methodology examines the meanings of specific structures of events as they occur, rather than just their frequency of occurrence, or rates of effectiveness. They document the cultural logics behind concrete details of practice to answer the question of what is happening in the classroom, and how teachers and students react at an individual level.

At the same time, by looking at the micro-context, qualitative analysis addresses "the need for comparative understanding of different social settings (Erikson, 1986, p.

122)" looked at in this research inquiry. Actions do not happen in a vacuum, but as a part of a deeper, larger context. "What teachers do at the classroom and building level is influenced by what happens in wider spheres of social organization and cultural patterning (p. 122)." Thus, a qualitative approach to research can draw links between the micro-level actions of participants (e.g. the instruction of classroom curricula), and the broader social context in which these actions take place (e.g. institutional constraints, and societal implications). Additionally, qualitative methods can be used to observe and understand the otherwise unseen meanings in the invisibility of everyday life, and how people navigate them.

In conducting this study, I explored what many of the different cultural processes are that go into forming a China-based educational partnership like this, and the different iterations of what kinds of transnational and cultural capitals are produced as a result. Such a partnership is essentially a dialogue between two cultures in which the programs exist. The cultural, political and economic contexts within which these co-operatives are proposed and formed are vastly different on the opposing American and Chinese sides, and arguably both have differing interests at stake in forming these programs.

For these reasons, this project required interpretive qualitative analysis as the methodological approach to the research, as the research questions center on the values, beliefs and logics behind the motivations of the people and groups involved on both the U.S. and Chinese sides of a partnership program. Beliefs and values are both enmeshed in and create a system of culture (Wolcott, 1973), and it is important to understand the patterns of the culture they represent to understand implications for directions of larger societal processes. Therefore, to address the overarching theme for this project –

processes and values that inform and shape the learning experiences of students in a transnational program – qualitative methods were necessary and appropriate. For this study, I focused exclusively on one cooperative program at a commerce university in northern China, in order to provide the most detailed picture possible of the cultural processes and production that take place.

Paradigm

This dissertation operates from a constructivist paradigm, meaning that the findings are constructed from extensive readings of the data for emergent themes. The ontology, or nature of reality, will be presented from a relativist perspective, meaning that multiple lived truths are able to be presented from different participants. In other words, the lived reality and perspectives from one individual may differ from that of another, yet still be held as equally valid in the collected data. The focus will be on the actions of participants both inside and outside the CU-HU partnership program, and how they make sense of the program at different levels. As a result, the epistemology of this study is subjective, not objective, in nature. The findings are not meant to be universalized, but rather localized to the specific context in which the partnership program takes place, and paint a more detailed, nuanced portrait that adds to the diversity of representation present in the body of literature.

Site

The focus of this study is a dual-degree university program taught entirely in China, that offers both a Chinese degree and an American degree, without students needing to study abroad to earn both degrees. Each degree is offered and managed by a different university. Together, they form the CU-HU Cooperative Program. In this

section, I will describe the overall organization and implementation of the cooperative.

Commerce University (CU) is a second-tier university located in China that is known for its degrees in Economics and Business. It is a higher education institution founded in 1980 during the Reform and Openness era of Deng Xiaoping following the end of the Cultural Revolution. Originally under the governance of the Ministry of Commerce, the university is now under the administration of the local government, separate from the national Chinese government. Located in the northern developing suburb district of the city, Commerce University has more than 20,000 students enrolled in fifty-two bachelor's and sixty-six master's programs. While the school has a special focus on business, management and economics, students can also study law, science and liberal arts. The school has established over thirty cooperative partnership programs with universities in Japan, Korea, France, Australia and the U.S, although not all of these grant a full degree. At the time of research, its Chinese national ranking was between #300-#350.

The Cooperative School of Hospitality at Commerce University houses a special satellite branch program in China of the partnered American university (henceforth known as Hospitality University, or HU), originally based in the southern United States. This special zone of campus operates with some degree of autonomy separate from the rest of the overarching Commerce University administration. The Cooperative School provides global education programs for foreign students to come study in Tianjin, domestic students to study abroad to HU in America, and -- the primary focus of this study -- domestic students earning a foreign degree through the HU's imported Hospitality degree program in the building. Within this dual-degree cooperative

program, it provides a Bachelor of Arts in Management, which students study during their first two years of enrollment. This B.A. in Management constitutes what is referred to as the "lower division" or "Chinese side" of the partnership.

Hospitality University is a regional public university located in Florida, also known for its Business programs. At the time of research, it was classified as an R2: Doctoral University by the Carnegie Foundation, with a U.S. national ranking between #100-150. It forged a cooperation with Commerce University to open an international site that would provide a branch program of its Bachelor of Science in Hospitality. Formerly called "Hotel & Food Service Management" by HU, this major was rebranded to "Hospitality" partially to combat stereotypes associated with the major, such as the misconception that students graduated to become hotel receptionists, or restaurant servers. However, the primary reason is that "Hospitality" provided a wider-encompassing name for a major intended for application to many industries that design and service customer experiences, such as cruise line operations, theme park management, online travel agencies, and wine, beer and spirits. "Our mission," said the Associate Dean, "is to prepare leaders to design and develop the customer experiences of the future." This B.S. in Hospitality constitutes what is referred to as the "upper division" or "American side" of the partnership.

Collectively, this joint degree is referred to as the "CU-HU program" or by students as the "CU-HU major" – even though it actually consists of two majors. This partnership was originally established to be roughly 50/50 in almost every area of responsibility between CU and HU, with each degree's course of study planned and managed separately, but in cooperation, of one another under the institutional and

departmental guidelines of their respective universities. Each side knows how the other's curriculum and semester schedules are organized. However, other than HU ensuring that some of CU's courses match equivalency guidelines for general university education requirements, each side exercises little to no authority over the other side's management of operations.

Methods

In this section, I discuss the specific methods used to conduct my dissertation research, including the research strategy. First, I discuss how the site was selected, including my familiarity and interest in the university, and its existing cooperative program initiatives. Then, I discuss my data collections methods, and how I conducted observations, interviews and document collection to triangulate the data. I also discuss my participant selection criteria, and give an overview of my research time frame and access to the research site.

Research Strategy

This dissertation employs a phenomenological approach to qualitative research, meaning the research examines the contemporary real-life situations and phenomena that take place at different levels of operation in the CU-HU program. The different levels examined span from the micro classroom level between students, to the macro administrative level between universities. Concrete descriptions of lived situations, with anecdotes from first-person accounts, are gathered, which are then reflectively analyzed into a synthesized account, in order to identify general themes about the essence of the CU-HU cooperative program. The final analysis aims to go beyond surface expressions or explicit meanings to read between the lines so as to access implicit meanings being

made behind explicit actions.

Site Selection

This school was selected in part because of my familiarity with the campus during my time teaching previously in one of the other language departments elsewhere at Commerce University, although I never had any direct ties to the American university's satellite program itself. Additionally, Commerce University was specifically selected because it is not an elite school covered by the Project 211 or 985 provisions, but still meets the national standards of a qualified and credentialed public higher education institution. In that regard, it is a "local" school, much like many universities in the U.S. can be considered "state schools" that attract mainly students from nearby regions. Local schools are often characterized accurately, yet unfairly, for having good, yet lesser-credentialed faculty; well-performing, but not the top-scoring, students; and adequate, but not cutting-edge, research and school resources. They are standardized in their offerings, comply with government regulations, and provide a good quality education for their student population of students from predominantly local cities. This more common type of university setting provides for a more authentic experience of Chinese higher education, and better access to cultural processes that occur in a typical Chinese university.

The particular cooperative that is the focus of this study provides for a very unique experience in terms of its resoluteness in adhering to the culture of the cooperating American university. One American Dean explained, "In a lot of ways, this program needs to be like our program in Miami. The courses that we offer need to be the same courses that we have in Miami. The expected outcomes of those courses we teach

[in Tianjin] should be the same. We should, I think, be expecting the same level of mastery of the material and competency and skills from our Tianjin students that we expect from our Miami students, and so forth." (LT, interview, June 5, 2015). Yet, while the degree, curriculum and learning materials are all foreign, the supporting environment is thoroughly Chinese. A majority of the on-site administrators are Chinese, as well as all but a few of the teaching faculty. Despite this, all the teachers and students are required to emulate and follow the conduct class entirely in English, using English language textbooks, videos and assignments, and adhere to American HU school policies and procedures, contrary to what would normally be expected of the local environment. While this may seem like standard practice for 211 and 985 universities, not all second-tier universities follow this kind of cultural alignment as rigorously for their imported programs. Cooperative degree programs at second-tier universities who cannot find qualified English-speaking faculty, be they Chinese or foreign, will sometimes offer coursework in both Chinese and English to fulfill the foreign degree requirements. This "bilingual" practice is common enough that many graduate schools in the US, UK and Australia now request Chinese students who have earned a foreign degree while in the mainland to provide an official certificate verifying the foreign degree's coursework was conducted entirely in English – not English and Chinese.

Participant Selection

Participants were selected through several ways. Select university faculty, including both Chinese and American teachers and administrators based full-time at the Chinese campus, were interviewed and shadowed in the classroom, to observe methods of instruction they used to deliver course content, and how they interacted with the

students. The expected roles and relationships between students and teachers differ greatly between China and the U.S., and constitute one of the major differences in the students' higher education experience. Additionally, they create and enforce the intellectual framework for the academic environment, "translating" the foreign curriculum into the classroom for the students who then "interpret" its meaning for themselves.

In addition to selecting for course content variety, many of the selected classes were contingent on what could fit my work schedule. Since I was teaching a full load of English language classes for another program in the mornings, I primarily only had time to observe cooperative program classes that took place in the afternoon. When observing both sides of the program, classes were selected to include both a variety of subjects, as well as a variety of faculty nationalities. They were also selected to include a sampling of theory-based, as well as practicum-based courses.

In the fall semester, I shadowed seven faculty in the American upper division over the course of eleven and a half weeks. This included four locally-based Chinese faculty, and three foreign faculty from the U.S. After a cursory observation of almost all the classes and faculty in the program, the faculty included in this study were selected based on the subjects they taught that fit my work schedule. These courses included full-time observations of Revenue Management, Restaurant Management, Marketing, Leadership, Personal Sales, Operations & Lodging Control, Advanced Food Production Management, and Wine Technology, Marketing and Merchandising. Additional courses taught by the foreign faculty were also observed part-time, including Wine and Culture, Introduction to Food Production Management, and Property Management. They were chosen to give an

overall comprehensive picture of the program, providing a good mix of required vs elective, analytic-focused vs communication- & people-focused, and theoretical vs hands-on courses. On average, these faculty and their courses were observed once or twice a week, unless special circumstances, like exams or faculty conference attendances, altered class times. Each class was offered twice a week, for seventy-five minutes each time, totaling three credit hours. The exception was Food Production Management which was only offered once a week, and averaged four hours for the Introductory level, and up to eight hours for the Advanced level. My role in these classes was strictly as an observer, typically towards the back of the class behind the students – not as any kind of classroom facilitator. Of these faculty, several who were solicited agreed to participate in in-depth interviews.

Within these observed American classes, student interviewees were initially solicited through flyers and open calls for participation in classes where teachers would allow me to present a short introduction of my research. These student participants, as well as the observed instructors, also suggested additional students to contact for general interviews of specific questions. Over time, as I developed more contacts and relationships with students in these classes, I was also able to approach a couple more on my own for inclusion in my participant pool.

In the following Spring semester, since students were more regimented rather than independent in their schedules, grouped classes of students called *ban* (班) were selected as observable participant pools for ten weeks. The *bans* observed were in the first two years of the program, and selected to provide a broad cross-sampling of the full curriculum at the beginning stages in the program. One *ban* typically consists of thirty to

forty students who are all assigned the same schedule and course load each semester. The purpose behind focusing on the *ban* perspective was to have a greater sense of continuity with classmates, instructors and subject material that was more similar to the typical Chinese university student experience. I selected one freshman *ban,* which I shadowed through six courses: Introduction to Basic Principles of Marxism, Oral English 1, Listening Comprehension, Chinese Traditional Culture, Statistics, and Physical Education 1. I also selected one sophomore *ban*, which I shadowed through five courses: Art of Speaking, Oral English 2, Literary Analysis, Economic Law, and Biology. This more regimented schedule provided for more stable contact with students, some of whom eventually volunteered to help by participating in interviews.

Because the *bans* were the primary focus, the faculty observed were chosen almost incidentally. However, I did make a conscious effort to provide a comprehensive sampling of classes and faculty, based on the faculty who agreed to let me observe their classes. About half of the observed courses were language classes, in an effort to replicate the actual half-half ratio of language classes to other subject classes the students were assigned. Of the eleven faculty observed, eight were locally-based Chinese instructors, and three were foreign instructors. Their classes were offered one to two times a week in ninety-five-minute blocks, and on average I observed three class blocks per day, five days a week, except on a couple holidays when school closed. Of these faculty, several were solicited and agreed to participate in interviews.

In order to help protect their privacy, all participants referenced in the following chapters of this dissertation have been given pseudonyms. This applies to those who participated in either interviews or observations. It also applies to individuals who may have been

referenced by others over the course of interviews and observation, but who I may never have formally met.

Data Collection Methods

In order to ensure greater validity and representation of perspectives, a variety of sources of data were used in this research. The primary methods of data collection for the study involved field observations, participant interviews, document collection and photography (see Table 2).

Observations. For observations, both upper and lower division courses were observed on a daily basis over the course of two semesters, totaling over 250 separate classroom observation sessions. This number does not include special workshops, field trips and performance ceremonies, which were also observed, when possible.

For the American side of the partnership, there was no difference between junior and senior student courses, nor were there for any practical purposes distinct cohorts, or *ban.* All class sections were three credits, and met either Monday and Wednesday, or Tuesday and Thursday, for two seventy-five-minute sessions each week. The exceptions were the Introductory and Advanced Food Production courses which met for several hours once a week for each section. Just like in America, these courses all had open registration online through the American university registration portal. Senior students were given priority registration times, but both seniors and juniors were free to make their own schedules and sign up for courses together.

Therefore, in observing the American upper division classes, I tried to observe as wide a variety of courses as possible, to view a broad sampling of the content, faculty and teaching styles that the students were exposed to in their coursework. In China, I

observed four Chinese teachers across six courses regularly (all weekly sections attended), which were Revenue Management, Restaurant Management, Leadership, Personal Sales, Operations & Lodging Control, and Marketing. I also observed three foreign teachers across three courses regularly, which were Leadership, Advanced Food Production Management, and Wine Technology, Marketing and Merchandising. An additional three courses were also observed part time (one of two per week attended, or every other week), which were, Wine and Culture, Introduction to Food Production Management, and Property Management. These courses were observed during the American AY Fall semester from September to December. A majority of the final exams took place in December, some of which I was able to be observe.

For the Chinese side of the partnership, two cohorts, or *ban*, (numbering between thirty to forty students each) were selected for observation, one first year and one second year[6] to provide a cross-sample of the classes taken by the Commerce University program in the first two years of the program. In contrast to the American classes, these classes were often ninety-five-minute seminars – two forty-five-minute periods with a five-minute break in between. While some courses such as the state-mandated Chinese Culture and Marxism only took place once a week, others involving STEM or language took place twice a week. For the first-year *ban*, I observed five courses full time (all weekly sessions attended), and one part time (one of two sessions per week, or sessions attended every other week). The full time courses included Introduction to Basic Principles of Marxism, Oral English 1, Listening Comprehension, Chinese Traditional

[6] In China, university freshmen, sophomores, juniors and seniors are often referred to instead as first years, second years, etc., which will also be the primary usage when referring to students throughout this study

Culture, Statistics, and part time course was Physical Education 1. For the second-year *ban*, I observed three courses full time, and two part time. The full time courses were Oral English 2, Economic Law, and Biology, and the part time courses were Literary Analysis and Art of Speaking. The one class where enrollment was handled differently was PE. In PE, students were allowed a rare opportunity to choose their own activity (which were sometimes held in different buildings), and thus had a different mixed cohort of students from different *bans* and different year levels than usual. These lower division courses were observed during the Chinese AY Spring semester from March to June. A majority of the final exams took place in July, but were not able to be observed.

Each in-class observation was recorded in extensive field notes, which were then rehashed and analyzed in thematic journal write-ups of the observations. The notes focused on recording teacher instruction methods; teacher-student interactions; student participation; commentary/engagement with the foreign curriculum; role of curriculum materials/textbooks in class; displays of culture, cultural production or culture clash; and role of the teacher, student and administrator in classroom learning to see how they compare to common equivalents in American university classrooms.

Interviews. More than one participant from each level of the program – from students, to faculty, to administrators – were interviewed to ensure multiple voices were represented, and all interviews followed roughly the same protocol. After establishing contact, I would ask the participant if he or she were available to be interviewed at a time convenient to him or her, and answer any preliminary questions about the purpose and nature of the interview. Before the interview began, participants signed a consent form detailing the research study and the individual's rights to withdraw at any time, and take a

copy for their records.

Due to the evolving and adaptive nature of qualitative fieldwork, I often used a guiding set of topics, with a very minimalist set of prepared interview questions. As the interview progressed, this set of questions was fleshed out with many on-the-spot and follow-up questions based on emerging information about informants' interests and desires to discuss certain topics, individual experiences and anecdotes within the program, or key words and concepts that they mentioned in their responses. This helped paint a more nuanced picture of the individual's interpretation of the nature of the partnership between CU and HU. The five major topics covered in each interview were:

1) Self-introduction and background information
2) Role, activities and original connecting interest in the program
3) Perceptions about what students learned from the program, and their opinions about the content, organization, instructors and teaching styles
4) Perceptions of how the participating schools and program compared to other institutions
5) Values and conflicts or difficulties either witnessed or experienced throughout the program

From the observed classes, sixteen students altogether were selected from both sides of the partnership. Eight students were interviewed from the American upper division program (including two American nationals studying abroad in the program), and eight from the Chinese lower division program (including one foreign national studying abroad in the program). They came from different geographic, socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds based on recommendations from other students, department

faculty, and observations of student engagement (or disengagement). For them, interview questions more specifically probed the reasons why they pursued this particular type of dual-degree program, and how they viewed the program compared to other forms of higher education available both domestically and abroad. They were also asked questions about what they believed to be learning from this program, their feelings on the content, organization, instructors and teaching styles, and more particularly, their perceived greatest successes and failures as a result of being in this program.

Additionally, four teachers from the American upper division (two Chinese and two American nationals), and five teachers from the Chinese lower division (two Chinese and three American nationals) were interviewed based on the courses they taught, in order to try and look at teachers from a diverse cross-sampling of courses (core versus elective). They were interviewed on topics such as their perceived role and responsibilities in the classroom, their experiences with Chinese and U.S. curricula, and how they viewed the curriculum they taught, respectively. In addition to questions about classroom structure, teachers were asked more specifically about the interplay of cultural beliefs and values, and the role those played in the environment and curriculum.

At the administrative level, four American administrators and coordinators, based in both the U.S. and China, were interviewed in order to get an idea of the forces, and people, who laid the groundwork behind a cooperative program of this nature, and how it was structured. They were selected primarily on the basis of availability, where I extended an invitation whenever I heard another administrator would be visiting the school in China from the U.S. These interviews were geared more towards questions of program structure, and background of the partnership, but also of the perceived

partnership benefits for both Chinese and American participants. They were interviewed on what their goals were for the program, why they participate in it, and what they see in the future of the partnership and trends in education.

All participants were interviewed once for about one hour – although some spoke for up to three hours. Participants in the American upper division were interviewed throughout the course of its Fall 2014 semester, while participants in the Chinese lower division were interviewed in the second half of its Spring 2015 semester. Except for one individual who did not speak any English, interviews were conducted in either English or Chinese based on personal comfort and preference with the languages. Those in the upper division showed slightly more enthusiasm and preference for English with only one person switching to Chinese, compared to four lower division participants (including the aforementioned individual) who chose to do so. In total, over thirty hours of interviews were recorded. Some topics, questions and answers from these interviews were revisited informally through conversations with informants throughout the rest of the semester. Touching base with each interviewee throughout the program also helped increase accuracy in representing their voices and interpretations of their actions in the program, as well as involve them in the data collection process as more active, collaborative participants.

Documents. For documents, multiple sources were collected from within the program for a more complete comparative analysis. Document collection focused not only on what texts were used in the programs' class curricula, but also how and why, in order to compare the home country's program implementation to that of the host's. Texts were collected from several classes, including excerpts from textbooks, and in-class PPT

lecture slides. Some classroom and homework assignments were collected and analyzed to look at how students are being taught to process information, what kind of skills they are using to do so, and what kinds of responses they generated based on their experiences. Background and supporting documents from the school were also collected, such as official program descriptions and mission statements.

Photographs. As many of the classes included physical, hands-on components, amateur photography became an essential data collection method for capturing in-the-moment visual artifacts for later analysis. Group projects and presentations were an unanticipated, but essential, component of the curriculum, and thus an essential part of the study. In total, over 3000 photographs were taken with permission of student projects, presentations and creations, but not of the students themselves.

Additionally, differences in public physical spaces were documented for comparison. On-campus spaces included classroom, study, and other academic spaces in the partnership program, the greater Chinese university surrounding it, and the home base school in America. Off-campus spaces included popular locations for students to congregate during their free time (i.e., non-essential services such as recreation and entertainment), and common businesses and services frequented for everyday living (i.e., essential services such as amenities, groceries, transportation, etc.).

Table 2

Data Collection Methods

Method	Average Duration	Participants	Number
Observations	75-95 minutes	--	250+ sessions
Interviews	60-90 minutes	29 CU-HU members	30+ hours

Documents	--	--	100+ documents
Photographs	--	--	3000+ photos

Data Analysis Methods

Data gathered through these four means were analyzed using recursive inductive analysis. Interview transcripts and written field notes were analyzed and coded for recurring key words, actions and symbols. These recurring key words, actions and symbols were used to group and delineate important patterns of behaviors and ideas related to forms of capital and capital acquisition. These patterns of behavior were then analyzed for common links from which to extrapolate the basis for the overarching theme and context of global education within which to describe and represent the findings regarding the kinds of cultural and capital production taking place in the program. This theme of global education construction and appropriation was revisited periodically and modified as new data was collected and integrated into the findings. Final analysis of the data and formulation of the dissertation as an exploration into the construction and appropriation of global education with an international education partnership program took place after two semesters of data collection were completed, and I returned to the U.S. after the end of CU's school year.

Fieldwork Access

It's interesting to note that the procedures necessary to gain access to the site and participants varied greatly between the American and Chinese sides of the partnership. I was first granted access to the American upper division program in China through contacting Hospitality University's deans in Florida over the course of the spring and

summer of 2014. This turned out to be complicated as there are actually multiple deans involved in overseeing their satellite program in China. After contacting *all* of them and securing permission to proceed with my research, I was free to approach their faculty individually to ask permission for their participation.

As the upper division Fall academic calendar followed a typical American university standard of fifteen weeks from August to December, I spent a total of fourteen weeks during HU's Fall 2014 semester from early September to mid-December, conducting fieldwork in the American upper division program. The first week was spent connecting with the HU administration and staff in Tianjin, while the next twelve weeks were spent conducting observations of classes and special events, as well as participant interviews with students, faculty and administrators. The final fourteenth week was spent doing wrap-up activities, like scheduling final interviews and collecting last-minute documents (see Figure 1). During this time, I lived off-campus about five miles north of the school, and took a forty-minute bus ride to campus, followed by a thirty-minute walk to the HU Building every morning Monday through Friday by 8:00AM.

During the break between the American Fall 2014 semester, and the Chinese Spring 2015 semester, I visited the Hospitality University campus at the home base in Miami for one week in February. This visit was for structurally comparative purposes, where I documented and photographed public spaces, like the campus layout and facilities, to see how they compared to the environment in Tianjin. No classes or professors were observed during this visit to the U.S. campus, but two students – one American and one Chinese who had both studied at the Tianjin campus the previous semester – were contacted for follow-up interviews about their experiences at both

campuses.

On the other hand, securing access to the Chinese side of the partnership required many intermediary steps. In contrast to the upper division, the lower division followed a typical Chinese Spring academic calendar standard of twenty weeks from March to July. After returning for the Chinese Spring 2015 semester in the last days of February, I contacted one of the Chinese deans for the lower division, who also doubled as a teacher in the American upper division. She told me to submit an official research proposal in English and Chinese, with the proposed schedule of classes to observe, along with a scan of my passport, entry stamp, and visa. This dean discouraged me from contacting any of the university officials directly, and acted as an intermediary who submitted these materials before the top level of university administration. I was also strongly advised to limit my research plan to ten weeks of observation before submitting the proposal for approval.[7] After reviewing these materials, an official meeting was called for all the class teachers listed in my proposed schedule, where they were informed of my research plan and allowed to ask questions (without me available to answer). Afterwards, I was issued an official "Notice of Permission" stamped with the official university seal, and signed by a university official – which was stapled in a packet with the original materials I submitted.

This approval process to observe the Chinese lower division program took place during the first three weeks of the Chinese Spring 2015 semester in March. For the next ten weeks from March to June, I was required to carry this packet identifying me as the researcher at all times throughout my observations of the Chinese classes. Because I was

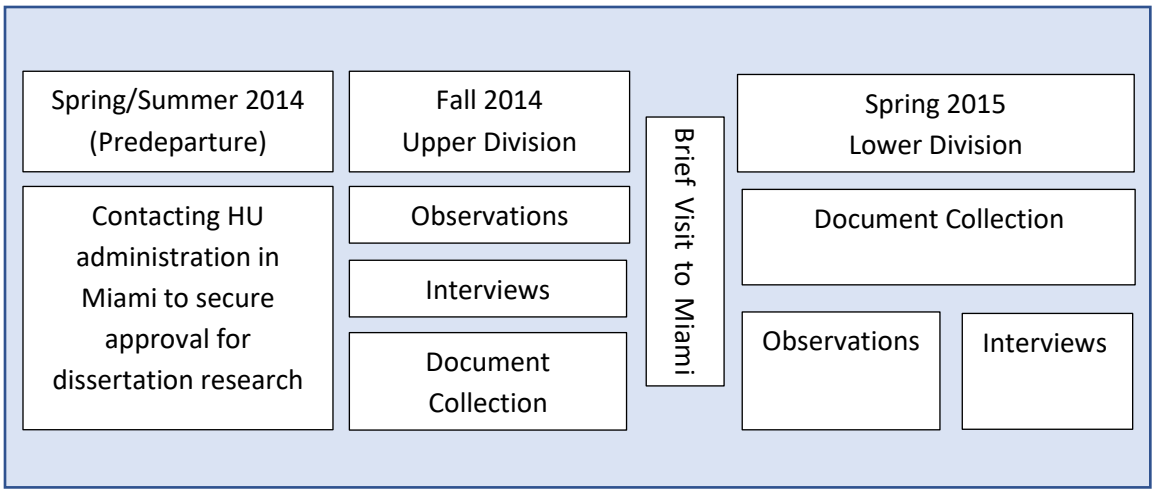
[7] Unlike the American university semester which is typically 14-15 weeks, the typical Chinese semester is 19-20.

teaching a heavier course load in the Spring, participant interviews were primarily scheduled for the remaining four to five weeks through June and early July, when I had finished the approved class observation period and had more time available (see Figure 1). During this time, I was living on campus in teacher housing, and walked fifteen minutes to the HU Building each morning Monday through Friday, still arriving by 8:00AM each time.

Many parts of the cooperative program are already under fairly regular observation by HU administration evaluating courses and curriculum implementation to make sure they meet HU standards and delivery, so I was assured that observation for purposes of research was well within the allowable framework of the program operations. However, this agreement did give rise to certain complications, since my research observation access piggy-backed off the program's established practice of curriculum evaluation observations, even though I was clear that my own observations were not for evaluative purposes. While using HU as the gateway essentially gave me fairly free access to classroom and faculty operations – in some cases, even special access – it possibly also influenced the behavior of certain individuals being observed, which is discussed in later chapters. Additionally, it also precluded access to some of the classes on the Chinese side, where some instructors did not feel comfortable with a bilingual American citizen potentially attending their classes to evaluate them, and chose not to participate.

Figure 1

Tianjin fieldwork research activity schedule



Potential conflicts of interest

When I began research for this study, I was quickly offered a position as an English teacher within the CU-HU program I intended to study. As a native English speaker with TEFL licensure and Chinese communication skills, this was actually a fairly common occurrence at any school I visited in China, which I often politely declined. Not wanting to offend anyone, or accidentally close any doors on future connections or opportunities for my research, I decided to accept this offer. I hoped my gesture would also show that I was willing to give back to the school in exchange for the administration allowing me to conduct my research, and show that I had no ulterior motives to my research, or anything to hide.

