CHALLENGES

OF

ADMINISTERING A SINO-U.S. JOINT VENTURE CAMPUS IN CHINA

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Dedication

To Dr. Carole Murphy

For

Always Being There

Acknowledgments

Dr. Murphy… I have always had challenges in my life. I have struggled to overcome them through continuous support of my family and friends. And, I did, in most parts. All I needed was a sincere heart next to me, listening to me. When I arrived at UM-Saint Louis, you were the sincere heart listening to me.
You were the heart always listening to me even when I did not make any sense. You were there when I felt discouraged…You were there when I needed someone to tell me that I could actually do it…You were there listening to me patiently, waiting for the time when I would eventually come up with the right answer; all I needed was time and support. You were there when I felt homesick for Turkey and out of place in my new American community…You were there when I just needed someone to have coffee with even though your not much of a coffee drinker…You were there when I was hiding from myself, not seeing the end…You were there in Cape Town and you were there on the Great Wall. I could not have completed this journey without you. You are one of the few people that I will not regret knowing when I look back at any point in my life.

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My wife Ann Marie and my baby girl Asya Marie… I just love you two…You are God’s gifts to me.

My mother Esma, my father Ibrahim, my sisters Asiye, Esra, and Irem, my nephew Cinar, my nieces Hilal and Eda… You have been in my heart all along the way…

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Abstract

With the recent globalization movement and decline in foreign student enrollment in universities in developed countries like the U.S., universities are looking for ways to bring education to the student rather than waiting for students to come for education. Therefore, opening a branch campus abroad and bringing education to the student became an alternative for U.S. universities to bringing students to their campuses.

This qualitative study explored the political, economic, socio-cultural, and educational challenges of administering a Sino-U.S. joint-venture campus in the People's Republic of China. China American University (CAU) is an educational joint venture between China Investment Company (CIC) and American University (AU) in the U.S. that resulted in naming CAU a branch campus of AU.

Data were acquired through semi-structured interviews, surveys, and participant observations. The researcher interviewed, surveyed and observed U.S. administrators and executives, American teachers, Chinese students, and Chinese staff. The Internationalization concept of Knight and de Wit (1999) and National Culture: Four Dimensions concept of Hofstede (1980) were utilized for the analysis. Human Capital Theory helped explain the rationale behind the Chinese' acceptance of an American education in China. This study concluded that there are many challenges of administering such a Sino-U.S. joint venture campus in China.

As the literature review, research data, and analysis in this study suggested, administering a Sino-U.S. joint venture campus in China requires a broad understanding of the host country and a significant amount of flexibility. The researcher also found that the Chinese are concerned about the quality of such programs. Therefore, more research

is needed to understand how American the so-called American education is in China, including what the standards are and who is, as Knight (2004) says, “monitoring” and “assuring the relevance and quality” of such programs (p. 84). Conclusions and recommendations were made in the light of the data collected throughout this study.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Everyone knows of the Great Wall. It fascinates Chinese and foreigners alike, and at both the popular and official levels. By the late nineteenth century Westerners were even developing a whole romantic representational genre based on the Wall. There was once a remarkable claim first made explicitly by Geil in 1909 that "The Great Wall would be visible from the moon" (p. 17). The Great Wall was a symbol of Chinese cultural nationalism, a phenomenon as an attempt to create, support, and foster integration by means of putting it forth as a cultural and historical symbol. It represented (and still represents) the encounter between "modernity" and "tradition" that has dominated Chinese intellectual discourse, setting the terms of cultural and political debate (Geil, 1909).

Being one of the oldest nations in the world, China has never been totally occupied by Western powers (Selmer, 2001). Few medieval contacts with Europe disturbed or influenced the Chinese scheme. Worm (1997) argues that the culture of China is continual and strong because the written language has changed little. The Chinese have no difficulties reading works that are 2,000 years old, making it easy to refer to ancient values in China. Travelers such as Marco Polo or Frior Odoric found that there was much they could take away with them, but little they could leave behind (Purcell, 1936). The Great Wall of China protected China from external interferences, both symbolically and physically. However, with the globalization winds blowing in every corner of the world, China is also now opening its doors and with the information age, it is becoming more and more difficult to keep it shut to Western ideas and

ideologies. By opening its doors willingly, China is trying to control the expansion of western ideas. This study will explore the entrance of western ideas in the 'Middle Kingdom' from an educational perspective. The Middle Kingdom is what the Chinese call their country: Zhongguo.

Problem Statement /Research question

> To help the Chinese in their educational reform process, many Chinese institutions are forming alliances with outside educational institutions in countries around the world, though especially in Europe and North America. Thus China forms one giant case study of the applicability of educational reforms inspired by one set of local conditions (those of the West) to another (those of China). China cannot be ignored any longer, as it is now possesses perhaps the world's second largest economy and one of the most comprehensive economic systems in the planet. China boasts that it will go to the Moon in 2008, the year that it also hosts the Summer Olympics in Beijing. It is true that this is an economic system that largely affects only about 300 million of the 1.3 billion who live there. But those 300 million are enjoying a very rapidly rising standard of living and an approach to Western standards unprecedented in the history of the world. (Winchester, 2002, p. 105)

While the United States continues to host the most foreign students in the world, the annual growth rate of the enrollment of foreign students on American campuses decreased from 6.4 per cent in 2002 to 0.6 per cent in 2003 (Open Doors, 2004). With the recent globalization movement and decline in foreign student enrollment in

universities in developed countries like the U.S., universities are looking for ways to bring education to the student rather than waiting for students to come for education. Decline in the foreign student enrollment in the U.S. is mostly because of the recent changes in visa regulations, especially after September 11, 2001 attacks, growing competition from other nations, and rising costs. Therefore, opening a branch campus abroad and bringing education to the student became an alternative for U.S. universities to bringing students to their campuses. Branch campuses in this study is defined as "campuses set up by an institution in another country to provide its educational or training programs to foreign students" (Huang, 2003, p. 214) while granting the same degrees as they would in the foreign university's home campus.

As a source for student potential, The People's Republic of China (P.R.C.) presents an almost limitless opportunity. China is home to 25 per cent of the world's population. This makes it potentially the biggest market for goods and services in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, that following the economic reforms, which started in 1979, China has been seen as a major growth area for those seeking global market opportunities.

The demand for higher education in China has increased dramatically during the last decade. In 1998, universities and colleges admitted about 1.08 million new students; by 2002, this figure rose to about 3.49 million. By 2005, it was estimated that the enrollment rate would exceed 15 percent of the college age cohort (Chen, 2002). With the growing student market in China, many universities in the U.S. and in many other developed countries are exploring opportunities for getting their share of this potential student population.

Through opening branch campuses in China, U.S. universities are not only intending to encourage a global education for their native students, but also are creating considerable revenue by means of high tuition. They are creating a potential market for the U.S. universities, as students graduating from these branch campuses are applying for visas to go to the U.S. for their advanced studies.

However, opening a branch campus and administering it has its own unique challenges, especially in China. The challenges of doing business in China are immense, both for indigenous companies and for foreign companies attempting to penetrate these immense potential markets (Newell, 1999). Many hurdles exist as Eckel, Green and Caine (2004) argue in opening a branch campus in cooperation with a Chinese university. Firstly, starting a branch campus requires a significant investment of time and money and presents challenges in convincing board members, as the return on investment is not certain and may not be immediate (Eckel et al., 2004). The second challenge is recruiting students who might not be attracted by an American brand name university. The third challenge is setting market-appropriate tuition and fees, given the economic hardships in China. The fourth challenge lies in gaining approval from the Chinese Government to offer American degrees. Last but not the least is the challenge of how a branch campus should be run.

This last challenge becomes apparent as soon as an educational joint venture campus is established. Even if the joint venture involves a brand name, with market-appropriate tuition, and is approved by the Chinese government, there are many challenges that need to be addressed long before the implementation of such a campus. For the Chinese, foreign providers inside the country raise new issues. Local educational

providers may resent the competition. The foreign curriculum is less readily regulated and might undermine, or be seen as undermining, local culture and educational traditions (OECD, 2004).

There is extensive literature on the operational challenges of 'Sino-Foreign joint ventures' but the research on administering a 'Sino-U.S. educational joint venture' is minimal, if any. Many studies discuss a wide range of issues pertaining to joint ventures but none looks at the education sector in specific terms (Boisot & Child, 1988; Willis, 2000a; Little, 2000; Child, 2000; Hofstede, 1980). However, even such studies have shortcomings and need for extensive research to add knowledge to the current literature is imperative. Peterson (1986) lists some of the shortcomings of the research on joint ventures:

- Ethnocentrism-- this is the tradition of assuming that companies in other countries should adhere to the western industrial model.
- Lack of theoretical foundation-- theoretical or conceptual models are often not well tested against a broader framework.
- Confusion on cultural variance-- researchers tend to overlook the similarities across nations on the one hand while ignoring variances within a culture (nation) on the other.
- Dependence of single research method-- there is an inclination to be dependent on one method of acquiring information, i.e. questionnaires; other methods, such as interviews, behavioral scenarios and participant observation, are underutilized.

- Reliance on the study of one nation-- researchers tend to examine the situation in one country without relating their findings to those of other countries.
- Over-concentration on certain areas-- there are a myriad of studies on a few western countries and Japan, but a very limited number of studies elsewhere. (p. 5-10)

This study explores the challenges of administering a Sino-U.S. joint venture campus in the People's Republic of China. The main research question in this study is: What are the Political, Economic, Socio-cultural, and Educational Challenges of Administering a Sino-U.S. Joint Venture Campus in China?

This study was conducted at a Sino-U.S. educational joint venture campus in China. China American University (CAU) is an educational joint venture between China Investment Company (CIC) and American University (AU) in the U.S. CAU is a branch campus of AU. Through this campus, Chinese students can receive American education and American Associate's and Bachelors degrees without having to leave China. The only major offered at the time of the study was International Business.

Even though limiting the research to 'one country' and 'one institution' might seem a research limitation, few opportunities exist to examine Sino-U.S. joint ventures in education. It is also significant in the sense that CAU is the first American university approved by the Chinese government to grant American Bachelor's degrees to Chinese students in a southern province in the People's Republic of China (American Chamber of Commerce in Guangdong). The presence of American education in China is important as

more American universities are looking for the opportunities to enter the educational marketplace in China.

This research postulates that the challenges of administering an educational joint venture are unique, as they involve educational aspects in addition to political, economic, and socio-cultural challenges. Moreover, as educational joint ventures do not offer immediate monetary reward or products, it is rather difficult to find the support, both in a political and economic sense, from the American and Chinese side within the joint venture.

Pseudonyms and Abbreviations Used in this Study

In order to maintain the anonymity of the institutions and the people, real names were not used in this study. Rather, pseudonyms were used for people, institutions and places. These Pseudonyms are: 1) China American University, (campus where this study was conducted) 2) American University (U.S. home campus of China American University), 3) China Investment Company (Chinese joint venture partner), and 4) Southern Province (where China American University and China Investment Company campus are located).

For the space and practical considerations, the following abbreviations are used throughout this study:

CAU: China American University

AU: American University

CIC: China Investment Company

AUP: President of American University

VP: Vice President of American University and China American University

DAP: Director of Academic Programs at China American University

PACC: President of American Chamber of Commerce

CCP: Chinese Communist Party

P.R.C.: People's Republic of China

Significance of the Research Question

The international promotion of political and economic ideologies through educational assistance was most apparent during the cold war, when the Western and Eastern blocs competed to recruit allies in the developing world. Berman's (1983) analysis of Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller foundation programming is perhaps the most thorough study of this phenomenon. On the basis of interviews with foundation personnel and archival research, he argues that "these U.S. philanthropic organizations offered training intending to 'enculturate' or socialize a generation of African, Asian and Latin American university graduates toward political and economic perspectives associated with the United States" (p. 14). He further claims that these programs:

> were designed to train a coterie of indigenous experts who internalize certain norms and who are destined to assume leadership positions in their respective societies. From their positions of leadership it is hoped that these foundation-sponsored experts will move their nations along the path of development---along the way to guarantee political stability, economic growth, and, minimally, a policy of benevolent neutrality toward the Western bloc. (p. 14)

In fact, Berman argues, one of the reasons that U.S. philanthropies initiated educational assistance after World War II was to counter Soviet efforts to "indoctrinate Africa[etc.] future leaders in Iron Curtain universities" (p. 133).

There are many explanations for the domination of the Western academic model and the lack of alternatives in the modern world. Altbach (1991) argues that the fact that the Western universities have institutionalized the study and production of science is a key factor. The link between universities and the dominant world economic systems definitely is a particularly important reason for Western domination. Altbach (2001) further asserts that for significant parts of the world, academic institutions were imposed by colonizers. There were few possibilities to develop independent alternatives. In many cases, traditional indigenous institutional forms were destroyed by the colonizers.

Western universities were seen to be successful in providing advanced education, in fostering research and scientific development and in assisting their societies in the increasingly complex task of development. Universities in both the United States and Germany were active in fostering industrial and agricultural development in the nineteenth century. According to Altbach (1991), the harnessing of higher education to the broader needs of national economic and social development was perhaps the most important innovation of the nineteenth century:

> The idea that higher education should be generously supported from public funds, that the university should participate in the creation of as well as the transmission of knowledge and that academic institutions should at the same time be permitted a significant degree of autonomy was behind much of the growth of universities in this century. (p. 23)

China American University

China American University was first established in 2000 in the Southern Province in the P.R.C. as a Sino-U.S. joint venture campus. When the first partnership with the

Chinese University ended in 2004, new partners (CIC) were found. CAU moved to a new campus with new partners in the beginning of the academic year 2004-2005. The study focused mainly on the new partnership with CIC.

Two of the main goals of CAU are 1) to create an environment in which the finest aspects of Chinese and United States cultures are respected and 2) to provide multi-cultural opportunities to enable students to learn about various cultures in the contemporary world. Courses are taught in English by American professors, and an American University's degree is earned.

Students at CAU first complete an intensive English language program. After the completion of this program, they begin their studies in one of two academic areas that lead to American University's Associate's or Bachelor's degree. Areas of study, for the time being, are in International Business.

After completion of their Associate's degree, students can choose to continue at CAU and complete a Bachelor's degree, study at an English language university elsewhere in the world (including those of 80+ sister schools of AU), or finish their bachelor's degree at the AU in the U.S.

Admission process is as follows:

1. Complete the application form in Chinese and English. Submit the completed application form with copies of national ID, diploma and scores of National Examination to the CAU admissions office.
2. High school transcripts are sent directly to CAU, bearing the school's official stamp. Applicants may include transcripts in the admissions package provided they are in a sealed envelope with the school's official stamp on the envelope.

3. After the applicants' documents are evaluated, personal interviews with prospective students are arranged.
4. Those accepted are then mailed acceptance letters, and arrangements for the English proficiency test are made. The test, which is similar to the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), contains four parts: listening comprehension, spoken English, reading comprehension, and writing. The CAU test is used solely for placement purposes within the CAU program. (AU website, accessed on July 10, 2005)

China Investment Company

The China Investment Company (CIC) was established in 1999 in a rural city in a Southern Province of China. There are four higher education institutions that are located on CIC campus. These are: a Vocational School, a Technical College, a Technology University and CAU. There are approximately sixteen thousand Chinese students on the CIC campus. CAU is a Sino- U.S. joint venture university, managed by U.S. partners. CIC provides teaching facilities and staff support. Academic issues are dealt with by the U.S. partners. The other three institutions have varying forms of cooperation agreements with CIC and their management will not be discussed in this study.

Limitations of the Study

Limitations of this study include the lack of literature on the Sino-U.S. educational joint ventures in China. This is a relatively new area of research for scholars, and therefore, the literature on the challenges of administering a Sino-U.S. joint venture campus in China is not sufficient. Another limitation was the difficulty of conducting a qualitative case study in Communist China. Even though China opened its doors to

foreign investment in 1978, there are still problems with the Western presence and questioning is seen as a threat to the national culture of China, restricting information flow through these Western educational institutions.

Another limitation was the lack of sufficient Chinese language skills of the researcher. Even though the researcher lived and worked in China and took formal Chinese language and culture classes, it was still a limitation. In some cases, it was necessary to utilize people with good English and Chinese language skills to communicate with the Chinese.

The last limitation was the sensitivity of the business environment in China. Information gathered through this study was used for the researcher's Ph.D. dissertation and information included had to be reviewed by both sides of the joint venture.

Organization of the Study

This dissertation consists of six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction of the research problem and justification of its significance. This chapter, includes the limitations of the study. The second chapter is the review of related literature. Chapter three discusses the research method utilized, and its adaptation to the study. This chapter includes the justification for the research method and analysis that was adopted and limitations of the research method. The latter part of the chapter explains the conceptual framework through which the research findings were analyzed. These were the concept of Internationalization, developed by Knight and de Wit (1999) and National Culture: Four Dimensions developed by Hofstede (1988, 1999, 2005). The fourth chapter is the presentation of the research findings. Chapter five analyses the data findings as they relate to the main research question. Also in this chapter, relevant literature reviewed in

Chapter Two is compared to the actual data collected through this study. Human Capital theory as it relates to the main research problem was used to explain China's acceptance of an American educational model in China. The sixth chapter concludes the study, offers recommendations for U.S. administration of CAU/AU, for future researchers, and for entrepreneurs who are trying to foresee the challenges before they set up a campus in China.

Chapter Summary

This chapter introduced the research question, "What are the Political, Economic, Socio-Cultural, and Educational Challenges of Administering a Sino-U.S. Joint Venture Campus in China?" and why it was significant to conduct such research. There are many considerations while conducting an international research project and reasons for further study are explained in this chapter. Pseudonyms were used in this study to protect the anonymity of the institutions being researched due to the sensitivity of the partnership. A brief introduction of China American University and China Investment Company followed the limitations of the research. The final part of this chapter explains how the study was organized.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

While the United States continues to host the most foreign students in the world, the annual growth rate of the enrollment of foreign students on American campuses decreased from 6.4 per cent in 2002 to 0.6 per cent in 2003 (Open Doors, 2004). With the recent globalization movement and decline in foreign student enrollment in universities in developed countries like the U.S., universities are looking for ways to bring education to the student rather than waiting for students to come for education. Therefore, opening a branch campus abroad and bringing education to the student became an alternative to bringing students to their campuses for U.S. universities.