However, after accepting the position, I was actually "stolen" from the CU-HU cooperative program by the College of Foreign Languages (CFL) to teach for the language majors. For the next two semesters, I then worked as an English teacher for CFL in the morning, and observed CU-HU classes in the afternoon. This meant that although I now worked at the same university, I still remained independent in my

research and data collection of the CU-HU program. I had no position of authority over any of the CU-HU students or teachers, and was not overseen by any administrators of either the lower or upper division of the CU-HU cooperative administration, either in China or America. I also assured the students and teachers who asked, that my role as researcher was not to perform an instructional evaluation on behalf of HU, but to gain an understanding of Chinese and American cultural interactions and conflicts for my personal dissertation research. In fact, while I did not hide the fact that I was an English teacher for CFL, many students who saw me observing the CU-HU classes assumed I was another study abroad student who tutored English major students, and were interested in learning more about my research on classroom cultural interactions. Therefore, my employment as an English teacher did not create a substantial conflict of interest, or have any coercive influence on my interactions with students (either foreign or domestic) or faculty.

Coda: Engaging in Qualitative Research

In this final chapter of Part I of my dissertation, I discussed the research strategy by which engaged in research. I used a phenomenological interpretivist approach, operating from a constructivist paradigm, and relativist ontology. As a result, the epistemology of this study is subjective in nature, not objective, meaning that multiple lived truths are able to be presented from different participants. I also describe the specific research and data collections methods used to conduct my qualitative research study, the justification for how the research site and participants were selected, and the over timeline and field work access.

In Part II of my dissertation, I present my research findings regarding how global education is constructed in a partnership program. I begin with a look at how global education is structured, and provide an overview of the general partnership program's design.

PART II

RESULTS

CONSTRUCTING GLOBAL EDUCATION

Chapter 4 – Structuring a global education program: background description of context and program

To understand what it entails to offer an American and Chinese degree in a joint program, it is important to understand how both the American and Chinese side are fundamentally organized. In this chapter, I detail the background overview for how Commerce University and Hospitality University each contributed to structure the CU-HU cooperative program (see Figure 2). I begin with an overview of how the first two years constitute the lower division of the program, where students study an accelerated B.A. in Management through Commerce University. Then, I describe how the TOEFL, originally included as a basic admission requirement, has become the predominant gatekeeper controlling access to the upper division program and resources. Finally, I finish with an overview of how the final two years comprise the upper division of the program, where students study a B.S. in Hospitality Management through Hospitality University.

Starting at the Beginning: Years 1 and 2 in Commerce University

The CU-HU cooperative program starts from the Commerce University side, which is in charge of organizing and structuring the first two years of the program. The administration in charge of overseeing the Bachelor of Arts from Commerce University is separate from other departments in the university, and placed in the "CU-HU partnership school" division. These administrators are appointed specifically to oversee the Chinese side of the partnership program, and answer directly to the central Commerce University

administrative body, rather than the other related departments with the same majors. Even though Commerce University also has its own Hospitality and Management Programs, the primary faculty in charge of overseeing and organizing those programs do not typically oversee the Management degree within the CU-HU partnership, and vice-versa. For purposes of differentiation in this chapter where appropriate, the Chinese side of the partnership will be referred to as "the CU partnership administration," and the higher level above that in China as "the CU central administration." Because the first half of the program is comprised of the Commerce University degree, the CU partnership administration is responsible for almost every organizational aspect of the students' daily lives during the first couple years of the program.

After taking the college entrance exam and enrolling in a university, Chinese college students in general are ever guided by the administration throughout their time at the university. When they arrive, freshmen students are automatically designated by their incoming class year, or *banji* (班级). For example, all students who arrived at a Chinese university in the year 2013 were first designated as Year 13, or 13 *ji* (级). The Commerce University partnership administration will then divide all its incoming students into eight different *bans* (班). Generally speaking, a *ban* is a cohort of students who will study and take classes together, as well as one of the primary units of organization for degree programs at Chinese universities. To ensure balance, the administration will assign students to different *bans* based on their College Entrance Examination, or *Gao Kao* (高考), scores, and try to have a good mix of both higher-achieving and lower-achieving students. This way the overall academic strength and performance of the *bans* is equal.

Each *ban* is then designated by its program or major title, incoming year, followed by a numeral. For example, students who matriculated into the partnership program in the fall of 2014 would be distributed among *bans* CU-HU 1401 through 1408, and those who arrive in 2015 would be in 1501 through 1508. In other schools and departments, the latter numerals can go as high as the program is large, depending on the size and structure of the program. Examples of other *ban* designations elsewhere in the university may include *English 1302, Packaging Engineering 1410,* or *Human Resource Management 1603.* In a typical Chinese university degree program, most students will stay in the same *ban* all four years.

The CU partnership administration then assigns a course schedule to each *ban.* Although sometimes the meeting times and instructors may differ, each year of students will have the same overall curriculum, regardless of *ban* designation. All first-year students will take the same set of courses designated for their first and second semesters, while all second-year students will take another set of courses designated for their third and fourth semesters. Some of these courses are designated for individual *ban* instruction. For example, English language teachers only instruct one *ban* at a time. Other courses have combined *ban* attendance, and may have half or all *bans* meet for large 300-500-person lectures in auditoriums.

This task of assigning courses to a timetable for each *ban* is challenging, but seen as the most efficient way to plan for and make use of resources for so many students. In this way, there is no risk of low enrollment in any class sections. Part of the challenge for both the CU partnership administration and the students in this dual-degree program is that courses normally spread over four years must be taken in two. For the first two years

of the program, the CU partnership program administration assigns Chinese students an accelerated schedule of otherwise typical courses for a standard Chinese degree in Management. Whereas the average undergrad student in China only takes five or six different courses per semester, students in the CU side of the partnership program are expected to complete ten or eleven courses.[8]

At the same time that the administration must make sure not to assign too many course times to students in one day, it must also do the same for the instructors selected for the program. Unlike the administration, most of the instructors who teach students in the first two years of the CU-HU partnership program are not specifically employed by and for the CU partnership program. Rather, they belong to a department related to their teaching field (e.g., a biology teacher will belong to a science-related department), but may be assigned by the general CU central administration to teach courses across the university for different majors each year, especially if they teach a nationally required course. Essentially, the CU central administration will assign instructors to the partnership program, then allow a number of weekly sessions and/or *bans* they are supposed to teach. Then the Chinese side of the partnership's administration decides the best way to spread them across eight different timetables so that all students in the same grade level are taking the same courses.

The types of courses students take can be divided into three categories: national requirements, major requirements and electives. National requirements include three sets of required courses: ideological and political theory, foreign language, and culture

[8] It should be noted that while demanding, this is not an unexpected load for double majors in Chinese universities. Even students who are not in foreign cooperative programs can still elect to enroll in a second major at their university, which effectively doubles their course load from five or six per semester to ten or eleven, as well.

enrichment education.[9] These three categories are mandated by the Chinese Ministry of Education for all mainland university students, regardless of major. Required courses for ideological and political theory include nationalist subjects such as Ideological and Moral Cultivation and Legal Basis, Introduction to Basic Principles of Marxism, Situation and Policy Education, Maoism and Chinese Socialism,[10] as well as four weeks of military training for all first-year students. These are the same, regardless of major and university. The intention behind such courses is to promote nationalist sentiment and governmental ideology, as well as educate the students in the fundamental history and workings of their country. Foreign language courses vary in scope and focus, but mostly teach English, as the CU-HU partnership does. This ensures China's ability to communicate in a global market with a bilingual work force. The cultural enrichment education requires students to learn the basics of entrepreneurship, and teaches them how to compete in the growing global market. Students in the CU-HU cooperative program are also required to learn Chinese Traditional Culture, making sure they know and remember what it is to be "Chinese." In the wake of rapid economic growth allowing for greater access to the internet and the outside world, this concept of being "Chinese" and including these courses in the curriculum for the younger generation has particularly become a concern for many of the older generation who still remember life during and after the Cultural Revolution.

In addition to these national requirements, university-specific major courses are also pre-selected, and assigned to the curriculum. In the case of the CU side of the

[9] Translated from the Chinese 思想政治理论, 外语, and 文化素质教育.
[10] Translated from the Chinese 马克思主义基本原理概论, 中国传统文化, 形势与政策教育 and 毛泽东思想和中国特色社会主义理论体系概论.

partnership program, this includes courses that may be more familiar to outside audiences, such as Marketing, Introduction to Economic Law, Financial Management, Statistics, Microeconomics and Comprehensive English.[11] Additionally, provided that it does not conflict with any of the courses already pre-selected for them – and that they can handle the additional workload – students are allowed to enroll in an "extracurricular" course of their choosing, such as Japanese or Art. Before the semester begins, the administration will put the assigned schedules online. Students can log into their personal accounts to view and download their schedules, including which teachers they have, and which required texts they will need.

This type of centrally planned curriculum and administration allows for efficient management of time and school resources. However, it does not allow for much flexibility on behalf of the student in the course of their studies. Chinese students are expected to declare what they wish to major in before coming to the university. Because they do not have the option to "try out" the major before choosing it, this can be a difficult decision for many students. *Gao Kao* scores are often used as a guide to predict what would be a suitable major based on the students' subject scores, but parental advice and students' own interests and aspirations also play a large part in the final decision. If students wish to change their major, then they must do so before the change major deadline within their first semester. Changing majors is a complicated affair for two reasons. The first is that by changing majors, the student will also have to change *bans*, and reintegrate with an entirely new cohort of students. The second is that since the course schedules are mapped in advance, students often take major courses

[11] Translated from the Chinese 市场营销学, 经济法概论, 财务管理, 统计学, 微观经济, and 综合英语.

simultaneously with their general requirements starting in their first semester. If they decide to change their major after the deadline, then students have to restart their studies from the beginning (i.e., starting their first year, rather than second year of courses) in the following academic year, in order to start studying their new major. For this reason, even if students discover they do not like their major, many will choose to tough it out, rather than waste valuable time and money to start over.

To manage the daily affairs of each *ban*, the administration will also assign different levels of overseers to each cohort, to manage different tasks. In charge of each *ban* is a head teacher, or *banzhuren* (班主任). The *banzhuren* is similar to an academic counselor or advisor, but much more involved. In charge of the all-around development of the students, the *banzhuren* is an administrative staff member who seems to take on the role of a parental figure once new students have settled in. These individuals monitor student attendance to class, help students adjust to their lives in university and prepare for life after graduation, and are the main conduit by which administrative decisions are communicated to the *ban*. They may or may not also teach a course subject. Each *banzhuren* has a class assistant, known as a *banzhuren zhuli* (班主任助理), or *banzhu* (班助) for short.[12] A *banzhu* is typically a third-year student who helps the *banzhuren* execute organizational tasks, such as helping incoming students get adjusted and organized in their university life and new *ban* cohorts. One of the *banzhu's* first tasks of the new school year is to select candidates to be the interim heads, or *linshi fuzeren* (临时负责人), of the *ban.* After a brief trial and adjustment period, one candidate is usually

[12] While the terms *banzhuren* and *banzhu* may seem confusing or even interchangeable in English, they are clearly differentiated by different tones in Mandarin.

selected to be the class monitor, or *banzhang* (班长), while another is selected to be the study leader, or *xuexi weiyuan* (学习委员). The *banzhang* is the primary contact person within the *ban* who disseminates announcements and information from the *banzhuren* and administration office. Additionally, the *banzhang* is also expected to report student activities, questions and/or concerns to the *banzhuren*. For example, if a fellow classmate is repeatedly truant, the *banzhang* may report this to the *banzhuren*, who will in turn meet with the classmate to discuss his or her behavior. On the other hand, the *xuexi weiyuan* is in charge of keeping track of all the details regarding upcoming tests, homework and other assignments for their *ban*, as well as ensuring everyone knows the upcoming dates for each. They are primary contacts if students have questions about an assignment given out in class, and if teachers need a point of dissemination for additional details or changes to assignments. As such, they are in constant contact with their course teachers. This helps lessen the burden on teachers, by only having a few students texting or emailing outside of class to ask questions about assignments, rather than hundreds. With such a detailed organizational structure in place to provide management and support, students are very rigorously and carefully directed by the school administration through each step of their academic studies.

The Gatekeeper: Passing the TOEFL

However, whereas typical Chinese students will have their studies closely monitored and managed within the aforementioned system until they graduate, Chinese students in the CU-HU partnership program hit a very distinct transition point where they then become "American" students in the program. That transition point is the TOEFL examination. Just as universities in America require TOEFL scores for international

students from countries where English is not the national language, the Hospitality University requires students to take the Test of English as a Foreign Language and achieve a satisfactory score, before they can officially enter their "junior year" of undergraduate studies in the American side of the partnership program. In years past, students only needed a passing score of 63 for admission into the HU Hospitality major at Commerce University, which averages to just above the lowest score ranking in each of the four categories of Reading, Listening, Speaking and Writing. However, beginning in Fall 2015, the TOEFL score requirement was set to be raised to 80, which averages to a fair or intermediate ranking for each category. The highest possible TOEFL iBT score is 120, with a 30-point score in each category.

The TOEFL exam requirement has been the major "gatekeeper" of the CU-HU partnership program since its inception. Up to this point, courses for the CU Management degree are taught in Chinese, except for the English language courses. However, the language of instruction is English for all courses for the HU Hospitality degree, just as it would be at the main university in the United States. If students do not pass the minimum score for the TOEFL exam by the summer following their second year, then they cannot continue their studies as Junior students in the HU curriculum. There are several options available to them at that point, but each has its own drawbacks.

The most common route students follow is to stick with the program and continue retesting for the TOEFL until they pass with a satisfactory score. If all goes well, they may be able to enter the American curriculum the following academic year. Some may even be able to enroll as early as the following Spring semester before the current academic year is finished. Students can pay a fee to stay in their dorm if they wish, while

they periodically retest the TOEFL, but are not required to. However, this route is risky, because passing the TOEFL is not a guarantee. In extreme cases, some students have stayed in limbo between the Chinese and American sides for several years while trying to achieve a satisfactory TOEFL score.

For those with poorer English skills not willing to wait and risk failing the TOEFL again, the next option many students choose is to transfer out of the cooperative school, and into another school or program and start a new degree, instead. For some, this may be as simple as switching to another major in a different department at Commerce University. For example, many students switch out of the Cooperative School completely and over to CU's Business School, where they study a B.A. Business degree, instead. As there is a lot of overlap between the required classes, CU-HU transfers to the Business school do not have to repeat as much coursework, as they would in switching to another major. This has the advantage of finishing without too much delay, but the disadvantage of giving up on the dual-degree, and thus the foreign degree.

More extreme cases who have hit a TOEFL impasse may turn to study abroad. Some students in this scenario may choose to study in a "nearby" Asian country, such as Japan or South Korea. Still others may go to an English-speaking country for a lower-ranked university or college willing either to train the student's English proficiency before enrollment, or accept a lower TOEFL score. Transferring out of the cooperative program is a difficult decision, since, as mentioned previously, the students risk having to start over from scratch. However, for those who discovered early on that they do not really enjoy their major, then they may feel this is an appropriate choice, albeit possibly an expensive one that does not get to take advantage of the "cheapness" of the American

degree in the partnership program.

Finally, according to the HU Assistant Dean, some students who are able may choose to forego the TOEFL and graduate out with only a Bachelor of Arts in Management from Commerce University. With the concept of relationships, or *guanxi* (关系), still very commonly utilized in almost every facet of life, many of these students may have family or friend connections that were already set up to receive them for employment after their original anticipated graduation in two years. Or, at the very least, they have known connections that could result in more opportunities to apply for entry-level starting employment. On the one hand, by taking this route, students can start working to establish their career a little earlier. On the other hand, graduating earlier without successfully completing the American degree is also considered somewhat of a "waste." Even though students are not enrolled in the American half of the program until later, they are still paying American-level tuition from the beginning for the Chinese half of the program. This is many times greater than the standard tuition for a Chinese degree program (outlined in greater detail below), so the expectation is that students will complete the more expensive American degree.

The overall impact that the TOEFL has on the shape of the program is profound. Across the eight CU-HU second-year *bans*, there are about 250-300 students, averaging 35-40 people per *ban*, who apply for transfer to the upper division each year. The amount of effort that both students and teachers put into TOEFL preparation is incredibly extensive. Not counting the ten blocks of English classes that students take each week, they also read newspapers, practice writing assignments, and memorize extensive vocabulary lists. Even so, in recent years, fewer than 200 students have successfully

matriculated into their Junior year following their second year. On average, about 25-30% in the program are held back on their first attempt to matriculate.

This is not to say that the TOEFL is the only reason students fail to progress from the Chinese side of the program to the American side. A small percentage of students also fail to meet minimum GPA requirements, and are required to repeat failed courses to raise their grades. However, repeating a course means the student will study the exact same content as before, and can use previous homework and tests to relearn the material. This is considered an easier and more secure route to matriculation, than trying to improve overall English skills for a test which constantly changes content. Students dread the possibility of one weighty question hinging upon a key word that they have not studied before, causing them to fail.

Although a standard requirement for admission to foreign universities, the role of the TOEFL takes on a new meaning within the context of the partnership program. Unlike with foreign university applications where the TOEFL is a prerequisite to admission, students in the CU-HU cooperative program are already admitted and studying in the university. By putting the English standard requisite at the halfway mark of students' undergraduate career, the TOEFL takes on a disproportionate role in students' studies, compared to international programs abroad. Failure to pass the TOEFL benchmark essentially negates any other academic achievements students have managed to attain in their first two years, overshadowing the importance of the B.A. Management degree in the lower division. As such, the TOEFL exam becomes a highly dreaded gateway test for many, not altogether unlike their previous *Gao Kao* for entrance into the university, and the admission requirements for the upper division undermine the status

and importance of the lower division.

Finishing as Americans: Junior and Senior Year in Hospitality University

On the other side of the TOEFL gate, the institutional framework of the program changes completely as students enter their junior year, transitioning to a different "school" and new status. Commerce University's previous tightly regimented organizational structure surrounding the *ban* gives way to almost nothing. Students will still technically belong to a *ban,* but the *banzhuren* and *banzhang* fade into the background. The *banzhuren's* primary function at that point is to collect student tuition payments, and notify students of any university-wide activities, such as festivals and competitions. They may also help with securing textbooks and registering students for the CET-4 and -6 English tests.

However, for the most part, students in the program are now on their own – just like students at a typical American university. This is because, despite their location, they legally *are* American university students now, just without the F-1 visas needed to study at the main American campus. Unlike before, students are now officially enrolled in an American university, not just a Chinese university. As such, it's now on the students, not the administration, to choose and schedule their own classes. Emphasizing the founding American ideal of independence, students in the partnership program are expected to take the initiative in directing and deciding their own academic and career paths. Although some will try to stay together, many students who shared the same time table every day for two years will now have different schedules depending on what subjects they choose as their focus.

This does not mean there is no academic support structure in place for students

once they pass into the upper division of classes. The HU program does have a career counselor, and academics advisor, as well as regular professors available for consulting when making choices about major courses, grad school, employment, and study abroad. Students also actively consult with their personal community at large, including their classmates, friends and family. However, whereas before, the Chinese support structure took a dominant role in guiding the students in their studies and deciding what was best for them, here the American support structure takes a backseat to let students decide what is best for themselves. While many students eagerly embrace this kind of freedom and independence in their studies, there are also those who feel lost at first by the sudden absence of structured academic guidance. Unlike the American education system which has students incrementally learning how to plan their own academic path by choosing courses as early as middle school, the Chinese students often do not have this kind of preparation prior to enrollment in the American upper division of the program.

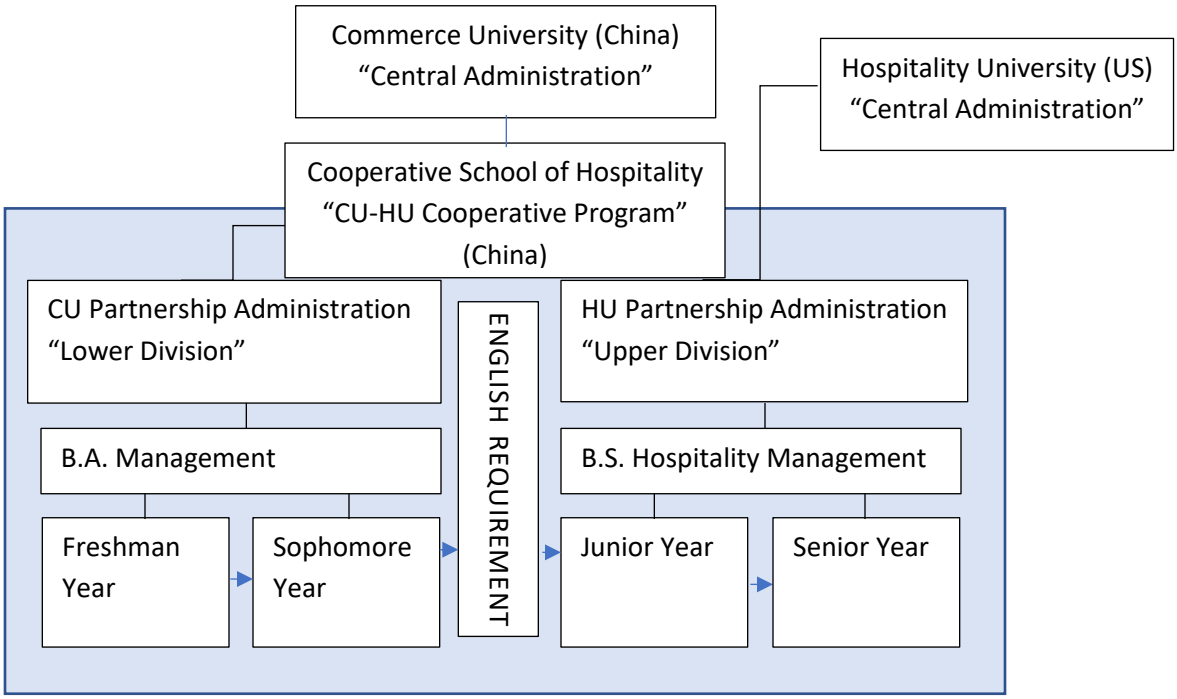
The latter two years of the program follow the core curriculum of the Hospitality major. To complete the Hospitality major, students must take six prerequisite courses, eleven core courses, and six to ten elective courses. Two of the prerequisites (i.e., Macroeconomics and Public Speaking) are actually completed during the first two years of the Chinese side, then transferred. Additionally, one of the core courses is an Advanced Internship where students must complete 300 hours interning in a substantive Hospitality-related capacity. This leaves twenty classes to be taken over the four semesters of the remaining Junior and Senior years. Compared to before, students now enjoy a semester workload that is greatly relaxed, only needing to take the American university standard of five courses totaling fifteen credits per semester. Some may even

choose to take one or two courses over the summer terms, although many will use the summer to complete the required 300 hours for their Advanced Internship, or the required 1000 hours for their Work Industry hours. Both sets of work hours must be completed before the students can graduate, with the 1000 Work Industry hours as a prerequisite before the 300 Advanced Internship hours.

Although the American side of the partnership is meant to mirror the program of the home university in its entirety, there are some significant structural changes that occur, as a result of being imported into a new country, context and university. The much smaller scale of the American program in China compared to the US creates a lot of limiting factors in terms of class size, offerings and enrollment period opportunities. In China, there are half as many instructors available to offer open class sections for students to take. As a result, fewer course offerings are available to students. For example, the Chinese branch offers courses in wine, but not beer and brewing, or spirits, which are available at the American home institution. As a result of having fewer instructors and available courses, individual class sections have more competition for enrollment. In some cases, enrollment caps are raised to compensate for the increased demand among the students. Even so, students still sometimes struggle to find open spots in the classes they need, especially since they have only two years, not four, in which to complete their required major and elective courses.

Figure 2

Organizational chart of CU-HU Cooperative Program



Coda: Organizing the CU-HU Cooperative Program

In this chapter, I reviewed the basic structural background of how the CU-HU Cooperative program was organized. I described how the CU lower division is organized to provide constant guidance throughout students' study of the accelerated B.A. Management curriculum. Next, I explained how the TOEFL prerequisite necessary for matriculation into the HU upper division had become disproportionately important in its role to students, to the extent that it actually undermined the lower division program. Finally, I described how the HU upper division is structured to provide students independence and freedom in how they approach their studies, and some of the challenges they face in adapting to this new system.

In the next chapter, I discuss how the partnered Chinese and American universities cooperated in constructing a global education curriculum in the CU-HU cooperative program. As each division's curriculum emphasized different values, this set the stage for an ongoing process of negotiation, where both students and faculty alike contributed and sought different values in their planning and interactions.

Chapter 5 – Developing a global education curriculum

In this chapter, I discuss how the partnered Chinese and American universities conceived and constructed the global education curriculum in the CU-HU cooperative program, and the subsequent conflicts that emerged through its implementation. Within the boundaries of the institutional framework, different cultural forces and values interacted in new ways both inside and outside the classroom, influencing how content was delivered by instructors and perceived by students. This chapter delves into what cultural processes and values were at work in the program's construction, and which informed and shaped the learning experiences of Chinese students in the partnership program. In looking at how cultural forces interacted within the partnership program, there were several different demographics and types of interactions to consider when examining these phenomena. Specifically, I look at how both Chinese and foreign instructors attempted to construct an idealized version of "American" education in China as their paradigm for a global education program, as well as the implicit cultural hierarchy that subsequently emerged in the classrooms.

Navigating Opposing Educational Paradigms

In trying to understand how the idea of an "American" education was constructed within the cooperative program, it's important to understand what paradigms were being presented and negotiated in its construction. The education systems of both CU and HU implicitly and explicitly emphasized different sets of values in their classroom. In this

section, I explore the values emphasized by the two partnered universities, and how they contributed to the construction of a global education program, in the CU-HU cooperative program in China. These values were expressed through different teaching methods, curricula focus, and teacher-student communication methods, and constructed different classroom patterns of behavior between the lower division and upper division.

I'm right, and you're wrong: CU teaching and learning the "right" way

The most visible educational paradigm presented in Commerce University's lower division program for the Chinese bachelor's program in Management was the scholastic emphasis on giving the "right" response to questions asked in class. Chinese freshmen and sophomore students observed in this program were not necessarily taught to generate multiple or additional possibilities for answers. Rather, in a majority of their classes, they were trained to select the one choice, the correct choice, which fit within the implicit and explicit predefined parameters of the question.

In practicing this cult of correctness, the onus of learning the correct answers in class lay with the student, not the teacher. Class sizes were large, officially 150-300 students, making taking student attendance nearly impossible, so many teachers opted not to do so. As a result, many students skipped these classes, and large numbers were visibly absent during class time. Once a teacher uttered the words, "Alright, class, let's begin…" there was little that would stop him or her from lecturing, despite what students were doing at their seats. Typically, in the larger lecture classes which had official enrollments of over 100 students, it did not seem to matter if the students were actively focusing on or paying attention to the instructor's lecture. Students would walk in and out of class, text on their phones, hold conversations with each other and openly work on

homework for other classes. Despite this, teachers in these large classes continued lecturing from PowerPoint slides to summarize, reinforce and/or explain concepts covered in the required textbooks. So long as the instructor covered the required material in class, they did not make any substantial comments on what students were doing on their own.

This student responsibility to learn the correct material *exactly* as explained by the teacher was most evident on "review" days. Information covered during these particular lectures was, in turn, expected to be memorized and reproduced on the homework assignments and exams. These days tended to have much higher attendance compared to other class days throughout the semester. A cursory greeting witnessed between two students at the beginning of the Marxist Thought class quickly revealed why. Sitting down and pulling out a pencil and notebook, one student said, "I'm only here for the answers," in response to her friend's quizzical expression of "What are you doing here?" As the Marxism professor, Ms. Hai, went through the review, she referenced specific pages and passages for students to mark in their books for study. "On pages 131 and 132, make sure you learn part four," the teacher instructed, as students photographed the PPT slides on their phones, and highlighted the relevant sections in their textbooks. As the instructor went through the review lecture, she randomly quizzed students who were near her, asking in Chinese, "What's your understanding of the concept?" A student who repeated back the information from the textbook was met with, "You're right…but do you understand it?" Students rarely answered beyond this.

The ability to select the correct answer and the need to memorize this information exactly was the goal and central focus of how students approached their studies for lower

division classes. Many students could be seen around campus actively studying by reading and reciting specific sets of information out loud over and over to themselves from their class notes or textbooks. Students would repeat information to themselves this way while pacing around campus gardens or parks, sitting in library corridors, or standing in the building's courtyard. This kind of active recitation was often done away from classroom spaces, so as not to bother any who preferred quieter methods of learning. Successful Chinese students were the ones who developed the ability to memorize large quantities of information very quickly and reproduce it for professors when needed.

However, students who felt they were unable to hone this memorization ability, or were not confident they could recall necessary information on demand, often resorted to methods that could ensure they would still be able to write the correct answers on exam day. Cheating was rampant during exams, especially in the large lecture classes, with a surprisingly diverse array of tactics meant to overcome teacher surveillance. Tiny papers were slipped into pocket tissue packs or carried up the sleeve. Folded up notes were taped under desks the night before exams, to be retrieved surreptitiously during test time. Study guide information was written on hands, forearms and legs. Second cell phones were brought in to be placed on desks as a cover, while primary phones were covertly snuck in baggy pockets to text friends or view PPTs and papers for text question answers. Attendance was taken as otherwise friends might try to substitute themselves for another classmate and take a test on their behalf. Face masks[13] and hats covered faces, so teachers could not see where students were looking, or see any mouths that might be

[13] Similar to surgical face masks, *kouzhao* face masks are commonly worn in China for protection from air pollution, but also as a courtesy to others when sick with a cold.

whispering. Students sometimes even formed secretive rings, where they would wait until the teacher was looking away, and quietly share answers on the test. There was great pressure to succeed, because there was such a small margin of error when producing the correct answer. For many, the only way to ensure correctness was to bring the exact answer with them into the test room.

The fear of losing face. "Face" refers to the sense of an individual's dignity and reputation in social contexts. Within Chinese cultural contexts, the concept of face encompasses not just an individual's ego or reputation, but also that of the individual's friends and family. As China operates in a more communally-oriented fashion, rather than individually-oriented, reputations and egos intertwine among groups. Families, friends, companies, etc. will share reputations with their partners within their respective social domains. To "lose face" then means an individual not only loses reputation or prestige and suffers humiliation for him or herself, but may potentially bring shame and humiliation onto his or her family causing them to lose reputation, as well.

This concept of losing face (and fear of it), while related to stereotype threat, still had some distinct differences in how it affected student performance. While stereotype threat often contributed to student failure, "face" was often the driving force for student inaction. This was done in order to lessen or avoid student failure. Students who were afraid to perform in class due to stereotype threat often chose to "save face" by not participating. "It is better to remain silent and be thought a fool, than to speak and remove all doubt." Albeit not originally a Chinese proverb, this saying was posted on the walls of the school, and very succinctly illustrated the guiding principle behind student disengagement in class. By remaining silent and appearing withdrawn, students' actions

would not reveal any weaknesses in front of their peers. No lack of understanding the content material or inability to comprehend the English lecture would cause the student to lose face. Additionally, if all students remained silent, then everyone remained on equal social ground.

This fear of losing face caused a Catch 22 situation when it came to foreign language learning in the partnership program. According to the theory of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) by Stephen Krashen (1982, 1983), speaking is a crucial exercise in effective language learning and production in non-native speakers. A student who wants to improve speaking skills would therefore practice speaking, and not another skill like writing.

However, within the context of the Chinese classroom with its teacher-centered, lecture-based format, there was often little opportunity for students to practice speaking with their classmates. This often suited most students just fine, as there was little opportunity to speak up in class and lose face. The English language instruction lectures students attended often focused on grammar and vocab input, rather than active context-based language practice. During class time, students rarely engaged in the language in a natural or realistic way, like holding conversations with one another in English. As a result, when in the Oral English courses taught by foreigners, instructors were often met with silence and a seeming inability to get a true gauge of students' speaking abilities. Doris was a shy girl with big dreams, who struggled to communicate with confidence in English. "I never dare to speak in John's class," she admitted, "because, I always thought he might get mad if I give the wrong answer." No one wanted to be "that person" who got the answer wrong and was publicly scolded by the professor. Yet, by censoring

themselves and not speaking in class, students failed to practice and improve one of the major skills they wanted and needed to have to both pass the TOEFL, and function adequately in the upper division program. The development of this skill, or lack thereof, often also played a key role in how students saw themselves in relation to the program, and their ability to give the correct answer

In addition to performing correctly on exams, this concept of face contributed additional pressure on students to give the correct answer in front of their peers and professors during regular class time, or risk losing face. English classes tended to be a little more nerve-wracking for students, as they were taught in the smaller *ban* cohorts of about thirty-five students, rather than the large combined lectures of over 100. The smaller class size meant both a greater likelihood of being called on by the teacher, and a greater amount of direct attention paid to you by all your classmates. Mr. Bing, one of the Chinese English instructors shadowed during the research period, constantly reassured students it was ok to make mistakes in class, "It's ok, just relax yourself. Don't worry about the answer, just have a try." Even so, it was not uncommon to witness these students following class lessons not only in their textbooks on their desks, but also in the teacher's edition textbook answer key on their phones. If called on, some of these students would then read from the answer key to respond to the teacher's questions to make sure they had given the correct answer. For those who did not have an answer key ready, and were not confident of a correct answer, silence was again utilized.

Thus, for the education system that was in place, memorization and reproduction was the primary and most efficient method for a student to succeed in class. A simplified analogy would be that the model of pedagogy implemented by many of the Chinese

professors in the CU lower division encouraged students to sort through different shaped blocks, and place them in the corresponding appropriately shaped and sized holes when given class tasks, homework or exams (see Figure 3). This paradigm of "the right choice" applied to a range of classroom topics which in the West are traditionally associated with personal choice and belief, such as morality, philosophy and, in some cases for some topics, religion.

The importance and development of memorization as a routine skill could be seen throughout other aspects of daily life in Chinese society, not just in educational settings. It was not uncommon for people to have their own eighteen-digit ID card numbers memorized, in addition to their spouses' or their children's. Popular Chinese QQ email addresses usually contained strings of digits at least eight numbers long. Chinese mobile phone numbers do not have set area codes the same way the U.S. does, and are eleven digits long, but people often still had several memorized on hand. This ability to learn and memorize information sets quickly and perfectly is a skill that many Americans lack in comparison to their Chinese counterparts. Yet, rather than earning a good reputation for their ability to learn, Chinese students as a whole are often unfairly categorized or stereotyped for not being creative in class.

Figure 3

A visual analogy for the instructional paradigm of the CU lower division

Remembering the past: the older generation's desire to teach tradition to students

The paradigm of learning information the right way in CU's lower division often went beyond simple memorization of textbook facts and statistics. For many instructors, they also wanted students to learn the "right" way of thinking itself, especially in developing the "correct views" on life by adopting proper moral and ethical practices. This meant teaching with the goal of instilling the correct ideals and philosophies in students. Doing so would not only produce students who knew the correct answers, but also the correct moral way of thinking necessary to become "good" Chinese citizens.

There is a palpable fear among the elder generation of instructors that the youth in their country have forgotten what it means to be Chinese. A trim, middle-aged woman with glasses and curly, shoulder-length hair, Ms. Hai was the Marxism instructor assigned to teach the CU-HU students that year. After the aforementioned "review day" mentioned above, she shared her views on the modern generation, and the partnership students, in particular. "Back when I was in university, we didn't have the internet, or TV shows. If we weren't in class, then we were studying at the library. That's all we

did. Nobody missed classes. You don't see that anymore," she commented (HD, interview, June 9, 2015). Values such as sexual openness, commercialism and material wealth have become more widespread and mainstream, if not from the more conservative Chinese media, then at least from the Western media easily accessible online. These increasingly have appeared to supplant modesty and frugality of the older generation in daily life. Popular television dating shows like *Fei Cheng Wu Rao* (If You Are the One), now famously attributed with the quote, "I would rather cry in a BMW, than laugh on a bicycle," worry the generation of guardians who grew up under great economic, but more relatively equal, turmoil.

Even the older Chinese HU instructors who had successfully lived and been educated abroad, still held to somewhat more conservative values as they felt China change around them. "The morals of today's society are much lower than before. Really!" Ms. Yang admonished her students during the Personal Sales class. This was also stated by Mr. Wang during his Restaurant Management course, who furthered, "Just the other day, I saw online a girl was selling herself to anyone who wanted, 'looking to travel to exciting places, will do anything you want in return.'…When I was growing up, we would have *died* to protect the virgin. Now they just give to anyone who asks, in order to get anything they want."

Romanticizing the past times under Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, the older generation feels responsible for allowing the "moral degradation of Chinese youth." The fruits of economic growth have brought prosperity, but also spoiled the young generation with money, instead of responsibility and ethical values. Both Ms. Hai and Ms. Ting, the Traditional Chinese Culture instructor, expressed the identical sentiment, "You know, I

really worry about the future generation" (HD, interview, June 5, 2015; TT, field notes, May 20, 2015). This fear and burden of responsibility has led the elders of China on a mission to remind the middle-class 90s generation of its historical and cultural roots, as well as its social obligation to become moral, grateful citizens who will take up the mantle of supporting the country's future development.

Once considered a stumbling block for progress before and during the Cultural Revolution, traditional Chinese culture and its artifacts are now being revived, invoked and celebrated by the very government that once condemned them (Murray, 2015). According to national mandate, all university students, including those in the CU-HU partnership program, are literally required to learn about their cultural and political roots successfully, before they are allowed to graduate and become productive members of society. Traditional Chinese Culture is a required course for all first-year students in universities across China. Students are tested on elements of tradition believed to be necessary for daily life, and elements that will imbue them with values to make them better citizens. The nationally approved and standardized course content contains historic Chinese philosophers, such as Confucius, Mencius and Master Zhuang, as well as their defining doctrines. Instructors also lecture on the golden trifecta of Chinese ideology: Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. They explain how these three ideologies not only underlie the unconscious tendencies and characteristics of Chinese culture, but also the major lessons students can learn from them to become better people. Basic components and key ideas behind traditional Chinese medicine and the natural elements are taught to students in an effort to help them better understand their bodies, what affects them, and how to take care of them. Perhaps the one lesson that students do not mind studying is

the section on traditional Chinese fashion, what it symbolized, and how it changed throughout history – because everyone loved putting on fashion shows for class credit.

This is all a part of a university reform introduced to the public tertiary system in 2005. Meant to imbue a sense of traditionalism and conservatism in students, this reform ironically contains "traditional" elements that are less related to China's overall 5000-year legacy, and more direct links to influences on the past lives of the parents and grandparents of the current generation of students. The content of Basic Principles of Marxist Theory was imported from the West and adapted to the Chinese context only about 100 or so years ago, yet is mandatory learning for all students. Ms. Hai explained the background behind the Basic Principles of Marxist Theory course that she taught, "This course's plan was revised in 2005 as part of the nationally required set of courses: Basics of Ideology, Equality and Law. Originally, they were separate, Marxist Philosophy and Marxist Economics. Then in 2005 they were combined [into one class]. Chinese Culture class, that's new. Maybe you think it's very strange, 'Why is China requiring Marxism when it's not a part of traditional Chinese culture?'" The primary figure of the Maosim and Chinese Socialism class, Mao Zedong, has been prominent for even less time than Karl Marx. While there is no doubt he was an incredibly influential figure on modern-day China as a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party, he was only a significant part of China's history from the 1927 to 1976. Yet, not only does the older generation of government officials believe these courses should be required for modern university students today, the curriculum and textbooks are required to be the same nationwide. "Marxism basically analyzes society. It can't fix all of society's problems. Nothing can do that. But it can give you a different perspective on how

society works," Ms. Hai elaborated. By requiring these courses, the older generation of thinkers and lawmakers often try, unsuccessfully, to teach the students to think about and approach society as they themselves were taught to do.

Outside of class, students still cannot quite escape the attempts of the government's Ministry of Education to instruct them in proper moral behavior, and teach them of their cultural origins. Municipal and provincial governments will fund and arrange for universities and other public venues to host traditional cultural events. During the fall semester, a traditional Chinese live arts troupe visited the university and performed a ballad of Confucius through a concert of dance. As the story progressed and Confucius faced different challenges and successes, excerpts of the Analects and commentary were projected onto the walls in beautiful Chinese calligraphy. These projections gave instruction on how to face challenges ethically, accept success humbly, and embrace certain gender roles and behaviors graciously, as taught by the reenacted life events of Confucius. In the spring semester, traditional Crosstalk,[14] or spoken verse performance, showcased poets from nearby locales in the city quipping carefully curated rhyming syllables and lines in an orchestrated performance. Dressed in long flowing robes, the speakers clacked rhythmic instruments in both hands simultaneously to completely different syncopated beats, as they told short stories about both present, but more often past, life in China. Additionally, at school-sponsored events, student Chinese ethnic minority dance troupes often presented traditional costumes and dance, whirling across the stage to sharp, vivid instrumental music. These are just a few examples of the kinds of events held at Commerce University, and other public universities. They were

[14] Chinese *xiangsheng* performance (相声)

free to the public, but often targeted students – the future of China – by being hosted at school auditoriums, and requiring a student or teacher ID to request and secure tickets.

Figure 4

The equipment and setup used to prepare afternoon tea each Sunday

During my time at the school, I also came to know an administrator from the College of Foreign Languages, Mr. Jiao. Although he never taught directly for the CU-HU program, in many ways, he was a typical representation of the kind of CU teachers from other departments who could be, and were often, assigned to teach in the CU lower division program of the partnership program. Born in the '60s, he was too young to truly remember or grasp the events of the Cultural Revolution as they happened around him, although he learned more about them later on as he got older. With his short-cropped hair, plain jeans, and fitted polo shirts, he was a very trim, modest man who had been raised from very modest means through great political and economic change. He had carried the mindset of a simple, but cultured, life with him as he ascended into middle class status. Like many CU instructors and administrators, he had never been abroad.

His most profound memory? "The first time I ate at McDonald's." He explained he was in Beijing with a coworker in the early '90s when he first saw it. As the largest McDonald's in the world at the time, it was crowded with people clamoring for their first literal taste of the West. Together, he and his coworker indulged themselves on more than 100RMB worth of items from the menu, even though their monthly salary at the time was only 50RMB each. "I remember the fish sandwich the most. The sandwich had this really big piece of fried fish, with this really unique sauce, and no bones! No bones at all! And as I ate I thought, 'ah, this is really something special,' so my friend and I just kept going back to order more and try more from the menu. Just this one time."

Every week during my year at the school, Mr. Jiao invited me to tea with several students from CFL (see Figure 4). His goal, he said, was to give some of his aspiring language major students the opportunity to communicate with a foreigner and learn more about the outside world. He wanted, he said, for them to learn what it was they were pursuing with their dreams to study and travel abroad, to prepare for what they might meet. Yet, more often than not, he spent most of the time sharing stories of his travels to rural parts of China, showing pictures of farmers and manual workers making township or provincial specialty food or crafts. Every tea served at our intimate little gathering was first introduced with a brief overview of its origin, method of cultivation, proper preparation and use in daily life, before being served with sides of local handmade snacks. Haw candy sticks, *mahua* twist cookies, or green bean pastries were a common staple at these events, instead of the Little Debbie-esque packaged snack cakes many students regularly purchased from the school's convenience stores. Portions of the tea leaves were passed around to students to smell and touch before, during and after

brewing.

Each time we met for our Sunday Afternoon Tea, even as I talked about the stereotypes, history and diversity of American culture, he taught just as much, if not more so, about aspects of Chinese culture. “Tea is the root of Chinese culture,” he once told us, “Every aspect of traditional Chinese culture can be linked back to tea.” Tea was indicative of different methods of agriculture throughout the different provinces. It was the basis for a large part of the Chinese economy, and a staple in both Chinese diets and medicine. Artwork devoted to tea included the development of sculpting and clay refinement for tea pots, and carving methods for decorating them with Buddhist figures and Chinese proverbs which were later used in constructing and decorating printing blocks. He brought different styles of tea pots and taught us how to use them properly for different tea leaves “There are three kinds of clay for traditional unglazed pots,” he instructed us, once, “purple, green and yellow. This is a purple clay pot. I only use it for Pu Erh tea.” As we sipped black, white, red and green teas, he showed us stone imperial-style stamps he had carved with traditional proverbs, ink rubbings taken from famous sacred places he had visited, and scrolls of wood block ink prints, the original precursors to the printing press (see Figure 5).

Chinese students understanding their own country and representing it properly to outsiders, such as foreign teachers and students at the school, was important to Mr. Jiao. Once, when I had asked some English major students to tell me a little about China’s indigenous ethnic minority groups, he scolded one of the students who was presenting, “Your introduction [of this minority group] is not very detailed or well-organized. You shouldn’t do that. It’s not good to present on this topic if you don’t understand it

yourself, because then [the foreigner] will not understand." The student apologized, saying there was no way she could know about this minority group, because she was Han, and had never been to the province where they lived. She could only talk about her experiences seeing other students of this minority group on campus. "That's no excuse," Mr. Jiao said, "You have the internet. You should have read about this people until you understood them and their history, then given this presentation."

After learning of my interest in Chinese language and culture, Mr. Jiao booked tickets for me to attend the government-sponsored Confucian ballet performance held at school, as well as a Crosstalk performance, with other teachers in CFL. "Because you speak Chinese, maybe you can *understand* it," he said. Yet, it felt as though he had an unspoken wish, a hope that also asked, "Maybe you can remember it, remember us. Maybe you can tell others what we used to be." It was clear that he while he saw his students looking towards a more mobile future abroad, he strongly desired his students to remember just as much about China as they were learning about America. He wanted them to value their roots in Chinese culture, just as much as he did.

Figure 5

Traditional hand-carved block-print art and calligraphy Mr. Jiao presented during tea time

These were the experiences, values and beliefs shared by many of the middle-aged and elder people that constituted the kind of cultural capital integral to the older generation's identity. "When I was in middle school, do you know what I ate for lunch?" Ms. Hai asked during our interview, "Usually just coarse grains, like corn meal, corn porridge, we couldn't afford rice." Mr. Jiao and other teachers used cultural artefacts and comparative discussion such as those shown at tea time as an implicit message from the older generation to students of the younger generation: remember where you came from, and remember this is what it means not only to be Chinese, but to be a *good* Chinese person. As the country advanced at a technologically, economically and politically faster rate than its Western counterparts in order to play catch up, many of the Chinese instructors, along with others of their generation and before, felt much was left behind in the wake of progress. As China underwent roughly the same amount of infrastructure growth, economic expansion and ideology shift in ten years that the U.S. did in fifty, this kind of rapid development caused different members and levels of society to experience "growing pains" in different ways, and argue that China's current political and economic

success came at a cultural cost.

Thus, it was interesting to note that in developing a global education program to be offered at the Tianjin campus, Commerce University did not opt to simply import a foreign bachelor's degree for students to attend. Rather, CU strategically attached its own program and curriculum to that of the foreign degree, complete with nationalist curriculum. In this way, global education became a conduit for CU to transmit a traditional, conservative curriculum that incorporated cultural capitals and knowledge of the past that the older generation worries have now been forgotten and abandoned by the younger generation. It was a way for CU to try to reinforce local, Chinese values through a global program.

The HU paradigm: teaching the arts of argument and application

On the other hand, the model of education implemented by Hospitality University at its home base in the U.S. took a more flexible approach – at least on the surface. There were certainly instances where questions had absolute answers, such as students learning what the specific U.S. Hospitality laws that were invoked in legal case studies. However, there was greater emphasis on debate, and the art and craft of argument. The HU professors in the U.S. found different ways to present a series of facts, to give students different content and material. Then, students were told to create and explore, to interpret and extrapolate, to argue what they believed the "truth" of the situation was, and to substantiate it with sufficient evidence.

One class in the U.S. that exemplified this was the required Hospitality Law course. Candy, a plucky girl with short hair, described how the professor, a practicing lawyer for almost forty years, would break the class into small groups. Each group

would be assigned a conflict situation in a hotel. They were then asked to present their case for why they chose to side with the defendant or plaintiff, and defend their stance using relevant clauses from local laws. Proposed solutions for the situation, or steps to avoid similar liabilities in the future were also put forth. At the end of class, the full extent of the real case studies was revealed, including the verdicts that were passed and in whose favor they ultimately ruled. Group discussion and successful argument were almost more important than knowing what the actual case study results were in this professor's class.

In creating another analogy to follow the one from before, the model of education used by Hospitality University in the U.S. essentially gave students different materials, and asked them to create their own shapes (see Figure 6). However, students were not only asked *what* shapes could ultimately be constructed, but *why* they believed those shapes to be important or correct. At a pedagogical level, this was intended to develop the individual's ability to think independently and critically, and emphasizes the value of freedom of thought and expression. At a more practical level, the craft of argument could serve students in the future when they became managers and needed to defend their actions. The ability to learn large quantities of information quickly and exactly was traded for the ability to generate new ideas, and apply base concepts to new scenarios. Thus, for HU instructors in the U.S., the appropriate answer was the well-defended answer. *How* American students framed and argued their answer became just as important, if not more important, than *what* they actually answered.

Figure 6

A visual analogy for the instructional paradigm for Hospitality University in the U.S.

Developing an ideal "American" instructor: symbols and credentialing in the HU upper division

Within the CU-HU partnership program's upper division in China, the professors and teachers worked to construct an idea of what an "American" education looked like in their international cooperative program, starting with idealized concepts of what the necessary requirements and cultural capital were for credentialing and development in order to be considered a "qualified" faculty member. While many CU lower division instructors had received their educational credentialing at Chinese universities, all the HU upper division instructors had received some level of graduate education or credentialing abroad in English-speaking countries, with most having earned at least one foreign degree – some holding up to three. Moreover, all Chinese HU instructors in the partnership program were required to have attended at least six graduate courses specifically at the HU campus itself in Miami, with many opting to complete the full HU M.S. in Hospitality Management. While foreign instructors were not required to attend classes in Miami, the ones who were hired often already had attained HU's M.S. in

Hospitality prior to hiring, and thus were already implicitly considered "certified."

Every year during the university's summer session, HU would also engage in a scholarly exchange to provide further development for faculty. HU would fly two HU upper division Chinese instructors from Tianjin to Miami to teach summer courses in a more "American" environment. These Chinese faculty could also take advantage of further professional development opportunities, such as HU faculty workshops, U.S. national academic conferences, and local industry expos and conventions. Thus, the desirable cultural capitals for full-time faculty for upper division instructors was vastly different from lower division instructors, including high levels of English and other foreign language communication ability, significant work experience abroad in Hospitality industries, and high levels of academic credentialing attained overseas. These symbolized a transnational ability to function across global contexts that was an ideal characteristic.

This kind of exchange and professional development helped ensure faculty who taught in the upper division represented HU's ideal for global educators. Chinese faculty who did not have the default symbolic capital of being foreigners, and thus more "global," were shaped into this ideal with significant global credentialing. Holding these credentials signified that faculty had the ability to embed and transmit these same desired cultural capitals to students in their classes, which could be delivered "just like in Miami." Through these educational exchanges, Chinese HU instructors would also be continually aligned and familiarized with the content and pedagogy of the head Miami campus. Ms. Dong, the Accounting professor for the HU upper division in Tianjin, absolutely loved these exchanges, and cited them as key to her professional development

as a globally educated professor. Every time she went to Miami, "I learned so much from [my colleagues]. Every time I was there in [HU], I did "breathe the fresh air," update my knowledge inventory, learn the "upfront of learning and research," participate in academic activities, open my eyes and my mind, etc., and eventually improve my competency of being a better faculty member of our program."

At the same time, this educational exchange enabled greater numbers of foreign faculty to visit the Tianjin campus, providing a form of symbolic capital for the curriculum. During the summer exchanges, foreign instructors would be the only ones teaching in Tianjin, including at least one or two flown in by HU from Miami to join the ones based in Tianjin full-time. Foreign status provided a default symbolic global credentialing for faculty teaching in Tianjin, as students expressed excitement to meet and learn from the experiences, beliefs, and culture of a greater number of "American" instructors during these exchanges, even if the instructors themselves were not originally U.S. citizens.

Teaching like an "American": signifying behaviors and pedagogy

As a result of HU's significant investment in the cultural capital of the HU upper division faculty, the style of teaching employed by these HU instructors varied greatly from their CU lower division counterparts, even though many instructors in both divisions were Chinese. The HU upper division in Tianjin successfully emulated key points of the educational style and values of the parent program it sought to mimic, Hospitality University in the U.S. Central to this idealized "American" construct of global education was the firm belief that rather than a traditional lecture, students needed to participate in hands-on projects and activities, both inside and outside of class.

Collaborative group projects and presentations were a big part of this. Rather than *reproduce* preset knowledge, students were now asked to *apply* their textbook knowledge to the real world on a regular basis. In the Restaurant Management course, students had to choose a local restaurant for an analysis report, where they collected data on service quality, price points and customer satisfaction. For their project, these students visited the establishment, looked at the style and quality of service, examined the cost of dishes versus their component makeup, and both wrote and presented a summary report of not just their thoughts and feelings, but the pros, cons, and any improvements that could be made. Meanwhile, the Facilities Management course required students to make actual physical models of resorts, hotels or other tourism-related properties, and give a detailed group presentation on how the environmental systems were laid out. Sometimes there were team-building exercises in the Leadership class, or critical thinking exercises where students had to work together to solve a case study problem in the Hospitality Law class. Once in the Lodging Operations class, students had to build towers with limited tools, analyze each of the other groups' towers for structural weaknesses, then construct an object from the same materials to throw at the towers in an attempt to break them.

Activities like these codified abstract ideas such as teamwork and creativity – somewhat foreign to Chinese students during their time in the lower division – and made them gradable components during class time in the upper division. Rubrics for class projects included sections on concepts like "teamwork" and "creativity" where professors graded how well they believed students had fulfilled those criteria. In essence, preset boxes provided spaces for HU upper division faculty in China to prescribe a numerical value to their perception of students' ability to be creative, and fulfill the prerequisites of

the constructed American style of education.

Chinese student perceptions: challenges in navigating the idealized "American" program

After matriculating into the upper division HU program in China, some Chinese students struggled to operate within the fundamentally different American educational paradigm constructed in the classrooms. The issue of "face" was a contributing element that still loomed large for many students as they struggled to engage with the new "American" style of teaching. Others enjoyed the opportunity to voice opinions and thoughts they had previously been told to keep to themselves, so as not to disrupt the teachers' lectures. However, they all had to work to support and defend their statements in class – statements which they had often taken for granted as simply "correct" or "incorrect" in their prior classes on the Chinese side. "Yes" or "no" was now instead met with "why do you say that?" Many were self-conscious about learning to debate their answers openly at such a late stage in their education, compared to their study abroad classmates from America who grew up in the kind of system the Chinese students were just now learning to navigate.

Within the CU-HU cooperative program, the creation and craft of argument was emphasized across all courses, but exceptionally so in one classroom. The Leadership course was taught by Mr. Campbell, an older foreign instructor originally from Jamaica with an impressive resume that included over fifty years of experience in the Hospitality industry, in high-level positions like General Manager of the Disney Hotel at Walt Disney World in Florida where he worked under Roy Disney. In the HU upper division in China, his Leadership class was designed to force students to think deeper and more

critically about topics, where constantly questioned their answers. When students made statements or answered questions in an "incomplete" way, he would reply with the challenge of, "Where's your evidence?" At times, Mr. Campbell would even ask trick questions posed as "yes" or "no" inquiries, then push students to ask questions of their own about scenario parameters and possible exceptions to the rules. "Are fish safe to eat? Yes or no? How do you know? Where's your evidence?" If a student had any questions or complaints about grading or assignments, then this professor's office hours were a safe place for debate, but "You better bring your lawyer." Any student venturing into the professor's office had to be prepared and ready to mount a defense against any possible question that may come up. Indeed, "negotiations" and "litigations" between this teacher and students had the potential to last quite a while, sometimes for hours.

More than creating and defending arguments, a class requirement of "creativity" itself was especially challenging to many Chinese students when completing assignments. Use of that very word, "creativity," either during class or on written assignments often caused many students to panic. "But," some complained, "What are we supposed to do? We are not creative like the *American* students!" This idea of being graded on creativity presented a paradox to the students. What was the "correct" way to be creative like the Americans? In the lower division, they had been trained to find the right-shaped block to fit into the right-shaped hole. Now, in the upper division, teachers were presenting them with molding clay and asking them to construct their own shapes, but the students were still trying to find which shaped hole the clay should fit into.

"Creative" learning and assignments, often meant to be both fun and useful to students, typically had the unintended consequence of introducing stereotype threat in the

classroom. Stereotype threat, as defined by Claude Steele (1995), is a situation where individuals feel at risk of confirming negative stereotypes about themselves – and often do, as a result of the impending psychological pressure. Thus, much like a self-fulfilling prophecy, the threat of failure contributes to actual failure. Applied to the context of performing in the upper division HU classes in China, Chinese students often worried about their self-perceived lack of creativity, and subsequently floundered when asked to produce creative projects. Said projects received very mixed results. Feedback could potentially be positive with, "That was a great job!" but more often was met with a critical and disappointing glance. "Now, tell me which part of that was meant to be the creative portion of your project?"

To avoid the "crisis of creativity," and avoid negative feedback, many would try to partner or group with the foreign students studying abroad from America whenever possible. In general, "American" students had a standing reputation among Chinese students for being the epitome of creative students. By virtue of having been raised in the American education system, which the Chinese believed taught creativity, these study abroad students were automatically assumed to be more creative than the Chinese students until proven otherwise. This reputation was enhanced by the popular Western media portrayal of American students, like in "High School Musical," generating creative solutions to situational problems, both fictional and not.