Overview of the Study

This research explores the political, economic, socio-cultural, and educational challenges of administering a Sino-U.S. educational joint venture in China and offers possible solutions with implications for U.S. universities that are exploring the possibilities of having their own campuses in China.

The case study examines a Sino-U.S. joint venture college, China American University. CAU is the first American University approved by the Chinese government in a Southern Province in the P.R.C., to grant Associate and Bachelor's Degrees to Chinese students, without them having to leave the P.R.C. CAU has been operating in China under the Chinese laws since 2000. By attending the CAU, students are receiving a degree equivalent to the degree at the parent university, in the U.S.

CAU is significant in this research in that it was an experiment for the Chinese government, as they were looking to find ways to learn Western knowledge which they

consider to be crucial for China's advancement, specifically in technology and business fields. By contrast, other American programs in China such as Dalian Management Training Program, Dalian University of Science and Technology and numerous other programs offer only Master of Business Administration (MBA) degrees, most of them requiring one or two semesters of internship as degree completion requirements (Wang, 1999; Eckel et al., 2004). In addition to Sino-U.S. educational joint ventures, several European institutions also formed alliances with Chinese universities and started offering programs for Chinese students:

> Several international projects of MBA training were developed in China. An EU-China training project was established in Beijing in 1982 …In 1994, EU-China project moved to Shanghai and became the China-European International Business School, attached to Shanghai Jiatong University. (Wang, 1999, p. 314)

American and European universities offering graduate degrees (specifically, MBA) focus on a more affluent and educated student group, whereas CAU focuses for the time being, only on students ranging in age from 17-22 that are intending to pursue their Associate's or Bachelor's degrees. This is significant in the sense that students pursuing their graduate degrees are more affluent and motivated, as they are paying up to $55,000 (Washington University's MBA program in China) to complete their MBA degrees. CAU students pay approximately $4,500 for one year. Older students, who are not dependent on their parents for their education, also have the choice of going to the U.S. and continuing their graduate studies as a result of belonging to a more affluent group in China. In addition, most of the MBA students are also financially supported by the

companies they are working at whereas younger students depend on their parents for the tuition and other education related expenses.

There is no available comprehensive list of international branch campuses. The phenomenon of branch campuses is relatively new and needs to be explored. According to *The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education* (2002), Greece, Cyprus, Thailand, Qatar, and China have branch campuses of various American universities with different alliance levels.

Knight (2004) explains that the only data available on the activities of U.S. institutions abroad are the data indicating that 225 U.S.-Accredited institutions or programs were operating outside the United States in 2002. Nine were accredited by U.S. national accrediting organizations, 194 by regional accrediting associations, and 22 by specialized accreditors (Council for Higher Education Accreditation, 2002, www.chea.org). Most of these colleges and universities with campuses in other countries serve U.S. students studying abroad. Examples of exceptions include Webster University, headquartered in Missouri, with dozens of instructional sites around the United States and seven campuses abroad (London, Leiden, Vienna, Geneva, Thailand, Bermuda, Shanghai), and Temple university, with a campus in Japan. Knight (2004) informs us that "Texas A&M University plans to open an undergraduate engineering campus in Qatar, joining Cornell University, which has opened a branch of its medical school, and Virginia Commonwealth University, which operates a program in fashion and interior design" (p. 54).

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2004) reported that cooperative programs between local and foreign providers in China have

increased. The Ministry of Education has reported that in early 2003, there were 712 such programs. Of these, "261 are post secondary and higher education degree programs, 313 are non-degree programs, and the remaining 138 are pre-tertiary. The main fields were Masters of Business (36%), Information and Communication Technology (13%), Economics (10%), and Foreign Language (9%). The major partner countries were the United States (154 co-operative arrangements), Australia (146), Canada (74), Japan (58), Hong Kong, China(56), Singapore (46), United Kingdom (40), Chinese Taipei (31), France (24), Germany (14), and Korea (12)" (OECD, 2004, p. 181-2). However, as the Chinese government has kept the option of future regulation of such programs, only ten partnerships for the delivery of degrees have been fully approved by the central government (China Youth Daily, 2003).

China scholar Hayhoe (Hayhoe, 1996, as quoted in Willis, 2000a) developed a Sino-Foreign educational cooperation model divided into four categories in terms of their alliance levels. Level of alliance determined the activities of the organizations. This is presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Alliance Levels for Joint Venture Schools

Level of alliance	**Type of activities**	**Details**
Level Four (in growth) Joint ventures for the establishment of a semi private "independent campus) High Level of alliance	As below, but including the establishment of a joint venture campus in China. Viewed in China as the pinnacle of cooperation.	These are formal joint ventures which result in the development of semi-private independent campuses which may deliver some or all of the activities mentioned in the diagram but which are particularly noted for the delivery of coordinated

		incountry courses; degrees and postgraduate programs, especially an MBA designed for the China market.
Level three (in growth) Joint Ventures of high level strategic alliance for establishment of Sino Foreign Centre, Institute or equivalent	As below, including the development of a Sino-Foreign centre. Increasingly popular in China.	Refers to the development of Sino-Foreign institutes and Centers of which 22 examples out of 160 have been found. These have increased since the mid 1990s, and are seen as framework alliances/agreements into which a wide variety of activities and programs can be implemented, over time, and in a committed long term way by both sides. Some Chinese universities indicated they will now negotiate only at this level or above.
Level two (emerging out of level one) Strategic Alliance based on expected long term delivery of programs and courses in China, amongst other activities.	As below, but includes long term delivery of programs and courses in China, including the location of foreign staff in China and considerable face to face delivery-courses viewed as replication of foreign courses as they would be delivered at home in the foreign country.	This is a new level of alliance and has emerged out of level one. Much liked in China, this form of alliance insists on long term China based activities and presence by the foreign university.
Level one (popular but in relative decline) Fairly low level, and	May include any or all of: Delivery of courses and programs in China (often	This is the most common and basic form of alliance undertaken between Chinese and Foreign universities. In 2000, there were

often relatively unstructured alliances which may deepen over time. Emerged out of the old friendship agreements.	semester by semester, guest lectures, English Language Teaching); Exchange of staff; Exchange of students; One way export of students from China to foreign partner or reverse (study abroad); Research activities; Organization of seminars; Development of text book and other course materials; Fee for service training programs for various student market groups; and Commercialization of Chinese research (very popular form of cooperation for HK universities cooperating with mainland universities.	two types, as viewed from the Chinese side (a) those which were signed as friendship agreements and which were often no value and were actively being phased out, and (b) those which were taken seriously, often as initial form of alliance between a Chinese and Foreign university- and these were becoming more specific.

(Source: Willis, 2000a, p. 1432)

As is seen in Table 2, there are four levels of cooperation and each level has its pros and cons. That is, individual organizations can decide the level of cooperation and benefit from it.

Willis (2000b) conducted a research study among 160 Chinese universities and 130 foreign universities, between 1995-2000, regarding the nature of their alliances. He focused on the views of foreign universities as the market entrants but also gathered data

on the views of Chinese universities since they were the other side of the alliances. He found that foreign universities tended to stay within alliance levels for several reasons:

a) they were not aware of other levels,

b) they did not even consider that there may be other levels,

c) they tended to focus on deepening commitment within a level,

d) they signed lower level alliances if relatively inexperienced, and undertook higher level alliances if more experienced, and

e) the level at which they signed tended to meet the needs of the two sides and the nature of the cooperative programs undertaken. (p. 1437)

China continues to present a highly complex environment for most foreign firms. As the number of the joint ventures increase in China, certain conflicts appear. First, Westerner's individualistic orientation and the Chinese partner's collectivities orientation create conflict (Jen, 2001). Second, Chinese laws are not written as tightly as U.S. laws, so even if partners feel they are complying with the laws, they may be interpreted more broadly in such a way that partners are considered not to be in compliance (Atkinson, 2004).

One consideration is that Chinese industry is characterized by strong subcultures. People identify closely with particular work units, regions and municipalities (Child, 1994). These subcultures, generally stronger than those found within less diversified and less traditional societies "challenge the cohesion of any large Chinese conglomerate" (Child, 2000, p. 40). A widely held perception persists among foreign managers that the conditions for doing business in China are highly unpredictable. Individualism-collectivism concerns the relationship between the individual and his/her group

(Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1986) and substantively distinguishes American and Chinese cultures (Ting-Toomey, 1988). Authority or power in the Western cultures is exercised in a rational, bureaucratic manner, whereas its exercise in the Orient takes a traditional, paternalist mode (Redding, 1990).

Even though international joint ventures are rapidly growing organizational form and there is substantial research on the operation of such organizations, academic understanding of joint ventures is still limited in scope and in depth. Previous studies have reported high failure and instability rates among joint ventures (Franko, 1971; Harrigan, 1986; Kogut, 1989; Levine & Byrne, 1986), and the factors predicting successful venture performance remain unclear (Geringer & Hebert, 1991; Parkhe, 1993). Table 2 presents some of the problems in managing East-West Joint Ventures.

Table 2 Source problems in Managing East-West Joint Ventures

Western Partner	**Eastern Partner**
Lack of knowledge and understanding of the environment, market and specific company	Lack of understanding of Western business practices
Profit expectations too high	Pay expectations too high
Superiority complex	Inferiority complex
Stereotyping	Stereotyping
Lack of Communication	Lack of communication
Lack of intercultural management	Lack of basic management skills
“Plantation syndrome”	Militant, politicized trade unions
Poor negotiations skills	Poor negotiations skills

(Source: Kozminski, 1995, p. 121)

Education in Early Imperial China

When missionaries were first involved in dissemination of Christian knowledge and faith in China, they lost no time in establishing schools as an instrument. They founded schools, not strictly for the children of Christians, but as a place where the new converts were educated and preserved from too intimate contact with the unbelieving world. They had no well-established educational policy. The schools opened by the Christian missionaries were, moreover, confined to the children of the humbler classes. The few who acquired a Western education had little prospect of employment in the government. In spite of these and other shortcomings, for some time, the schools of the missionaries were practically the only institutions where some form of modern knowledge was taught and for this reason they justly claim to have been the first modern educational institutions in China (Pin-wen & Kuo, 1915). Purcell (1936), however, claims that the main objective of these Christian schools was to maintain and strengthen the converts in their faith and to prepare candidates for the priesthood, and there was no attempt made to introduce Western learning to students. He further argues that the missions also had great difficulty in getting pupils for their schools and both Catholics and Protestants had to resort to something like bribery to keep their schools going, giving their pupils not only free tuition, but their food, lodging, and clothing as well.

In 1925, the American system, based on principles presented by educationalists such as John Dewey, was formally rejected due to anti-foreign feelings. The Chinese decided that education should be first and foremost nationalistic, and “Chinese learning should be the essence, and Western learning should provide material efficiency” (p. 77). In this case, once again, East and West misunderstood each other. Each looked straight

past the other, believing itself to be immeasurably superior and hence seeing no need to take the trouble to understand the other's perspective (Preston, 1999).

Traditional Chinese Education, Confucian Thought and Mao Tse-tung

Reagan (2000) claims that it would be impossible to discuss traditional Chinese educational thought without repeated reference to Confucian thought. It was and still is "an integral part of the Chinese mentality" (p. 105). As a belief system, Confucianism has provided the Chinese with great stability and resilience (Redding, 1990).

Confucianism, as Turner (2002) explains, holds at its center the value for learning and for the ideals of social mobility, which are achieved by intellectual progression and development. Education and intellectual life, therefore, were at the heart of the social and organizational infrastructure of China for many hundreds of years. For many centuries the ethic of Confucius was the moral basis on which both human relationships and the conduct of government rested in Imperial China. It was also the source of traditional educational philosophy. Confucianism taught that man was by nature good and could be correctly shaped by education and all men had the capacity to reach moral perfection (Taylor, 1981). Bodde (1957) points out in *China's Cultural Tradition*:

> central to Confucianism from the very beginning was an idea of key importance: that government is too vital a matter to be left solely to accidents of birth, and therefore requires that the hereditary nobles be assisted and advised in their rule by an elite body of officials who are educationally qualified for their important task. This education, furthermore, should be broadly humanistic and ethical rather than narrowly technical. (p. 15)

The traditional education system was devoted to the study of Confucian classical texts for the Imperial examinations. Prospective candidates learned definite rules of conduct which they applied, on appointment as officials, to the concrete conditions of everyday life. Both clan and state schools were designed to train youth for the Civil Service Examinations, but Imperial rulers did not envisage the extension of a general education system to a wider public.

Despite a short period of Communist rule since 1949, Confucian ideology is still a strong force in the P.R.C. today. Taking the family as a model for society at large, Confucianism is basically authoritarian, emphasizing hierarchical principles and status differences. It guides the correct and best way of handling interpersonal relationships and is accepted at all levels of society (Bond, 1991), infusing Chinese organizational behavior, resulting in a largely autocratic managerial style. Thus, if we put it in the context of management styles present in China, the delegation of power is very limited with most power held by the managing directors or a small group of top managers and party officials (Chen, 1995). The loyalty of managers to the Communist Party in general, and to the top executives in particular, became a crucial element for their promotion and well-being. Communication is mostly top-down and managers typically practice an authoritarian decision-making style with limited individual responsibility (Worm, 1997). Pun, Chin, and Lau (2000) observed that Chinese management and organizations are shaped by collective orientation, social relations, paternalistic approach, and acceptance of hierarchy. The Chinese and the Western socio-cultural approaches to management may be distinguished in several aspects including needs, norms, relationships, family role, decision making, change, cognition, and structures of reasoning (Lee, 1987).

Chinese place more emphasis on intuitive, sense-making, and non-abstract processes than Westerners. This helps explain why Chinese and Westerners also have different structures of reasoning across disciplines, professions, cultures, and individuals.

Even though Confucianism was and is still present in every aspect of Chinese life, Taylor (1981) argues that the Communist Party's educational philosophy was different than the Confucian view in one fundamental respect. That is, while Chinese philosophers traditionally saw government as an extension of the laws of the universe, thus stressing harmony and continuity, the Communist Party has sought to reshape the physical environment, thereby promoting social change and economic development.

According to Mao, the educational system was part of the cultural network of a country. In discussing the wider context of cultural work, Mao stated that the new culture created in the Soviet Union should be a model for the Chinese in building Chinese people's culture. Similarly, ancient Chinese culture should "neither be totally rejected nor blindly copied but should be accepted discriminatingly so as to help the progress of China's new culture" (Taylor, 1981, p. 9).

Mao accepted the basic Marxist principle that education is part of the superstructure of society and infrastructure of economy:

> Any given culture [as an ideological form] is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon the latter. Economics is the base and politics the concentrated expression of economics. This is the fundamental view of the relations of culture to politics and economics. (Mao Tse-tung, 1940, p. 340, quoted in Kwong, 1979, p. 44)

He further believed that education was a propaganda tool of the ruling class and served its interests only. He had solid grounds for his belief. In feudal China, 90 percent of the population were peasants, but education was controlled by the landlords, and the ideology within the educational system represented that of the landlord class. Mao argued that in a socialist society, education should be turned to serve the interests of the workers and peasants. Kwong (1979) asserts that Mao denied that education or culture could be above politics:

> In the world, all culture, all literature and art, belongs to definite classes and is geared to definite political lines. There is, in fact, no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes or that which is detached from or independent of politics. (p. 44)

But, what were the aims of education? The educational system was to create individuals that were both "red and expert" (p. 48). Redness referred to the possession of the Communist outlook. It was the duty of the educational system to instill into the young political awareness through strengthening their ideological and political work. Therefore, both students and intellectuals should study hard. They should study Marxism, current events, and political problems, which will then help them make progress both ideologically and politically. "Not to have a correct political viewpoint is like having no soul" (p. 44).

While Mao's basic educational philosophy changed little throughout his life, his priorities changed towards accommodation of changing objective conditions. In his report to the Central Executive Committee in 1934 he wrote:

> What is general line of our Soviet culture and education? Our general line is to educate in the communist spirit the broad masses of laboring people, to use culture and education to serve revolutionary war and class struggle, to unite education with labor, to make it possible for the broad masses of the Chinese people to enjoy culture and happiness. What is the central task of our Soviet cultural reconstruction? Our central task is to introduce compulsory education for all our people, to launch large scale socialist education, vigorously to eliminate illiteracy and to create a large number of high level cadres to lead the revolutionary struggle. (Tse-tung, 1934, p. 35 as quoted in Kwong, 1979, p. 45)

After the establishment of the Republic, he saw the aim of education as socialist construction. His emphasis shifted from nationalism to socialism: "Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually, and physically and become a well educated worker imbued with socialist consciousness" (Tse-tung, 1935, p. 459).

Transformation of Higher Education in China

Chinese modern higher education began in 1885 with the founding of Beiyang College, but it was not until the twentieth century that the imperial examinations were abolished and Western educational ideas and models were introduced into China and began to replace the traditional model (Yunxiang, 2003). The first Chinese university in a modern sense, now Beijing University, was established in 1898 (Wang, 2000). Prior to the 1940's many scholars in Chinese universities saw themselves as guardians of that nation's culture against growing nationalistic and secularistic pressures (Julius, 1997).

Chinese higher education developed significantly only after 1949. The first conference on higher education was held on June 1, 1950. The opening speech was made by the Minister of Education, Ma Xulun, who pointed out that 134,000 tertiary students were enrolled in 227 schools of higher education in the country. Sixty-one per cent were run by the state.,10 percent by missionaries and 29 percent were private (Lofstedt, 1980). The Minister emphasized the point that higher education must meet the needs of national construction, politics, culture and national defense, and be open to peasants and workers, following Mao's ideas on education.