As the leading "experts" in creativity, these visiting students from HU in the U.S. often became the de facto leaders of group projects. Not only did they not suffer from stereotype threat concerning creativity or any other educational performance assessment in any of the classes, they generally found the course assignments to be the same as, if

not in some cases relatively easier than, the courses they had taken in Miami. This was regardless of whether or not the assignments even included a discrete focus or component on creativity. Having been raised in a similar education system paradigm that was being emulated now, the foreign students were often operating on familiar territory, and knew the rules they needed to play by in order to get an A in their classes. Thus, they were the logical choice to lead group projects, while the Chinese students were still learning and acclimating to the new rules of class engagement. The Chinese students could easily look to the American students for the "right" way to be creative.

In reality, the American students often *appeared* more creative to Chinese students than they actually were. With a few exceptions, Chinese students often had limited experience with foreigners outside of mainstream Western media. This program provided them their first opportunity to work closely alongside foreigners, and socialize with them outside of class. The different perspectives and experiences the Americans shared on certain topics both inside and outside of class often looked like "creativity" due to their differences from shared Chinese understandings on the same topics or problems. However, in many instances the students from Miami voiced perspectives or proposed solutions that were actually relatively common in their respective home cultures to certain situations. Despite these being relatively common American answers or approaches to problem-solving or project presentation, rather than especially creative, these methods still tended to score rather highly on class projects.

This compounded the conundrum for Chinese students, showing that there in fact *did* sometimes appear to be a correct way to be creative. One teacher, who stressed creativity as an essential skill they had to learn, made "creativity points" a significant

portion of class projects. In a seemingly paradoxical exercise, creativity, a concept meant to be abstract and intangible, was analyzed, evaluated and graded with a concrete numeric value. Faced with this kind of tangible pressure, Chinese students attempted to be creative in a variety of ways for their projects and presentations. During one such presentation, a student tried to explain "creatively" the concept of brokering a business deal by likening it to the seduction of a beautiful woman – in perhaps greater detail and analysis of the analogy than anyone in the class would have preferred. Another student tried to use a "creative" series of cartoon pictures of a tiny person trapped in a blender, wondering what to do if the blades switched on, in order to give advice on how to assess and deal with difficult management situations. Yet another student liked to set his class presentations to music so he could perform "creative" breakdancing while speaking. These methods were hit or miss on making the right impression on instructors, and did not necessarily guarantee the same marks as the "standardized creative" presentation styles of the American students. When Chinese students received their final grades, they were often both unsurprised, albeit still unhappy, with the points they received for creativity. Granted, if they discussed their concerns over the grade with some teachers, and could argue and defend why they believed their presentation was indeed creative, the students were sometimes able to earn some points back.

All of these examples from the HU upper division in the CU-HU cooperative program used presentation components or styles to illustrate or present on topics of management, leadership or hospitality that were never witnessed in the CU lower division. Even in the rare instances where students would give class presentations in the lower division, according to their education paradigm of more straightforward and

didactic lectures, proper presentations in their Chinese classes never included elements like sexy seduction analogies or breakdancing. Thus, in their minds, the Chinese students were being creative and thinking "outside the Chinese box."

However, based on what the upper division HU instructor pictured as being "creative" according to prior experiences from teaching in the American education system back home, these attempts by the Chinese students simply were not creative enough. The sexy analogy was too sexy and inappropriate. The cartoon pictures did not offer enough engagement or interaction with the audience. The action of breakdancing had no correlation to, and rather distracted from, the concepts of leadership and management. In a sense, students were struggling to become creative not just the "right" way, but also the *American* way.

Despite students' constant pleas for guidance, this particular instructor had difficulty helping them "become creative." Giving students guidelines and rubrics for creativity was counter to the very idea of creativity itself. According to the teacher, creativity was anything "outside the box," or something he did not expect. While he had a very clear idea of what he considered "outside the box," showing or discussing past examples of creative projects that had impressed him paradoxically served to create a known box. Doing so, he feared, would simply encourage students to copy those projects and parrot the original defense, rather than use them for inspiration to create and argue their own projects. Overall, this proved to be a frustrating exercise for both teacher and students, as they tried to extrapolate the correct formula to generate creativity that would please the teacher.

Teaching students to play with their food.

In further exploring the issue of student creativity in class, the problem was not the fact that Chinese students lacked creativity. On the contrary, Chinese students possessed more creativity than they, or their instructors, realized. Rather, the issue was more that students often lacked or understood the appropriate outlets by which to express their creativity in class. When the expectation and psychological threat of creativity was removed from the environment by the teacher, and students felt able to explore and test new ideas safely, some of the most amazing and creative work indeed took place. Students would experiment, take risks, and learn new ways to think and evaluate as they worked to generate new ideas and create new projects. While Chinese students were successfully able to express their creativity in some classes across the program, they produced the most tangibly visible creative projects, that were most easily documented and captured during the course of research, in the food service management and preparation classes.

The projects made by Chinese students throughout the Introduction and Advanced Food Production Management courses were some of the most unusual, unique, and by far some of the most visually creative products in the Hospitality Management program. Students combined new items and concepts in ways different from the standard practices of both Western food and Chinese food. In this way, not only did food become a celebrated venue and outlet for Chinese students to express their creative impulses, it also came to represent a physical embodiment of many otherwise intangible cultural conflicts, internalizations and negotiations that were happening throughout the program.

The preparation, style and orientation of Chinese food traditionally reflected greater abstract cultural values present in the environment in which a majority of the

students were raised. In restaurants, Chinese dishes were often singularly focused on presenting one specialty item (e.g., a meat, a vegetable, a carbohydrate, etc.). These dishes were never intended to be served alone, or to one person. Rather, the dishes were meant to be paired or coordinated with several other singularly-focused dishes that harmonized and complemented each other in terms of flavors, textures and colors (e.g., a sweet dish with a spicy dish, a crispy dish with a soft, a light with a dark). This is because the dishes were oriented as a whole towards a communal dining experience, rather than an individual. The dining group's interests were negotiated towards common goals, and the food was shared together among everyone. This formal dining experience reflected values of community orientation, harmony, sharing, and social conformity of thought towards the group behavior. Similarly, the singular focus of each dish could be said to reflect the Chinese ideal of singular focus often undertaken by Chinese students who sacrificed time, effort and extracurricular activities to focus on their studies starting at a young age.

The preparation, style and orientation of Western food that the students learned reflected a different set of cultural values that they were exposed to through the curriculum. Learning about common foods not represented by American fast food chains like McDonald's and Kentucky Fried Chicken, many Chinese students were surprised at the simple, raw, "untamed" nature of some popular foods. Leafy, green salads, especially with fruit, seemed like a lazy, incomplete dish. One the first day practicing a prix fixe menu in the Advanced Food Production, one boy tasked with slicing peaches for an appetizer salad remarked on how strange the dish was to him, "For a country as great and advanced as the United States, why they don't do something more with their vegetables

than just cut and eat them?" Entrees that showcased large portions of meat besides the stereotypical steak, such as whole chicken legs or bone-in pork chops, seemed almost inconsiderate. After finishing their practice in food preparation, students were given a brief respite to eat and analyze their food, but this proved more challenging to some than others. "Can you help me?" another boy asked, approaching me with his baked chicken thigh. "I don't know how to eat this with fork and knife," he complained, "Why serve something that is so much work for the customer?" Each plated serving with its main course and "side dishes" was portioned and balanced independently of other plated servings, as American restaurant culture was geared towards individual consumption, not group sharing. This could also be said to reflect the American ideal of the renaissance approach to studies and life management, where people tried to fit in "a little bit of everything" on the side of their "main course." American and Western food was also sometimes, but not always, prepared as much for artful aesthetics as for function and flavor. Much like the craft of argument, Western food was not always about *what* was presented, but *how*.

What the Chinese students proceeded to do in these classes was learn the rules of Western cooking (see Figure 7), then play with them to make new and unique creations (see Figures 8-14). When I asked one group why they changed the rules of the foods presented to them, they simply smiled and said, "We made it *better*. It is more suitable to *our* tastes." These initial food creations were initially somewhat reminiscent of the original foods taught to the students by the instructor. However, as time progressed, students grew bolder in their experimenting and creating, also incorporating elements and styles that were totally new and unexpected. Savory food garnishes like vinaigrettes were

applied to sweet food items like strawberries. Hot food preparation methods like stir-frying were adapted to cold food items like oranges. American food concepts were applied to Chinese foods, and vice-versa. What resulted from this crisscrossing of cultural ideas and experimentation was not Chinese, nor was it American. "This is *our* food," one student proudly announced, when presenting his group's final exam food creation.

Figure 7

Chef Instructor's demo dish on filet mignon and mashed potatoes near the beginning of the semester

Figures 8 (left) and 9 (right)

Chinese student interpretations and "improvements" on the same dish


Figures 10 and 11

Final Practical Exams: Chicken and oranges

10. (left) fried chicken and orange slices in tomato sauce, topped with mashed potatoes and orange peel

11. (right) warm chicken and carrot salad served in orange rind with sweet orange glaze


Figure 12

Final Practical Exam: Pork and carrots
(pictured) carrot slices wrapped in ground meat, wrapped in bacon, served with strawberry, whipped egg, and carrot peel garnishes

Figures 13 and 14

Final Practical Exams: Beef
13. (left) sautéed beef and apple in grenadine, garnished with zucchini slices, apple sauce, and baked apple rose
14. (right) "sunrise bing" Chinese flatbread filled with crispy beef and sautéed lettuce, with hollandaise on side

In contrast, when given the same opportunity to create and experiment, the American students often produced surprisingly unsurprising creations in their food production and management classes. Whereas Chinese students often took the food modeled for each class period and played with presentation, the American students produced exactly what the teacher did. Whereas the Chinese students created food dishes that had no name, the Americans made stereotypical dishes that could easily be identified by anyone who grew up in Western culture. Rather than work to create new cultural artifacts like the Chinese students, the Americans reproduced old artifacts that they already knew. For example, one class group led by a foreign student from the U.S. made what they called "The After School Special," consisting of a grilled cheese sandwich topped with bacon, accompanied by a bowl of tomato soup. Another group led by another Miami study abroad student made hamburgers with a side of fries. While the individual components may have been more gourmet than usual – the bread was freshly made by hand in both cases, and the soup was actually a tomato bisque – the overall dish and presentation was nothing that would substantially surprise an American audience, compared to what the Chinese students produced.

This process of "playing with their food" provided a good visual analogy for the kind of cultural negotiation and cultural capital accumulation that was typical among Chinese students in this program. Rather than adopting the foreign practices, they adapted them, and the HU classrooms provided a literal space for them to negotiate and express their values and knowledge in new ways. Their subsequent expressions of this new cultural knowledge resulted in new creations, ones that were influenced by, but also simultaneously not immediately recognizable as, the CU and HU education paradigms.

The Chinese students' fixation on "American creativity" provided for an interesting intersection of self-perceptions, learned perceptions, and capital pursuits. Within Chinese culture, the learning of creativity, specifically learning to be creative "like the Americans," was often viewed as the key to adaptability and success. America had a reputation for creativity and innovation, resulting in a learned perception that American creativity was inextricably linked in students minds to economic success. Companies like Apple continued to innovate creative products that created entirely new lucrative markets of demand, like the iPod, iPhone or iPad. Chinese companies like Huawei and Xiaomi could only try to compete and meet peoples' new demands. While there were occasional success stories of creative Chinese entrepreneurs like Jack Ma of Alibaba fame, in students' eyes the numbers paled in comparison to the Steve Jobs, Bill Gates, Warren Buffets, Thomas Edisons, Walt Disneys, and Benjamin Franklins of America who all created groundbreaking new empires in their respective fields known the world over. If students could just learn how to think and become creative like the Americans, then their perceived value would be substantially increased. Yet, their self-perceptions of their own creative ability, and their learned perceptions of American creativity were often at odds.

More "American" than the Americans: emergent hybridity in the classroom

In trying to align the curriculum and teaching style of the HU upper division in China with the parent Hospitality University in the U.S., the HU administrators and faculty in some ways appeared to overcompensate in their attempt to create an "American" paradigm in their global education program. The perception of what an American education entailed became somewhat distorted by both the participating

Chinese students and teachers, much like the distorted perception of the creative abilities American students supposedly innately possessed. As all the upper division instructors in China were required to undergo teacher and content training through the home base university in the U.S., they all were taught the same approaches to pedagogy, and given the same techniques for class instruction. Upon returning to China, many of these instructors worked to implement as many of these techniques into their curricula as possible, to prove just how "American" their class instruction was.

While somewhat conscious that Tianjin was different from Miami, Chinese students perceived the American style global education construct as able to meet their desire for foreign exposure and international expertise. They interacted and spoke more frequently in class about American case studies, they engaged in hands-on assignments, and they learned how to communicate with foreign instructors, both in language and styles of communication. To them, this program served as a way to import American experiences that helped build their cultural and transnational capital.

However, in trying to be as "American" as possible in the delivery of their class content, many of the instructors actually overcompensated in the incorporation of techniques they were taught during teacher training. In particular, incorporating collaborative and team-building group projects and presentations was a unique characteristic of American teaching, and was consequently implemented in China at a higher frequency compared to classes in the U.S. Familiar with both the Miami campus and Tianjin campus of HU, American students perceived the education style used in the upper division to be very different from that used by the instructors at their home university in Miami. When asked by another Chinese student in class about whether or

not she had had any difficulty adapting to the school here, an American student responded, "It's ok, but I'm still getting used to the Chinese style of teaching. You guys do a *lot* of group projects here. All of my classes here have presentations, so we pretty much do a presentation or two every week."

In addition to over-implementation of American teaching tactics, some Chinese instructors ended up coopting American materials and tactics, then delivering them through more traditional rote or teacher-centered Chinese means. In her Personal Sales Tactics class, Ms. Qin often collected many additional articles and case studies to supplement the textbook and curriculum supplied by Miami. However, rather than letting the students read and debate them in a more argumentative style, she often took the time to read these entire articles out loud to her students, pointing out the key concepts they should take away from the material. Mr. Lin, the Revenue Management instructor, used students' active repetition study method, where they would repeat concepts to themselves over and over again, as a teaching method to reinforce class material. Not only would he read key concepts aloud to the class, he often asked students to repeat these same concepts back to him verbatim as a group once or twice, then turn to their partners next to them and repeat the passages again to each other several more times. Many Chinese students also explained that despite incorporating group presentation and collaborative elements into class time, many Chinese professors still opted to utilize culminative written midterm and final exams, which constituted significant portions of their final grades. These exams relied on memorizing and reproducing key terms and concepts in similar ways to the written exams taken in the CU lower division program – only now they all were in English.

The resulting construction of "American education" was a hybrid teaching style so different for the study abroad students from Miami, that they accidentally mistook it to be a common trait of the Chinese education system. The learning style was prescribed, but not necessarily purely rote-based. It was also application-based and argumentative, but according to preset rubric guidelines. There were pop-culture films, video clips and comics to help students understand the course content and connect its concepts to daily life. There were also instances of teachers who sometimes leaned on didactic methods to explain particular concepts, like Leadership. However, the overall trends and tendencies of the HU upper division did not fit neatly into either paradigm presented by its Chinese and American parent programs, but existed along a continuum that combined elements of both rote and argumentative pedagogy.

Coda: Chinese and American Ideals Creating a New Global Education Paradigm

In this chapter, I have outlined the cultural values that are manifested in the opposing educational paradigms of the partnering Commerce University and Hospitality University. Emphasizing rote memorization and local cultural values, I argue that CU has constructed the lower division of the CU-HU major to be a conduit that also advances nationalist and traditionalist values through a global education program. In contrast, HU has constructed the upper division of the CU-HU major to advance skills in argument, creativity and hands-on application through a global education program. In doing so, HU invests significant resources in selecting and developing the transnational cultural capital of the upper division instructors, with the intent that they will accurately be able to reproduce the American curriculum from Miami and imbue similar transnational cultural capital and professional skills in the students. As students negotiate both the lower and

upper division paradigms, they learn to combine these values and skills in new ways, rejecting that which they find unsuitable or irrelevant to their own personal and professional development. Through examining student experiences and instructor teaching methods, I conclude that the HU upper division does not employ an exact replica of the education model and methods used in Miami, and actually constructs a hybrid model of global education that mixes both Chinese and Western values, methods and content.

In the next chapter, I examine the constructed physical spaces and resources intended for use by participants in the partnership program. I compare the program's spaces to others present elsewhere at CU, as well as those of the American HU campus, to see what differences exist. I also explore issues of access regarding the resources, and who benefits most from their provision.

Chapter 6 – Building global education spaces

In this chapter, I will discuss the design and importance of the physical spaces built to house and support global education in the CU-HU cooperative program. I start by examining the facilities of the program, and how they serve to privilege those in the program, to the disadvantage of those who are not. I look at how the classrooms, study rooms and dorms function in the context of the partnership program, and how local restrictions make it difficult for Commerce University to meet the stringent demands of Hospitality University, regarding the standards and quality of the facilities. Next, I look at how foreigners are integrated into the program as part of the learning environment, becoming physical resources that shape the curriculum and learning experiences of the students. Finally, I conclude with an analysis of how the privileged nature of the program resources and the standards imposed by Hospitality University serve to disadvantage those at Commerce University, and the perspectives HU had regarding CU's abilities to meet proposed demands.

Creating a Global Learning Environment

An important question behind setting up a partnership program such as this is, what exactly does a world-class global learning space look like, and how does it function? Not only organizational structures shape the way that teachers teach and students study, but physical structures themselves also affect the teaching ability of the instructors and the learning experiences of the students. Physical structures also reflect

the learning goals and priorities of the governing administration. Both Commerce University and Hospitality University drew on their experience and knowledge of the buildings, layout and equipment of their respective home institutions when collaborating to build the Global Exchange Center to house the CU-HU partnership program. In designing the layouts for construction, both schools discussed what the facilities should emulate and what outcomes they should be structured to meet.

The resulting Global Exchange Center, or "HU building" as it is also called, is an environment that combines aspects of both partner schools, yet ultimately resembles neither. It is an entity that stands wholly separate and unique in its function and demeanor, and sets the physical stage for the symbolic cultural hierarchy that was present throughout the CU-HU cooperative program. *This hierarchy reinforced inequalities in the organizational structure, serving to privilege those in the program, while creating unequal access to resources for others not in the program.*

Building the school: a world apart

Much like the CU-HU degree program it houses, the HU building stands completely separate from any other academic buildings on the CU campus in China. While all other CU academic buildings are housed within the front half of the campus, the HU building and the Golf Management Center are the only academic buildings situated on the entire back half of the campus. Although there is a small access road for cars in the back of campus, a wide lake appears to separate the front from the back half of campus giving the impression that the HU building is remote, distant from the rest of CU, reachable only by a single, long footpath.

The architectural style of the HU building is also distinct from the rest of the academic and housing buildings on the rest of campus. The majority of Commerce University's architecture sports blocky, concrete academic buildings in muted grey, white and brick tones which have stood largely unchanged for the past thirty-odd years. The feeling is one of function, not aesthetics or comfort. Undecorated, whitewashed interiors match the plain exterior of the building. Buildings have no elevators, or central air, and limited technology. If available, some classrooms have a computer and projector available for PPT lectures, and a standing AC unit that blows weakly in the background. Small desks are bolted to the concrete floor in curved rows that fan out from the front of the class, with enough present so one class period can comfortably seat over one hundred students at a time. Students come to attend class, and little else in these buildings.

At the same time, neither does the HU building in China quite resemble the constantly renovated class buildings at Hospitality University in the U.S., which undergo facility and technology updates every few years. In particular, Hospitality University's main building which manages the hospitality degree sports a more modern, angular exterior with sheltered walkways to and around the building to protect students from the weather, as well as overhanging ledges extending from the building itself with bright yellow umbrellas topping tables underneath meant to provide shady outdoor lunch or study spots. HU's main building is also concrete like many CU buildings, but a lighter grey accented with dusky rose-colored trim, and navy-blue signs and lettering. Inside the heavily air-conditioned building, large open spaces and winding hallways are lined with tables, chairs and study cubicles for students to meet and study. Framed pictures of Board directors, posters of past major student and city events, and brightly lit LCD

screens with promotional videos or building directories, all hang on the painted drywall interior above a dark, carpeted floor. A large study space on the first floor, funded by a corporate partner of HU, is decorated in colorful glass mosaic tiles, and large sprawling sofas. It also has computer and printing stations for those doing work, vending machines for when those working get hungry, and conference rooms and an advising center for when they need a little extra help. Here in the main building, students are encouraged to stay for a while, to congregate, and to socialize with one another and staff before or after class.

In contrast to both, the HU building in China is somewhat distinct from the styles of both CU buildings elsewhere on campus, and the HU main building in the US. There are neither blocks nor sharp angles in the architecture. Rather, the cooperative school's five-story building is constructed as one large oval encompassing a large courtyard with flagpoles, shrubs and benches, and larger front and smaller rear openings allowing access to the courtyard and building entrances. All classrooms are located on the outer side of the ellipse, while auditoriums and some offices are located on the inside. Next to the smaller rear opening juts upward a towering twenty-story structure, the tallest structure on the entire campus. The first through fourth floors house the central administrative offices for the CU-HU cooperative program, while the fifth through twentieth floors provide student and faculty housing, as well as limited service hotel rooms.

Both sides appeared to project their understanding of the "other" onto the physical structures present in the HU Building. "I thought this was the American style," one Chinese faculty member said, "You do not see this [style] in other buildings here." In contrast, one American HU administrator explained, HU had input on what the facilities

should be and what they should include, but that the execution was a wholly Chinese style that would not be seen in America. Thus, differences that were witnessed by one side were often attributed to the cultural differences of the partnered side.

The privilege of global spaces

Several of the classrooms in the HU building in China were intended to follow the technology standards of Hospitality University in the U.S. Classrooms in the U.S. are often equipped with much of the latest in technology, and continually updated every few years. This included features such as touchscreen panels that control lighting, projector screens, and projector input (whether it be the computer, a laptop, DVD or other digital source); several cameras around the room to zoom in on different speakers during Skype conference calls for faculty or long-distance learning classrooms; a high-speed internet connection able to host large video conference calls with sometimes dozens of participants logged in, or stream high-definition online videos during class. To complement the more interactive teaching style, some rooms are set up with rollaway tables and chairs that can be arranged in rows for lectures, or broken apart for small group work.

However, due to Commerce University having a much lower budget for hardware and structural expenditures compared to Hospitality University, much of the present equipment for the CU-HU partnership program was older, having been installed in 2006. While it still functioned well, and provided many of the same tasks and services as performed in the U.S. HU campus, none of it had been updated or replaced over the years, but simply maintained or repaired. Additionally, while the rooms did have

movable desks and chairs like Miami classrooms, they were much smaller, and more compact, resembling the thin rows of tables and chairs often seen in Chinese high schools that could be arranged in different groups during class, but often were not.

These specialized classrooms were solely dedicated for use in the CU-HU program. Other programs like the Australian cooperative had access to other classrooms in the building, but those classrooms were not always as well furnished or maintained. Even if HU classes were not being taught, these classrooms were considered off-limits to other groups that may have wanted to use them, with signs on the doors denoting which programs could hold classes there. Lily, a foreign English teacher from a different program housed in the HU building mentioned in passing conversation how she once got in trouble for using one of the HU-dedicated classrooms.

> "It was my first year teaching at the university, so I had no idea how divided up things were in terms of building resources. I was assigned a classroom with no media, but really wanted to do things like show videos, use PPTs, and play interactive class games. The students knew this, so they went and got the key for the room next door, which was empty. Everything was fine for a couple weeks, and we had a great time in class using the media equipment for class activities, but then the custodian realized I wasn't in the [HU program]. He told me I wasn't allowed to use that room, unless I got…special permission from the administration, like an official notarized letter, and wouldn't give us any classroom keys after that, except for my assigned one. So, I had to go back to my original classroom and make do with just a chalkboard and three different colors of chalk." (LN, field notes, May 27, 2015)

Lily was not alone in her struggle for adequate resources. Casual conversations over lunch with other foreign teachers not teaching in the CU-HU program revealed they too sometimes had difficulty teaching in these conditions when they were used to more

resources. Pamela, another English teacher for CFL, was particularly vocal about her dissatisfaction. "I was promised a classroom with media when I signed my contract, but when I got here they told me they didn't have any!" she exclaimed. She vehemently persisted in her pursuit for better resources with the administration in her department until she was finally assigned a media-equipped classroom for her students. This process left many of her supervising Chinese administrators with an unfavorable view towards her. "I don't want to say much," her supervisor commented, "but…I don't think she's a very good person."

Studying after class

Unlike other academic buildings at CU, the HU building actually had dedicated study spaces arranged throughout the structure. "These rooms started as a result of seeing our students in the building studying on the cold lobby floor in the middle of winter. We wanted to give them somewhere they could go to study," an HU administrator explained. There were three dedicated rooms for CU-HU students: two reading rooms, and one group project room. The reading rooms were a former classroom and office space that had been converted into typical study hall rooms with desks, chairs, books and a computer for typing and printing. The project room was another office space that had been converted to provide an open space for students to socialize while working together on group projects and presentations.

Much like the specialized classrooms, these study spaces were intended only for the use of students in the HU program. They were clearly marked with signs and hours of operation, indicating when and which students may use them. Building monitors and

staff came through periodically to check that people using the rooms were students in the HU program, and not others. Anyone found not to be an HU student was asked to leave the study space. This occasionally led to conflicts between enforcing staff and non-HU students.

"Living in America": dorm life in the program

The housing accommodations available for students provided another look at the how the HU program reinforced a hierarchy of privilege and resources. The dorms at Hospitality University in the U.S. have 24/7 card swipe access, where residents use their student IDs to access the building any time of the day. Each dorm is actually set up more like an apartment suite, with two to four students to a unit – each to a separate bedroom, while sharing a common kitchen, living room and bathroom with a western-style sitting toilet and shower[15]. The suites are equipped with high-speed internet (wired and wireless), and moderately furnished with a bed and desk in the bedrooms, and a sofa, table and chairs in the living room. A thermostat allowed residents to control the heating and air conditioning, although they were encouraged to keep the temperature below 72ºF to prevent mold in the humid climate. Units with stoves in the kitchens were equipped with emergency pull tabs by the fan hoods to release extinguishing foam for grease fires.

While HU's dorms in the U.S. tried to mimic standard housing elsewhere in its city, the Chinese dorms at Commerce University were much more militaristic in their design and function. Curfew was at 11:00PM each night, when all lights were cut off, and dorm building doors were shut and locked by the resident "aunty," who watched the

[15] Although, newer units recently built have private bathrooms in each bedroom.

entrance to ensure that no one of the opposite gender entered the single-sex dormitory building. Each dorm room typically housed six to eight students in a single concrete block room. Facing away from the door, two rows of narrow bunk beds lined the left and right walls of the back half of the room, with desks lining those of the front half. With no air conditioning, students were allowed to have fans during the hot summer months, but little else in the way of appliances. Some smuggled water kettles into their rooms, but many would carry huge two-foot tall thermoses to the school's water depot to get hot water each night. A communal washroom in the dormitory building provided sinks and squat toilets, but not showers. Those were located in special single-sex bathing facilities in a few buildings around campus. Students had special utility cards that they charged with money, and would use to pay for each shower they took. Although there were dry-cleaning and other laundry services available around campus, many Chinese students outside the HU program in CU's other majors often washed their laundry by hand to save money.

In a somewhat in-between arrangement, the dorm rooms in the HU building for Chinese students in the partnership program provided access to more amenities and resources than the standard CU Chinese dorms – but not as much as the HU dorms in the U.S. HU dorms housed four Chinese students to a room. Students also shared bunk beds, but in a white-washed room, with tiled floors and a remote-controlled air-conditioning unit, making life much more bearable in the hot summer months. These special dorm rooms were slightly larger than the standard Chinese dorms elsewhere on the Tianjin campus, while housing fewer people. At the same time, they were a fraction of the size of a four-person suite at HU in Miami. Common areas were located at the

ends of the elliptically-shaped halls. Sparsely equipped kitchen areas were located at one end, containing a refrigerator, hot plate and microwave, next to an equally sparse common lounge which often sported a broken chair, table, or other broken appliances. At the other end, communal restrooms had toilets, sinks and unpartitioned showers that still required utility cards, but were at least located on the same floor, instead of outside the building. Basic coin laundry facilities are next to the bathrooms, but sometimes poorly maintained. On one floor, after numerous maintenance requests had gone unanswered, Chinese CU-HU program students pooled their money together, and purchased their own washing machine to use whenever they wanted.

Local restrictions versus foreign demands on expansion and updating facilities

Students at Hospitality University in the U.S. have access to some of the most innovative learning spaces for hospitality management education. The classrooms and laboratories have won awards for the way the department has integrated technology into the spaces to provide cutting-edge learning experiences. If the stated mission of the school is to train students to become leaders who design and develop the customer experiences of the future, then HU leads by example, providing state-of-the-art research facilities and showcasing events.

In contrast, Commerce University in China does not have the same resources available to keep pace with the rapid growth of technology. With some minor changes, a majority of the facilities available to students have remained largely the same since the campus was first constructed, with the exception of technology which was installed more recently over ten years ago. Maintenance is preferred over replacement. With money

scandals in recent years placing school expenditures under great scrutiny, many departments in CU now shy away from any expenses that could be seen as unnecessary, wasteful or ostentatious.