For Ma Xulun, a united and centralized leadership was another prerequisite. At the conference on Higher Education, a number of resolutions were passed, addressing for instance, the question of leadership and curriculum reform. It was ruled that all institutes of higher learning must "abolish politically reactionary curricula, and offer new democratic revolutionary curricula, in order to eliminate feudalistic, comprador, and Fascist ideas and develop the idea of serving people" (p. 70). However, long before these reforms were even implemented, universities and other institutions of higher education were closed or radically re-constructed as a result of the Cultural Revolution from 1966 through the early 1970s (Gutek, 1993).

In 1977, the Chinese government launched a concerted effort to restore the academic quality of the universities as part of the national policy of modernization. An ambitious program was begun to improve curriculum and instruction in science and technology. From 1976 to 1982, the higher education system was academically restored. Reform and development of higher education has remained a major concern and a high priority in China's national modernization program. Correspondingly, research on higher

education has assumed increasingly significant roles. "The past decade has witnessed a drastic expansion of higher education studies and experienced dynamic changes in their infrastructures, content, and methodologies" (Nanzhao & Fangping, p. 210). OECD (2005) reported that China has made impressive strides in many domains to become a global player as the Chinese Government now recognizes the key role of education in realizing its goals in other domains. "Ninth Five-Year Plan (1996-2000) and the current Tenth Five-Year Plan (2001-2006) have seen enrollment in tertiary institutions more than double from 9.4 million in 2000 to 20 million in 2004" (p. 539).

Education for a new period must not only absorb the strong points of foreign education but also draw upon values to be found in Chinese traditional education (Gang, 1996). The Chinese after many years of revolutionary movements felt that learning from the West was not a matter of copying and imitating the West in every detail, but rather of studying the true spirit of modern Western education. Chen (1984) describes this spirit as follows:

> Self moving rather than passive, using methods of discovery rather than inculcation, practical rather than idealistic, societal rather than private, intuitional rather than hallucinational, secular rather than religious, whole person oriented rather than purely cerebral, emphasizing reason rather than memory, scientific rather than historical. (p. 1214)

However, adopting the Western traditions in education should not mean abandoning the cultural traditions of China, but simply balancing the traditional and modern education. Chen further explains it as:

> Just because we oppose traditional education does not mean that Western education is all good and Chinese traditional education is all bad…No matter what kind of education it is, when we study it, we should take into account whether its method and spirit, not its content, are new or not. Even aspects of traditional education can be very useful if their method and spirit are new. (p. 490)

Winchester (2000) argues that Chinese official policy stresses that whenever China takes on foreign models that it is its intention to turn these into Chinese models. Thus, for example, when China decided to go into a market economy, it became a "socialist market economy" (p. 110). He further argues that the fact that the remaining party members are businessmen leads to a very *Chinese* [emphasis added] solution to the problem of how to get on with the joint ventures and economic development, while maintaining continuity with their recent past, their socialist ideas, and their desires for economic development.

Joint Ventures in China

Since the reopening of China for business in 1978, joint ventures have been the most frequent entry mode for small and medium–sized international firms, and various leading multinational companies (Child, 2000). China has embarked on a further major phase of enterprise reform in which the promotion of giant enterprises, new forms of corporate governance, entrepreneurship and internationalization are to be the key elements. Child asserts that this evolution will have an impact on foreign-invested firms in China, many of which are already in the process of reevaluating China as an investment environment and their policies on partnership with domestic firms in that

country. Table 3 outlines the motivations of Chinese and Foreign firms in forming a partnership.

Table 3 Reasons why foreign firms and Chinese firms establish joint ventures

Foreign Firms	Chinese Firms
Huge market potential	Government objectives to attract foreign investment
Possible advantage of being 'first in'	Access to technology and skills
Competitor pressure	Learn modern management skills
Fits in with business portfolio	Export opportunity
Partner has local knowledge	Probably, much needed finance provided by foreign firm
Understand macro environment	Increase market share
No need to spend time building Guanxi (Chinese partner already has Guanxi)	Access to marketing expertise

Adapted from Daniels et al., (1985)

Alvez, Manz and Butterfield (2005) speculate that the twenty-first century is going to be characterized by an increasing influence of Chinese companies, business persons, and leadership styles in the global economy, and that this will alter existing conceptions of business, management, and organizations, at least as they have been viewed in the West. Since 1978, the rate and pace of cooperation has accelerated and gathered even more momentum. In the mid to late 1990s, the Chinese government endorsed Sino-Foreign education cooperation as a means of modernizing and expanding the Chinese higher education system so that it could serve the developing market economy (Ministry of Education, 1998). According to OECD (2002) study, *China in the World Economy*:

> The explosion in [educational] participation is a direct response to combined social and economic demand. As economic conditions improve and the Chinese

> people enjoy more prosperous lifestyles, the demands and expectations of parents for the education of their children grow, especially for university education. It is no longer simply a case of aspiring to attend a university, but, rather, of going to a good one. While in the past families built up savings in order to pass on the wealth to their children, they are now more interested in using these savings (estimated at RMB 60 trillion) to invest in their children's education. This is a distinctive Chinese cultural feature, which is not found in countries that opt for high levels of public spending. (p. 789-790)

Approximately 16 million of China's 1.3 billion population are enrolled in post-secondary programs (China International Education Association, 2004). China has one of the largest state higher education systems in the world with more than 3,000 universities and colleges—of these, 1,225 are full-time colleges and universities; 686 adult higher education institutions; and 1,202 new private universities and colleges (Min, 2004). Many of these universities and institutes have developed alliances and undertaken a broad range of activities with foreign counterparts. According to the decree release by the China's Ministry of Education in 2003, there are currently 721 "approved" jointly run educational institutions in China. Activities range from co-developed new institutions, to a foreign degree franchised to an existing Chinese university. The United States is the source of the highest number of partnerships, followed by Australia, Canada, Japan, Singapore, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany (Ministry of Education, 2003). A relatively recent survey of 160 Chinese universities and institutes indicates that each had at least 10 alliances with foreign universities or equivalent bodies (Willis, 2000a).

Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Chinese-Foreign Joint Ventures in Education (2004) describes Sino-Foreign joint ventures in education as educational establishments that are cooperatively set up and run within borders of China and that enroll primarily Chinese citizens. It further explains that the Chinese government encourages the development of Chinese-foreign joint ventures in education in the fields of higher education and vocational educational institutions. The aim is to encourage partnership programs between Chinese higher education institutions and renowned foreign institutions of higher learning. The main condition is that they should bring in foreign educational resources of excellent quality. It is also regulated by the law that:

> Chinese-foreign joint ventures in education must abide by the laws of China, implement China's educational policies, conform to China's public morals, and may not harm China's national sovereignty and security and the public interests of society. Chinese-foreign joint ventures in education should be consistent with needs of China's developing education, ensure the quality of education and teaching, and devote its efforts to training various types of personnel for China's cause of social construction. (Regulations, 2004, p. 41)

For a Sino-Foreign Educational Joint Venture to be established, detailed documentation on the academic, managerial, and financial resources of the proposed partnership is required. There is a three-stage approvals process, and approved co-operative institutions will be subject to regular quality evaluation and an independent annual financial audit. There is provision for revoking the operating license if serious shortcomings are not corrected within a specified time. There are penalties for using false information to recruit students. The institution may use foreign texts, but Mandarin

is the basic teaching language. The institution's head must be a citizen and permanent resident of China, "love the motherland, possess moral integrity, and have work experience in the field of education and teaching as well as compatible professional expertise" (New China News agency, 24 March 2003).

Willis (2000a) claims that there is particular emphasis at the government level on the development of alliances in the western provinces of China and Chinese government endorsement, either at Provincial or Central Level, is still crucial to success. In addition, foreign and Chinese universities increasingly need to identify whether activities are commercial in nature or for innate educational value. From the Chinese perspective, the major benefits of foreign involvement in higher education are capacity, status, and innovation (Garrett, 2004). A 2004 OECD report explains that "China wants to develop a system of world-class universities, which by definition means internationalized universities. This requires a major cultural change in education given that China faces a largely English-language form of globalization" (p. 161).

Chinese universities are becoming more and more selective in regard to the choice of partnering university. Willis (2000a) inserts in this phase of the research that one of the major challenges of forming a joint venture with Chinese universities is that it is becoming exceedingly difficult to manage, often leading to dissatisfaction among partners and high failure rates. Si and Bruton (1999) further confirm that although China is now the world's most active joint venture market, satisfaction with the performance of many international joint ventures in China is declining. Willis (2000a) argues that there are a range of factors relating to the success of alliances in China including culture,

management styles, finance, perception, government incentives, the role of staff in the Joint Venture and the levels of control by the parent companies.

With the literature indicating that the number of educational joint ventures is increasing (Willis, 2000a; Willis, 2000b; Si & Bruton, 1999; Little, 2000; Hofstede, 1980; Knight & de Wit, 1999; Hayhoe, 1998), there are many challenges faced by both the American and the Chinese sides, especially in China. OECD (2005) reports that despite the weaknesses in governance being regarded as a major obstacle, China still continues to attract foreign business on a large scale.

It is therefore imperative that new knowledge be added to the literature analyzing these educational joint ventures as the author foresees a wider expansion of Western models in the P.R.C. This study will not only add new knowledge to the literature but also will help both Western and Chinese educational entrepreneurs understand each other and benefit from the cooperation.

Challenges of Administering a Sino-U.S. Joint Venture Campus

Xuan and Graf (1996) argue that when investing in China it is important to know about the economic, legal [political], and the sociocultural environment in the country. In an educational joint venture, educational challenges must be included in any research undertaken to determine the specifics and underlying assumptions of these challenges. In this part of the study, the political, socio-cultural, educational and economic challenges of administering a Sino-U.S. joint venture campus are explained.

Political Challenges

Dunne (1995) explains that "The 'Middle Kingdom' has been locked to outsiders for 5, 000 years, and Western traders since the 18th century have been struggling in search

of the keys" (p. 14). However, since 1978, China has approved more than 212,000 joint ventures, reflecting the nation's strong preference for cooperative development projects. For Westerners, they have finally found a hole to go through the Great Wall, but they are rarely aware of the challenges inside the Wall, and their excitement does not last long. Now, they have to find their ways through the Chinese political, economic, socio-cultural, and in this case, educational puzzle. Any company expanding into China must identify which government agencies are in charge of their industry as "nowhere are the ambiguities of operating in China more pronounced than in the legal sphere" (p. 16).

China did not actually have a law pertaining to companies that operated on Chinese soil until 1904. Kirby (1995) explains that it was not until January 21, 1904 that the Chinese had a company law outlining the operation of companies on Chinese soil. This date, the Ministry of Commerce [newly established then] issued China's first company law. These laws were structured so that China would no longer suffer the humiliations at the hands of Japan and the Western powers. Qing government's new reformist policies were initiated as a tool to promote China's industrial development. It was only then that the Chinese accepted modern industrialist capitalism which demanded the Chinese to do business with Westerners. Li (1974) argued that the major goal was to promote the creation of Chinese companies to compete with the foreigners who were producing and marketing their goods on Chinese soil. Over the years, different governments made changes to the Law. Qing reformer's idea was that adopting the Western model for the development of private Chinese enterprises would be a mistake, in the sense that Western models cannot be taken as they are, but, need to be changed according to the overall cultural and political structure. That is, Western models were

designed for the Western countries and adoption of the Western models for Chinese companies would not be beneficial.

In Communist countries, the education system has been central to the teachings of Communism. It is understandable that allowing an American educational institution with democratic traditions to operate in China would weaken the communist convictions of the younger generation. Especially, Western management theories are considered as "capitalism being preached in China" (Southworth, 1999, p. 327). Involvement of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in any business including the educational joint ventures does have significant effect on the operation of such businesses. Chan (1999) adds that Western management theories originated mainly from American research. They used companies operating in very different political, economic and social environments. The use of these examples as cases for discussions was therefore inadequate. The reason for that is that these discussions tend to neglect the role of government and thus are of limited use in socialist economies.

Furthermore, Chen (1995) points out that factory directors, managers, workshop heads and production team leaders have the authority to direct and command their subordinates. However, they are supposed to be red (ideologically loyal to the CCP) and specialist (in managing their own fields). In this case, being red is more important.

Existence of the CCP structure in each enterprise, operating parallel to the administrative structure, is the most prominent problem. The Party secretary has always been powerful and has significant decision-making power. Party involvement does not only include factories and other business, but educational institutions are also affected by it.

Despite the fact that the government adopted a policy of decentralization in running higher education, the CCP has never withdrawn entirely from the higher education domain. Instead of being the sole direct provider of educational services, the central government now acts as policy facilitator and regulator of higher education. "Even though the central government has delegated its authorities to local/provincial governments and individual higher education institutions to take charge of their operational matters, the central government has introduced 'internal competition' and 'review exercises' to regulate the higher education sector" (Mok, 2001, p. 131).

Tse, Au, and Vertinsky (1996) argue that the choice of levels of government interference may bear greater significance in China than in other market economies because they represent different risks to the investing forms. Generally speaking, the higher the level of government involved, the more secure the ventures. "This is because higher level governments have more authority in approving projects, interpreting government policies, and exercising controls" (p. 144).

The extensive role of the government in the Chinese economy puts enormous power in the hands of the bureaucracy. Research conducted by Osland and Cavusgil (1996) argue that U.S. managers in China recognized the importance of understanding and being able influence government decisions. Having a local partner enabled foreign firms to develop close connections with government decision-makers. They have finally realized that they had to adapt their policies in accordance with the ideology of the CCP, without abandoning the real purpose of their presence in China. "Foreign firms had to understand and deal with a complex, often confusing web of government entities to

ensure that their business operations were not adversely impacted by changes in government policies or bureaucratic whims" (Sanyal & Guvenli, 2001, p. 41).

The influence of the Communist Party is ensured in all business organizations through employees who are its members. Foreign-owned firms are required to have a Chinese citizen, a nominee of the Party, as chair of the subsidiary's board of directors:

> The principal of the chief administrator of an institution of Chinese-foreign joint ventures in education should be a national of the People's Republic of China, reside within the borders of China, love the mother-land, be of good moral conduct, have experience in education and teaching, and be of corresponding professional level. (Regulations, 2004, p. 48)

Su (1999) points out that China is experiencing a dynamic reconstruction where disorder is an integral part of the society. This consists of "an absence or lack of effective laws, increasing problems of business ethics, bureaucracy, and the government's ambiguous role in the economy with respect to enterprises" (p. 1). With regard to joint ventures, the Chinese local authorities too often tend to intervene in management and consider the international joint ventures as state companies and therefore under state control.

As well as other types of business joint ventures, educational joint ventures are also expected to strictly follow the rules. Chinese academic leaders are limited in their scope of decision making and action by the need to operate within a constrained political environment and to respond to Party initiatives (Julius, 1997; Zhang & Xu, 2002). Having a representative from the Chinese Communist Party in the administration becomes a challenge for the American directors. American directors, in this context, are

not familiar with the political agenda, coming from a democratic society, and usually are not aware of the challenge of having a representative from the CCP, prior to their arrival. Politics is one of the topics that they are not allowed to talk about, as instructed by their employers in the United States. Due to the sensitivity of the political discourse in China, American managers are not 'going there' but focusing on the economics and educational concerns related to their duties. Therefore, there is a gap in the current literature exploring the political context of administering a joint venture (almost none in educational joint ventures) in China.

Economic Challenges

Holton (1990), after interviewing several joint venture managers in China, found that a major hurdle in the negotiating process leading to the establishment of the joint venture was the question of the number of the employees to be hired. The Chinese wanted the joint venture to employ far more workers than did the foreign partner. He adds that the workers in the joint venture continue to be employees of the Chinese partner and are essentially seconded to the joint venture itself. That is, Chinese staff is not as willing to cooperate with the American administrators as they are with their actual employer, the Chinese partner. Chinese staff considers the Chinese partners as main employers and are loyal to them and rather unwilling to take orders from American partners.

Another economic challenge that the American directors face in a Joint Venture is the wages of the teachers and the staff. Holton (1990) found that most American managers of joint ventures in China are especially unhappy with the policy requiring

Chinese counterparts of U.S. managers to be paid salaries comparable to the Americans. The Chinese argued that there should be equal pay for equal work.

American administrators, professors and staff get 9-10 times more than what their Chinese counterparts are getting in terms of wages within the joint venture. Most get a free furnished apartment with utilities paid. Even though food is relatively inexpensive in China, some joint ventures pay for the food, as well. In addition, they are given at least one round-trip flight ticket from and to their country of residence. American partner's justification is that, even paying 9-10 times more than what the Chinese are getting is not enough compared to what they would be getting back in America. Also, Americans living abroad have to support their families back home and maintain their health insurance, social security, mortgage, student loans, car payments, etc.

While the Chinese economy has grown rapidly over the past 20 years, the rate of growth has varied greatly among different provinces. Average annual total income per capita in Southern Province, where CAU is located, is 1243.87 Yuan (($1= approximately 8 Yuan). National average total annual income per capita is 882.03 Yuan. It gets as low as 649.51 in Guizhou (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2005). In Henan, total income per capita is 721.10 Yuan and "a teacher's salary at Qinghua [in Henan Province] is generally a little more than 1,000 Yuan and some teachers may make more than 2,000 Yuan (Gu, 2000, p. 4). Thus, when the American teachers receive wages and other benefits totaling 9-10 times more than what the Chinese are receiving, it evokes certain negative feelings with the Chinese administration, teachers, and staff, and even with the students.

Another issue is the tuition fee that students pay for their education. Xiaoping (2002) reports that "Qinghua University, Beijing University (with the exceptions of a few specializations), People's University, and Beijing Normal university will be charging 4,800 yuan per person annually; Beijing Technology University, Beijing Science and Technology University, Beijing Post and Telecommunications University, Beijing Aeronautics University, and Beijing Chemical Engineering University will be charging around 5,000 yuan for most specializations; and the University of Foreign Economics and Trade will be charging 6,000 yuan" (p. 22).