This poses the dilemma of how CU can provide "equivalency" in the equipment, facilities and learning environment for the CU-HU cooperative program, as demanded by HU. According to the contractual agreement, HU sets the standards for facilities, equipment and property, while CU works to meet and maintain those standards. This places the sole fiscal responsibility of property and facilities management on the party with both fewer financial resources, and more spending restrictions. Yet, without the same available budget, corporate sponsors, or departmental freedom to engage in routine physical development and renovation, CU struggles to keep pace with HU's continual development. This results in a building and environment that has fewer technological resources compared to the home base of operations. but more than Tianjin students and teachers might find elsewhere on campus.

Human Building Blocks: Foreigners as part of the Environment

One unique feature of the American side of the partnership program is the physical presence of international foreign students and teachers within the learning environment spaces. While many Chinese universities enroll international exchange students, these students often study in English language or major programs separate from the local Chinese students, due to language barriers and the regimented *ban* cohort system. For Chinese students hoping to make foreign friends, they have to seek them out through extracurricular activities. Lack of foreign language fluency can make

communication difficult, and many Chinese students end up too shy or self-conscious to reach out to foreigners to make friends. In contrast, the upper division of the CU-HU program allows for Chinese students to take classes with other foreign students and teachers as a regular part of everyday life in their degree program, even working with them on group projects and presentations "just like in Miami." Thus, foreign students and teachers became an integral part of the physical environment that the Chinese students were able to engage.

These foreign students are usually Americans, but also sometimes other nationalities, who are enrolled in the undergraduate Hospitality major at HU's U.S. home institution. They come from a variety of ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, challenging many Chinese students' held stereotypes regarding "Americans" as blond Caucasian English-speakers. Because the HU courses at CU are taught in English, and are the same major courses as offered in their home school, the HU students from America have the option to study abroad at the Chinese branch of the program to pursue some of their degree requirements overseas instead of at home. As long as their GPA meets the minimum requirements, and they apply by the semester deadline, then they are guaranteed enrollment at the CU campus. Unlike in the U.S., and unlike for the Chinese students in the CU-HU program, these foreign students are also guaranteed enrollment into any classes they choose. While the number applying each semester will vary, it usually remains a small group, between ten to twenty students. Although small, this "international" student body excites many Chinese students, many of whom have never had foreign friends before, and provides an added incentive for them to pass their TOEFL and enter their Junior and Senior years of study.

Foreign teachers are also present within this program as regular, rather than incidental, faculty. Typically, at Commerce University and other second-tier Chinese universities, foreign professors are present in limited number and capacity as foreign language instructors. These foreign language instructors may have little to no interaction with the other Chinese instructors in whatever overarching major program they all teach.[16] Likewise, the curriculum designed and taught by the foreign language instructor may or may not have any relation to the greater major program. Language courses meant to be coordinated with any major program curriculum tend to be taught by Chinese faculty, instead.

The CU-HU cooperative program is different from other majors at CU because it employs foreign professors who operate in a greater professional capacity to teach Hospitality major courses, rather than just language courses. These foreign professors are usually American citizens, but can include other nationalities, who teach alongside Chinese professors. Both foreign and Chinese professors take part in faculty meetings to collaborate and make decisions about how to structure, teach and adapt the American curriculum for the students in the cooperative school, on an ongoing basis. This gives both the classroom instruction, and the program as a whole a more flexible, dynamic nature than other set traditional Chinese university major programs.

In addition to commanding higher salaries, foreign faculty appeared to command a higher place in the implicit faculty hierarchy. Chinese students not only looked forward

[16] Not all majors at Chinese universities require students to take foreign language courses, but the ones that do tend to be either foreign language majors, or majors with an international focus such as Business or International Relations

to taking classes with foreign students, but also looked forward to having foreign professors more than they did the Chinese professors. In their view, these foreign professors brought different experiences and points of view to the subject matter that they taught, compared to the Chinese professors. "The foreign professors have real experiences they can share with us," Alex, a junior student shared, "yes, the Chinese professors also have experiences, but it's not recent, and maybe not updated to the current situation" (AW, interview, October 4, 2014). Chinese students also experienced different styles of teaching in class, like student role plays and presentations, which Alex and his girlfriend Olivia both believed helped students prepare for transferring to the parent school in America, if they chose to study abroad.

Maintaining Standards or Imposing Cultural Norms?

Despite the challenges Commerce University faced in maintaining equivalency of resources and facilities, Hospitality University often continued to place great pressures and demands for its prescribed standards to be met. In this section, I will discuss some of the stringent standards that HU set, and some of the administrative and faculty perspectives on CU's ability to provide an equivalent environment. It was debatable at times if the agenda put forth by the American Hospitality University was necessary to maintain high quality facilities for the program, or if it was furthering an implicit cultural agenda to enhance the attractive "Americanness" of its degree program in China. In trying to maintain operations, Commerce University often had difficulty navigating these demands.

Do as I say, not as you do

In everything that it did, the HU administration strove for its program to be the best, both inside and out. With its well-seasoned faculty and award-winning, state-of-the-art facilities, students in at the HU campus in the U.S. greatly enjoyed opportunities to learn in ways that may not otherwise be available to them at other institutions in the state. This cutting-edge approach to hospitality education led by high-quality instructors was a great source of pride for the school, and one that it desired to maintain at all its campus locations – including China. This pride in the program and drive to be the best held a darker side, as well. The state held its universities to certain standards, and HU had Key Performance Indicators (KPI) that it needed to follow in order to demonstrate that it was complying with those standards. According to HU's own published strategic plan, these included goals like 80% of students employed in a $40,000 annual salary job or continuing in graduate school within one year of graduation, or raising the 6-year graduation rate by 33%. Failure to fulfill KPI threatened both HU's rankings and accreditation, and consequently, its funding.

Thus, to maintain its reputation as a high-quality research institution, HU wanted all facilities in China to be equivalent to its home base in the U.S. While this goal was not something that Commerce University opposed outright, pursuit of it was problematic. Maintaining equivalency of facilities between the U.S. and China proved to be exceedingly difficult, due to the financial constraints placed on the CU's overall lower income and allowable revenue expenditures. These restrictions and lower overall revenue meant that HU designated facilities in China could not be updated to the same "award-winning" and cutting-edge levels of the home base in the U.S. At most, facilities were maintained and repaired, but rarely were they updated to newer hardware or

technology. As a result, while HU facilities in the U.S. continued to change, advance, and grow, its satellite campus remained somewhat frozen in time and capabilities, which the HU administration in Miami perceived as a threat to its ability to provide a high-quality program and obtain high levels of student outcomes.

However, while HU desired the facilities at its Tianjin campus to be equivalent, it was not willing to offer any financial support to do so, due to the existing contract agreement between the two campuses. HU maintained it was only responsible for funding anything related to academics, curriculum and faculty development. CU was responsible for funding the physical upkeep and maintenance of the building, classrooms and equipment. This division of responsibilities was very strict, and rarely did HU offer to help pay for anything that it wanted done at the school. Even as they pushed and demanded better technology in the classrooms, the HU administrators would not pay for upgrades, but instead asked CU to replace or upgrade the equipment. The Assistant Dean would do periodic walkthroughs of the facilities to ensure the property was maintained, then report any items that he believed needed attention to the CU's different property management departments to have them pay for their maintenance. HU requests were put in for equipment and property replacements around the CU-HU Building.

Additionally, CU's student recruitment efforts often faced the same kind of pressures to conform to the imposed standards of HU without any offer from HU for financial assistance, even as HU expected to be directly involved in CU's student recruitment efforts. HU often had individuals participate in any organized student recruitment events, while CU paid for the cost of their travel and lodging. CU also covered the costs of designing and producing promotional materials like videos and

flyers, even as HU asked to be looped in for input and final approval for the materials used to represent their name and program. In essence, Hospitality University imposed its standards on how to run the program, and had Commerce University pay for them.

In pushing to control the physical facilities, some on the upper division HU side did not feel that the environment was of a suitable standard to host the Hospitality major program. "The whole thing is kind of stupidly administered," expressed Mr. Davies, the resident Beverage instructor, "CU was willing to roll the dice with HU (that they wouldn't pull out of the agreement), because it was window dressing for this school to lift it up. It was a way of improving the reputation of CU in the local area. The irony of ironies is that the President of CU at the time had the opportunity with the mayor of [the city] to also go down to where Galaxy Mall is, to that area, but they chose this area, because they thought this was gonna be a high-tech development area. Oh my God, what a mistake that was. The Galaxy Mall area is *the* place where the government has invested most heavily in. So, they could've been there, but they chose here. Man, they got a bad roll of the dice on that one" (JD, interview, October 24, 2014). With some areas surrounding the school belonging to lower-income demographics, the available off-campus resources for students in China was not as diverse or nicely maintained as they might be near the HU campus in the U.S. This sometimes irked the Americans who would have preferred as much equivalency as possible, including a surrounding neighborhood environment with some of the same comforts from home.

As the facilities in the cooperative program were already markedly better than those available in the rest of CU, it is debatable whether or not HU truly needed to try to enforce such high standards, or if HU was trying to superimpose a cultural agenda to

recreate its own home away from home. HU routinely endeavored to impose its cultural standards on facilities and curriculum, rather than settle or negotiate for compromises. In addition, it demanded that CU pay to meet these imposed standards, rather than find a way to share more of its resources to make that happen. Even so, CU often found passive ways to negotiate around these norms. Maintenance requests would become stalled for months in the queue. Replacement requests were referred up the line to superiors, to be discussed at higher-level meetings at a later time. Rather than try to meet these values and demands wholesale, CU negotiated the requests of HU, effectively maintaining a distinctly different culture and environment in the program that was not entirely set by the Americans, even as it was not quite Chinese like the rest of university in China.

Coda: Privilege, Hierarchy and Inequality in the Physical Environment

In this concluding chapter of Part II of my dissertation exploring global education construction, I discussed how the physical structures in the CU-HU program were not reminiscent of either Commerce University or Hospitality University, but their own unique hybrid that set it distinctly apart from both. Classrooms, study spaces and dorms existed somewhere in-between the standards of both partnered universities, and set the physical stage for the hybrid curriculum that operated within it. However, inequalities built into the program organization resulted in the special benefits of this hybrid environment not being equally accessible to everyone. Yet, even as HU tried to impose demands on CU regarding the standards and resources of the environment, CU often found ways to negotiate or mitigate those demands.

In Part III of my dissertation, I present my research findings regarding how global education is utilized and appropriated towards different uses than those originally stated

or intended. I begin with Chapter 7, where I examine how administrators in the partnership program utilize the capital of program towards their own goals. For both sides, global education was used by administrators to further the respective agendas of each school.

PART III

RESULTS

APPROPRIATING GLOBAL EDUCATION

Chapter 7 – Administrative appropriation of the cooperative program

In this chapter, I will be outlining the ways in which global education, as manifested in the CU-HU cooperative program, was appropriated by both partnered university administrations for non-pedagogical purposes to overcome specific structural and economic obstacles that challenged their university operations. Starting my analysis at the university level, I will describe many of the overarching institutional operations and constraints that both Commerce University and Hospitality faced. In looking at the partnership program, I examined the different institutional cultures in operation, as well as how they interacted. By utilizing the symbolic capital of the "American" paradigm in the global education program, the CU-HU partnership program provided a conduit by which both universities could gain much needed social and economic capitals. In particular, I explore the quiet battleground that had arisen within the partnership program as a result of conflicts arising between the different methods of appropriation, and how each university attempted to negotiate the explicit and implicit demands and values of the other.

Mission in the face of Money

In this section, I utilize the juxtaposition of Mission and Money from Weisbrod, Ballou and Asch (2008) to understand one of the major administrative tensions present in the CU-HU cooperative program: the struggle to balance funding each side's respective mission, while also controlling expenses to gain significant profit. Mission and money

were two major forces that danced together in a complicated tango as they pushed the cooperative program forward. The stated mission of the CU-HU cooperative program is particularly detailed:

- To educate undergraduate and graduate students to successfully assume leadership positions in the hospitality and tourism industries;
- To conduct and disseminate meaningful applied research to assist leaders of hospitality and tourism firms to successfully manage in a dynamic environment;
- To actively serve the university, local community and the worldwide hospitality and tourism industry through participation in the various activities which benefit their constituents

Displayed prominently on a bulletin board outside the CU-HU main academic offices, this mission provided the set of overarching desired outcomes to be achieved for all CU-HU students. Officially, these guidelines provide the reason this cooperative program exists, and shape the decisions regarding its resources. In turn, money provides the means necessary to make these desired outcomes a reality, its uses guided by the protocols of the mission. Without a proper balance between mission and money, this program cannot survive.

In this section, I argue that this stated mission was often coopted and interpreted by each side from a different ideological framework to serve different needs. Ideally, mission and money work in cooperation with one helping the other along, and vice-versa. In reality, struggles over money and expenditures were guided by different operating

principles from each administration, leading to global education used as a means to face certain challenges. This often led to conflicts both between the Chinese and American administrations which each tried to further their own agendas regarding money. Administrators appropriating the partnership program for other purposes also led to conflicts among the faculty within the program, who had to navigate two different operational guidelines, while the partnership program they helped construct often took advantage of them.

CU-HU's mission for a practical education

On its website, the stated mission of Hospitality University in the U.S. is to prepare leaders to design and develop the future of customer experiences. Its vision is to become the top global resource for producing and developing innovative management talent and solutions for the hospitality and tourism industry, with top-ranking expertise in hospitality, real estate development, finance, and food and beverage science. In support of these, HU has long prided itself for its major's practical, hands-on educational approach to achieving these goals. Not only does it require its students to pursue actual industry work experience prior to graduation, all lecturing faculty also have many years of experience in a variety of hospitality industries and responsibilities. These industry areas include hotel, tourism and/or restaurant management, as well as more STEM-related fields such as food science research and wine technology. This approach strongly supports HU's mission of providing a hands-on education, as the faculty are able to draw on their industry experience to guide and mentor students in the process of learning how to apply classroom content to real-life scenarios.

Experiencing a transposed, hybrid model of the HU program in the upper

division, many Chinese students cited the implementation of this mission as one of the main strengths of the Hospitality major taught by HU in China. Rather than passively sit through lectures, and write theoretical papers on abstract class concepts, they were asked to apply the concepts discussed in class to real-life situations. The students in the partnership program in Tianjin took field trips to different industry sites, worked in different companies, and conducted field research and analytical projects on them. This mission for a hands-on approach was a major contrast to the highly theoretical coursework of Chinese universities which rarely asked students to do any work outside of the classroom.[17]

Changing times, and changing funds

However, whereas the practical approach to education was once lauded as a major strength in previous decades, it is now a source of weakness when competing for funding in the world of research-based grants, and STEM-oriented universities. While many HU faculty both in the U.S. and China have published articles or books, publishing was not considered a priority to many in the same way teaching and industry experience is. In fact, there was a mild distaste among many HU instructors at both the Tianjin and Miami campuses regarding university shifts in priority to publishing versus instruction. During an interview, the Assistant Dean for the HU upper division in Tianjin lamented, "The universities, not just [HU], are into the ranking system. 'I want to be ranked #1. How many publications have I done?' Not, 'How many people have I placed into jobs?' It's 'How many books I've published' *deep sigh* That's their criteria, and they have a right

[17] The one exception is the course Maoist Thought and Practice where one professor required students to visit a historical museum outside of class on their own time, and write a report for a homework assignment.

to their criteria" (DB, interview, November 17, 2014). As a result, there are those who try to distinguish themselves as 'down-to-earth professionals' rather than 'out-of-touch academics.' "You only have to read some of the papers that academia writes," the Assistant Dean continued, "only people in academia can understand it. It's like legalese...'I had to do all this research to publish my little article, and so you're gonna have to do the same.' The industry's not interested in that...there's gonna be some point where the rubber hits the ground. Can you solve the problem standing on your feet?" (DB, interview, November 14, 2014).

There have been efforts from the Dean at HU in Miami to integrate new STEM- and research-based initiatives, and encourage more co-authored publications and conference presentations between teachers and students to change this type of "professional versus academic" mindset. These changes have been steady, but slow. In the meantime, the lack of focus on publishing by many faculty continues to put HU at both a direct and indirect disadvantage when trying to obtain funding. Directly, because new criteria released by the state means funding is influenced by the amount of research and publishing produced by a university. Colleges and universities that produce more research are more likely to receive more funding than those that do not. Indirectly, because focus on work experience, and lack of publishing compared to other institutions has resulted in a slide in national rankings over the years, potentially affecting the size of the applicant pool and its resultant tuition contribution to the operating budget.

This competition for funding is in addition to the fact that many American universities have experienced significantly decreased government funding across the board over the last couple decades. Hospitality University is not exempt from this trend,

and like other schools has experienced state budget cuts that drastically reduced per-student state funding while the number of students applying to college has continued to increase.

In the face of state budget cuts, and unfavorable competition in research grants, HU has forged partnerships with several different industries to gain corporate sponsorship, to help offset the lack of funding. Although commercialized and branded, this corporate funding helps to offset the state cuts, and provides funding for a variety of academic and operational needs. These needs include updating classrooms with state-of-the-art technology, providing amply furnished spaces and resources for students to use when studying, and constructing research and laboratory facilities for specialized and collaborative projects. Corporate sponsors also provide scholarships for students and professional development opportunities for faculty. While incredibly useful, like any external funding, it does come with stipulations as to its use. The partnered industry has a great degree of say in how its money can and cannot be used by HU, and deviations from the agreed upon guidelines would result in termination of continued funding. Corporate logos and branding are visible in many of the sponsored spaces at HU Hospitality Management building in Miami.

This dance between mission and money sets up a troubling conundrum for Hospitality University. Whereas the mission is typically seen as altruistic in nature by helping students and teachers to achieve set goals, money is a much more complex entity in the role it plays, and what it means to the institution. Too little money means the inability to carry out the mission, but the constant search for sponsors runs the risk of appearing greedy or hypocritical in the face of the mission. Additionally, partnering with

corporate industry sponsors opens HU to criticism that it is not truly a research institution, but rather a business partner with corporate, rather than educational, interests at heart.

Show me the renminbi – and its itemized expense report

In contrast to U.S. trends, China has steadily increased educational spending at all levels, including higher education, for the past two decades. Yet, more government spending on schools has not necessarily translated into better institutional operations or educational experiences. Schools that were able to enjoy larger budgets from the government have also recently experienced other more tangible, negative consequences such as financial audits, and investigations into corruption scandals – investigations which were not always without merit. In the wake of the Bo Xilai corruption scandal in 2012,[18] President Xi Jinping pursued a nationwide crackdown on corruption across all major public, government-run sectors, including education. Several major universities, including the top-ranked Renmin University, have since been investigated for embezzlement and misuse of government funds.

Such investigations and prosecutions have, in turn, led to greater financial restrictions being passed to increase regulation and oversight of university and departmental spending. Spending is strictly controlled at each level, from university-wide initiatives down to individual purchases. While the process may vary somewhat in

[18] In 2012, former Communist Party Secretary of Chongqing, and a former contender for President of China, Bo Xilai was removed from office and imprisoned for using his position to negotiate illegal business dealings and own overseas assets. He was exposed by his top chief, Wang Lijun, for having obstructed the investigation of the death of British businessman, Neil Heywood, in Chongqing and framing it as an alcohol overdose. Bo was imprisoned and removed from all political offices, and Bo's wife, Gu Kailai, was later convicted of murdering Heywood. This incident was as significant as it was embarrassing, as it was the first international incident publicly exposing corruption of a top-level Chinese official.

the smaller details among different cities and provinces, much remains the same overall. In the case of Commerce University, the budget of proposed expenditures for one fiscal year needs to have been submitted *and approved* the previous year. Spontaneous expenses using school accounts, such as replacing broken equipment, need to be approved first by an external auditing office. Needless to say, this process of external approval for expenditures is extremely slow, taking upwards of two to four weeks before small department equipment or other purchases can be made. Larger purchases requiring detailed, itemized budget proposals can take several months before receiving approval.

As a lesser-funded second-tier school, Commerce University has experienced some difficulty adjusting as new restrictions have emerged over the past several years. Departmental funds that were once more flexible in their application, and thus could offset some of the lack of research and development funds allotted to 211 and 985 schools, now have much more limited, earmarked uses, and strict approval procedures regarding those uses. Many items that could previously be expensed and reimbursed by CU faculty, such as food and meals during certain events, have slowly been removed from the "approved" list. Class expenses are tracked much more closely, and audited much more carefully. The irony is that now as government spending on education in China continues to increase each year, the ability of Commerce University to use those funds to further its mission has actually *decreased* in some ways.

Splitting the bill: financial responsibilities in the program

In forming the CU-HU partnership program, what CU and HU are responsible for in support of the partnership is not equal. Rather than split costs down the middle, costs are divided according to the different sets of responsibilities shared between CU and HU.

Because HU has no part in the lower division curriculum, CU is entirely responsible for the management and funding of operations of the Chinese Bachelor's in Management that the students earn during their first and second years of university. Any costs related to training, development or travel for the faculty in this program must be shouldered by CU. This can be difficult, since as mentioned before, the faculty who teach in the lower division often belong to other departments, and are not always guaranteed to return the next year, or even the next semester. Thus, any money spent on professional development or training programs for faculty by administrators on the CU side of the partnership program would be a potential waste.

In the upper division curriculum, Hospitality University will pay for expenses related to academics, including conferences, travel, professional development and salaries for faculty who teach the HU degree curriculum. This includes things like the graduate education and master's degrees in Hospitality all instructors took after being hired to teach the HU upper division curriculum, when the CU-HU partnership was initially forged. Despite the fact that everyone had several years of hospitality industry experience, and several already had Ph.D. degrees in related fields, the administrators at HU in Miami were responsible for ensuring that all instructors teaching their curriculum in China were trained in the *specific content and methodology* of their program. It also includes continual training, like the all-expenses paid trips to Miami for two instructors every year to teach for one summer session at the home campus, as a form of continued professional development.

Hospitality University will also pay for professional and academic expenses related to student services. In addition to instructors, HU also hires and/or subcontracts

Chinese staff from CU to provide academic advising and career services in the upper division of the partnership program. These individuals are responsible for different events and services meant to foster student success and career-readiness, such as inviting guest speakers for career talks, organizing career fairs for industries to visit the school and recruit students, and advise students on next steps for study abroad or enrolling in a master's program. HU also partners with industries each year to provide full scholarships to several outstanding Chinese students at the Tianjin campus. A competitive process, these scholarships cover the hefty tuition and book fees for one year, in order to acknowledge and showcase students' academic excellence.

However, the finances for all physical structures of the HU program are solely the responsibility of CU. While a majority of the classes in Commerce University's Management major are taken in different buildings spread across the campus, all of Hospitality University's courses are taken in one building, the Global Exchange Building, otherwise known as the HU building. This building was constructed in the early 2000s for the express purpose of housing the HU Hospitality major in the CU-HU program. At present, the building, classrooms, labs, dorms and all physical components contained therein, are solely the responsibility of CU to maintain, not HU. "We take care of upper division academics. That's it," stated the HU Dean, "Everything else is [CU's] responsibility."

As a result of literally managing over half of the program, Commerce University receives over half of the cooperative program's tuition revenue. According to the contractual agreement, CU receives 100% of the tuition from the lower division, and 51% of the tuition from the upper division. Thus, HU receives 0% of the tuition from the

lower division, and 49% of the tuition from the upper division. This 51/49 tuition split of the upper division includes all students who study at the Tianjin campus, except for those who study abroad from Miami. Although they do pay a comprehensive fee to CU to cover dorms and some locally-based cultural activities, their entire tuition goes to HU in the US. (DB, interview, November 17, 2014)

Global education as a form of social and economic compensation

While both sides purportedly entered in this partnership as a means of providing high quality education to produce global-ready students, there were other significant impetuses at work driving the program. That is, the cultural and symbolic capital that the global education program embodied or offered was often used as a means to accumulate more resources, such as more privileged students and more qualified faculty. By accumulating more privileged students and qualified faculty, this cultural and symbolic capital could be converted by both sides of the program into social and economic capital. Essentially, both Commerce University and Hospitality University utilized and appropriated global education as a means of social and economic compensation to make up for challenges they face in their respective state-funded allotment of resources.

Building a socially acceptable global image. Not particularly well-known in China, many outside the city and surrounding locale would not be able to say much about Commerce University by itself. It ranks below 300th place nationally and is located in the suburbs, rather than the more exciting city center. Many of the existing CU faculty do not have terminal degrees, and the attempt to recruit those who do is often stymied by the mandated entry-level salary of only 8000RMB per month. As a result, while some of the available majors do require higher College Entrance Exam scores than many parents

expect of a second-tier university, all of CU's majors in the university accept much lower entrance scores than any of the first-tier universities in China.

To compensate for this lower ranking, the CU-HU cooperative program has become a form of symbolic capital appropriated by Commerce University as a way to bolster its national reputation. CU has actively sought partnerships with foreign universities, including Hospitality University with whom they formally established the dual-degree partnership program in 2004. In partnering with HU, CU followed a common practice among Chinese universities of intentionally partnering with a higher ranked foreign university, while not straying too far from *men dang hu dui* (门当户对) – picking a partner who is on the same level in other aspects. By "marrying up" the social ladder of education, Chinese universities maneuver themselves to benefit socially from borrowing the foreign university's higher-ranking prestige, as well as to benefit economically from the increased available resources of the partnered foreign universities. Partially due to severe criticisms of China's education system by its own public, education programs abroad are considered superior to those in China – and of foreign degrees, American ones are the most sought after. Moreover, the prestige of an American degree remained constant, regardless of origin, even if earned in China. Olivia, a second-year student preparing to matriculate to the upper division certainly viewed it this way. "Yes, *of course*, it's the same," she explained when asked if people would the degrees granted from the partnership program the same way, "it's American, why would people look at that differently?" (OW, interview, October 4, 2014). Her boyfriend, Alex who was also present, continued, "[companies] might ask if you studied abroad, but if you have an American degree, it doesn't matter where it comes from"

(OW, interview, October 4, 2014). They clarified that the American degree symbolized a certain level of English proficiency, curriculum engagement and, most importantly, foreign exposure and critical thinking skills. They, and other students interviewed both inside and outside of CU-HU, repeatedly stated their belief that American education was the "best in the world," while students in CU-HU enjoyed more educational resources and benefits afforded them through the cooperative program. These resources include a steady presence of foreign faculty and students. A rare commodity in second-tier universities, and a primary selling point for the cooperative program to Chinese audiences, actual photos of the foreign faculty and students featured very prominently on all the cooperative program's promotional and recruitment materials. By making foreign degree programs like HU's available at their university, CU borrowed the symbolic capital of American education to raise its own profile in China, and makes itself a more desirable and reputable institution, by proxy.

At the same time, Commerce University also used the international edge of the cooperative program to compensate for the stigma and misunderstanding that often surrounds the reputation of the Hospitality degree itself, and combat negative connotations to increase desirability of this program. "This is an embarrassing major in China," Ms. Zhao, another HU professor explained, "Many do not choose this major because they are interested in it. They just want the American degree" (WZ, field notes, November 15, 2014). She elaborated that many parents in both China and the U.S. mistakenly picture employment in the Hospitality industry as low-paid hotel or restaurant work. Adding to the confusion is the fact that the standard, government-approved translation of the major still uses the old name, "Hotel Management," instead of

something more broadly encompassing customer experience focused industries. Why spend money going to university for an end result of entry-level front desk clerk, when they could pay to go to a vocational school for a fraction of the price, instead? Most parents typically do not want their children to graduate college just to become a hotel housekeeper or a fast food restaurant manager. Thus, a degree in Hospitality can sometimes be incorrectly viewed as a waste of economic resources. However, the prestige of the borrowed American reputation and the rigor of the differently styled American curriculum, including its adherence to English instruction and hands-on applications of textbook materials, has resulted in this program being ranked first several times among all Hospitality majors nationwide in China. In contrast, the Hotel and Tourism major previously offered at CU before partnering with HU never made national rankings. In this way, Commerce University used the image of global education in the partnership program as a means of symbolic capital to help mitigate the perceived failings of a "weaker major," and bringing a significant amount of desired attention to the university, instead.

Hospitality University also trades on the image of having a global education available through its program at Commerce University, but as form of cultural capital, rather than just symbolic. In its home state, Hospitality University already boasts a solid reputation. With a large student population of well over 30,000 students, there is no shortage of freshmen, transfer or international applicants every year. However, the increased demand for universities to have more study abroad and international programs available has had a profound effect not just on how students at HU plan the course of their undergraduate studies, but also fundamental operational schemes for university

finances and academics. With the number of American students going abroad more than doubling nationally since 2000, universities across the U.S. have worked to increase educational exchange programs with schools from around the globe.