At CAU, students pay around 36,000 Yuan for the academic year. This includes a dormitory room with two to four people living in it, but does not include food. Students also have to pay extra for their books and books are brought directly from America and sold to the students of American prices. An average 'Business' book would cost between 500-1100 Yuan. That is, Chinese students are paying almost eight times more than what they would be paying at a Chinese higher education institution. The question remains here: would an American education in China pay eight times more than a Chinese education when the student graduates? Jobs are still scarce in China and graduates of CAU will set an example as to whether an American education in China would be a worthwhile adventure when they go for their first job interviews.

Socio-cultural Challenges

Chinese culture has a long history, showing great persistence and coherence. The roots are primarily in the religio-philosophical traditions of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism (Shi & Westwood, 2000). Harmony is a core element, central to the main religio-philosophical traditions and critical in orientations to the self, environment and social

relationships. “A ‘harmony-with’ the environment is prescribed rather than the ‘mastery-over’ prescribed in the western tradition” (p. 191). This entails a non-interventionist, outer-directed and situation-accepting orientation (Leung, 1992) in contrast to a Western problem-solving orientation (Adler, 1991). Adler (1991) has also compared leadership theories. Having examined two kinds of leadership theories, Adler concluded that participatory management models, which are widely encouraged by American theorists and managers, are not appropriate for many cultures.

In his 2004 article Xiaohua argues that dealing with cultural differences is a major concern to international business scholars and practitioners. He suggests that encouragement of cultural adaptation or learning process may increase the congruence between culturally different partners and ultimately improve the effectiveness of international business relationships. However, business people from certain national and cultural backgrounds may have a stronger or weaker tendency toward cultural adaptation. Adaptation is a key mechanism for coping with negative diversities in ongoing interactions with alliances, and participants in cross-cultural alliances need to adapt to each other on both business and cultural levels. Functioning in a foreign culture with a reasonable comfort level requires a general understanding of the concept of culture and a generalized understanding of the national norms with which the partners have to deal. Knowledge from this cultural understanding process is useful to the manager trying to predict cultural events. When individuals conduct business across national borders, they often bring to the negotiation table diverse cultural predispositions with which they interact with one another (Graham et al., 1994; Tinsley & Pillutla, 1998; Simintras, 2000). Therefore, interaction between international partners may be difficult since

cultural differences in beliefs, attitudes and behavior patterns often lead to "misunderstanding, misconception, and miscommunication" (Xiaohua, 2004, p. 37).

Xiaohua argues that cultural adaptation goes beyond simply adapting business practice, but involves understanding, adjusting to, and learning about the other party from a cultural standpoint. Li et al. (1999) suggest that managers in the parent firms need to consider how the characteristics of the managers they send to the Joint Venture will affect the functioning of the Joint Venture leadership team and the venture's overall success. Tsang (1999) explains this challenge as: "Managers from industrialized countries are ready to teach native Chinese staff, but seldom do they realize that they can learn something from the locals" (p. 94). Westerners are anxious to "teach the rest of the world" (Xiaohua, 2004, p. 39).

Age and experience may even complicate the situation further. The Chinese managers expect age and general life experience to be given some priority in discussions and decisions, whereas the foreign managers usually place more importance on expertise and experience specific to the nature of the joint venture. Chinese joint venture managers are generally older than their counterparts. In traditional Chinese culture, elders are respected. As a result, older Chinese managers expect younger members to respect them. However, for Westerners, respect for age will not even be an issue, resulting in friction and strain (Li, Xin & Hambrick, 1999).

Chinese social systems are characterized by hierarchical but networked leadership patterns. Chinese managers/leaders occupy "pivotal positions and have legitimized power to make decisions and allocate resources, but such decisions must reflect and balance network members' interests and sustain good relations" (Shi & Westwood, 2000,

p. 205). They believe that groups are more powerful than individuals. Groups have more wisdom and individuals should not contradict the opinions of the groups, especially the opinions of the group leader. Also, Street and Matelski (2003) explain that "unlike Westerners, the Chinese do not analyze things by viewing them as parts to be added together, as 'one plus one equals two,' but that the whole is more than the sum of the parts (as in the Yin-Yang symbol or in contemporary Western 'Systems Theory')" (p. 119).

Yin-Yang, explains how one thing stands in relation to another. It suggests the interdependence of proximate things in the world. The *yin* and *yang* is a concept used not only to help representing 'parts' of the world, but also to suggest ways in which these parts may be correlated. For example, as Ames (2003) noted, in Classical Chinese philosophy there is no distinction between 'reality' and 'appearance,' which contrasts with the Western idea that "objective knowledge is truth; subjective knowledge is mere opinion" (p. 847).

Stewart and Bennett (1991) argue that the Chinese way of thinking emphasizes more of the "synthetic" while the Americans focus more on the "analytical" (p. 43-44). They noted that whereas the American way of thinking is essentially analytical, the Chinese way is "strongly relational and for this reason it lacks clarity from a Western point of view" (p. 43-44). Hall and Ames (1995) note that the Chinese emphasize analogical and correlative thinking whereas Westerners draw on more causal thinking.

Nevis (1983) has summarized eleven major cultural assumptions underlying Chinese management:

1. The nation has priority over everything; loyalty to the country is of the utmost importance.
2. Consideration for the family is very important.
3. Personnel selection (leadership) is based upon exploits or ideological contribution.
4. One should have great respect for age.
5. Equity is more important than wealth.
6. Saving and conserving (money, resources, etc.) is to be valued, as is high respect for traditional ways.
7. It is considered unhealthy for individuals to stand out or to take personal credit for their accomplishments.
8. Every decision must take ideology into account.
9. Communal property is more important than private possessions; collectivism is the best economic mechanism.
10. Emphasis focuses upon group forces for motivational purposes.
11. Emphasis focuses on central planning and the powerful state. (p. 255)

Role of Guanxi

Guanxi refers to a special kind of relationship characterized by implicit rules of obligation and reciprocity (Chen, 1994). Cultural roots of Guanxi reside in the Confucian legacy. According to Confucianism, an individual is fundamentally a social or relational being. Social order and stability depend on a properly differentiated role relationship between particular individuals.

Confucius defined five cardinal role relationships (called *wu lun*): emperor-subject, father-son, husband-wife, elder-younger brothers and friend-friend. The term *wu lun* in the Confucian ideology is analogous to the contemporary concept of guanxi (Tsui & Farh, 2000). Yang (1993) described *wu lun* as follows:

> As a highly formalistic cultural system…[requiring] each actor to perform his or her role in such a way that he or she should precisely say what he or she was supposed to say, and not to say what he or she was not supposed to say. In order to be a good role performer, the actor usually had to hide his or her free will…This is why Chinese have been said to be situation-centered or situationally determined. (p. 29-30)

Chinese nationals tend to rely heavily on personal relationships (Guanxi) in business dealings (Chen, 1994). Guanxi provides the lubricant for the Chinese to get through life. It is a form of social investment. No company in the Chinese business world can succeed unless it benefits from an extensive Guanxi. Although Guanxi brings obligations and costs to its beneficiary, these are mainly social obligations rather than economic ones (Luo, 1995).

Such relationships can grow into complex networks that constitute a "highly differentiated intricate system of overt or covert as well as formal and informal social subsets governed by the unwritten law of reciprocity" (Wilpert & Scharpf, 1990, p. 647). Alston (1989), however, argues that guanxi is a viable mechanism for coping with China's highly personalistic and noncodified social order.

Guanxi can also be defined as a special type of relationship which contains "trust, favor, dependence and adaptation, and often leads to insider-based decision making in the

business world" (Chan, Cheng & Szeto, 2002, p. 327). Under conditions of poor legal infrastructures (e.g. underdeveloped education law system), guanxi might result in unethical business practices rendering privileged treatments to members within the same guanxi network and under-table dealing. Chan et al. (2002) explains that "a guanxi network may represent the only efficient means to conduct business in countries where distribution and legal systems are far from fully developed" (p. 328). This unique Chinese way of resolving business conflicts also reminds foreign enterprises of the importance of cultivating guanxi with Chinese officials to protect corporate interests in the country. While Westerners perceive certain business practices (e.g. gift giving) as bribery, their Chinese counterparts may regard them as totally "acceptable and necessary for cultivating mutual trust and long-term relationship" (p. 328). Therefore, coping with complexity in China is thus closely tied with foreign investor policy on local partnerships, that is, forming guanxi.

Osland (1990) also suggests that "Chinese cultural values are largely formed and created from interpersonal relationships and social orientations" (p. 7). To a certain degree, the human relationship network acts as the most important lever or strategy in operating management and administration in China (Sun, Vandenberghe & Creemers, 2003).

Face

Face is another important consideration for the joint ventures in China. Hwang (1987), Alston (1989), and Chen (1995) suggest that even though Face might exist in any society, it has special importance in Chinese societies because of its centrality in social life and business transactions. Shi and Westwood (2000) explain that for the Chinese,

face concerns one's dignity, respect, status and prestige; thus social and business interactions should occur without anyone losing face. Sun et al. (2003) confirm that face for a Chinese is very important. It is even more important than dignity for a Westerner because dignity is only associated with an individual person but face is associated with the dignity of the individual's family, relatives, and a group of people. When a manager criticizes an employee, whether in private or in presence of others, she or he causes that employee to lose face. Holton (1990) says that then the manager also looses face because she or he caused the subordinate to lose face. This means that criticism of performance on the job must be handled in a very delicate way, with criticisms disguised as suggestions for improvement. The foreign manager who is accustomed to dealing with workers in a straightforward way, open and blunt, must be aware of the Chinese employees' concern for Face if she or he is to be effective.

Educational Challenges

Without Instruction's aid, our instinct grew less pure.
By aiming at thoroughness only teaching can ensure.
To feed the body, not the mind – fathers, on you the blame!
Instruction without severity, the idle teacher's shame.
If a child does not learn, this is not as it should be.
How, with a youth of idleness, can age escape the blight?
Diligence has its reward; play has no gain.
Be on your guard, and put forth your strength. (On, 1996, p. 25)

Part of the *Three Character Classic*, arranged in 356 alternately rhyming lines of three characters each, and containing about 500 different characters, this poem remained

in China for the last 600 years, being adopted as a major elementary guide to knowledge for school beginners (On, 1996). The poem shows the major difference in term of academics between Chinese and Americans. It is the 'severe' instruction and the knowledge transferred through it that is important, whereas in American education, it is a continuous communication between teacher and student and both are equally responsible for learning.

It is commonly assumed that some Asian cultures are heavily influenced by Buddhism, which holds that knowledge, truth, and wisdom come to those whose silence allows the spirit to enter (Andersen & Powell, 1991). For instance, harmony or conformity is a key Chinese cultural value that often causes Chinese students to refrain from voicing opposing views in the classroom (Liu, 2001).

The imperial examination system in China, regularized during the Tang dynasty in the seventh century A.D., was a major feature of Chinese culture for centuries (Krebs, 1996). This imperial system led the teaching to be didactic and text-bound, with very little or no time allowed for discussion:

> for many Chinese students and teachers books are thought of as an embodiment of knowledge, wisdom and truth. Knowledge is in the book and can be taken out and put inside students' heads--- (whereas) for many foreigners books are open to interpretation and dispute. (Maley, 1983, p. 101)

Students are expected to compromise, moderate and maintain harmonious relationships in which individualism and self-assertion are discouraged: honor the hierarchy first, your vision of the truth second (Bond, 1992). American teaching, on the

other hand, encourages individualism thus giving the students the responsibility to learn and expecting them to be individuals.

Also, the Chinese teachers, as Ng and Tang (1997) explain, see their primary goal in teaching as to prepare students for public examination. Students are not encouraged to speak out, to question and to criticize, and are unwilling to commit themselves for fear of being wrong and thus losing face (Tsui, 1996). Chu (1990) explains that learning is reciting according to the traditional Chinese education. He says that "If we recite it then think it over, think it over then recite it, naturally it'll become meaningful to us. If we recite it but don't think over, we still won't appreciate its meaning. If we think it over but do not recite it, even though we might understand it, our understanding will be precarious" (p. 38).

In American classrooms, students are expected to participate in class discussions. Class discussions form the core of classroom learning in the U.S. Applicability of an American curriculum and teaching methods in China poses a significant challenge for American professors as well as for Chinese students. Chinese students are complex learners. Their needs and expectations are different than the American students and Chinese students in the U.S. Cortazzi and Jin (1996) remark that although "Chinese students constitute a major group of the world's learners, roughly 25 %, as yet there is very little data-based research into their culture of learning" (p. 172). This lack of research makes the Chinese learners a mystery.

Ginsberg (1992) adds that, in China, knowledge is not open to challenge and extension, that is students arguing with their teachers. The teacher decides which knowledge is to be taught, and the students accept and learn that knowledge.

However, Stigler and Stevenson (1991) argue that the common Western stereotype about the Asian teacher being “an authoritarian purveyor of information” (p. 17), and the one expecting students to listen and memorize correct answers and procedures rather than to construct knowledge themselves does not describe the dozens of elementary school teachers that they have observed. They further explain that education in Chinese societies is higher in value than in the West:

> In the West, teachers and parents often make unrealistically positive appraisals of their students’ and children’s performance and set lower expectations for their achievement. Chinese teachers and parents, on the other hand, are too harsh and punitive towards students. They set high standards of achievement and seldom praise them for their accomplishments. (p. 17)

Another issue with classroom teaching is the transfer of Western knowledge to China. Newell (1999) explains this:

> Herein lies a fundamental problem for the transfer of Western management knowledge to China. All accounts of China stress the cultural and contextual differences between this country and the West. Chinese students will not therefore share a system of meaning with the Western academics and managers who have codified the knowledge, which they are now being asked to digest. This means that the knowledge, even if translated into Chinese, is unlikely to be understood or used. As an analogy, if I pick up a textbook that is written in Chinese, it will be meaningless to me because I cannot make sense of the symbols on the page. But I could also pick up a textbook written in English discussing some aspect of nuclear physics which might be equally meaningless to me

> because I do not possess the necessary knowledge to make sense of the concepts that are being described. The same would be true of a Chinese student reading a management textbook translated into Chinese written by a Western academic. In other words, the transfer of knowledge from the West to China is problematic because the underpinning tacit knowledge of the learners (Chinese students) is a fundamentally different to the tacit knowledge of those articulating the knowledge (Western academics and managers). (p. 288)

Chinese students studying Democracy in their 'American Government' class face a challenge as they do not exactly *get* [emphasis added] the concept. They have been taught Marxist ideology in an oppressive regime and the vocabulary in their textbooks such as, freedom; democracy; citizenship rights; etc. do not make sense to them, especially in the first years of their American education.

Even though American education is valued, American ideology is still a mystery for Chinese students and a difficult concept to understand and, most importantly, accept as valid. Gross (1996) reports that a high school political economics text explains American system as follows:

> We can firmly believe that the system of socialism possesses an incomparable superiority over the system of capitalism. The Western world is not a heaven neither is the United States a land of hope and opportunity. In the final analysis, socialism is a better social system than capitalism, and the socialist new China is the most lovable place to live on the earth. (p. 137)

Again, Gross (1996) found that in the World History book, America was linked to anti-British treatment:

> The British people who organized the colonization were the prestigious noble family members and merchants. Under their control the Indians, the natives who had contributed to the development of North America, were nearly exterminated. The laboring people—the English, Irish, French, Dutch, German, Swedish, and Jewish who had come to North America to escape feudal exploitation and persecution of churches—found themselves under the oppression of the British colonialists. They began to realize that North America was not the 'Land of Freedom'. There existed class exploitation and racial oppression. The Black people who had been shipped from Africa and sold as slaves were put at the bottom of the society and experienced the most miserable life. (p. 135)

When the American teachers are explaining Capitalism, Democracy and Freedom, they are facing frustration, disbelief, and cultural resistance due to Chinese students' educational and cultural background. It is not only the teaching methods of the American professors, but the content of their courses that become major challenges both for the professors and administrators. Chinese students have to study the same books as the parent university in the U.S. The content is already challenging for American students and it becomes doubly challenging for Chinese students to comprehend.

However, the issue goes back to the classroom instruction. Even though the books are difficult to comprehend, it is up to the professors to make it work. Students do not ask questions or challenge the teacher and American professors and administrators are not usually aware of the fact that students are having trouble understanding the conceptual framework of American education. It is not the definition of Democracy that they do not understand, but the concept behind Democracy. It is not the definition of

International Accounting that they do not understand, but Capitalism that they are not familiar with and might even refuse to comprehend.

Another significant issue is related to both socio-cultural and academic challenges of such joint venture campuses. It is the issue of having American academics on Chinese soil at an American university. Bodycott and Walker (2000) argue that in Confucian societies many local staff are wary of foreigners, and are concerned with what they see as an invasion of Western cultural and educational ideologies and values. These foreign academics often face difficulties adjusting to life in their new institutions and countries. Some experience stress related to alienation from families. Some experience the challenges of living in a foreign culture and working in institutions that are very different from what they had previously experienced in their home countries. To be effective, they must learn to cope with such challenges. It is also worth noting that some foreign academics bring with them preconceived beliefs about their role. “Many see themselves as savior, that is, bringing the best of the West to a developing country” (p. 81).

Cheating and Plagiarism is another issue that American professors face in their Chinese classrooms. Sapp (2002) explains that “Chinese students often consider cheating as a skill that everyone should develop just like Math and computer skills; this skill is something they feel that they need in order to compete in the real world” (p. 5). When Chinese students plagiarize, they are actually honoring the actual author. For them, mentioning the name of the author or the source can be perceived as dishonoring them. Sapp later concludes that “it is extremely difficult for most of us to take a step back from our values and beliefs about plagiarism and academic dishonesty in order to be more sensitive to broader cultural, social and political milieux” (p. 9).

Ngwainmbi (2004) investigated the cultural aspects of interpersonal and cross-cultural interactions in a Chinese learning environment. He explored "the relationship between the Chinese Academic Community (CAL) in a university in Beijing, China and American professors and how the CAL negotiates meaning through verbal communication in a formal setting" (p. 63). He attended all lecture sessions along with Chinese learners and American Academic Scholars. Prior to attending the class, learners had been informed of topics to be discussed and instructors had promised extra credit to prospective attendees. He later found that the American teaching style was considered to be interactive and Chinese students enjoyed this whereas authoritarian Chinese approach that favors professor-to-student knowledge pattern was not taken positively. He then explained that the Chinese learners operating in a formal environment have a critical mind, and are expressive and receptive to lively topics and interactive teaching styles, but they tend to be selective when expressing their views on political issues, where and when the topic is brought for discussion. This result suggests that the Chinese students did not know any better when they were taught by traditional teachers, but, as they see that classroom instruction can be interactive and learning can be fun, they have started questioning the way that their Chinese teachers are teaching.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the history of education and the transformation of Higher Education in China are explained. Literature suggests that Confucian thought is still present and powerful in the educational system. The chapter reviewed the most current literature on foreign joint ventures in China and categorized significant challenges as: political, socio-cultural, educational and economic. The reviewed literature suggested

that there are significant challenges present in the formation and the operation of such joint ventures. Dunne (1995) argued that a good partner charts the way through the bureaucratic maze, secures access to decision center and gets the product to market (educational market in this context). The literature also emphasizes that American (foreign) partners need to understand the societal structure and cultural background if they want to succeed and get their share from the vast marketplace.

Chapter Three

Methodology

The research for this study was conducted in the People's Republic of China. CAU was used as the basis for this case, as it is the first American university approved by the Chinese government in Southern Province to grant Associate's and Bachelor's degrees to Chinese students without them having to leave China. The researcher lived and worked in China for the duration of the research. The research question was: "What are the Political, Economic Socio-cultural, and Educational Challenges of Administering a Sino-U.S. Joint Venture Campus in China?"

This chapter justifies the qualitative research design of this study, and then explains why an ethnographic case study was chosen. It further explains data collection techniques and why and how participants for this study were selected. A conceptual framework for the final analysis was defined. The chapter then defines the tests that are used to ensure the quality of the research design. Finally, it explains the limitations of the research design for this study.

Rationale for Qualitative Research

Patton (1990) claims that qualitative research is the most suitable research method for studies in Third World settings. Years of experience with large scale quantitative surveys and approaches has shown that the data-management problems of implementing large-scale efforts in Third World settings are typically so severe that validity and reliability are in serious doubt. The data could not be trusted and it was so expensive to collect such data that little or no time was left to analyze and use the data. Case studies are manageable, and it is more desirable to have a few carefully done case studies with

results one can trust than to aim for large, problematic, and generalizable samples with results that are dubious because of the multitude of technical, logistic, and management problems in Third World settings.

When Nisbett (2003) and his colleagues studied the values of Eastern and Western students at the Beijing University and at the University of Michigan by using values' surveys (quantitative method), they found that Easterners revealed stronger Western values than the Westerners. In his view, "the odd results are probably partly due to the fact that value checklists, and even attitude scales, are not very good ways of getting values" (p. 222). According to Nisbett, surveys may be a good way to learn about the future if people are asked what they would do or intend to do in certain situations, but they may not be as useful for learning about the present. They further conclude that (qualitative) stories may be a better way to understand people's perspectives than to rely on (quantitative) surveys.

Finally, the Chinese political/economic system is still substantially centrally controlled and key information is not always released by the central authorities. Accuracy of data remains a problem. An obvious example is the recent allegations against the Chinese government of withholding information in relation to the number of SARS cases in 2003.

Data Gathering

Data were acquired through semi-structured interviews, surveys and participant observations. The researcher interviewed, surveyed and observed U.S. administrators and executives, American teachers, Chinese students, and Chinese staff. The presence of the researcher as a direct participant on campus was an important part of the research.

Bogdan and Biklen (1982) explain that the qualitative research “has the natural setting as the direct source of data and the researcher is the key instrument. Researchers enter and spend considerable time in schools, families, neighborhoods, and other locales learning about educational concerns” (p. 27). They further add that qualitative researchers go to the particular setting because “they are concerned with context. They feel that action can be best understood when it is observed in the setting in which it occurs. The setting has to be understood in the context of the history of the institutions of which they are a part…” (p. 27). Patton (1990) further confirms that qualitative research uses the natural setting as the source of data while the researcher attempts to observe, describe and interpret settings as they are, maintaining an "empathic neutrality" (p. 55).

Qualitative research is descriptive. It has the potential of being a clue which might unlock a more comprehensive understanding of what is being studied. LeCompte and Schensul (1999) assert that the research process is flexible and typically evolves contextually in response to the lived realities encountered in the field setting. The researcher observed as an insider and participated in the real life activities of this study that qualitative research design helped make sense of the culture and the natural setting as things evolved.

Conducting research in an international setting requires the understanding of the culture. This consists of both the culture of the country and the institutional culture that is being researched. Having lived in China and worked at CAU for two years between 2001 and 2003, the researcher was familiar with the culture of the country and with the institutional culture. This was one of the strengths of the research as reviewed from an

insiders' perspective, in not being considered as an outsider to the participants taking part in this research.

Bresler and Ardichvili (2002) explain that international researchers visit developing countries for professional and non-professional reasons. Interpretation of a research is different for each individual researcher. That is, there are certain considerations that one has to include in explaining his or her role. Being a tourist in a foreign country is different than conducting research in a foreign country. The main difference is the time the person spends in the foreign country, including the rhythm, pacing of intensity, and activities involved during that period. For a tourist, taking a photograph would be sufficient to describe what has been happening, but international qualitative researchers describe the picture within that picture and go far beyond, including historical, cultural, and personal reflections regarding the same photo. Another consideration is that fieldworkers spend time observing the insider's life, sometimes participating in it, while surrounded by the locals. Last but not the least is the purpose of the visit. Purpose is important in the sense that it shapes the researcher's observations and directs-redirects the research and its interpretation. It is not where we go, and who we talk to, but how we go and how we talk that are significant. For this research, the investigator spent considerable time and was involved in the activities being researched. It was not only the photos that formed perspectives but the actual time, place, why, and how the photo was taken. What was in the photo was the final data included in this study.

Cheng (2003) relates to the use of qualitative research method in international settings because "If visiting researchers are not conscious of their limitations as foreigners, and pay little respect to the local context, they are likely to identify problems

which are foreign to the specific context, and their input may not serve the local community well" (p. 261). He further explains the rationale behind his support for the use of qualitative research by giving an example of a mission team that was sent by an international funding agency to the less-developed province of Shaanxi in China to identify target projects for a substantial loan. It was winter and children were seen shivering in thick clothes, with running noses, in classrooms at freezing temperatures. Heating was not available because the province was not in a region eligible for heating subsidy from the central government. The mission team thought this should become a priority project and they started making some calculations.

They later found that for a heater to be installed in a classroom the cost would be around U.S. $71, including a simple stove and chimneys made of iron plates. This would last for three to five years. However, there were 145,579 classes in that Province alone at the time of the visit. Heaters for all would cost over U.S. $10 million, and this was disproportionately expensive. This did not include the running costs for coal, and coal was expensive because it was not produced locally. In time the mission team decided to drop the idea of launching such a project. Subsequent discussions outside the formal visit revealed that the local educational planners and school administrators had been unenthusiastic about the heating proposal from the beginning. 'This is not our priority,' said the local planners. 'We have been learning under the same conditions for generations,' said the teachers. 'If we had money,' both groups said, 'we'd rather pay the teachers.' Most of the teachers in that specific school were community employees paid by the local community and many of them were underpaid, or their paychecks were long overdue. However, because funding agencies are never attracted to support recurrent

expenditures, the local educators and planners did not raise an initial objection to the heating project. They were willing to get all the help they could.

In this case, there was marked difference between what was perceived as a problem by the mission team, and by the local educators and planners. There was a difference in expectations. The visiting team, with their experience of a heated environment back home in the winter, naturally focused upon the temperature of the classrooms. The local people had taken the coldness for granted. Cold was expected of the life there. It was not that they did not want warm environments, but for generations they had realized that heating was an expensive item, and it was therefore not a realistic expectation. In other words, heating was not a problem to the local community and was not high on their political or social agenda.

Feinberg and Soltis (1992) confirm Cheng's argument by creating an imaginary situation in the United States. This time it is a traditional social scientist visiting the U.S. for the first time. He is in the U.S. on a research grant to study American culture, and he has been told that the game of baseball is the key to understanding American culture. He is aware of cultural differences on a general level, but he has yet to learn about the specific aspects that separate the two cultures. One of these specific differences is that people in the United States share a concept about sports that is not present in his own society. This is the idea of a 'spectator's sport' a concept that is taken for granted by American sports lovers, but of which he is unaware. It is not just that he is unaware of the fact that Americans share the concept of a spectator sport; more importantly, he does not realize that there is such a concept to be shared. His own culture only has competitive games in which everyone who is present is expected to participate, and

everyone does what is expected. No one just watches a game. As a traditionally trained social scientist, one who is looking for universal generalizations, he decides to systematize his observations by measuring the frequency with which certain events follow one another. In this way, he hopes to establish some correlations and reasonable casual generalizations (This is similar to the educational researcher who tries to establish a casual relationship between variables such as IQ scores, social class background, and school achievement). However, he does not have an understanding of the concepts that are specific to that game. Concepts such as 'strike' 'ball' 'hit' and 'run' are not part of his conceptual framework. Without these concepts it is not even clear what events should be considered as important, and thus it is not clear which events to count in his data gathering.

These two examples, one in China and one in America, explain why it is important to understand the culture that is being studied, and living in that culture is definitely a 'must' for any researcher. By examining real-world situations using naturalistic, descriptive methods, this study attempted to understand human behavior and capture the "details and nuances of interactions among people" (deMarrais & LeCompte, 1995, p. 20).

The investigator's strength in this study was that the researcher became immersed in the local culture, learned the basics of the language, the skills of getting by, the local meanings and the underlying values which they represent. It was a process of continuous noticing, wondering and questioning. However, the investigator was also aware of the danger of losing focus and 'going native', where the researcher loses the motivation to maintain a scholarly perspective (deMarrais & LeCompte, 1995; Banks, 1998). Being

aware of such a possibility required that the investigator constantly stop and reflect on observations and interview data. As Swain (1998) asserts: "Observation may tell us whether or not something happened. Numbers may tell us how often it happened. But only reflection can make us conscious of how it transforms the human experience" (p. 34). Berg (2001) explains that the researcher must engage in "an internal dialogue that repeatedly examines what the researcher knows and how the researcher came to know this" (p. 139).

Case Study Rationale

As with any research genre, the methodology and methods which the researcher employs must be appropriate given the intent of the study and the questions being asked. In this study, the investigator used a qualitative research method-ethnographic case study. Merriam (1988) defines case study as: "an examination of a specific phenomenon such as a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social group" (p. 9). She further adds that the case study offers a means of investigating complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon. "Anchored in real life situations, the case study results in a rich and holistic account of a phenomenon. It offers insights and illuminates meanings that expand its readers' experiences" (p. 33).

The case study method is relevant for this research because it "involves systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how the subject operates or functions" (Berg, 2004, p. 251). Berg further adds that "this type of study may be seen as a prelude to a large social scientific study. This sort of exploratory study

may be useful as a pilot study, for example, when planning a larger, more comprehensive investigation (p. 256). Bogdan and Biklen (1982) explain the case study as a: "detailed examination of one setting, or one single subject, or one single depository of documents, or one particular event" (p. 58). This study explored CAU in depth with the events, activities in and around it. Yin (1994) explains the rationale of the single case study as: "one in which the case represents an extreme or unique case" (p. 33) and in this case, CAU is unique as it is the first American university, approved by the Chinese government, in a Southern Province, granting Associate's and Bachelor's degrees to Chinese student, without students having to leave China.

Ethnography is described in many different ways. Terms such as "describing a culture," "understanding the native point of view," "being in the midst of whatever is being studied," and "observing a natural setting in the field" (Berg, 2001, p. 133-134) are used to describe ethnography. Rationale for using ethnography is best explained by Bogdan and Biklen (1982) as an attempt to describe culture or aspects of culture. Creswell (1998) defines ethnography as a study in which the researcher studies an intact cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time by collecting, primarily, observational data. This means "intensive fieldwork in which the investigator is immersed in the culture under study" (Patton, 1990, p. 67). "An ethnographic case study is more than an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a social unit or phenomenon. It is a sociocultural analysis of the unit of study. Concern with the cultural context is what sets this type of study apart from other qualitative research" (Merriam, 1988, p. 23).

Green, Dixon and Zaharlick (2003) describe ethnography as the study of cultural practices, and involves the ethnographer adopting an emic or insider's perspective of the culture under study, rather than an etic or outsider's perspective. The ethnographer attempts to understand what members of the cultural group need to "know, produce, understand, and predict in order to participate as a member of the group" (p. 206). The ethnographer, then, is to describe and understand the cultural group's customary ways and everyday practices at given points in time and from different perspectives. Green et al. (2003) further add that ethnography entails a holistic perspective and requires the researcher to consider how individual parts within the cultural group under study relate to the broader whole. Individual events may be analyzed in depth, but that analysis must be extended and used as a basis for exploring other aspects of the culture. Smaller parts of the culture, such as individual events, can be analyzed in depth and connected to larger elements of the culture.

While there are differences in terminology, one common conclusion is significant. That is, ethnography requires the researcher to be in the middle of whatever is under study, and to understand the perceptions of the participants of the study regarding the environment and the interactions. It is therefore a relevant method for this study.

Data Collection Techniques

Data for this study were collected through interviews, surveys and participant observations. Participants were:

- officials that helped get the approval from the Chinese government throughout the establishment phase,

- former and present directors of CAU,
- present Chinese staff,
- former and present American professors, and
- former and present Chinese students.

Open-ended semi-structured questionnaires were utilized through which the investigator asked key respondents for the facts of a matter as well as for the respondent's opinions about events (Yin, 1994). Berg (2004) defines semi-structured interviews as "involving the implementation of a number of predetermined questions and special topics" (p. 81). "Structured interview" was not used because "as the interview becomes more and more structured, one often runs the risk of asking leading questions. A leading question is a question that guides the interviewee toward giving you an answer that you want" (Shank, 2002, p. 46). Regarding unstructured interviews, Robson (1993) argues that although unstructured interviews are very helpful in discovering new insight, they are difficult to apply when interviewing non-native speakers. A chronological order was used when collecting data starting from gathering data on the establishment of the program.

Data were triangulated through observing the administrators, students and staff as "observational evidence is often useful in providing additional information about the topic being studied. …observations of a neighborhood or of an organizational unit add new dimensions for understanding either the context of the phenomenon being studied" (Yin, 1994, p. 87). Yin adds that through participant observation (administrators, students, and staff in this case) that the researcher will be able to "perceive reality from the viewpoint of someone 'inside' the case study rather than external to it" (p. 88).

Since the investigator also worked as a teacher, he was not merely a passive observer but instead assumed a variety of roles (instructor, administrator, advisor, activity coordinator, proctor, and friend) within the study and actually participated in the events being studied. Participant observation was a significant tool for triangulation of data as "[Interviews] are subject to the common problems of bias, poor recall, and poor or inaccurate articulation. Again, a reasonable approach is to corroborate interview data with information from other sources" (p. 85).

Choice of participants

The choice of participants was limited since the investigator could only interview, survey and observe the people involved with CAU. As a relatively new university (started in 2000) and small in size, the number of people involved was limited. However, this was not a significant issue for this study because "there are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry. Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what's at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources" (Patton, 1990, p. 184). Patton further says that "Validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information-richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher than with sample size" (p. 185).

Interview Questions

The following interview questions were used to stimulate response during the unstructured interviews:

Group 1: Officials that helped get the approval from the Chinese government throughout the establishment phase:

1. How was the idea of CAU conceived?
2. Why did you think that an educational joint venture would work in China?
3. What kind of preliminary research did you do, if any?
4. What kind of issues have you had during the establishment process?
5. How did you approach solving the issues during the establishment process? What was your major strength?

Group 2: Present administrators of CAU:

1. What is/was your role at a CAU administrator?
2. What are some issues that you have/had since you started working at CAU?
3. How is your relation with the Chinese partner?
4. What are some issues that you have/had with the Chinese staff? What are the reasons for those issues, in your opinion? What did you use to solve those issues, if you have/had any?
5. What are some issues that you have/had with foreign American professors? What are the reasons for those issues, in your opinion? What did you use to solve those issues, if you have/had any?

6. What are some issues that you have/had with Chinese students? What are the reasons for those issues, in your opinion? What did you use to solve those issues, if you have/had any?

Group 3: Former and Present American professors:

1. How did you find out about CAU?
2. How long have you worked/have you been working at CAU?
3. Why did you apply to work at CAU?
4. Have you had any prior experience teaching abroad? If yes, where?
5. Did you get any training before you arrived in China? If yes, Can you give me specific examples of the training? How are Chinese students different from students in America?
6. What are/were some of the issues that you have/had in teaching Chinese students?
7. What are/were some issues in communicating with Chinese staff and professors on campus?

Group 4: Present Chinese students:

1. How did you find out about the CAU?
2. Why did you choose to study at CAU?
3. What were some of your expectations before you came?
4. Did you find what you expected at CAU? Can you give me specific examples?
5. What do you think about the cost of studying at CAU?
6. What do you think about the teaching methods of American professors?
7. Do you think studying at CAU will help/helped you find a better job after graduation? Why? Why not?

8. Are you working or continuing your study at the moment (Former students only)?

Group 5: Present Chinese staff:

1. How did you find out about CAU?
2. Have you had any working experience with Americans before?
3. How are Chinese administrators different than American administrators?
4. How are Chinese teachers different than American teachers?
5. What are the strengths and weaknesses of American teachers?
6. What are the strengths and weaknesses of Chinese teachers?
7. How do you communicate effectively with Americans? What obstacles have you encountered?
8. What are some cultural differences between the Chinese and Americans that you observed while working here?