As such, HU trades on the international nature of the cultural capital of this partnership as a way to meet growing U.S. demands to provide "global experiences" for American college students, as well as to stay competitive with other U.S. institutions. In addition to the CU-HU program being located in China, several core major courses, such as Law, Marketing and Facilities Management, are earmarked as *Global Learning (GL)* courses by the major. This is partially to ensure that Chinese students are able to fulfill the GL requirement for all HU majors, despite having a much more limited course selection compared to the general requirements and electives available at HU's campus in America. However, not all U.S.-based HU students who study abroad are Hospitality majors. The added benefit of the GL designation is that anyone from the U.S. HU campus can also study abroad to the HU program in China to gain an officially recognized "global learning" experience to fulfill this university requirement, even if his or her major is not Hospitality. In this way, the major is structured to be more universally appealing, using global education and its Global Learning designations to attract more students to the campus in China, even if for a short while, by offering the cultural capital of a "global credentialing."

Global education as a for-profit business. Despite their different internal struggles regarding funding, expenses and financial restrictions, what both universities get out of this partnership – and potentially what keeps it going despite interdepartmental and cultural conflicts – is immense profitability. What may have started as simply a

means to ensure both partnered Chinese and American universities were satisfied with the amount of program-generated revenue has now become a source of incredible profit for both sides. This profitability served different explicit intended purposes for each side of the cooperative program, while still producing the same overall result: global education was appropriated as a means of economic compensation to counter very specific funding challenges that each university faced in its respective education system.

In China, the designation of 211 and 985 causes a vicious feedback loop of privilege, that subsequently disadvantages many other universities in the national ranking system. Since 211 and 985 universities are allotted more resources, they can spend more money on better quality facilities and better credentialed faculty. The quality of the facilities and faculty attract better performing students to these universities. As a result, these universities receive higher rankings, reflecting that they "deserve" their 211 and 985 designations. Without these designations bestowing distinct social and economic advantages, it can be difficult for other Chinese universities to make the structural and curricular changes necessary to raise their rankings to an equivalent level as the 211s and 985s, and attract more funding. Lower rankings mean attracting lower-performing students, and staying within this cycle of lower outcomes and disadvantaged funding.

For CU, the cooperative Hospitality major generates over five times the revenue as other majors, helping offset the economic disadvantage that CU faces for not having a 211 or 985 designation. While the financial impact of the higher tuition revenue is perhaps slightly less impressive now in the wake of China's economic boom than it was in the early 2000's, it is still quite substantial. Coupled with other similar foreign cooperative programs, CU is able to generate significantly more revenue while

continuing to invest roughly the same baseline amount of resources in teaching, support staff and facilities that it would for any other major.

In the beginning years when the cooperative program first opened to students, CU initially charged the same tuition rate of 4,400RMB per year as its other standard Chinese commerce and tourism majors offered in other schools and departments on campus. Once students entered the American side of the partnership program, CU then charged them the "American" in-state tuition rate of 32,800RMB (DB, interview, November 17, 2014). Taking the average aggregate lower division student body size of about 600 students charged 4,400RMB per year, and the average aggregate upper division student body size of about 400 students charged 32,800RMB, CU earned roughly 9,331,200RMB, or 59.2%, of the total annual 15,760,000RMB program tuition revenue. However, several years after establishing successful program operations, CU changed the tuition rate charged to first and second years to match that charged to junior and senior students. According to the official published tuition standard on the program's website, students now pay 28,000RMB in tuition each year for all four years of the partnership program, which roughly matches the cost of paying in-state tuition to attend HU in America. The total tuition revenue for the same 1000 student body size is now 28,000,000RMB, of which 22,512,000, or 80.4% now goes to CU – a 240% increase in tuition revenue compared to the first years of operation.

This is not the only foreign cooperative program on campus that generates a higher revenue. Another dual-degree partnership with an Australian university boasts a slightly more affordable tuition of 25,000RMB per year, while a different American master's program charges 48,000RMB per year. While the tuition percentage split for

those programs is unknown, Commerce University is essentially able to leverage the symbolic capital of global education programs, and convert it to significant economic capital for itself. Thus, the revenue generated from these programs became a form of economic compensation to bridge the resource gap between CU and the more prestigious, higher-ranked universities, despite a missing 211 and 985 designation.

Meanwhile, for HU, the cooperative program in China also generated a significant amount of profit. Although HU technically received less tuition revenue per student as a result of CU's tuition adjustment (a somewhat sore subject in some discussions with HU administrators), the partnership program in China still produced increasingly profitable results. Increased enrollment of Chinese students in the program had generated more revenue over the years, as the brand and ranking of the cooperative major became more well-known. In addition, there were very few recurring expenses that HU needed to pay to maintain the program. Since CU was responsible for the majority of the expenses related to program operations, HU's largest operating expense for the cooperative program in China was faculty salary. This is where HU's program in China was more cost-effective than the U.S. "The American faculty get an American salary, but the Chinese faculty don't. I get an American salary. They get a Chinese salary," the HU Assistant Dean in Tianjin explained (DB, interview, November 17, 2014). As concrete data was limited concerning HU upper division faculty salaries, anecdotal evidence from faculty painted a stark picture of inequality. On average, Chinese professors teaching upper division HU classes in English earned about 60-70% for the same teaching workload, as compared to their foreign equivalents in both China and America (DB, interview, November 17, 2014; KX, interview, October 21, 2014; WB, interview,

October 9, 2014). Additionally, the enrollment for most HU classes in China was set significantly higher than for HU classes in the U.S. While the official enrollment caps in China were set at 45, compared to 40 in the U.S., very rarely did the U.S. classes ever reach capacity like the Chinese ones did. While course enrollment in China consistently reached 45 or 50, courses in the U.S. averaged between 25 to 35. This meant fewer instructors needed to be employed and paid on a regular basis at the Tianjin campus, since individuals carried heavier workloads. "Sometimes, we feel we are the cheap labor for HU," one HU instructor, Ms. Xu, expressed, "How much do they make in [America]?" (KX, interview, October 21, 2014).

Much of the profit made through this program was then used to help finance the home campus in America, and get around U.S. cuts in educational spending. "It's very strange for us," Ms. Xu explained, "when we ask for money for the program, [HU] says they are cutting budgets. But, you see in China they are increasing spending on education. Education is very important, why reduce the spending?" (KX, interview, October 21, 2014). Thus, although implemented in a different way, global education was also utilized by HU as a means to compensate for an economic disadvantage that it faced.

Coda

In this chapter, I discussed the ways both Commerce University and Hospitality University appropriated the partnership program to combat financial challenges that they faced in executing the mission of the CU-HU cooperative program. While both sides were responsible for financing different parts of the program, both programs also experienced funding shortages due to lack of symbolic capital and credentialing. Thus, both universities used the symbolic and cultural capitals of the program to overcome

specific obstacles, such as CU lacking a state-sponsored 211 and 985 designation, and HU lacking significant enough research and publication status to acquire grants and additional state funding.

In the next chapter, I move from administrative appropriation to student appropriation. As active agents in their own education, students engaged in very specific strategies that utilized global education to their advantage. However, this ability to engage in global education was not available to everyone, and raises questions about student access to education.

Chapter 8 – Students utilizing global education to overcome educational barriers

In this chapter, I explore the process of self-cultivation and accumulation of transnational capital that Chinese students underwent during their time in the CU-HU program. I argue that the very way that the Chinese CU-HU students engaged in the program, and pursued their goals in it were oriented in a fundamentally different way from their counterparts from the U.S. studying abroad at the HU campus in China. At the same time, this behavior and intent also differed from Chinese students in the other major programs at CU. Instead, to varying degrees, the Chinese students in the CU-HU program managed to develop transnational capitals that enabled them to be globally ready, while still remaining locally Chinese.

With two distinct cultural and institutional paradigms existing and interacting within the same program, students were exposed to diverse cultural values from both sides. As discussed in Chapter 4, introducing a foreign cultural paradigm into the local Chinese context through the imported American curriculum sometimes proved problematic when the different values clashed with one another. Yet, the students were not blank slates who simply absorbed the implicit and explicit values shown and taught to them. Rather, these students were young adults functioning with their own independence and agency, and making decisions that affected and altered the course of their studies in the program. They were constantly and actively accepting, negotiating and rejecting values and information at all stages of the program as they sought to cultivate not only

their skills as future workers in the global labor market, but also themselves as responsible individuals and good people, throughout the course of their learning.

Thus, in this chapter, I examine how students utilizing the global education of the partnership program, especially with regard to the kind of transnational capitals produced at the school by the students. First, I look at what demographics of students typically enroll in the CU-HU cooperative program, and how their vision and goals to acquire transnational capital through global education differed from those put forth by the partnered administrations. Next, I discuss how these global education goals resulted in a cultural hierarchy, where students assigned status to different aspects of the partnership program, privileging and preferring certain experiences over others in their pursuit of transnational capitals. Finally, I look at some of the specific processes and actions students took in trying to create and integrate transnational capitals into their operating repertoire of knowledge.

Student backgrounds: Origins of a "Global Citizen"

In this section, I outline many of the shared traits, beliefs and values that contributed to their pursuit of transnational capital. Although most tended to come from either Tianjin, or nearby areas like Beijing and Inner Mongolia, students could come from all over China to enroll in the cooperative program. Student participants varied greatly in their origins, ranging from the westernmost Xinjiang and Gansu provinces, to more central Shaanxi and Sichuan provinces, all the way to southern Fujian and Guangdong provinces. They represented a diversity of linguistic and regional cultures, speaking several Chinese dialects as a first language before Mandarin, and included a handful of China's fifty-six officially recognized ethnic minorities. Within this vast

regional, linguistic and ethnic diversity, there was one common theme, mindset and lifestyle that united the majority of these student participants: newly minted Chinese middle-class socioeconomic status.

An ideological generation at odds?

In the relatively quieter years that followed the end of the Cultural Revolution, national economic prosperity and stability has allowed for new and multiple ideologies to emerge, based on the new and multiple lifestyles that became possible in the decades succeeding Deng Xiaoping's Openness and Reform movement. The rapid economic growth brought about by changes in government policies and foreign investments meant that there was now a sizable middle-class that was not present as recently as a mere decade ago.[19] Children raised with their formative years in this middle-class backdrop grow up with much less physical hardship, and different habits regarding fiscal responsibility. Times of peace and greater political stability also meant these students grew up with greater political freedom of expression. Access to high-speed technology meant they had greater and more constant exposure to foreign events, media and ideologies.

Coming of age in this millennial environment of peace, prosperity, stability and globalization meant that the generational ideology of the middle-class 90s students represented in the CU-HU partnership program was dramatically different from that of their elders. The 50s and 60s governing generation of policymakers, academics, grandparents and even parents remembered the famines, poverty and political instability

[19] As of 2012, 71% of Chinese households qualified as middle-class or above in terms of economic purchasing power (≥$9,000USD annual income). In 2000, only 4% qualified. By 2020, this percentage is projected to reach 76%.

of the Cultural Revolution, and the subsequent years of the Reform Era. The 90s generation knew relative peace, economic prosperity and social stability. As members of this 90s generation became university students in the CU-HU program, they brought with them different experiences and values as a part of their identity, and viewed themselves differently than their parents' and grandparents' generation did.

Moving towards the future: the current generation's embrace of the new and foreign

Much like the Chinese government of the Cultural Revolution, many of the Chinese students in the CU-HU program saw many, but not all, values and elements promulgated by the older generation as impeding their development and progress as responsible citizens. At best, students saw required courses like Traditional Chinese Culture as interesting but no longer relevant, but at worst Maoism and Chinese Socialism, and Basic Principles of Marxism as utterly loathsome and literal wastes of time. Truancy was rampant in these courses, easily reaching at least 50% absenteeism on some days. Other than satisfying the minimum GPA required for transfer into the American program, spending time learning the content of these nationally mandated courses was not viewed as helpful in preparing them for the HU Hospitality program in the immediate future.

As the values and knowledge sets taught in the national requirement set of courses were not shared or understood by the economically successful and progressive global West, students did not see them as relevant to a successful future working in or with the West. In fact, in students' eyes, history had proven that the theories espoused in the latter two courses were simply unfeasible and untenable. Both may have sounded good on paper to socialist revolutionaries fighting imperial hierarchy, but Mao's principles and

initiatives caused unstable periods in China's history. Adopting a Marxist economy and governing practices had nearly destroyed the country during the 1950s through the 1970s. It was not until Deng Xiaoping began introducing and adopting controlled Capitalist principles instead of Marxist ones that China was propelled into the fastest growing economy of the twentieth century.

Rather, the Chinese students desired to leave the content of these required courses in their textbooks, and strove instead to integrate foreign experiences and expertise into their existing knowledge sets. They wished to cultivate themselves as more cosmopolitan and internationally savvy individuals, not Marxist Communists. More than just the ubiquitous and localized McDonald's and Kentucky Fried Chicken, many students in the cooperative program actively sought out Korean, Japanese, Thai, Mexican, Italian and American restaurants originally meant to cater to foreign expat populations in more distant parts of the city. Many subsequently even worked at these restaurants, like Troy, a junior student who chose to work at a Thai restaurant to fulfill his degree requirements industry work hours, even though it meant travelling longer and further into the city. Whereas once these kinds of places would have been frequented almost exclusively by foreigners, now young, trendy Chinese visitors willing to spend a little more money on leisure activities and fine dining outnumber the foreigners (Schmitz, 2015; Hollingsworth, 2017). This kind of desire and behavior was fairly typical for a "90s kid" in China, but was observed especially frequently for a student of the partnership program. Every Thursday through Saturday night, students could be seen congregating in the lobby downstairs, watching their mobile taxi apps for the drivers who would come pick them up, and take them to the more upscale restaurants downtown or in the expat district.

Many students also literally donned themselves with the foreign, as a symbolic marker of their status as both wealthier and internationally-minded. For the young, rising middle-class consumers, fashion brands like H&M and Zara, priced as mid-range in the West but more expensive and higher-end in China, had a strong presence in both the Chinese market and students' wardrobes. High-end luxury brand names like Coach, Michael Kors, Prada, Dolce and Gabana, and Louis Vuitton, absolutely unthinkable to many worldwide at present let alone China in 2000, were commonly talked about and sought after, rather than Chinese brands, for all kinds of apparel and accessories. Apple products dominated student choice for personal technology, and were prevalent status symbols on desks and tables during class time. Whereas other CU majors might have one "it" student with an iPhone in a class, it was extremely common to see nearly all CU-HU program students on iPhones and iPads during class – and not uncommon to see them on MacBooks, either. This was despite the fact that not only were they were not eligible for an educational discount like in the U.S., often Chinese students paid more for Apple products in the mainland based on foreign levies and higher market demand driving up product prices. When anyone had plans to travel abroad, they were often bombarded by requests from friends or acquaintances, asking them to purchase one or more of these kinds of items on their behalf at the lower retail price available overseas. "Would you mind picking up three iPhones for me when you're in America?" one junior student, Dahlia, asked me, "I can get you the model numbers. They're for my mom, brother and me. I can pay you in cash when you get back" (field notes, November 24, 2014).

This kind of hunger to experience and accumulate the foreign and Western was a signature component of a young and modern lifestyle for many Chinese students, but

especially so for those in the cooperative program. Part of this was attributable to the value of "face" where luxury and foreign goods were used as visible markers of social status for students to look good and promote a high-class reputation in front of their peers. Yet beyond that, many students in the program also truly sought to breathe in knowledge of foreign places, foreign foods, foreign languages and foreign customs, often funneling this drive into their class assignments and projects. In one culinary course, a team of students scoured the internet for online patisserie videos and tutorials, teaching themselves how to make more complex confectionary projects in class like crème brulée and cheesecake, while the instructor had only covered simpler treats like cookies and brownies. In another course, students aspiring to transfer to the head Hospitality University campus in America often researched travel to Miami and made instructional tourism reports on visiting its different attractions and resources for class projects, which they hoped to use as plans of action the following year.

Even leisure time became an important exercise in self-cultivation and foreign exposure. During Winter Break of the year I was conducting my research in China, Candy, one of the Chinese junior students who I befriended, travelled with another U.S. exchange student on a trip through Russia, before travelling with her sister through a few cities on the U.S. West Coast (field notes, March 4, 2015). Another Chinese junior, Cindy, told me the story of how she and a few other girls flew to the U.S. the previous summer for sightseeing and travel. While their parents helped with some of the starting costs, this group of students funded many of their trip expenses by working at a McDonald's near where they stayed for the duration of their trip. While only an entry level fast food position, they had wanted to gain independence and work experience in

the U.S., while learning about its work culture, to be better informed citizens in their future professional careers. After winter break, she excitedly told me about how she had just returned from Hungary, where she had volunteered in an education program (field notes, March 11, 2015).

Having these kinds of goals, and acquiring these kinds of foreign knowledge sets and experiences, acted as ways for students to gain transnational capitals. These transnational capitals were not only viewed as a way to be more competitive in the Chinese labor market, but also as the desired way to become a better citizen of both China and the world. These were the values and experiences that students wanted to make a part of themselves – working at McDonald's in America, not watching an old man make tea. In contrast to the older generation's desire for Chinese students to become good moral citizens by remembering where they came from, the younger generation of students desired to accumulate transnational capitals that would enable them to become globally competent and venture out into the world.

"America is #1!": Cultural Hierarchies in School

Throughout sustained observations of the different class sessions, the desire and pursuit for transnational capital gave rise to a very clear hierarchy of cultures and experiences within the cooperative program, where students preferred and privileged the more global "American" entities and experiences over the local Chinese. Instructors, courses and content materials were not all valued equally by student participants. Rather, some elements of the cooperative program were perceived by students, but also teachers to some extent, as intrinsically having more or less worth than other elements, depending on the kind of transnational capital that could be attained from them. These perceptions

created an implicit cultural hierarchy that dominated both formal and informal aspects of life, shaping many of the actions that people took, and the choices they made. In exploring what was perceived as "American" and how it was more greatly valued than what was "Chinese" by many of the students, I looked at the different sets of knowledge, values and skills presented in the program, and what students emphasized as more essential to integrate into their learning and personal development.

Everything is better in America

Culturally speaking, there was a common perception among students that what was American was of better, higher quality and inherently more interest than what was Chinese. For example, despite huge scandals involving questionable labor sourcing in China, Apple products were hugely popular among CU-HU students, because they were considered higher quality products. iPhones were favored over other cell phones, and MacBooks were favored over other laptops, with both visibly more frequent than non-Apple competitors in class. Tablets were uncommon, but were iPads, if present. Similarly, global education – and in the case of the partnership program, American education – was appropriated as a consumable commodity considered far superior in quality to its Chinese counterpart, more suited for achieving transnational development. The expected result of consuming this product, global education, was improved international communication skills, knowledge about foreign business operations, and overseas networks that would support ability to study and travel abroad. As a result, global education was in huge demand among the partnership Chinese students, just like iPhones were.

Within the partnership program, this translated to students selectively choosing to

focus very intensely in classes related to gaining access to the upper division HU side, and to neglect anything that did not contribute to that focus or access. In the CU lower division for the B.A. in Management, students often exclusively focused on their English classes to prepare for the TOEFL, but also placed greater emphasis on paying attention and learning in classes that provided any "American" material. Content in CU's lower division general requirements or even major classes were sometimes mocked by the students as having no relevance or importance to them and their future pursuits. "All these things, they are just useless. I don't even remember anything I 'learned' from them," the outspoken girl named Candy expressed (field notes, April 16, 2015). This sentiment was repeated by several others, including Cindy, and another girl named Melissa. In many of the general requirement classes taught as large combined *ban* lecture sections (e.g., Maoist Thought and Practice or Chinese Traditional Culture), students were frequently truant. It was not unfeasible, or unheard of, for Chinese students to show up for only the first day of class, the midterm exam, and the final exam, and still receive a passing grade for the class.

In contrast to the other lower division courses taught in Chinese, students' English language classes were conducted in the target language, and commanded more student focus and attention. In the English courses, students regularly attended class with thirty – not 600 – classmates, had more one-on-one instruction, and were frequently called on to answer questions related to the course content. As a result, the class structure for the foreign-related courses taught in English both commanded and received more respect and attention from the students than the courses taught in Chinese, as they gave the opportunity for students to accumulate more transnational capital in the way of language

and communication skills. Considering the role of TOEFL scores in the ability to progress to the coveted HU upper division program, many students saw their English courses as the only necessary part of their lower division learning, sometimes skipping other classes to complete English homework, or extra TOEFL study practice.

Making "American" students

This cultural hierarchy of valuing the "American" over the Chinese was implicitly encouraged by the Chinese teachers and administration through their privileging of different class content. For Chinese students who did attend their general required courses like Marxism, Economics or Biology, they could be seen vigorously and blatantly studying materials related to their English classes, rather than following the class lecture in their course textbooks. English newspapers, TOEFL books, and writing journals littered auditorium desk spaces during large lectures. More than once during class time, students who knew I was a native English speaker would shyly pass me a handwritten journal entry to look over, send me a composition over WeChat,[20] or even brazenly walk across the lecture hall to sit next to me and quietly ask questions about a reading comprehension text (field notes, March 31, 2015; April 7, 2015; April 27, 2015). Other than occasionally taking roll call, the lower division Chinese instructors never disciplined students over this kind of behavior during class. Some even sympathized with the students' plight, knowing the stress many students faced in needing to pass the TOEFL exam. Ms. Hai, the Marxism instructor, commented, "HU students have a lot more stress [than other students], because within the first two years, they must complete the local curriculum, but they especially stress over English. In America, perhaps students don't

[20] WeChat is the most common mobile texting app used by the Chinese-speaking world, which also supports document, picture and file transfers between users.

have this kind of stress, but HU students need TOEFL or they can't continue…This is also different from other schools here which don't have that kind of stress over foreign language. If they just roughly pass a language course, that's fine" (HD, interview, June 9, 2015). As long as there were no explicit disruptions to the instructors' lectures, students were often permitted to do as they pleased, regardless of whether or not their behavior actually supported learning the course lecture material.

However, once students matriculated to the upper division of classes for their American degree, this attitude of dismissal changed. Not only did students no longer have to prepare for the gatekeeping TOEFL test, they willingly attended classes on a much more regular basis. "Students like our classes. They see they are more practical and more valuable than their other [CU] classes," said Ms. Xu (KX, interview, October 21, 2014), who often scheduled field trips to tour hotels and other hospitality properties. "We learn the useful information in these classes, so I don't mind to go," explained Candy, who made it a point to attend her HU courses regularly. Regarding her first and second year, she explained, "I only went because the teacher sometimes called attendance, and I didn't want to lose points. But, I didn't learn anything in those classes. Everything I studied for the test, and completely forgot it now" (field notes, March 21, 2015).

As students progressed in their own tactics to acquire transnational capital, the HU administration in the U.S., took valuation and creation of the "American" to a more extreme level. Despite often stating in the U.S. that it desired and valued a diverse student body, it was debatable whether or not the faculty and administrators in the program were as accepting of cultural and ideological differences in practice, as they

thought they were. Within the Chinese context of their satellite campus in Tianjin, the U.S. administration for the HU program operated the school as an accredited, American program, and tried to make everything within that school just like in the U.S. In some ways, this kind of approach also targeted the students, resulting in a bit of a paradox. In trying to teach students "how things were" in the U.S., and run the program the "American" way, their actions actually sought to homogenize certain student behaviors and characteristics. HU's actions constituted a specific form of cultural and transnational capital transmission, that the students would accept as valid means of becoming students better suited for classrooms at HU and American at large. At the same time, propagating certain, specific cultural norms about what it meant to "be an American" also appeared to run counter to HU's claim that it embraced cultural diversity.

Contributing to the somewhat homogenizing approach, and propagated "ideal American," were many instances where the foreign faculty in China and HU administration in the U.S. appeared to misunderstand the ideological perspectives and cultural differences that the Chinese students displayed. Some of these misunderstandings were relatively small, and could be easily mediated through exposure and explanation. For example, one foreign professor did not understand why students would never ask questions during lecture, but flock to him after class. In this case, a simple explanation of "face," and some tactics to help elicit more active participation in-class helped him to break the ice with his students. Other misunderstandings cut much deeper at the fundamental values underpinning student behavior, and were not so easily understood or negotiated. These differences in behavior and ideology were not always treated as valid alternatives for thought and practice, but rather as deficiencies in need of

"correcting," in order to develop the right kind of "American students" that they wanted to be in this program. Two major points of contention that HU tried to "Americanize" in its students were interpersonal communication styles, and the push for independence vs. interdependence.

Talking like Americans. One of the goals for the U.S. administration is that the HU program in China be an English-only environment, "just like in the U.S." In theory, all teachers were supposed to lecture in English, and all students respond in English during class time. In practice, many instructors lectured in English throughout the course of my observations, but students often discussed the content, assignments or group tasks in Chinese. Once class finished, there was often a rush of students to the front to ask teachers questions about the class content, future assignments, and points they did not understand. This interaction, being outside of the official "English time," often occurred in Chinese. The students did not understand why informal interactions had to occur in the language of instruction, feeling uncomfortable to speak in a foreign language to someone who was not a foreigner. As a Chinese student, speaking in English with other Chinese speakers outside of validating contexts, like class or English clubs, was seen as boastful, showing off when there was no need to (MD, field notes, November 12, 2014).

The resistance to English and continued use of students' native Chinese language throughout the program often caused conflicts with the HU administration at the U.S. campus. Once during a trip to China, the head Dean visited a class where he witnessed a study abroad student trying to explain a class concept to another Chinese student in her group. When the Chinese student did not immediately understand the message, rather than try to explain it a different way, the American asked another classmate, "Hey, can

you help me translate something real quick?" At this occurrence, the Dean became visibly upset. "Why does she need a translator?" he asked, "This class is supposed to be in English, and the students speaking English!" (field notes, October 28, 2014). The fact that the students continued to speak in Chinese among themselves during official class time seemed like a disregard for the rules of the program, and what it stood for – an American education, in the American way. He strongly desired to push forth an English-only campus atmosphere where the students would behave and act more like the "American" students back home.

However, a brief visit to the home campus in the U.S. painted a very different picture of the "American" life at Hospitality University. With over 60 countries represented by its student base, foreign languages were a natural part of everyday life, and an omnipresent part of the environment on campus. Walking down the sidewalks or hallways, even within the Hospitality Management building itself, showed conversations frequently took place between students in Spanish, Creole, Russian and other tongues (field notes, February 18, 2015). At times, the amount of English present between students outside of class in both the U.S. and China seemed almost comparable. Yet, never was it suggested that the campus in the U.S. impose an "English-only" rule – such a move would likely have met with harsh criticisms of discriminatory practices. In this way, the HU upper division program pushed harder to make the students in China conform to American standards, more so than the students who actually studied in America.

Independence vs. interdependence. In addition, another often misunderstood cultural value was the idea of independence and the role that it played in student

development. In the U.S., independence from one's parents was one of the ultimate goals of education, and the mark of guardians successfully completing their child-rearing duties. Training for independence started young, with small steps like having students choose their own class schedules in middle and high school, choosing their major in college, and working part-time to earn and save money at any point throughout that period. Many mainstream middle-class American students who go on to college are expected to apply to a variety of schools, regardless of how close they are to home, and sometimes regardless of their own family's financial capabilities. Upon enrollment, students then strive to fend for themselves, sometimes receiving financial support from parents, but sometimes also earning money through jobs and internships that help establish a resume meant to be fleshed out over time and used to apply for a full-time job upon graduation. Calls home are paradoxically almost expected to be infrequent, even as many parents wish they were more frequent.

However, the way in which Chinese students approached independence was fundamentally different, and thus fundamentally bizarre, for many foreign teachers and students associated with the partnership program. It was not unusual for students from nearby cities to go home every weekend to stay with their family, with some even going home on weeknights. Phone calls home were frequent, with Joel, one of the foreign study abroad students, remarking, "At the beginning of the semester, you could hear one first-year Chinese girl through the bathroom ventilation crying 'Mama!' almost every night. It was ridiculous!" (field notes, October 31, 2014). Conversations about Chinese students asking their parents for money were less than endearing to some of the foreign faculty. "The students here just don't know how to be independent!" griped the Beverage

instructor (JD, interview, October 24, 2014), "They need to get out of the womb!" This complaint seemed especially ironic, considering how trends in the U.S. for the last decade have shifted towards overparenting and "helicopter parents" who proactively exhibit even more extreme behaviors than texting or calling their children every day, like calling teachers to complain about the difficulty level of homework assignments and ensure better grades, instead (Glass & Tabatsky, 2014).

Whereas the Western professors and students viewed independence of behavior and emotional distance from the family as a desirable outcome, the Chinese students saw this kind of behavior as sad, and almost disrespectful. The idea of attaining complete separation and independence did not fit into their framework for transnational capital that would allow them to interface with international entities, so it was not something they pursued. Not needing or not missing one's family suggested relationships that were lacking or damaged, leading to connections that were unfulfilling. Not wanting to talk to one's parents who had provided financial and emotional support for the student throughout the course of his or her education, and consistently update them on educational and career progress was considered ungrateful. "How can you not miss your parents? They are a part of you." Therefore, if separated from a part of yourself, then how can you feel whole? This kind of involvement between students and parents, and students and Chinese administration, meant that constant guidance was a way to show concern for the wellbeing of the student.