Data Analysis

> Data analysis is the process of systemically searching and arranging the interview transcripts, field notes, and other materials that you accumulate to increase your own understanding of them and to enable you to present what you have discovered to others. Analysis involves working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others. (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, p. 145)

As Patton (1990) explains, the first task in qualitative analysis is description. The descriptive analysis answers basic question. This study describes how the CAU was established, and what the purpose was in establishing such a campus. It then explains the

establishment process with the information gathered from the stakeholders. The primary activities of the program are then described. Since the natural setting was used for the field of research, the study describes the experiences of the participants in the program. The initial categories for analyzing the data were political, economic, socio-cultural, and educational challenges of administering a Sino-U.S. foreign joint venture campus in China. However, after going through and sorting the data, these were revised to final categories as political, economic, socio-cultural, and educational challenges. These were analyzed within the framework of Internationalization developed by Knight and de Wit (1999). Interviews were tape recorded, when suitable; surveys were sent out and responses collected, and field notes were taken during observation. Tape-recorded interviews were transcribed and then combined with field notes. Next a content analysis was performed. Patton (1990) defines content analysis as the process of identifying, coding, and categorizing the primary patterns in the data. The content of interviews, surveys and observations were analyzed throughout the study. Raw data were organized, classified and edited into a manageable and accessible package.

Cultural Analysis

'Culture' and its extensive analysis were used as the main interpretative tool to analyze the research data. This was especially important because the interpretation of a setting foreign to the researcher requires great attention thus a broad understanding. It was therefore imperative to form a cultural framework to justify interpretation of the data.

Geringer and Frayne (2003) comment that culture plays an important role in operations and performance of joint ventures due to challenging context and the critical role of the cultural factors. However, issues of culture have received relatively limited

attention in research. Several frameworks for cultural analysis have been developed by researchers from different disciplines, including anthropology (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961); Communications theory (Hall & Hall, 1990), social psychology (Hofstede, 1980) and international management (Hofstede & Bond, 1988).

Steidlmeier (1995) explains that managerial understanding of cultural factors and their interrelationships permit managers to interrelate to the larger culture in meaningful ways. He further argues that a successful business must dress itself in Chinese cultural forms. However, he adds that this does not mean that innovations should not be introduced but "it has more to do with how innovations are introduced" (p. 224).

Steidlmeier (1995) further explains that it is very important to be aware of such things as:

> the proper role for host organizations and guests, correct ways to handle introductions, practices of gift giving and receiving, etiquette in eating and drinking, proper decorum with superiors, peers and inferiors in the workplace, how to handle and express disagreements, proper dress and so forth. (p. 225)

The United States wants to do business with China as though it were an extension of U.S. culture and values. American business has usually approached other nations, including China, with a "Banana Republic" (p. 231) mentality, demanding that things be done on American terms. "Banana Republic," according to Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, is "a small dependent country usually of the tropics; especially, one run despotically" meaning that China is an insignificant and rather naïve country where the direction and change is desperately needed. That is, they decide what is 'good' for the

country and define the rules on how things should be operated, without considering the local context in each case.

When studying culture, we have to understand that culture is dynamic. Nagel (1994) points out that "Culture is not a shopping cart that comes to us already loaded with a set of historical, cultural goods. Rather we construct culture by picking and choosing items from shelves of the past and the present…In other words, cultures change. They are borrowed, blended, rediscovered, and reinterpreted" (p. 162). Ethnic cultures are negotiated, defined and produced through social interaction inside and outside ethnic communities. Therefore, cross-cultural competency as needed by the joint venture managers includes adaptation to these changes.

Internationalization Concept: Jane Knight and Hans de Wit

Knight and de Wit (1999) have developed a structure in an attempt to understand and rationalize internationalization. Knight (1999) defines internationalization of higher education as "one of the ways a country responds to the impact of globalization yet, at the same time respects the individuality of the nation" (p. 14). Globalization is "the flow of technology, economy, knowledge, people, values, ideas…across borders" (p. 14).
In an attempt to bring a framework and some logic to the discussion on rationale, Knight and de Wit identified four categories: political, economic, social/cultural, and academic.

Political category includes the interference of government [the Chinese Communist Party in this case]. She further explains:

> International education was seen as a beneficial tool for foreign policy especially with respect to national security and peace among nations. While this is still a consideration today, it does not have the importance it once did. In the present

> era of increased globalization of economies, technologies, communication, etc., there is a potential threat to the healthy survival of national identities and culture. The possibility for the homogenization of cultures is a risk often cited by smaller and/or developing nations. (p. 18)

The economic category refers to the desire to use higher education to help a nation compete in a global market:

> As a result of globalization of the economy, a growing interdependence among nations and information revolution, countries are focusing on their economic, scientific and technological competitiveness. Effective ways to improve and maintain a competitive edge is through developing a highly skilled and knowledgeable work force and through investing in applied research. (p. 18)

To the economic rationale developed by Knight and de Wit, this study adds the cost of living in China (average annual income per capita), tuition, and the wages within the joint venture.

The social/cultural category primarily refers to the development of individual learners to improve the quality of their lives. Knight (1999) explains that "the preservation and promotion of national culture are becoming a strong motivation for those countries which consider internationalization as a way to respect cultural diversity and counterbalance the perceived homogenizing effect of globalization" (p. 20). For this category, the study included the analysis of cultural differences and interaction between Chinese and American partners as well as student-teacher and teacher-teacher interactions.

For the academic category, Knight (1999) explains that "for hundreds of years there has been international mobility of scholars and an international dimension to research" (p. 20). Knight and de Wit focus on the desire to meet international standards of quality in teaching. For this category, the study included the known differences between American and Chinese teachers and students, and how these differences impact the interactions between the two cultures. Knight concludes that "the purpose of using these categories is to try to illustrate the breadth and complexity of factors which need to be taken into account when one is trying to articulate the most important reasons for internationalizing higher education" (p. 20).

Hofstede's Research

One of the most cited definitions of culture in two decades is Hofstede's (1980) in which he defines culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another" (p. 5). His IBM survey, which collected data by questionnaires from over 116, 000 employees in IBM's subsidiaries in over 50 countries, has been one of the most influential contributions in the field of cross-culture studies. Four dimensions (i.e. Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism, and Masculinity-Femininity) were found through a combination of factor analysis and theoretical reasoning. The Chinese Value Survey (CVS), however, found that the Confucian work dynamism was not related to any of Hofstede's four dimensions (Hofstede and Bond, 1988). This dimension, which is renamed as Long-Term Orientation, was adopted as the fifth dimension in Hofstede's (1991) study. Yeh and Lawrence (1995) argue that Hofstede's fifth dimension, long-term orientation, is strongly related to individualism dimension, and therefore is not included in this study.

By applying the concept of these four dimensions, Hofstede (1980) examines major Western management theories to see if they are universally applicable. He suggests that while the principles of leadership, motivation, and decision-making may be applicable almost everywhere, their success or failure depends heavily on ways in which managers adapt to the local culture and work situation. It is important to note that Hofstede's (1980) four dimensions of culture do not constitute a definition of culture but simply an instrument to show that cultures differ. Yet, Hofstede's (1980) intent is also to show that cultures are different, but also that management theories are understood differently across countries.

Quality of the Research Design

Yin (1994) explains that "Because a research design is supposed to represent a logical set of statements, you can also judge the quality of any given design according to certain logical tests" (p. 32). In this context, the investigator constantly tested construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability throughout the research.

Construct Validity is as Yin (1994) explains: "establishing correct operational measures for the concepts being studied" (p. 33). To increase construct validity, this study used multiple sources of evidence, establish a chain of evidence and have the draft case study report reviewed by key informants. The potential problems of construct validity were addressed through triangulation because "the multiple sources of evidence essentially provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon" (p. 92). Observational data were compared with interview data, comparing what people said in public and what they said in private, checking for the consistency of what people said about the same thing over time, and comparing the perspectives of people from different points of view –

administrator views, teacher views, and student views (Patton, 1990). Another form of triangulation this study used to test validity was the review of brochures, and documents that are available to public and institutional websites.

Denzin (1978) has described four categories for triangulation. The first is convergence of multiple data sources (using multiple methods of data collection). The second is methodological triangulation (collecting data from multiple sources at multiple points in time). A third is investigator triangulation. Investigator triangulation involves multiple researchers in a study. The fourth triangulation category is the theory triangulation where specific and multiple theoretical perspectives are utilized for triangulation. Theory triangulation was achieved to a certain extent when analyzing the data. The study used Human Capital Theory in analyzing China's acceptance of an American education, while applying Dependence and Modernization theories as they relate to China's willingness in such educational cooperative agreements.

In this research, convergence of multiple data sources was utilized for triangulation. Methodological triangulation was not relevant simply because as Morse (1991) argues: "Methodological triangulation is not a matter of maximizing the strengths and minimizing the weakness of each" and "If not approached cautiously, the end result may be to enhance the weaknesses of each method and invalidate the entire research project" (p. 122). Investigator triangulation was also not applicable because of the nature of this study and its applications as a Doctor of Philosophy degree. Overall, the credibility of a qualitative research relies heavily on the confidence that readers have in the researcher's ability to be sensitive to the data and to make appropriate decisions (Eisner, 1991; Patton, 1990).

Internal Validity is as Yin (1994) explains "establishing a casual relationship, whereby certain conditions are shown to lead to other conditions, as distinguished from spurious relationships" (p. 33). Casual factors are not investigated, therefore internal validity was not applicable.

External Validity is "establishing the domain to which a study's findings can be generalized" (Yin, 1994, p. 33). This was a single case study on a Sino-US joint venture campus in China, where Chinese students are getting U.S. Associate's and Bachelor's degrees. This investigator does not claim the findings of this study to be generalizable. Generalization of the findings to similar institutions or to other countries was not the purpose of this study as Lincoln and Guba (1985) explain that generalizability is "an appealing concept because it allows a semblance of prediction and control over situations" (p. 110). They, however, suggest that the existence of local conditions "makes it impossible to generalize" (p. 124). Also, Cronbach (1975) argues that generalization of research findings is not relevant in some cases:

> The trouble, as I see it, is that we cannot store up generalizations and constructs for ultimate assembly into a network. It is as if we needed a gross of dry cells to power an engine and could only make one a month. The energy would leak out of the first cells before we had half the battery completed. (p. 123)

This research aims at giving a clearer understanding of such institutions for future and present scholars, administrators, and entrepreneurs. The reason for that is mainly the lack of research on the challenges of such institutions as more American universities are exploring the opportunities of opening branch campuses in China to grant U.S. degrees to

Chinese students while they are in China. Therefore, external validity was not relevant and not tested.

Reliability is "demonstrating that the operations of a study—such as the data collection procedures can be repeated, with the same results" (Yin, 1994, p. 33). Case study research procedure was properly documented throughout this study. Therefore, reliability was achieved through adherence to the requirements of the methodology.

Limitations of the Research Design

- Data were collected through a relatively small sample of participants.
- Lack of sufficient language skills of the researcher was a limitation. Even though the researcher has lived and worked in China for two years and took formal Chinese language and culture classes, lack of Chinese language skills limited this qualitative research.
- Getting approval from the Chinese participants to conduct interviews was a challenge. Conducting qualitative study in a Communist country slowed down the data collection process.
- Sensitivity of the business environment in China was a major limitation for this research design. The researcher gathered data through interviews, survey and field observations. As the information gathered through this study was going to be used for the researcher's Ph.D. dissertation, information included had to be reviewed by the U.S. partner. Getting approval from the U.S. Partners to conduct this research using CAU as the case study created discomfort for the U.S. partner due to the sensitivity of the rather new partnership with CIC.

Chapter Summary

This chapter explains the research design and justifies the qualitative research method used in conducting this study. It then explains why it was important to use qualitative research method while conducting international research. The investigator argues that qualitative research method is best suited in international settings. The dynamic interaction between the researcher and the participants enables an interpretation that cannot be reported quantitatively as it cannot be quantified.

The investigator then argues and explains why qualitative case study was used in this study while explaining the limitations of this research design. Conducting qualitative research in the P.R.C. requires a great deal of attention and creates a rather challenging atmosphere for the researcher. People, in this case, are not accustomed to speaking their minds while somebody is recording it. However, this is why qualitative international research becomes significant. First of all, it is not an easy task and requires cultural and theoretical expertise from the researcher's side. Second, if and when conducted properly, it can result in findings that would not be available to researchers who are conducting research through quantitative methods.

Later in the chapter, the investigator explains the conceptual framework (Internationalization concept developed by Knight and de Wit (1999) as well as the National Culture: Four Dimensions developed by Hofstede (1980) for the final analysis.

Every research design has its weaknesses and the investigator acknowledges the presence of weakness with this research design. In the latter part of the chapter, how and why the investigator tested construct validity, internal validity, external validity, limitations is explained. The investigator then explains how this study was organized.

Chapter Four

Participant Responses and Investigator Observations

This field research was conducted during the 2005-2006 Academic year at China American University in Southern Province in the People's Republic of China. Between 2001 and 2003, the investigator had worked at CAU when CAU had a partnership with a different Chinese University. Presently, CAU operates on another campus with a different Chinese partner (CIC). The reasons for their 'break-up' with the other Chinese partner are not investigated due to the nature of this study, which is, mainly focusing on the current situation with the current partner on the new campus.

While collecting data, the investigator had the opportunity to work at CAU as an instructor. During 2005 - 2006 academic year, he taught:

ENGL XXXX	English Composition I
ENGL XXXX	English Composition II
ENGL XXXX	Professional and Technical Writing
BMGT XXXX	Integrative Business and Analysis Decision Making I
BMGT XXXX	Integrative Business and Analysis Decision Making II
BMDS XXXX	Analytical Decision Making in Business II

Teaching Assistant for Online (Distance Education) classes (Philosophy, Logic, and World Literature)

English as a Foreign Language (Speaking, Listening, Reading and Writing)

The investigator arrived in China in September 2005 and stayed at CAU until June 2006 conducting this research. He spent 7 to 10 hours, five days a week, interacting with students, staff, faculty and administrators. His teaching hours were scheduled in the mornings so that he could have time to observe and take field notes in the afternoons. Lofland and Lofland (1984) recommend taking down notes as they will serve as a memory aid when full field notes are constructed. To maintain accurate notes, the investigator carried a mini tape recorder with him at all times, and recorded his observations throughout the academic year.

Introduction

This chapter focuses on interview and survey responses, and investigator observations. Questions were directed to the participants to find out the political, economic, socio-cultural and educational challenges of administering a Sino-U.S. joint venture campus in China. The interviewees were grouped under the following categories:

Group 1: Officials that helped get approval from the Chinese government throughout the establishment phase

Group 2: Present Administrators of CAU

Group 3: Former and Present CAU Professors

Group 4: Former and Present CAU Students

Group 5: Present Chinese Staff at CAU

Interview Responses

Group 1: Officials that helped get the approval from the Chinese government throughout establishment phase (n = 2)

Two officials that helped get the approval for CAU from the Chinese government throughout the establishment process were interviewed. One of them was the President of American University (AUP) and the other was the President of the American Chamber of Commerce (PACC) in the Southern Province. Interviews were conducted in their offices (AUP in the U.S. and PACC in the P.R.C.), tape-recorded, and then transcribed.

Responses:

Question 1: How was the idea of CAU conceived?

In 1997-1998, the President of AU, "one of the pioneers of expanding overseas", went to China to look for opportunities to set up sister school relationships. With the help of an American friend, who is a businessman and a well-known entrepreneur in China and his Chinese wife, they met with some executives and started talking about having a branch campus in China. The dialogue with a Chinese university in Southern Province "led to the eventual development of the school." They wanted to introduce something "bigger" and "found the right partners and put it together."

Question 2: Why did you think that an educational joint venture would work in China?

Around the time of their China visit, they felt that "there was definitely a need for it." The amount of emphasis that Chinese government was putting into education in China and "with their future outlook that their education being very poor", that "they thought that this [opening a branch campus] would be a good thing to do." There were some MBA programs at that time, but those MBA programs "required students to take certain courses here but to get a degree they had to go overseas, back to the main campus to pick it up." However, this was a problem because "lot of times, students would not get their visa after completing their coursework here and they would end up with no degree." Very few universities were willing to set up full programs in China so:

> the idea was to try to set up an educational program initially starting with a two-year Associate degree level which could be awarded here, with U.S. accreditation, without the need for student to go overseas, to go to the main campus to pick it up. This would guarantee them a degree and an opportunity to begin and finish a program. Now if they chose of course to try to finish up at the main campus they could do that. But in fact if they didn't get the visa, they had the opportunity to finish here.

However, the respondents expressed their challenges as "it has been a real struggle since then" as "China keeps changing, rules keep changing."

Question 3: What kind of preliminary research did you do, if any?

AUP explained that the preliminary research they did was in 1996 and basically on the whole Asian market. By the time they arrived in China, they had already

determined that for the future of the university [AU] they wanted to have a strong presence in Asia. They thought that Asia was very important for the future and commerce in the U.S. and therefore was important for the future of their students on the main campus [AU]. They needed to "expand their realities including Asia" as "so much emphasis has always been put on Europe and travel to Europe and educational ventures in Europe that Asia really has been ignored."

PACC explained that there was not much research that one could do as "there was nothing like it." "There were sister school agreements, cooperative type of programs but nobody ever awarded degrees here." Since then, the market has changed and their model was "copied by a lot of people, primarily by Australian universities, who see China as a great market." There are "even U.S universities who now copied the model of offering degrees here [in China]." Most of these degrees offered in China are Master's level programs. He explained that setting up an MBA program is not as difficult as setting up a Bachelor degree granting program and has different benefits:

> The benefit that comes from the Bachelor's program is directly to students in China those who can't afford to go overseas, those who have failed the National Examination. Part of the problem I see in China is there are brilliant students who failed the National Examination because they are not good at geography, or history or physics but they excel in the areas of their interest. If you sit everyone for the same exam, you are going to eliminate some very talented people in the process. What CAU has offered, is an opportunity for those who are excellent students who can be excellent graduates but failed. Therefore they cannot get an education in China within the Chinese educational system.