In comparison, many Chinese students who went to study abroad in the U.S. or other Western countries, both at HU and elsewhere often had difficulty transitioning to new systems that expected more extreme, American-style independence. This could be

partially attributed to the fact that these students had in fact failed to recognize and acquire this particular cultural capital in time. The lack of active involvement by foreign administrations to contact Chinese students and guide them in their academic studies was seen as lack of concern. As a result, many felt that the foreign school did not care about its international students, when the reality was sometimes a different understanding of academic expectations.

Americans: the desire, the dream and the objective

Not only was course content material valued differently by Chinese students, but participants' actual legal citizenship was, as well. As exotic outsiders, foreigners in the program were granted prestigious social status within this cultural hierarchy, viewed by students as both valuable role models and precious commodities. Foreign faculty members were more highly sought after by Chinese students, and more highly valued by Chinese parents, than the Chinese instructors in the HU upper division. This interest was aided by the fact that foreign faculty taught some of the more interesting elective classes such as Wine Technology, or Advanced Food Production and Management, compared to the necessary but less fun Operations and Lodging Management. Essentially, foreign faculty were typically the cool teachers who taught the cool courses, but even required major courses taught by foreigners were viewed more favorably by Chinese students and parents, than those taught by Chinese professors.

This cultural demand for foreign instructors appeared to trade off the symbolic capital of foreignness, and ignore any standard merits for otherwise measuring educational qualifications. The foreign instructors were considered "better" authorities in their specialized fields, thus implicitly holding more valuable cultural capital, even

though a few were decades younger with far less work experience than most of the more senior Chinese instructors. While all CU-HU instructors were required to hold a minimum of a master's degree, only one foreign instructor held a Ph.D. There was also an extremely high turnover rate among foreign instructors, making class scheduling somewhat unstable. "We have been through twelve chefs in the past ten years," one CU-HU staff member remarked to the then new chef hire after one class, "Hope you can stay here for a long time" (RB, field notes, October 17, 2014). As foreign faculty were only required to sign yearly contracts, many stayed for only one or two semesters before leaving. This left the HU upper division in constant search of replacement instructors for posts that sometimes went unfilled for long periods of time. One HU administrator remarked, "There's a lot of wailing on the part of the parents. 'Come on, we're paying you for an American degree! Where's the American faculty?'" (DB, interview, November 17, 2014).

This difference in attributed symbolic value was despite the fact that the Chinese instructors were all very well-qualified for their position, if not technically more so than the Americans. The majority of Chinese instructors were arguably better educated than their foreign counterparts, with at four already holding a Ph.D. or equivalent terminal degree, and four more in the process of obtaining one. All had a high-proficiency in English marked by high TOEFL scores, in addition to several years of work experience overseas in hospitality-related industries. Still, while students believed the Chinese instructors in the upper division to be more interesting and better qualified teachers than those in the lower division, they were not regarded as highly capable as the foreign instructors. Essentially, while they had significant cultural capital, Chinese faculty

lacked the same symbolic capital of the foreign faculty. Many Chinese students complained among themselves that the Chinese instructors did not speak "real English" like the Americans, because of their accents. Others believed that the work experience and examples shared in class by Chinese instructors was somewhat outdated because of their age. Alex explained, "[The professor], he has some good experience, but the case studies and examples he uses in class are a little old, maybe from more than twenty years ago. He should use more new information" (AW, interview, October 4, 2014). Ironically, two popular, well-liked American instructors were well past retirement age, and the oldest instructors in the whole program. Yet, students, including Alex, rarely complained about their class content or information being outdated, saying instead that these American instructors had "a lot of very interesting and valuable real experiences." Thus, the symbolic capital of "Americanness" that a faculty member had was often treated as more desirable than his or her actual cultural capital, credentialing and professionalism.

Similarly, the HU students studying abroad from the U.S. also received a noticeable social status boost in class. Not only were the study abroad students considered more creative due to their different approaches and thoughts of process in doing work, but they were considered more capable in leading discussions, as well. Chinese HU teachers let study abroad dominate discussions during class, and were very hesitant to correct them when they spoke, especially if student rebuttals ever began with the words "but in America." While all the Chinese instructors had been to America, most had not been as recently as the U.S. study abroad students, and did not keep up with any pop culture references that students might cite in class. In this way, foreign students

possessed a cultural capital that made them almost "untouchable" during class time, which the other Chinese students desired. Conversely, these same Chinese teachers had no problem correctly other Chinese students in their classes often and publicly, during both discussions and presentations in the same classes with the study abroad students.

Perhaps most interesting was the even higher social status enjoyed by two Chinese-American students, in particular. These two were "study abroad" students who had been born overseas, but then grown up in the United States from a very young age. While their linguistic and cultural roots were Chinese, their formative years were very solidly American, demarcated by their ability to speak both fluent Chinese and English. They were able to navigate the different expectations and values of the American education system without issue, earning coveted "A" grades. They were also good friends with the other study abroad students from the U.S., while still understanding the cultural nuances of communicating with other Chinese teachers and students in their HU classes. Teachers went to extra lengths to point this out to the students. During one group presentation, a professor even interrupted one of these Chinese-American students while he was delivering his portion of a group presentation. "You see how clearly David[21] presents his topic?" the professor loudly praised, "he is very confident and clear. Everyone, you should try to be more like him!" Thus, with their cultural capital, linguistic abilities and flexible passport and residency status, these two students unofficially became the models for what the CU-HU Chinese students wanted, and were officially encouraged, to become – flexible citizens with the right kinds of transnational capitals enabling them to traverse multiple cultural and linguistic boundaries.

[21] Not his real name

The Case for Transnational Capital

In this section, I discuss the direct student efforts in their pursuit to obtain transnational capital through the CU-HU partnership program. First, I examine how students' pursuits of transnational capital in the partnership program compared to routes taken by students observed by Vanessa Fong. Next, I discuss the role of English in transnational capital acquisition, the status and peer validation fluency granted, and how students subsequently viewed themselves and their abilities for participating in a global education program. Then, I turn to how students invested in themselves to pursue the acquisition of transnational capital through this partnership, and how this path often granted more resources and opportunities compared to those unable to make the same kinds of investments in global education. Finally, I discuss how this ability to invest and notions of entitlement surrounding students' purchasing power in the degree led to an internationalization of the cultural hierarchy within students. This internationalization also contributed to students acquiring various labels to signify their acquisition of transnational capitals.

Transnational capital in action: becoming internationally savvy

Within the context of the CU-HU partnership program, the pursuit of transnational capital took a different direction when applied to the enrolled Chinese students, compared to those detailed by Fong (2011). Rather than describing outsiders learning to identify with the mainland, these mainlanders were learning to identify and interact with the outside world, like those documented by Vanessa Fong in *Paradise Redefined*. They strove to become global citizens able to navigate foreign contexts, while still maintaining their Chinese networks of connections and cultural roots. Learning

about foreign practices, information and languages not only made students competitive in the Chinese job market, it also made sure they were not beholden or bound to it alone. What they breathed in from the program was knowledge about foreign languages, values, customs and knowledge. They took this into themselves and integrated into their experiences as modern, middle-class Chinese nationals. What they breathed out was the transnational ability to navigate multiple cultural contexts across different national borders from the ones they were originally born into, opening doors to more and diverse opportunities for personal and professional development.

This ability to navigate more diverse contexts was tied to more than merely the acquisition of hard and technical skills. In the pursuit of learning how to calculate revenue, and manage business operations, students fundamentally changed the way they thought and processed information. Not only did they come to view and question hard facts and information differently from exposure to more diverse cultural perspectives, they learned cultural cues, values and practices from their instructors who had all worked overseas previously, as well as the foreign course curricula itself. One professor had Chinese students complete a textbook activity in class where they ranked a given list of necessary items, professional goals or personal achievements according to their current values and priorities. While second and third ranked items varied from career advancement to adequate leisure time to job stability, all Chinese students ranked "resources for family" as their number one benefit or priority that they would want to gain from their professional career. In contrast, when this professor conducted the same exercise in the U.S. with American students, the number one desire was "money." However, did this mean that American students only cared about money, and did not care

about their families? On the contrary, this difference was explained by how money and resources were viewed differently in the two countries. In the U.S., money was viewed as being able to buy all necessary resources needed for a family. In China, resources were connections that brought the money, as well as other potential 'perks' for a person's family. Students learned that both American and Chinese students were focused on the family, but that they approached their goals from different methods and perspectives. Beyond understanding this difference, internalizing it and making these additional practices a part of their own repertoire of behaviors to use in different contexts was something students sought to do both consciously and unconsciously, proving valuable for their potential future plans to travel and work abroad.

More than merely a tool for navigating contexts, these different values and ideas became a part of the students, changing the way they were able to orient themselves between national lines. Such was the acquired ability of Candy, the aforementioned girl who travelled to Russia and the U.S. Contrary to common social norms, she enjoyed exerting her own fiscal agency and social independence through her activities. As she progressed in her studies and accumulated more cultural and economic capital, she began to exercise more independence from her family and friends, practicing being more "American," so to speak. On her Winter Break plans, "I planned this whole trip by myself…I wanted to see if I could do this using my own money and without asking my parents for money. And, I did! I felt really happy about that" (field notes, March 4, 2015). In a society where many graduate students several years older than her would wait until graduation to find a job, and still ask their parents for a travel allowance without hesitation, her move for financial independence and responsibility was as unusual

as it was uncommon.

Candy also enjoyed travelling and spending time alone with platonic male as well as female friends, due to her increasing exercise in social independence. However, in a still primarily communally-oriented society, such individually-oriented activities, especially with the opposite gender often caused gossip which frustrated her. "I hate those *traditional* Chinese students," she often complained, "they are so close-minded and conservative. Why do they think boys would only be interested in me for dating? Why can't I be friends with whoever I want?" (field notes, April 17, 2015). Feeling that her more liberal values were not welcomed by many of her Chinese peers, she sought acceptance and friendship among the U.S. exchange students in the HU program in China with whom she was better able to communicate shared ideas, and became good friends. As her values and skills progressed over the course of two semesters, she eventually applied for transfer to HU's U.S. home campus to finish her undergrad studies and continue on to grad school. This transfer was not only meant to help boost her competitiveness in the job market, but to continue exercising and accumulating transnational capital, and experiment with a better fit for her identity as an independently minded feminist.

This does not mean that the cooperative program Americanized the Chinese students, causing them to expatriate. Even as Candy moved to the U.S. for a time, she maintained close, daily contact with her family. Her dream? "Someday, I want to have my own restaurant. It would be a fusion restaurant, with Asian and Western foods. Modern" (field notes, April 17, 2015). It could be in China or America, as long as she was the one in charge. It is important to recognize that these students did not become any

less Chinese as they developed transnational capital and skills in the American program. Rather, students learned to wear different, but equally authentic, "skins" to navigate different cultural contexts, and gained the ability to move across domains that could afford them greater benefits depending on their personal and career goals. Although very individualistic in her initiatives, Candy still held on to the many lessons of the communal good that had been instilled in her growing up, often focusing on and advocating for the rights of the groups she worked with, rather than her own.

This kind of simultaneously autonomous and communally-oriented behavior and activity went beyond merely learning the common rules of etiquette for a foreign situation. Activities and conversations like these helped Chinese students acquire new values, and come to see themselves in a new light, operating in a new, internationalized context. The result was a student who was not just Chinese, but more than Chinese, a person who was globally competent and ready. "I find that the level of thinking between the HU students, and the other CU students is different," one freshman in Mechanical Engineering stated, "They are different, and they see themselves as different." The Chinese students in the CU-HU program saw themselves as distinctly different, not just in skills but also cultural know-how, compared to other students outside of the cooperative program. This perception was despite the fact that they went to the same university, and had nearly identical courses their first two years.

The role of English as a contributing status marker

The likelihood that a student saw themselves as globally competent and possessed viable transnational capital had a very strong correlation to his or her English language, and/or other foreign language ability. The correlation at first seemed surprisingly simple

and straightforward, yet undeniably strong. The stronger the student's ability to speak, understand and use English in a professional context, the more the student again saw him or herself as not just different from, but "more than" students in other programs at the university, and the typical Chinese citizen in general. Many high-scoring students proudly boasted their TOEFL scores as a badge of honor showing that they truly did belong in the cooperative program – and that others did not. More than just a gate keeper, the TOEFL measured the value of the student. Those who scored high on the TOEFL were either very proudly open about their performance, or very well-respected by their peers. Those who passed with low scores were not necessarily bullied, but were treated differently by other students and teachers. Those who did not pass the TOEFL requirement and failed to matriculate were thus considered "unworthy" of the program. "Right now, the quality of many students is very poor in this program," one senior CU-HU student, Evita, complained, "because the TOEFL requirement is so low. But, they will be raising the TOEFL score soon. This is a very good thing, I think. Then only the higher quality students can get into the program" (field notes, April 15, 2015).

Strong English language skills were a key factor in allowing students to perform competently in their HU classes, which were a training ground for professional transnational contexts. English enabled the students to listen and learn the material taught in the American classes. Students used English to communicate with both their foreign and Chinese professors. They navigated English websites to apply for jobs and study abroad opportunities in the U.S., Australia, Canada and the U.K. Without English, students were not only limited in their ability to navigate these global contexts, but also their ability to show that they could. Students with higher English language proficiency

used this as symbolic capital to signify they belonged more on the "American" or "HU" side of the spectrum in terms of alma mater allegiance, and personal values. Conversely, students who had weaker English skills marked by lower TOEFL scores were much more likely to mark themselves as "fake" Americans closer towards the "Chinese" and "CU" side of the student identity spectrum, and hold more traditional, conservative values. As one student, Mindy, expressed during an interview in Chinese, regarding her global capable abilities, "I don't feel like a *real* HU student. I feel like a HU-skinned CU student" (MN, field notes, November 25, 2014). Thus, English performance and ability became strongly tied to identity for the Chinese students in the partnership program.

By comparison, the HU upper division of the CU-HU cooperative program sent about forty transfer students abroad to the HU home campus in the U.S. every year, for its 4+1 program. This did not include the handful of HU students who transferred to other U.S. institutions while still in undergrad, or went to graduate school abroad in other countries after graduating in Tianjin. All total, roughly 40% of the upper division CU-HU students studied abroad for graduate school, successfully accumulating even more transnational capital into their cultural capital repertoire.

Investing in Transnational Capital and the Globally Competent Child

Many Chinese students in the partnership program saw themselves as an *economic investment* for both themselves and their parents' future. As China's economy has grown, and its middle class has become more mobile, *filial piety* has been slow to adapt to this new context, but still holds a great deal of influence in how parents and children view and navigate their relationship with one another. As a result of the one-

child policy[22], the parents now invest a majority of their resources in their only child as he or she is now the only one left to carry the family name, both figuratively and literally.

These students felt a great deal of pressure to make a return on their parents' investment. The education that the students enjoyed in the CU-HU partnership came at a high price. The parents took a great financial risk in agreeing to send their children to study in this program, so students subsequently felt the need to succeed and excel in order to get a high-level job. The kind and level of job was extremely important. It had to be of a sufficient enough rank and carry enough social prestige so that the parents were not only proud, but would not believe they had wasted their money on such an expensive education. One teacher explained that lots of students would rather take a 3000RMB/month secretary job at a prestigious company, rather than a 5000RMB/month job at a local restaurant, because, "They would rather look good, than eat." At the same time, salary was also an important marker of success that worried many soon-to-be graduates. "My sister, after she graduated, she found a job in a hotel in Shanghai," one girl name Anna explained, "she makes only 3000RMB/month, but the cost in Shanghai is very high. Her life is very hard now, and she is embarrassed for my parents" (AM, interview, October 16, 2014).

The substantially higher price of the cooperative program compared to other equivalent Chinese majors was a signifier of the middle-class status and privileges afforded by the majority of the CU-HU students. From 1978 when China first reopened

[22] While still a major force in family planning, there have always been some exceptions to the policy (e.g., minority and rural families may apply to have three children), as well as ways around it (e.g., paying fines to have more, and going to Macau, Hong Kong, etc. to give birth, so the child's citizenship is exempt from the quota). However, the government has also taken steps in recent years to relax the policy (e.g., now only one instead of both parents need be an only child, in order to apply for exemption, and some cities have been experimental sites where two children are allowed).

its universities in the Chinese Economic Reform until 1997, college tuition was free for those who scored above the cutoff line for the National College Entrance Examination. Beginning in 1997 this policy changed so that all students had to pay to attend Chinese universities, although the cost of tuition was and still remains heavily subsidized by government spending. According to the published tuition standard information on the university website, the average yearly tuition for other Commerce University majors now ranges from 4,400RMB (709USD) for a standard liberal arts degree to upwards of 12,000-15,000RMB (1,932-2,415USD) for specialized design and fine arts majors. For the majority of liberal arts, business or science-related degrees, the tuition is 4,400-5,400RMB (709-870USD). In contrast, the price of tuition for the joint CU-HU program is over six times as much, at 28,000RMB (4,509USD) per year. This is before the cost of room and board at another 1000-1500RMB per year, and textbooks which bring the total to about 30,000RMB (4,800USD).

The status of investing, and buying a second chance at success

For many, this ability to invest in themselves signified a certain level of economic status and capital that allowed them to save themselves from the *Gao Kao,* and appropriate global education as a second chance at academic success. A students' scores on the *Gao Kao*, or Chinese National College Entrance Exam, determined what rank of university a student would be able to enroll in. The higher the score, the better reputed a university a student would be able to attend.

Reviewing the published admissions data through 2017 for Commerce University on its website showed an interesting matriculation pattern across its majors, and compared to other more prestigious universities. Commerce University already had

lower admissions standards than the 211 and 985 schools, with its top majors in Industry and Commerce drawing cutoff scores between 550 and 600, compared to Peking and Tsinghua Universities showing ranges between 700 and 750. In comparison, the cutoff scores by province for the CU-HU cooperative program were about 100-150 points lower, hovering between 450 and 500. These were the students who had essentially "failed" to earn a qualifying score to enroll in a better major or a better university.

Because of their middle-class socioeconomic status and ability to invest in themselves, students in the CU-HU program were essentially able to leverage their socioeconomic resources to buy themselves a second chance at university success. By purchasing from the more prestigious class of the American degree, students were able to use their economic privilege to socially compensate for their inability to get into a more prestigious school than what their low entrance exams would otherwise have allowed. Moreover, their investment arguably yielded greater symbolic, if not transnational, capital returns, due to the foreign nature of the American degree. For many, this ability to invest in themselves was also a way to save themselves, when others without the same economic capital would be unable to do so.

Because I'm worth it: entitlement or ambition?

As an intriguing subset of the *economic investment*, there were those who could even be classified as *economic entitlements*. At a very literal level, the higher money value associated with their education, and that their parents were willing to pay it, became signifiers to these students that they were worth more than others. They bought higher-end luxury goods, because they deserved quality items that would last a long time. Thus, as they progressed in their pursuit of transnational capital, these students often felt

entitled to demand more of the program, than perhaps Chinese students in other programs. After all, they were worth it.

These were students who did not feel privileged by their enrollment in a coveted American degree program, like students in years past had. Rather, they felt *entitled* to the opportunity. "The 80s generation, you could say they were more obedient, but not this 90s generation. They are different," HU instructor, Ms. Xu, explained (KX, interview, October 21, 2014). Another HU instructor, Mr. Jian, also voiced, "These students, they no longer feel 'honored' to be at HU" (field notes, October 21, 2014) Having been raised in an environment where parents instilled a great sense of confidence and worth for everything they received, Chinese students were not shy about making known what they wanted, and what they believe they deserved, both from their classes specifically (an A grade), and the program more generally (an American degree and a high-paying management job).

Indeed, students who felt entitled to good grades and a good job through the program felt this way due to high confidence in their own transnational and professional abilities. Whether this self-confidence was valid or not was a separate issue. While there were many students in the program who were certainly capable and intelligent, they still made mistakes as a normal part of learning new material. Yet, rather than accepting critical feedback meant to improve their performance, some students often challenged instructors or tutors who corrected them, reasoning, "I feel my answer is correct." This type of response was surprisingly common, even if it meant challenging native English-speaking instructors over English grammar and style corrections on written assignments. "I get that a lot!" one Miami student named Tiffany said during casual conversation.

"Me too!" responded another named Jake, "'I feel my answer is correct.' What am I supposed to say to that? 'I feel your answer is wrong?'" (field notes, October 31, 2014). According to teachers, the ability for students of this 90s generation to accept constructive criticism and critical feedback was much lower than previous generations of college students. Regarding an extracurricular internship she was involved in at the time of the study, Candy went out of her way on repeated occasions to call the staff person in charge and challenge the leader's behavior. As the student leader of the group of interns, Candy felt it was her responsibility to advocate for the rights of the students in her care, calling for better treatment and encouragement from the staff woman who she felt was overly harsh, and unhelpful. "If it was just me, I'd say screw it! I don't need this from her! But, I feel responsible for the group, and want to make sure they get a good experience and actually learn from this internship" (field notes, October 25, 2014).

Unsurprisingly, this kind of entitled attitude towards education among students sometimes caused conflicts with the teachers, many of whom came from very more conservative mindsets similar to the aforementioned instructor, Mr. Jiao, who hosted Sunday afternoon tea. Many expected students to fulfill the previous stereotype of being hardworking, quiet, obedient students who were grateful of the opportunity to participate in this international opportunity. "I think kids today are spoiled," Ms. Kang said, "maybe [some more rules] would be good for them" (field notes, October 23, 2014). Others did not think entitlement and attitude was the problem, as it was the parents. Mr. Lin explained, "Now with the One-Child Policy, many parents follow their kids to university and do everything for them. They don't exert any independence or do anything for themselves, and they think they can ask for anything because their parents will make sure

they get it" (field notes, October 21, 2014).

One major category of behavioral problems that teachers began to encounter included attendance. While truancy was not an uncommon problem in the lower division classes under the Chinese CU administration, or many other typical Chinese university programs, in years past it had been very uncommon for students to skip class in the upper division HU program in China. However, in recent years, new behavioral trends had started to emerge. Despite dorms being in the same building as classes, student tardiness and truancy increased to the point that teachers had to change attendance policies to include automatic failure after a set number of absences. "Before, we never had this kind of problem," Ms. Xu said (KX, interview, October 21, 2014), "the students were always very good about coming to class. They thought it was useful and important to them."

Part of this entitlement stemmed from the fact that students paid much higher tuition for this program than for others. Treating the degree like a product they had purchased, they were thus entitled to a good grade, because they had bought it – the idea of the purchased grade. For example, near the end of the semester, students flocked to the office of the foreign teachers to bargain for grade points, if they found their final grades unsatisfactory. "'Please, I want to have a good summer,'" Mr. Johnson, the Chef Instructor quoted (JW, interview, November 25, 2014), "'Please, I want my father to be happy.' I've heard it all. It never works, but they still come and ask."

In another extreme example, one HU instructor refused to let a student enter class as he was more than ten minutes late, and attendance had already been taken. The student was extremely offended at being refused entry, yelling at the instructor, "I paid tuition! You cannot refuse me entrance to class! I have a right to come and go as I

please. It is my choice" (field notes, November 18, 2014).

However, there were perspectives about student behavior. The students themselves saw their behavior quite differently. Rather than "spoiled" for wanting more, many Chinese HU students saw themselves as ambitious. They had asked a great deal from their families to fund their education and pursuit of transnational capital, because they had high aspirations of utilizing said capital to achieve great things, first in scholastics, then eventually in their careers. They could not afford to settle for average or mediocre opportunities, nor did they want to. For instance, "My goal is Yale," one sophomore boy, Cruise, emphasized while asking for advice on his English grammar, "Even if two people are good, if one goes to Beida[23], one to Harvard, [everyone] will think Harvard is better, because it's the best in the world" (field notes, June 5, 2015). Therefore, the higher economic investment of the CU-HU partnership program automatically assumed a higher anticipated payoff, typically incorporating a component of transnational capital attained from the global nature of the program.

Many of these students had high-reaching goals that they worked to achieve after graduation. Several opened up their own businesses after finishing their studies, engaging in a variety of sectors. For instance, "You see that smoothie shop? Two of our HU graduates own it," said Mr. Jones, one of the CU English instructors for the lower division, as he pointed out the shop to the left, while walking down a street through the expat district (field notes, March 14, 2015). "You need a tailor?" asked Ms. Xu over dinner a different day. She reached into her bag and handed over a card for a high-end luxury tailor shop, "This one is run by one of my former students" (field notes,

[23] Peking University

September 20, 2014). The card detailed a starting price point of 3000RMB for a basic Italian silk suit. By never settling, and always pushing for more opportunities, alum from the cooperative program also climbed the corporate ladder in many businesses, becoming prominent regional managers for high-end hotel chains, such as Marriott and Hilton. Many luxury hotels visited by students in the upper division during field trips had HU alum working there in managerial positions who would lead them on property tours, and answer questions about how they got to where they are today. Others studied abroad and found jobs working in hotels and cruise lines that catered to international, and especially Chinese, tourist demographics.

The Chinese students in the cooperative program behaved differently from previous generations of students, because they saw success requiring different choices than the ones their teachers wanted. For the aspiring transnational student, ambition worked to focus their options much more narrowly according to a cost-benefit analysis or what would yield greater transnational gains, especially since they were under greater time constraints with an accelerated course load. Students judiciously decided what classes were most important to their success, and often took control of their own studies to maximize that success. For example, although English classes were considered by students one of the most important subjects to attend and master, if a teacher was considered ineffective, that affected student perception of the class's value, and the student would adjust accordingly. "Actually, I didn't really find anything useful in [that teacher's] class," explained Jennifer, a sophomore student, when I found her skipping class one day to study for the TOEFL, "I often arranged my own time to study, because this way I think it is more effective for me."

Anything you can do, I can do better: internalization of cultural hierarchies

Over the course of the CU-HU partnership program, many students in this program came to internalize the present cultural hierarchies as a part of their own identity. Building on the belief that what was American was better than what was Chinese, students who studied the constructed American curriculum of the upper division program came to see themselves as being higher quality individuals than the Chinese students in other CU programs. Part of this was related to the fact that a majority of program students came from wealthier middle-class backgrounds, and were raised with access and entitlement to more international resources. However, a major contributing factor was the different set of knowledge, skills and experiences constituting the transnational capital which students made a part of their professional operational thinking processes through the course of their American degree program.

The content knowledge of each of the classes was taught to the students from a constructed "American," and thus, more global perspective from the CU-HU students' point of view. Although sometimes the knowledge passed through a Chinese teacher before being processed by the Chinese students, the original format, structure and content was conceived to be thoroughly American. The textbooks were assigned from the HU home campus in the U.S., and published by American hospitality associations and experts in English.

Many came to see themselves as more capable because the program in which they were enrolled emphasized acquiring different skill sets than what they had been previously trained to use. Over time, this changed the way students saw the world, and processed information. For example, "I used to just come to the restaurant and eat food,"

Candy told me over lunch one day, while she surveyed the cafeteria around her, "but now, I look around and think: 'How many staff are on the floor, and what are they doing?' 'How is the cleanliness and level of service?' 'How does this place keep the price point low for the customer, but the quality of food high?' These are the things I think about now, the things I see after being in the program" (field notes, April 16, 2015). This different, hands-on approach gave students more confidence in their skills, and consequently in their own self-worth. "We are different from the other [CU students]," said Mandy, "I think the HU students are different. We have maybe some more professional skills than the CU students" (MN, interview, October 16, 2014).

Wearing the American brand: acquiring transnational labels

While English ability and socioeconomic status were very important primers, perhaps one of the most significant contributing factors in students creating transnational capital for themselves through the partnership program was the institutional identification of being an *HUer* itself. "Here, we say 'HUers.' We are HUers, we will not say we are CUers." By assuming the label of an *HUer*, students in the partnership program assumed an identity label that allowed and validated transnationality in a way that having financial resources and English ability could not guarantee. They now carried the name of a foreign school, and were official members of its student body. Like dual citizens wielding two passports, they literally belonged to multiple schools and contexts across different countries. Without this American-branded label, students in other programs still went to study abroad, but often saw themselves as visitors travelling to a foreign land to discover new experiences.

Global education as a stepping stone to study abroad. Perhaps one of the more

surprising ironies of the China-based global education program was how students appropriated it as a means to access study abroad. In its inception, this program was originally designed to provide the opportunity for Chinese students to be able to pursue and obtain a higher-valued foreign degree without ever needing to leave the country. However, roughly 40% of the graduates from this partnership program did the opposite, appropriating the transnational capital gained from this program to make study abroad *easier,* and facilitate their desired travels to places like the U.S., U.K., and Australia.

For *HUers*, there was still an aspect of discovery to their travel, but a significant difference in their orientation and attitude was they now travelled abroad as ones who already bore the labels and symbolic credentialing of a foreign degree. In flying to the U.S. HU campus to complete their undergraduate and/or graduate degrees, they applied as transfer students, not first-time applicants. Additionally, in transferring, they were not changing institutional labels as one might when applying from a different school, like if transferring from Harvard to Yale. Rather, they were reaffirming labels, instead. In a sense, they were not only transferring out of the HU branch of the Hospitality Management program, but "going home" to the HU home campus. This was where *HUers* belonged.