Question 4: What kind of issues have you had during the establishment process?

Once they "got the initial project off the ground" and established the branch campus, they were challenged by "just trying to get to understand how things operate in China which is very different than the U.S." and "the whole way of approaching education is very different and trying to get our people here to understand of the Chinese." Using translation to communicate with the Chinese disrupted the communication as "you really are at the mercy of those that are doing the translating." It is "a constantly moving target." Also, as private education was a new thing for the Chinese, "the rules of how things were done was constantly changing and so you would be thinking of doing the right thing and the next thing you find out that you aren't doing the right thing."

The biggest issue they continue to face in China is the recruitment of students. Another one is getting both sides to understand who is responsible for what in terms of loss and benefits as "cost" is a significant determinant of a "quality education." Sending teachers from the U.S. increases the cost "and that is a constant issue for both the students and also for the partners to understand." One of the issues that they mentioned is that "they [Chinese partners] always think that they can do something cheaper, they try to cut corners here, cut corners there and that creates problems because again, the system in the U..S is a very regulated system with certain standards." Canadian and Australian schools have less problems with regulations therefore "their cost of delivery is a lot less because they are not, as regulated as we [U.S.] are in what we try to provide." Chinese students do not always see the difference between an American degree and a Canadian degree.

"For them, it is all an English degree." He furthers explains that getting visas for the Chinese students who want to complete their Associate's or Bachelor's degrees at the main campus in the U.S. is another challenge as "being able to get a visa for U.S. is not as easy as it is if they went to Canada or to Australia."

PACC explained that the most difficult part was trying to get the curriculum established. It was never done before and they were trying to get the permission to offer a U.S. accredited program which required certain courses that were mandatory for the program to qualify for accreditation in the U.S. To get a degree in the U.S., one needs to complete core classes like "American Government and American History" classes. Then a philosophy class needs to be taken, which includes religion, and "these were probably the most difficult issues to try to articulate to the Chinese." Chinese were saying "well, why don't you teach Chinese history since you are awarding a degree in China, why don't you teach Chinese government?" "When you go into any culture, you have to be sensitive to their laws, rules, regulations, culture, their understanding of the way things work." To get around the issue of religion, "VP developed a course called History of the World Religions and we satisfied the Chinese authorities because we are not teaching religion but talking about the history of various religions. And that includes any form of religion or non-religion. So it is an even process of educating without preference, without leaning one way or another, without advocating, but, that took a lot of ingenuity."

Getting approval from the Chinese government has not been as big a challenge as one might have expected as both interviewees explained. The Chinese wanted to experiment as "Chinese at any level are extremely progressive people." "They change," he adds, "When they see something that's needed, they change."

When they started thinking about establishing a branch campus in 1997-1998, none of the "massive changes" of the present time had taken place in China and "thinking was more conservative because they had not seen a lot of this, so, they were not resisting the idea, they were just cautious, to try to understand, to try to get their hands around it, try to feel what is it you are trying to do." The Chinese had some concerns with a private Catholic university coming to China to set up a full program and "they needed to look at it very carefully and they did." PACC further added that it was "with an open mind" and "they [Chinese] never questioned the books. They never said 'you can't teach this', 'you can't teach that', and there has been no censorship. There has been no control on any of the programs content, and teaching, so they left school alone to do what it does."

Question 5: How did you approach solving the issues during the establishment process? What was your major strength in approaching those issues that you had in China?

People that they are dealing with in China are mainly educators and they realize that an "American degree is a value." Therefore, they want the degree and they "sometimes understand" that there are strict regulations in the U.S. as they [AU/CAU] are "trying to deliver a high quality degree."

Also, a problem that they faced when explaining what they do and how they do it is that there are other foreign institutions granting "supposedly an American degree" but basically are "diploma mills" and that is being confused with "high quality institutions." They "keep those things separate."

Another issue that they "constantly face" is "name and recognition." If someone is from one of the well known universities, "that is a name entity", people consider it to

be “high quality” and most of the time “they don’t realize that the private institutions that are not as well known because they don’t have a big football team” can be “equal or greater quality than those of they think are high quality.”

PACC described that they approached the issues they faced during the establishment process by “listening and talking, and explaining. Listening and talking, and explaining.” What they were asking the Chinese was something that the Chinese had never done and “that goes against the grain of everything they [the Chinese] were ever trying to do.” People are curious and they want to know why, and “they have to be comfortable with you.” He further added that “if you are coming with an attitude, well, I am going to teach you how to do this right or I’m going to give you better things to do, better way to do things, certainly they are going to resist it more.” The solution is to “sit and say, look, let me explain to you why we do it this way and how that benefits our students and how this can benefit your students.” He felt that Chinese have been “very open minded.”

The key to succeeding in China in such ventures is “to make Chinese partners as excited as you are about the program.” The Chinese have to understand the benefits and Americans should be “open-minded to understanding their sensitivities.” As for CAU, “we have to understand that we are in CIC system now”, and “we are a very small part of a very big project.” If “this project behaves in a way that becomes an impediment to their ability to do the other things they do, and it takes a lot of their time, then, they are not going to be that interested.” Therefore, CAU has to accept itself as “very small part of a very big project” because “it is an experiment” for the CIC system. CIC already has “almost twenty thousand students” and “we [CAU] are looking at, let’s say, two hundred

students. We are not significant in the big picture of his private enterprise." He continued to explain that "private universities are a new thing in China," as "they are only about six-seven years old and they did not exist prior to that."

PACC further explained that the interest of the owner of the CIC is probably not "purely educational" and "the interest is driven primarily by profit." In order to make that profit and attract more students, "he [owner of the CIC] has to do better. He has to give better quality education, better degree, better faculty, better places to live, better, better, and better." He added that "if our philosophy conflicts with the owner's philosophy, with the school's philosophy, with their big plan", as they are building new buildings and expanding continuously and hiring the best faculty, "they don't have time to stop and wait for us." He explained that "We need to understand them a lot more than they need to understand us" because the question really is "how important are we in the whole picture of their plan and how much of their time do they want to devote to this?" He added that "if you have got hundreds of programs thousands of faculty, and if you spend one third of your time worrying about this, sometimes it is better to get rid of it, and succeed in another way." When they started the CAU program, they were "the only game in town" but now "there are big universities coming here to set up programs so the field of cooperation is much more competitive than it was the day we started."

He continued to explain that he made mistakes but he has "always listened before I did something, or at least asked advice before I did something." Even though China is a modern place and very open to western ideas, in many ways "it remains a very traditional place." "You cannot take 5000 years of culture out of people" he says. He concluded by saying that "we have to agree a lot more than we disagree and we have to build

relationships." "15 years living in China, what I have learned is that I don't know enough about China."

Group 2: Present Administrators of CAU (n = 2)

Two present administrators participated in this study. The first one was the Vice-President of Academic Programs (VP) and the second the Director of Academic Programs (DAP). The VP was interviewed in the U.S. and the DAP was interviewed in China.

Responses:

Question 1: What is/was your role at CAU as an administrator?

The first participant was the Vice-President of Academic Programs at CAU. When asked about her role at CAU as an administrator, she explained that it "is a more complicated answer than just to give one title." In the past, she was called the Vice-President for Academic Affairs at CAU on all official documents. Recently in order to show a better balance with a new partner, who usually has "the Dean" handle all of his curricular matters in terms of CAU being on their school, they have made her title "Dean." In actuality, she said, "AU holds me bottom line responsible for the entire CAU. And they still refer to me as the Vice-President. It does not really matter what the exact title is so much as what the scope of responsibility is and my responsibility is to see that university survives and flourishes."

Present Director of Academic Programs (DAP) at CAU is an AU graduate. She described her job at CAU as to "advise students on coursework, manage the budgets, maintain student records, act as a liaison between the main campus and the Chinese partner, schedule classes and tests, request salaries for both American and Chinese faculty and staff, discipline students as needed, manage CAU facilities, and make sure the academic standards are being met by instructors and students."

Question 2: What are some issues that you have/had since you started working at CAU?

The VP explained that some of the issues she has been faced with since starting the CAU are: "with any kind of partnership is who pays for what. Therefore, they "had to get that spelled out very clearly." "Who pays for what, what happens to the profits, how is that divided" had to be decided beforehand. She further added that "almost anything you do can fall apart in any partnership even if it is just borrowing something from your neighbor, if you don't have the rules straight." Another issue was that they "also had to deal with the curriculum." They had to make sure that the curriculum would be accepted because then, they would not have been able to open the school and be there if their curriculum could not have been honored. CAU curriculum is the same with AU's curriculum including U.S. Government and American History classes. Therefore, "it was necessary that we come to agreement on the acceptance of the curriculum." They had to make sure that "the things we were doing would not affect our accreditation" as they are "Southern Association accredited." Thus, they needed their Chinese partner to honor that, while they honor their issues with the Ministry of Education.

DAP categorized the issues that she has met since she started working at CAU. These categories were: political, instructional, and administrative.

The first of the political issues was "visa issues," that is, acquiring foreign expert certificates and temporary resident permits for the CAU faculty. "As rules have changed, teachers now must have two years experience prior to getting their work permit approved by the Education Bureau." The sponsoring school must acquire the foreign expert permit before inviting a teacher. As U.S. academic standards and Chinese standards are quite different, they have to have an official Chinese sponsoring university and "a lot of guanxi to make the wheels turn."

The second political issue she pointed out was related to hiring teachers from another Chinese university located on the same campus as CAU. Even though most of the CAU classes are taught by "American" teachers, CAU at times needed Chinese teachers to teach Grammar [ESL], Fine Arts, Physical Education, Biology, Physics, and Chinese Accounting classes. As they do not have an official relationship with that specific university on the same campus, they have to use the political connections in the CIC administration to make contact on their behalf.

The third political issue as explained by the DAP was "establishing partnership." At present, they are in transition from moving between their old partner and new partner. The Chinese government required that they prove that they no longer have ties to their old partner before they can apply for collaboration with their new partner. In the Fall [2005-2006 academic year], on various occasions the AUP needed to come to China to meet with the old partner university and CIC to make sure these closing details were completed. At various stages, they thought everything was solved but then another

dissolution issue arose and "he [AUP] had to return" to China. Financial documents had to be collected and certified before their separation could be official. All of this took many meetings between the "right" people. Now that they are "divorced" from the old partner, they must officially establish their relationship with the new partner. Again, they have to satisfy the requirements of the Southern Province Education Bureau, "double checking to make sure our separation was done correctly and convincing the Bureau that our quality of education and the students' welfare will remain high in this new environment."

The fourth political issue was the credibility of their degree. CAU is an American university that awards American degrees. Students want verification that their American degree is recognized by the Chinese government. As CAU is not officially on Beijing's official list of approved foreign degrees, it makes it difficult to convince students and parents, "Ideally we would like to be on Beijing's official list, this would greatly increase our reputation and ease the fears students and their parents have." Also, "It will make it easier for students to get jobs in Chinese government and with Chinese companies if our degree has this certification." For the certification of foreign degrees, "a student visa and study abroad experience is essential." At present, they are trying to see "if there is any alternative for students" who receive their degrees on their China campus and do not go abroad, since "whether here in China or in the U.S., our degrees are the same."

Last political issue was, as she puts it, "lost in translation." CAU has its own bilingual staff that works to translate between CAU/AU and CIC. Though staff members try their best to convey messages appropriately and to "properly gauge cultural responses," miscommunications do occur. Stereotypically the Chinese are known to be

indirect while Americans are known for their directness, so "this has led to misreading the intent of a message," especially when they are trying to be especially culturally sensitive. This has been deconstructive at times because they can either give too much "input" and this insults the Chinese partner because "we are not showing we have faith in his/her abilities or we do not give enough 'input' when our partner is wanting us to give everything we can."

Next category of issues was "instructional". AU recruits their "American" instructors on behalf of CAU from the U.S. and these instructors must meet the academic requirements of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools in the U.S. In order to teach content classes at CAU, they need people with Master's degrees with 18 hours in a certain subject area. A Bachelor's degree is required for ESL instructors to teach. They also have to meet Chinese requirements of having at least 2 years teaching experience: "So even if we find a Ph.D. with fifteen years of professional experience, we can not hire her/him because she or he does not meet the definition of a teaching expert." The Education Bureau also wants to see a copy of their faculty members' university diplomas. This causes trouble because "many of our American recruits do not have their diplomas readily available-either lost or put away. Transcripts are not as widely used in China so they are seen as less legitimate than the diploma."

Each of the instructors is hired under an "at-will" agreement, meaning that either CAU or the instructor can terminate employment without cause. If an instructor becomes ill and needs to return home [to the home country] or if CAU must release the instructor because of "inappropriate conduct or professionalism" issues, it is not easy to hire someone quickly and bring them to China. Because of the search process and visa

process, it can take more than a month for the replacement to arrive, meaning CAU administrators and other faculty must cover the classes or students temporarily discontinue those classes. They have looked into the probability of hiring instructors from the ex-pat community [foreign teachers that are already in China], but they have not pursued this option fully. At times "feelers have gone out to the international business community through our contacts at the American Chamber of Commerce of the Southern Province."

In the past two years, CAU has had to have some of their core classes taught online, "AU Blackboard". Because their student body has declined due to the inability to recruit and the graduation of multiple students, they taught some of their core classes online. The main reason for those classes being taught online was that it was not "financially viable to bring an instructor to China to teach just one or two courses." This then led to the need for monitoring of students by their classroom teachers in China while they communicated with the main instructors in America. These classes also have technical difficulties because of "limited access to the internet, problems with Blackboard password issues, instructors having different editions of the textbooks from what we have here."

Each semester they also hire instructors from the faculty pool of their Chinese partner University. They ask them to teach such classes as English Grammar, Chinese Accounting, Mathematics, a Lab Science and Physical Education. Sometimes it is difficult to find an instructor to teach their students a particular course because of the nature of the curriculum of their Chinese partners. Since the Chinese partner is a specialized vocational school, it does not have the standard introductory math and science

classes for non-majors that could be found at an American university. "Ideally we would like to easily integrate our students into courses already offered on campus, rather than create specialized courses."

DAP further explained that she had to ask their Chinese instructors to remember that CAU students are not math and science majors. They need to be challenged but not expected to have the same level of technical experience as students at the Vocational College. Introductory college science courses are not usually found on Chinese campuses but only in high schools. Therefore, they had to teach more technical classes such as "Physics". At times, their Chinese instructors had to discontinue working with them midway through the semester. "Either the Chinese teacher left the campus completely through resignation or his/her department heads asked that he/she discontinue working with us so the teacher could give extra lessons to their own students."

Another instructional issue was the textbooks. They were at times "unable to get the correct textbooks [same textbooks as used at AU], "not able to get the right number of textbooks on time", "students not wanting to pay for books that have American prices", "students breaking copyright laws by copying the textbook."

She further explained that technology and classroom limitations were other issues with which she had to deal. Some examples of these issues included: "not having an up-to-date computer lab", "not having media equipment in each classroom", "not having American style classrooms with moveable desks", "not having a complete English library or access to the same database resources as our American counterparts", and "not having science labs for Biology or Physics like in America."

The next category of the issues was “administrative issues,” which included the “communication between CAU and main campus [AU].” Presently, the record keeping systems at AU and CAU are not connected. This has caused some problems with students’ files not being complete or having errors. The database that CAU uses was specially created for this campus and “it has limitations.” This forces the administrator to “double-enter students’ class schedules and grades.” These grades and class schedules are then sent in prepared text form, either by Adobe® Reader® or on paper to the AU main campus. The Registrar’s Office then must reenter the classes and grades for each student into “Banner” [Registrar’s Office at AU uses a software called Banner to maintain student records]. Sometimes these communications between campuses are “stalled, incomplete, or lost causing incomplete or incorrect information on the students’ transcripts.”

The last administrative issue was in communicating with her direct supervisor at AU. At times, if she wanted to discuss an important issue that came and she needed to contact her direct supervisor at AU by phone or by email, she was not able to “get immediate feedback due to the 14-hour time delay or the fact that she is out of the office.” This required her “to pinch hit at times or put off answering the Chinese partner/student/parent who is hoping for an immediate response.”

Student recruitment was an issue that caused significant challenges for both sides. CAU depended on the recruiting of their Chinese partner to increase their student body. Because their new partnership has not been officially accepted by Chinese Education Officials, “our partner has not been able to actively recruit for us, so our numbers have

decreased over these past two years. This decrease has led to present students worrying about the health of our school and its future."

Question 3: How is your relation with Chinese partner?

When asked about their relation with Chinese partner, VP explained that they [CAU/AU] are "extremely lucky." She further added that "this partner is the most straightforward person I have met in a long time." He is "very direct, very honest. He is an academician, a businessman", but "academics really come first" and he is "very ethical." During their encounters, she found that he does not want to do something just to make money at the expense of the academic rigor of the school. She also explained that "he has demonstrated in many ways that it he is enthusiastic" and "he gets things done":

> He likes us, I guess, that is the important thing. And we like him. It's one of those things where you can have all kind of things look good on paper, but the two people simply have to like each other and there is chemistry there with this man.

DAP responded that her relation with CIC administration is "good." It is her job to "maintain some sense of autonomy." She acts as a liaison between the AU administrators and CIC administrators and tries to meet with her assigned counterparts as needed "to make sure that communication channels remain open and are flowing." CIC administrators have done their best to make CAU feel welcome on campus by including them in meetings, "offer services" to them "as they would to their own departments, and invite the CAU faculty and staff to special events on campus." To help build guanxi, she and other CAU faculty members have made it a point to participate in student and faculty

activities such as teaching English at CIC, “singing at campus events”, “attending dinners”, and “participating in games (tug-of-war),” or “providing campus-wide activities such as English Corner and the Halloween Party” that not only serve CAU students but all students on campus. She also tutors the owner’s son once a week to prepare for his study in the U.S. The owner of CIC campus has been “very hands on and accommodating.” He has invited the CAU faculty, administration and staff multiple times for dinner and “even took the entire faculty to sing at Karaoke.”