Coda: Student Use of Global Education and Transnational Capital

In this concluding chapter of Part III exploring global education appropriation, I discussed the intended and unintended ways that students utilized the global education of the CU-HU partnership program. I outlined the type of students drawn to participate in this program, describing their most common unifying socioeconomic and ideological characteristics. Next, I described the implicit cultural hierarchies students ascribed to the

partnership program and themselves, as they navigated what cultural capitals they saw as beneficial for them to acquire throughout their global educational studies. In addition, I also examined some of the unanticipated ways students appropriated the capital of global education to meet other needs, such as compensating for challenges created by the Gao Kao and current Chinese education system, and facilitating easier access to study abroad.

In Part IV of my dissertation, I analytically summarize the results of my research and how they relate to and extend upon the theoretical frameworks of Pierre Bourdieu (1986), Aihwa Ong (1999), and Anselm Strauss (1978). I explore each of the authors' perspectives, and what they mean within the greater context of global education in Chinese higher education.

PART IV

CONCLUSION

Chapter 9 – Discussion: Examining Global Education from the Perspectives of Bourdieu, Ong & Strauss

As I have shown in previous chapters, the CU-HU partnership program was constructed in a unique way with hybrid features, and unofficially appropriated by participants for unintended uses. In this section, I revisit the research findings, and approach them from the theoretical frameworks of Pierre Bourdieu (1986), Aihwa Ong (1999) and Anselm Strauss (1978) detailed in Chapter 2. First, I explain the research findings within the framework of Bourdieu's *forms of capital*, before turning to Ong's framework of transnationality to examine the aspect of cultural capital within transnational terms. Finally, I apply Strauss's concept of the *negotiated order* to the operations of the partnership program to discuss how participants made sense of their social interactions.

Forms of Capital in the CU-HU program

In looking at the Sino-foreign CU-HU cooperative program through Bourdieu's forms of capital, I argue that global education is used as a means of producing and accumulating social, economic, and cultural capital, especially transnational capital. In examining the different manifestations of each capital in the program, there is a reasonably high conversion ability between them, meaning that any capital gained or brought into the program could be converted into another type. As capitals are only valuable if they are easily converted into other forms (Bourdieu, 1986), this ease of convertibility between accumulated capitals made this program very valuable to its

participants.

Uses and applications of cultural capital

Starting with its construction, the partnering Chinese and American administrations worked to build a program that incorporated what each side considered to be desirable cultural capitals into the curriculum. For the CU lower division, these were values and skills taught through the nationally required courses meant to produce a "good Chinese student." Courses like the Basic Principles of Marxism, or Maoism and Chinese Socialism, incorporated what the lower division, and Chinese government, considered to be the necessary cultural capital in the curriculum for students to understand and potentially support Chinese governmental policies and actions. In contrast, the HU upper division worked to incorporate different sets of cultural capital that the administration and faculty perceived would be more "global-ready," with an emphasis on foreign language, critical thinking and creativity skills.

In going through the program, students did not value these presented forms of capital equally. Rather, they privileged the cultural capitals perceived to be more global-ready. This included required English language skills taught in the lower division, and other cultural capitals in the upper division students perceived as more desirable and useful to their own personal future growth and professional development, such as case studies from American textbooks about how foreign businesses worked. Students often pursued these more internationally-oriented cultural capitals to the neglect of the cultural capitals present in the lower division, which they associated with more traditional and conservative Chinese culture and knowledge.

A subset of cultural capital, symbolic capital, was also gained and utilized by

Chinese students in the CU-HU partnership program. Students gained significant symbolic capital, as physically manifested in the foreign diploma, that helped distinguish them from others in Commerce University, and they hoped, Chinese society at large. This symbolic capital of the foreign diploma could be used to advance their career opportunities and prestige in China, or used to facilitate greater, easier access to study abroad. Many English-speaking Western universities accepted the symbolic capital of the completed HU bachelors' diplomas as more valid, and desirable, than standard Chinese diplomas, often waiving difficult entrance requirements like IELTS or TOEFL exams usually required for international students.

At the same time, both Commerce University and Hospitality University were able to trade on the symbolic capital of the CU-HU partnership program. The awards and high rank of the partnership program, as compared to the respective ranks of each partnered university, allowed the universities to accrue more prestige and reputation than they would otherwise. This prestige helped in attracting more students from both sides during recruitment. The partnership program's symbolic capital also justified the higher tuition price point that many families and students were willing to pay, in order to gain access to the valuable cultural capital taught in the program.

Uses and applications of social capital

The accumulation of cultural capital in this program helped students gain significant social capital. By being a part of the CU-HU partnership program, students had access to not only the domestic school resources, career recruitment and alumni networks of the Chinese university at which they were physically based, but also the international equivalents at the partnered American university. The HU student status

granted them access to U.S.-based career and alumni networks that they could contact if they traveled or studied abroad, especially in America. Their CU-HU student status also allowed exclusive access to local CU-HU career networks internships, company recruitments and international industry contacts that were not shared with students in other majors at Commerce University. Thus, the international access capabilities of the social capital available through the partnership program could be considered an elite resource, within the local Chinese education context.

Uses and applications of economic capital

Perhaps most interesting in its role of both facilitating and controlling access, economic capital was both a predeterminant and end result of participation at different levels in the program. Although it offered a "second chance" at obtaining a competitive degree option – foreign, instead of 211 or 985 – the CU-HU cooperative program did not have an easily or equally accessible economic entrance point compared to other Chinese undergraduate programs. This meant not all students who may have wanted to take advantage of the capitals present in the program, and/or would have benefitted from the "second-chance" opportunity after receiving poor *Gao Kao* scores, were able to do so. Only students who already possessed significant base of economic capital were able to enroll in this program, and take advantage of its transnational and cultural capital development opportunities. This kind of capital conversion, in turn, was intended to be converted back into economic capital accumulation later on, in the form of a suitably prestigious job.

Thus, while the partnership program was able to increase educational success for a greater number of students, there was a structural economic bias in how it did so. Only

the economically privileged were able to buy their way to a successful educational outcome through the partnership program, if they did not succeed in attaining higher *Gao Kao* scores for more satisfactory university admission elsewhere. Chinese students who did not come from wealthier families still struggled to find suitable undergraduate programs that would benefit them in the long-term, often opting instead to delay university admission to retake the *Gao Kao,* to try to get a higher score. Essentially, the long-term economic benefits of the partnership program served to reinforce existing socioeconomic disparities among Chinese students, rather than mitigate or equalize them.

At the same time, the partnered schools' administrations were also able to take advantage of the cultural capital in the program by converting it into economic capital. Trading on the symbolic capital of an international degree program in the local Chinese context, both the American and Chinese universities were able to make significant profit and accumulate economic capital through the program's operations. This helped both sides offset state funding challenges they met through budget cuts, or unequal funding access, while at the same time taking advantage of the economic capital of the upper economic classes in China. In essence, both schools profited from reinforcing the aforementioned socioeconomic disparity among student applicants, in part at the cost of contributing Chinese faculty who were paid lower salaries than their American counterparts.

Rethinking the international applications of Bourdieu

Published in 1986, Bourdieu's forms of capital present a very applicable framework in understanding how the CU-HU partnership program benefits its participants socially, culturally, and economically. This dissertation extends Bourdieu's

framework of capitals beyond how they can facilitate greater advancement within society, to how they may be used to advance across societies. Much of Bourdieu's work was based on observations and research regarding French society, and did not have an eye towards processes in East Asia and other non-Western countries, more than the products that they might contribute to the West and Western consumers. Yet, in this dissertation, students and administrators were accumulating different capitals for purposes beyond advancement and recognition within their own respective societies. Students accumulated capitals for study abroad, from which they may or may not return permanently. The partnering schools lend each other international recognition and prestige on a global stage, in the process of becoming "world-class universities." This transnational aspect of capital accumulation adds a deeper understanding to how we may continue to see the exchange and conversion of capitals in higher education in the future.

In addition to facilitating international access, Bourdieu's framework can also be viewed from the perspective of how people "save themselves," when applied to this dissertation. More than just a linear means of advancement along socioeconomic lines, conversion between cultural, social and economic capitals can also be used to avoid pitfalls and overcome challenges that may otherwise prevent or slow advancement. Within the context of the CU-HU partnership, economic capital was a significant compensatory or saving measure for many students, giving them a second-chance at getting a highly-ranked higher education degree, when they may otherwise not have qualified for further education. However, as also pointed out in the previous section, only those with significant enough economic capital were able to enroll and take advantage of the program and its resources.

Transnationality and the Pursuit of Transnational Capital

In looking at the Sino-foreign CU-HU cooperative program through Ong's lens of transnationality, I argue that global education was utilized by students as a means of acquiring transnational capital. This resulted in students becoming more transnationally capable, with many utilizing their transnational capital as a means to gain greater access to study abroad. Thus, for many the pursuit of transnational capital became somewhat self-perpetuating. By accumulating transnational capital in the upper division, it became easier to gain further access to transnational capital abroad, where they may choose to continue studying and working, in order to accrue even more transnational capital.

Not all students utilized their transnational capital towards study abroad. Many chose to stay in China and pursue careers domestically after graduation. As a result of their more enhanced transnational abilities, these students were able to gain employment in more internationalized sectors and industries, such as becoming regional managers for Marriott or Hilton. Even without crossing the national borders of their country of origin, these students had still gained the necessary transnational capital to cross social and cultural borders successfully within the hospitality industry, consequently securing more prestigious and higher paying jobs with foreign brands operating in China.

Yet, like the second-chance described in the previous sections, these spaces of transnationality were not accessible to everyone, and reserved for the economic elite. Only through significant initial economic investment could students later reap the rewards of transnational capital that would allow them access to these more prestigious international academic and industry spaces. As higher economic salary was the expected payoff of inhabiting these transnational spaces, this reinforced a cycle of economic

privilege where economic capital was required to reap later economic capital.

Global Education and the Negotiated Order

In looking at the Sino-foreign CU-HU cooperative program through Strauss's framework of the negotiated order, I argue that the processes for enabling and executing global education were negotiated at different levels by different participants in order to construct and operate the partnership program.

At the university administrative level, both Commerce University and Hospitality University negotiated the initial contract that formed the partnership program between the two universities. This product of negotiation divided the responsibilities between primarily upper division academics (to be managed by HU) and program operations and lower division academics (to be managed by CU). However, this negotiation was not permanent, but rather, contractually limited. It could be terminated on either side due to breaches in contract, and had a limit of ten years. After ten years, the contract could be revisited, revised, renewed or ultimately left to expire.

At the program administration level, the upper and lower division administrations each negotiated respectively what they perceived to be their necessary curriculum program, effectively establishing the necessary social order for each half of the program. This social order established the explicit institutional constraints on each side, such as required major coursework, and housing policies. It also established the implicit structural constraints, such as embedded curriculum values and ideas that each side considered important to student growth and education. In addition, this social order established the organizational relationships between administrators, faculty and staff, both internally within each side of the cooperation, and externally between upper and

lower division management. Examples of daily negotiations that might take place across these networks of relationships in order to complete daily work might include, the CU lower division personnel working together to plan a graduate study abroad information session for students, then negotiating with the HU upper division for materials, people and input to include in the presentation.

At the classroom level, faculty and students actively negotiated the classroom curriculum together, including the values they found to be important. Faculty negotiated the textbook and course curriculum from Miami, often supplementing instruction with additional materials they found to be more relevant or useful for their classes. Chinese faculty also negotiated implementation of the "American" instruction method, adopting common pedagogical traits in different ways, such as assigning group presentations at a higher frequency than their U.S. counterparts, or lecturing on supplemental, rather than textbook, materials that they themselves found.

Revisiting the Research: How is "global education" conceived, constructed and ultimately appropriated at an imported U.S. undergraduate degree program at a second-tier Chinese university?

As I presented over the course of the previous chapters, global education in the CU-HU cooperative program was conceived as a combined dual-degree effort along a 50/50 split that incorporated a Chinese undergraduate program in the first two years, followed by an imported American undergraduate program in the last two years. However, in its actual construction and implementation, participants negotiated the educational processes and values at different levels to adapt the program to fit both institutional constraints, and their own agendas. Within the lower division, global

education became process of negotiation, by which the Chinese lower division administration tried to teach and encourage state values that would produce a "good Chinese student," while Chinese students endeavored to avoid knowledge and values they considered "traditional" in favor of those more "global." Within the upper division, global education shifted to a different kind of negotiation process, where faculty constructed an idealized "American" curriculum that was global in nature, but also hybrid in design. The American curriculum of the upper division was adapted to conform to local policies and pressures, where faculty negotiated the methods used to deliver content. Students negotiated the new content and values, finding both freedom and confusion as they made sense of how to be "creative" the right way in their studies, and instructors interpreted their efforts along a grading scale of success.

In looking at how global education was appropriated from its primary stated intention of international learning and cooperation, we can look at how the partnered administrations rationalized and subsequently negotiated their stance to use the partnership program as a major source of viable funding. In the case of Commerce University, it actually negotiated this process twice. The first time was negotiating the initial contract with Hospitality University to establish the partnership program and a obtain access to a higher overall revenue than its other major programs. The second time was negotiating with the Ministry of Education several years later to raise the tuition standard for the program, in order to earn an even larger profit margin. These changes were not accidental, but rather deliberate negotiations from administrators that were contingent on both the previously established academic success of both universities (i.e., the justification to partner), and initial success of the partnership program operations (i.e.,

the justification to negotiate for more money).

Additionally, in looking at how students appropriated global education, many made conscious, daily negotiations to accrue valuable transnational capital that would help them study abroad. At a broader level, many first chose to study in the partnership program, with a primary intention of earning a foreign degree, to negotiate better academic and career outcomes for themselves, either at home or abroad. At a more micro level, they and many others negotiated their curriculum by choosing to focus on more transnationally-capable topics, like English skills, especially during the nationally-focused courses that they considered "too traditional."

Coda: Accumulating and Negotiating Capital in Global Education

In this chapter, I discussed how the CU-HU partnership program could be understood within the frameworks of Bourdieu (1986), Ong (1999) and Strauss (1978). First, I discussed the kinds of capital that were incorporated and subsequently appropriated for alternative uses in the partnership program, taking note how elitism and economic privilege play a significant role in the ability to access and accumulate the constructed capitals. Similarly, in examining how students utilized the partnership program to gain transnational capital, I discuss how they were able to further their initial economic privilege by extending it to international spaces that would yield higher economic returns than they might have access to outside the program. Finally, I look at how students, faculty and administrators negotiated the social order of the partnership program, making sense of their roles and the different values presented in the program.

In the next chapter, I conclude with a discussion of what the negotiation and accumulation of transnational capital can mean for the broader context. What can this

mean for Chinese education globally, and what lessons might we draw from this?

Chapter 10 – Summary: Student aspirations and future transnational implications

A WeChat notification pops up on my cell phone. It's from Candy. "I meant to tell you," the message reads, "I got accepted. From Auburn University."

I smile, and type back, "PhD study?"

"Yes," the message bubbles pop up in quick succession, "They offered scholarship. So I'm going for free. 3 years. It's challenging."

Candy has been in the U.S. for three years now, and loved every minute of it. She is one of the few from my time in China who has remained in touch, and insists on only texting me in English – a feat that differentiates her from the "other" Chinese students, and one that she is quite proud of. I scroll back up the message feed to a couple months prior. "I wish to stay here in U.S. forever!" an earlier text reads, "I am working in the area now, but my contract is going to end at the end of May. I'm looking for other jobs in the area." When I left China at the end of my study, she transferred to the main Hospitality University campus in the U.S. to complete her Bachelor's, staying on to continue a Master's in Hospitality, as well. When Trump's anti-immigration policies appeared to be affecting the likelihood of finding an employer willing to sponsor a work visa, she quickly changed tactics, turning to continuing education as another way to gain the necessary additional transnational capital to stay in the country she had loved since her childhood in China.

Throughout the course of my research, many Chinese students and teachers were

very curious about my work. Why would an American come to a school and program like this? Why did I not want to look at the "better" schools they thought I should be interested in, instead? The simplest, yet most poignant question I was asked by Chinese people during the course of my research, and as I began to present some of my findings was, "So, what? Why does this matter?"

There is a significance in the average everyday life that many people miss. The students in this program were typical college students in almost every aspect. Although slightly more outspoken than her peers, Candy was a typical example of the actions and paths students took, and a typical result after continuing on from the partnership program. While some students came from all over the country, many predominantly came from surrounding locales. They were mostly middle-class citizens. They were not academic Einsteins, but as shown above were still quite brilliant and capable of hard work and great results – even as some procrastinated, made mistakes, and hit hard learning curves like many other college students around the world. They had dreams and aspirations for their families and themselves, that they hoped to accomplish after they graduated. And, like most young people, they often felt misunderstood, underestimated, and not taken seriously by the older generations.

Studying this program helped me to examine not only how students used global education to enhance their individual career paths, but also the potential shape and possible directions of business, economics and politics in China and other countries as these students prepare to enter the labor force with their hard, cultivated transnational capitals. These students were important because they were the future of Chinese society, and understanding their thoughts, beliefs and values now is key to understanding what we

can expect to see from the country – and the demands placed on internationalized education at large – years later in the future. In this concluding chapter, I summarize the contributing arguments this study makes to the field of global education and Chinese higher education studies, as well as hypothesize and raise questions about some of the broader implications and limitations that could set the stage for further research on global education in China.

Negotiating transnational capital for the broader context

Although only one small partnership program, the CU-HU cooperative school has had a surprisingly profound reach within China. From 2008 to 2017, over 1982 students graduated from the Chinese campus. Of these about one-third pursued graduate studies. Many were recruited by famous, internationally recognized brands such as Marriott International, Hilton International, and Intercontinental Hotels and Resorts. One star pupil was even recruited to work for Alibaba, the largest Chinese e-commerce company, and largest retailer in the world. Years later, these students have become regional Revenue Managers, General Managers, and highly ranked administrators in some of the most visible foreign Hospitality brands in China. This program has essentially become a pipeline to feed not just employees, but also connections, to these foreign companies. These graduates not only oversee on-the grounds operations, but communicate with the international headquarters on expanding said operations to other cities and provinces in China. Many big hotel chains, such as Hilton and Marriott, have strategic plans in place to open new properties every year in different tourist locations through the early 2020s. The students who come out of the CU-HU program become an integral part in running these businesses, utilizing the transnational capital they acquired to expand and shape the

global natures of these industries.

Within the larger context of Chinese education as a whole, global education programs like the CU-HU cooperative program mean that Chinese higher education at large is finding new and alternative ways to engage in globalization. Global education is not new, but it is an increasingly desired pathway to development and success in the internationalized, collaborative marketplace. Globalized experiences have become an additional way for the student to cultivate themselves as more knowledgeable, more competitive citizens of both China and the world, and distinguish themselves higher up in the process of social stratification, as described by Bourdieu (1984). Thus, in an increasingly globalized economy, students will seek out more globalized experiences as a way to prepare for the increasingly globalized job market.

Students may engage in this route whether or not they perceive the actual major, like Hospitality, as directly relevant to their future career path, as opposed using any global experience as a versatile stepping stone to more opportunities for transnational capital development. Participation in global education grants benefits that are not limited to only new opportunities arising in a person's country of birth. By acquiring transnational capitals, students are more easily able to take advantage of education, employment and lifestyle opportunities abroad, like Candy did. Thus, in the future, while perhaps not all students who undertake a global education may ultimately end up developing a fully realized global, flexible citizenship, as outlined by Aihwa Ong, the trend towards global education and transnational capital development in Chinese higher education means that there may be increased likelihood of it happening over the long term. In the future, we may come to expect more globally savvy Chinese graduates able

to transverse multiple cultural and national contexts, without the constraints of being beholden to any one in particular.

In examining future pursuits and acquisitions of transnational capital, it will be interesting to see if students who participate in these kinds of global education programs come to see themselves as any more or less Chinese compared to the previous generations. As they go out into the work force and grow both the foreign industries coming into the mainland, and the domestic industries expanding properties and operations abroad, these students will take their place in a globalized, yet still culturally diverse global culture and work force. As China continues to change and grow into a globally savvy metropolis that is increasingly accommodating to visitors from abroad, what else can we hope to expect from China during this process of social, political and – most importantly – educational growth?

Global education as a divisive elite resource?

Although it created additional opportunities for some students who were originally disadvantaged by the Chinese university admission structures, "global education" was not something every academically challenged student could take advantage of. At the same time that the observed cooperative program provided significant competitive advantages for enrolled students, there were also darker questions about status and privilege brought forth by the economic model of this program. Only students who started with a higher baseline of economic resources were able to use the cooperative program as a means to counter poor entrance exam grades, to the exclusion of many others. As the Chinese middle class continues to increase, there may be more students in the future who can afford the price of American programs on their home soil,

pushing global education to become more common in Chinese higher education through market forces – but it is hard to predict to what extent that may occur. What if global education becomes another structural process where benefits are reserved only for those already belonging to a more privileged socioeconomic bracket, thus helping reinforce existing socioeconomic disparities in China?

Additionally, of the ones who did have the correct starting capitals to access the partnership program, not everyone was able to continue the pursuit of transnational capital in a smooth linear fashion. For some the pursuit to acquire transnational capital did not come as easily as they had hoped. Just like Candy, and many other students in this program, Doris had also planned to study abroad to the U.S. campus of Hospitality University very early in her studies. After struggling to complete her first two years in the Commerce University lower division, she hit a wall when she failed to achieve a qualifying TOEFL score. Delayed for a year, she finally managed to test high enough on her TOEFL to matriculate into the Hospitality University upper division, after which she immediately applied for transfer to the U.S. the following semester. By enrolling in the CU-HU cooperative program, Doris also tried to use global education as a stepping stone to study abroad and higher foreign transnational status. However, unlike Candy, Doris continued to struggle in her attempts at globalized education. For her the inability to successfully attain the correct transnational capital left her at a distinct disadvantage in her personal growth and educational development that she did not anticipate. Moving up Bourdieu's ladder of social stratification did not come easily to her.

Doris was not alone in her struggles. Sadly, there were several, like Doris, who struggled endlessly. Still others failed completely, often returning home in great

disappointment at the wasted financial, time and opportunity costs, reinforcing the social stratification of the global educational elites. This begs the question of whom is global education actually benefitting? If only the economic elites have access to global education, but not all participants are reaping the benefits equally, whom does global education actually serve, and to what extent, if not the students? Could global education in its current incarnation potentially be considered predatory in nature, taking advantage of the economic resources of a willing demographic of students?

Imagining the future of globalized education in China

In addition to students, universities looking to become globally competent may also have other aspirations for global partnerships in the future. As continued economic development allows more Chinese families to attain middle-class and upper-middle class status, the hefty price of a foreign degree at home may become less burdensome over time, even as it is still largely inaccessible. Thus, higher priced dual-degree partnership programs may become a more appealing type of global education to implement, and source of revenue to gain. Especially as Chinese universities aspire to become world-class, and Western entities wish to penetrate different Chinese markets, including education, there may be increased impetus for more universities who see the symbolic and economic capital gained by both Commerce University and Hospitality University in their partnership operations, to try to engage in their own endeavors to achieve the same.

As global education programming has grown in China, so have the intercultural contentions surrounding it. Schools may continue to become sites of cultural conflict where values clash along increasingly political lines, as foreign university administrations increasingly push for greater full-scale importation over local adaptation and compromise

in their overseas campuses. Whereas Hospitality University negotiated many administrative and curricular responsibilities with Commerce University before settling on a contract, its rumored among administrators that many incoming American universities now bring in their development and curriculum plans wholesale, and do not partner unless the cooperating Chinese university accepts all terms – with little or no bargaining possible. For a country often espoused for its values of freedom and cooperation, it seems ironic that the future of American educational cooperation may rely on increasingly dogmatic practices regarding their stance on curricular structure and academic freedom.

For those American universities who come from higher ranks and bigger reputations than Hospitality University, they may be able to command this kind of rigidity when moving to partner with the more daring and experimental 211 and 985 Chinese universities. The 211 and 985 universities may be more willing and able to accept these kinds of demands in exchange for the shared prestige of new, high-ranking partnerships, with the prospect of being located in bigger, more liberal cities, such as Shanghai, where operations are less likely to be restricted. Schools and universities in these areas may feel less threatened by censorship and government regulations than smaller, less well-known schools in more remote areas – such as Commerce University.

By partnering with the more influential, higher-ranked Chinese universities, there is also the potential for American universities to have greater cultural influence in China through their Sino-foreign partnerships, and use said influence to set a new precedent for freedom of expression and academic thought within the more traditionally conservative Chinese classroom. As the leaders and role models for higher education in China,

programs and methods that the 211 and 985 universities adopt after successful trial runs are eventually modified and adapted to the other higher education institutions, once their allocated budgets grow to match. This means that, if the Chinese government let them, international partnership programs may have the potential to push the bar of what is considered socially and politically acceptable in the future Chinese university classroom, especially as they grow in number across the nation and gain collective bargaining power in the next decade.

Can global education adapt to survive? If global partnership programs provide a conduit for American cultural importation, then the Chinese university sets the ground for intense cultural negotiations in program implementation at both the macro and micro levels, with different stakeholders pushing their different agendas on the people who traverse the halls and classrooms. Even as American universities have pushed their values into Chinese university classrooms, the Chinese government is now growing increasingly bold in its responses to negotiate overreaching foreign influences. As of 2018, the Chinese Ministry of Education had terminated over 200 Sino-foreign cooperative programs. Although the officially stated reason was to increase effort to improve quality and regulatory control, many in the Western mainstream media wonder if the move was not also politically motivated. "It's different recently," Ms. Xu told me, "before, only Chinese faculty who were Party members needed to attend these meetings and learn Party things. Now everyone does." In the future, as these forces continue to be negotiated in global education programming, it is unclear what may define an acceptable or unacceptable global education in the future, and what forms of capital may suddenly be struck from the curriculum. Will transnational capital continue to be valued, or is it

possible that global education programs that help students build transnational capital may come to be seen as a political threat?

Of particular interest will be how bigger named schools with more financial resources on both sides have and will negotiate partnerships in this environment of increasing Chinese political ideology. Many universities, not just from the United States, but from the Americas, Europe, Asia and Oceania are all trying to increase their foothold in China's higher education scene – and many of these other backing countries provide much more comprehensive public education budgets for their universities than the United States. As Commerce University often struggles as a lesser-funded second-tier school to meet the physical standards of an American university setting, what would a well-funded first-tier school be able to achieve with its specialty resources for experimentation and more unorthodox research investments? As more and more universities seek to partner, and as educational spending continues to grow in China and other countries around the world, will Chinese universities jump at the possibility of future partnerships that provide enough resources to set a new bar far above that of CU-HU, and reach new levels of research and collaboration that were simply not fiscally possible in the early second-tier cooperative programs?

As partnerships between Chinese and foreign schools continue to increase, the shape and design of similar cooperative programs are likely to shift – and the cultural contentions to rise. The CU-HU partnership was one of the first of its kind, and many others have learned from it in the following years. To this day, other schools still make visits to China to meet with the CU & HU faculty, learn about the curriculum, and consult with the administration about what it takes to partner with an American

university. American and Chinese schools that come together to forge new partnerships have a better idea of what challenges and benefits to expect, what responsibilities needs to be allocated and where, and a clearer plan of how their program will play out, as a result.

Implications for Further Research

In walking with these Chinese students through their time in a joint Chinese-American degree program, there were many additional questions that went unanswered, and themes that went unexplored. A most substantial one that would add a significant contribution to the literature on global education would be to explore how the identity and skillsets of students in this program who went on to study abroad compared to those who never left China after graduation. How did Doris, who went to the U.S., continue to develop compared to her boyfriend who stayed behind? How does transnational capital gained from a local global education program compare to that which is gained abroad? Exploring this comparison, especially from a longitudinal perspective, would help determine the extent to which truly global self-cultivation can occur within a local setting. Researching this query would also help examine how modern and digital technologies can contribute not only to the preservation, but potentially more authentic importation of cultural values and experiences through a global curriculum.

There is also significant opportunity for further research to explore the issues of capital, privilege and inequality more in depth. Why did some students fail in their global education, while others succeeded? If they all had the economic means to invest in this opportunity of the partnership program, what was it that drove some to success, like Candy, and others to failure, like Doris? Is there more that the schools could be

doing to help students succeed. Over a long enough time, would doing so contribute to socioeconomic equality or inequality?

In addition, further research is merited to explore the phenomenon of using foreign degree programs as a specific tactic to compensate for poor college entrance exam scores. While my dissertation research uncovered the occurrence, there needs to be more research to deconstruct this phenomenon, in terms of what contributes to student *Gao Kao* failure and driving forces that lead them to select global education credentialing. In particular, there is great potential in exploring the historic trends of this practice, and changes that have are taking place over time, to see how the future market demand for global education in China may be affected.

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