At times, CAU instructors and she have been called to participate in a campus activity or provide information for a campus-wide publication/advertisement at the last minute. This caused some quick improvisation or some stalling depending on the situation. She further explained that “one has to become accustomed to the Chinese expectation that you can pull something quickly out of thin air.” Even though this is an expectation, sometimes it is not possible or appropriate to respond quickly, so “excuses have to be made for extra time allowing for collection and verification of information.”

She commented that communication can influence their relationship with the Chinese partner. Some administrators that she works with are not patient when it comes to the translation process. At times, they do not allow time for her office assistant to translate or even encourage her not to translate because it takes up too much time. “This is a hurdle that sometimes stifles our communication flow, because I do not fully understand Chinese language and can not answer effectively.”

Question 4: What are some issues that you have/had with the Chinese staff? What are the reasons for those issues, in your opinion? What did you use to solve those issues, if you have/had any?

When asked about the issues with the Chinese staff, VP said that they have had difficulties from time to time. She added that "when you have any two cultures, getting together to do something, that has not been done before, you are going to have some problems." She explained that the biggest challenge she had was in "recognizing finally, and it took a long time for me to recognize it, when the Chinese say, "yes," they really mean, maybe, and when they say no, they mean, not right now." She further explained that when they would have a meeting and discuss something, she would "go away with a yes or no" and she would think that "the issue was closed." "Yes, we are going to do X,Y,Z, and I get ready to do that and , no, that wasn't it at all, and if you just say, 'but you just said yes', it was like , 'well, I meant yes we would continue to think about it'. It was a cross cultural issue where my American thinking caused me to incorrectly interpret what was meant." In the beginning they had some challenges in "the different approach that an American university takes towards its students." Compared to the approach that the Chinese university takes, so "there was little bit of a pull and tug which I think should be expected."

Also, if a Chinese professor was walking by when the American professors were having discussion in the class, they might be asked later "why there was so much talking in that classroom," It would be perceived by the Chinese as though the American professors did not have control over classes, and students were just talking:

> So, it took a little while to explain that, but we were with more modern academicians, they themselves were holding discussion in their class and so that was not a problem. I think it depended on the type of training and experiences the Chinese professor or the Chinese administrator you are dealing with has had.

DAP explained that communication was the biggest issue regarding her relations with the Chinese staff. As both of CAU'S office assistants are second language English learners and her Chinese language skill is limited, they are not always able to communicate effectively. The senior office assistant has "passably good English," but she has limited educational and professional vocabulary. CAU and CIC depend heavily on her to do translations from everyday meetings to high administrative meetings with top administration. She becomes nervous under pressure and because "she has trouble with some pronunciation of larger vocabulary words" AU's top administrators find it difficult to understand her and "become frustrated." Also, "I have had to remind her on multiple occasions to not edit my words and only say what I say."

Regarding the second office assistant, "her English level was quite low upon arrival," She has accepted her because of "the recommendation and because of her experience working in the students' management office." "I don't find it difficult to understand either office assistants because I have experience with other second language learners, but some of faculty members find it difficult to communicate with their needs."

Another issue with the Chinese staff is that sometimes DAP is "concerned that the staff does not keep some student issues in confidence." She has had to remind both office assistants to keep files closed and not discuss one student's issues with another.

"Overwork" was another issue concerning the Chinese staff. CAU office assistants' duties also included acting as dormitory monitors, counselor, and faculty resources. Sometimes they returned to the office at night or on weekends to finish tasks that could wait until the next workday. Also, "they are called up by our counterparts to deal with issues that arise late at night in the dormitory." It is difficult to get them reimbursed for their overtime, because CAU has to follow the CIC salary policy regarding Chinese staff salary.

The last issue was that it has been difficult "to break the senior office assistant's habit from making decisions" without her approval. "The previous CAU director had a different leadership style that allowed the office assistant to be in charge of many administrative decisions" and her management style is different.

Question 5: What are some issues that you have/had with foreign American professors? What are the reasons for those issues, in your opinion? What did you use to solve those issues, if you have/had any?

In terms of the issues they have had with American professors that they sent to CAU, VP commented:

> It takes a unique person to agree to go to China. We try to screen them out. I often told the story about how the students, how the people come out of the woodwork to apply for the job, but, no matter how much you screen them, you still have people who get there, and really discover that it is not what they expected it to be, and so, they get homesick, or they cannot make the leap from how to teach the American learner to how to teach the Chinese learner.

She further added that some professors "become impatient, or they become frustrated, so they are not happy any longer." They have had people who got there and decided that "it was one big vacation" but "it is obviously not a vacation." Another challenge was when the person goes to China who "has never set foot in China," and decides after a week that "she or he knows how a school should be run."

Other responses regarding issues with American professors included that some were "not fully prepared for living in a foreign country," health problems," "not having a good work ethic," "not prepared for the limitations of the ESL or Chinese classroom," and not being willing to "serve as extra-curricular advisors and planners, admissions counselors, recruiters, mentors." CAU needs its teachers and staff to "go the extra mile" as they are limited with staff and teachers at the moment.

CAU requires the faculty members' fully commitment to their class times and/or extracurricular activities. One faculty member continually ended his class early. DAP reiterated individually and to all teachers that students must have at least three hours of contact time with their instructors in the classroom. Instructors need to extend their lectures, lessons, and activities so the entire class time is filled. As part of their weekly commitment, instructors are also required to attend extra-curricular activities and school events. At times, instructors have not come or have left early, using excuses of illness or the need to prepare for class.

Question 6: What are some issues that you have/had with Chinese students? What are the reasons for those issues, in your opinion? How do/did you approach those issues, if you have/had any?

Before she answered the question, VP reminded me that she is answering this question from an administrator's perspective rather than a faculty member's perspective. She explained the biggest issue to be the "language problem." She said that "it wasn't a bad thing, but it was just an awkward thing." If you get past the language, the biggest problem, she explained, "was probably getting accustomed to their relationship to an authority figure." She gives an example to illustrate her point:

> In the U.S. for example we cannot talk to parents about the student, without the student's permission. In China, the students parents will call us, will come by, and we would have to talk to them, and the students for the first couple of years thought that this was quite acceptable. Suddenly I think they became a little bit modern and the students then began to say you can't talk to my parents unless I give you permission. So then, we were caught in awkwardness between the Chinese culture and our own American rules.

Thus, this became and still is an issue to some degree. Chinese students, for her, are:

> just such delightful students and as a rule, they work so much harder than you expect them to, that, it is hard for me to sit here and say what were the biggest challenges.

However, she also added that "sometimes like in any culture you get some spoiled kids, and their parents pay for them to go there. The kids feel like, okay, I bought this education. I am going to sit here and do nothing. But I think those were minorities."

DAP explained the challenges as “poor attendance/poor academic achievement,” “fear that CAU degree is not recognized in China,” and “smoking” mostly among boys. For some students especially the younger students, this is their first time away from parents, and they do not come to class. Some find playing computer games more worthwhile than their classes. DAP has called these students into her office but “this would work for a few weeks and then the students would not maintain their tutoring schedule” as assigned by the DAP for breaking the rules on campus. Then, a notation is put in their advising files and after several instances students can be placed on academic probation.

As mentioned earlier, AU awards American degrees to CAU students without them having to leave China. Because CAU offers a foreign degree, it needs validation from Chinese government officials so the students can later work in the government or take the civil service exams. At present, whether or not the students who receive their degree in China and do not go abroad will receive this validation is not known. CAU students want assurances that they will have access to government jobs, but this is not possible to ensure. CAU is not on the official national or provincial lists at this time. They advertise that their degree program is best suited for students who intend to work for international companies and “not for the Chinese government.” However, “this still does not mollify present students who want to make sure as many future job opportunities as possible are available.”

The last issue mentioned as a challenge with Chinese students was smoking. CIC Campus is a no-smoking campus. Therefore, if students are caught smoking, the Director requires them to write an essay detailing the harms of smoking.

Group # 3 Former and Present CAU Professors (n = 8)

Five professors who previously taught at CAU and three professors currently teaching at CAU responded to the questions. The five who previously taught at CAU were surveyed, and three professors who were presently teaching at CAU were interviewed. Responses were edited for privacy concerns as well as for grammar. Present employer names and affiliated school names are removed to maintain the anonymity of the respondents. In addition, order of the responses was given randomly in order to prevent possible identification of the respondents.

Responses:

Question 1: How did you find out about CAU?

CAU recruits professors mainly through AU. There are mainly four ways for recruiting teachers. These are: 1) through newspaper advertisement, 2) through AU's PhD program providing them an International Education internship as part of their degree requirements, 3) through family and friends of AU, and 4) through their employment at AU.

Two faculty members found out about CAU through the newspaper, three faculty members through AU's Ph.D. program, one member through his wife's employment at AU, and two members through their employment at AU as faculty members, spending their sabbatical year at CAU.

Question 2: How long have you worked/have you been working at CAU?

Professors for CAU are usually recruited for at least two semesters. Continuity of faculty members is highly valued at CAU. Responses included:

one semester

five months

three semesters

one academic year

one academic year

three years

one year and two months

One teacher reported that she had worked in China for four and half years and after spending two years in the U.S., she was offered the opportunity to return in the Spring semester 2006.

Question 3: Why did you apply to work at CAU?

As explained in the first question, reasons for applying to work at CAU varied. For three faculty members, the tour at CAU was part of their Ph.D. requirement to have an "international internship." One of these three faculty members explained that she could have gone to Canada but she did not want to "do all the work to prepare to go there." She chose to come to CAU because the "organization was in place, instruction was in place, and only thing we had to do was transition."

Two of the professors were invited to teach at CAU by the administration of AU where they are tenured professors. One professor explained that she needed the teaching

experience to put on her CV so she would be competitive when she looked for domestic work. Second, she has "always had an adventurous spirit" and has "an active curiosity about other cultures" and "this gave her the opportunity to explore outside of the U.S." One professor expressed his interest in the challenge and felt he could "contribute a positive influence in the relations between American and Chinese people." Additionally, he was "intrigued with the opportunity to teach and learn with Chinese students in their environment."

One teacher explained that she has "always felt the same philosophy that CAU and AU carry" and that she was "always interested in going into getting a Catholic education, liberal education." It was important to her "being in a small campus" and "CAU provided this opportunity."

Question 4: Have you had any prior experience teaching abroad? If yes, where?

Seven out of eight professors that were recruited to teach at CAU did not have any teaching experience outside the U.S. Only one professor had teaching experience for extended period of time in two different countries.

Question 5: Did you get any training before you arrived in China? If yes, Can you give me specific examples of the training?

Except for one of the professors, the other seven professors received a minimum of two weeks of cultural training before leaving the U.S. to work at CAU. One professor received training individually which included the questions about climate, living standard, and benefits. Other professors explained that the training consisted of "ESL

and the TOEFL test procedures, cultural history of China, symposium taught by a native Chinese professor at the AU who had taught in China at the college level", "which specifically addressed the differences of teaching practices and the typical educational process for the Chinese student, Chinese expectations of an American teacher and the American expectations of the Chinese student and the reality that would be encountered, lesson planning and class preparation and an actual class presentation to members of the faculty, and do's and don'ts on and off Campus."

One teacher said that they "got lots of training" so "there were no surprises." She further added that everything they did during the training helped them "transition in this [Chinese] culture." "All the worst problems" were anticipated during the training and "they did not leave out anything."

One teacher explained that the training at AU did not exactly prepare for what they were going to go through, but got them ready to know what they were going to be doing and "giving a little bit heads up on what to expect."

One teacher said that he did not receive any training except having two meeting with his advisor detailing the "courses to be taught and rules and regulations concerning CAU."

Question 6: How are Chinese students different from students in America?

One professor responded that the Chinese students were not very different from American students as they all have goals, needs, wants, and expectations for their future. There are dedicated students and not so dedicated students.

One professor explained that most students were unfamiliar with the Western standard teaching styles especially such styles as the “Socratic Method”:

> I teach writing, which is a skills based class that requires some creativity. Most of my Chinese students did not really relish the idea of an answer being correct if it is argued in a linear fashion. Their culture requires that arguments should be fixed and unchallenged and that the needs of the individual, whether physical or intellectual, are far outweighed by the need of the many. In short, I found Chinese students were fixated on arriving at a correct answer rather than challenging the status quo or focusing on the process of writing logically. Of course, if the current form of government is to survive, the student must remain fixed because flexibility of thought is antithetical to communism in its current form. They differ in their approach to learning, for one thing. I found the Chinese students more serious in their studies.

Other responses included that the Chinese students worked harder and were more committed. They [Chinese students] valued education and the process of education rather than just the degree. They respect the position of teacher and give an honest effort. They are punctual and are very eager to learn with little or no discipline problems. They are used to a "teacher centered" classroom environment, while “we [North Americans] are used to a student-centered" classroom environment. “The American teacher has to first create a learning environment that makes the Chinese student comfortable enough to ask questions and participate in classroom discussions, which is opposite to the typical Chinese classroom where the teacher lectures without interruption from the student.”

One teacher explained that she has “often been asked this question” and she “found a lot of similarities with Chinese and American students.” The similarities are that “you are always going to find students who are quiet shy, funny, active.” Chinese students are “very respectful” and “they take their work very seriously and they do more than American students.” She thinks that “they [Chinese students] work a little bit harder.”

American students “are more independent” and “study individually”. Chinese students “depend on each other for success” whereas, one respondent added, “we depend on ourselves to succeed in the classroom.”

One teacher explained that “Chinese students are not much different. Students are students everywhere around the world.” One difference he described was that “the situation is different in that there is a lot more communication amongst the teacher and students due to language barriers, especially when it comes to words that are more challenging, such as complex business terms.” In addition to occasional language barriers, “classrooms are not the same. U.S. students enjoy more technology such as wireless laptops, TV’s with DVD Players, and projectors.”

Question 7: What are/were some of the issues that you have/had in teaching Chinese students?

Except for one professor who had no issues while teaching Chinese students, lack of English language skills, attendance, and copying each other on tests were major issues for other CAU professors. One professor explained that language barrier was the “main hindrance to teaching.” Although the ESL teachers did the best they could, the

time from “going monolingual to bilingual to college appropriate English” was too short. They found it hard to understand their accent at times. They had to make sure that the students understood their lectures and their English:

> Part of the curriculum required that I teach Hamlet to Chinese students in a limited amount of time. While we were able to achieve a basic understanding of the play as far as a synopsis is concerned, the students could not understand the subtleties of the play.

Other issues included that all college level coursework was “really remedial, especially when writing was an expectation.” The administration, “in an effort to encourage students”, would excuse this to the faculty by pointing out that the students were trying to learn difficult subject matter in something other than their own language so “allowances must be made.” One professor expressed his concern for this issue by explaining that:

> Certainly the administration had a point, but, from my point of view, giving transferable college credit for inferior work on the basis of that reasoning was difficult to accept since college should strive for a collegiate level of skill.

Chinese students at CAU participated in classroom discussions and were prepared when they were given assignments. They have an objective view of learning. If you ask them how they feel about a topic, they might not have an answer. While if you ask an American how they feel about something “they might waste as much as ten minutes of class time talking about nothing.”

One teacher responded that the issues he had were “the same issues as any other teacher would have all around the world.” These issues were “not turning in homework,”

"staying awake during class," "paying attention," and "talking out of turn". However, he emphasized that these issues were not causing any sort of disciplinary action, but were the kind of issues "that could be resolved immediately." Another professor commented that the only challenge she had was "keeping them [Chinese students] quiet during an examination and laughter."

One issue expressed by the faculty was being the "fear factor" at the very beginning and "not knowing." It was "the developing of the trust in the classroom and having understanding of each other and respect for each other's culture and differences." One professor explained that "once the trust developed," "I think it was okay the students got into the routine of the regular classroom."

Question 8: What are/were some issues in communicating with Chinese staff and professors on campus?

Five of the eight professors explained that they had little or no contact with Chinese staff and professors:

> My world was rather insular while I lived in China. I had relatively little contact with any of the Chinese except for the secretarial staff, who were excellent in providing for my needs. I did not often entertain Chinese professors in my home, but the few times I was in contact with them they were friendly and curious and quite personable.

One professor explained that he did not have any problems communicating with the Chinese staff and professors because he does not "communicate with them, except for body language, such as facial expressions, such as smiling and nodding my head

indicating my approval and satisfaction with the environment." Also, for some, communicating with the staff was minimal as "sometimes you say something and they interpret it, they think something else":

> Telling a friend that I needed a 'frying pan' and being taken to a store with their friend and taken to the section where they had 'fine pens' and the person showing me the fine pens. I couldn't quite figure out why they were showing me fine pens. She said, 'You want to go another place to look for a 'fine pen'? I said, 'Okay'. I thought maybe she was looking for a 'fine pen' so then we went to another store and I found the frying pan. It is just a matter of explaining what you meant or saying clearly what you meant and then you know communicating.

They also expressed their regret that it would have helped if they would have had better Chinese language skills in dealing with the staff. One professor said that when an interpreter was used, there were no issues. The Chinese staff who spoke English worked well with the "American staff." The Chinese teachers were very dedicated to their profession and the students. One professor expressed his concern in communicating with Chinese staff and professors as "hierarchy" being an obstacle.

In terms of communicating with other professors, two professors explained that there should be "more inclusive," and team work should be emphasized as "Team makes everything, you got a good team, you got a good job." "American teachers need to get to know each other better" mostly because they have teachers from different countries, "not only from America." "American teachers feel that because they are all from America, they all feel the same way and they all have the same values." They "really don't know each other."

Group 4: Former and Present CAU Students (n = 15)

A total of fifteen CAU students were interviewed and surveyed. Nine students who graduated from CAU were surveyed and six students presently studying at CAU were interviewed. Their responses were edited for grammar and anonymity concerns. However, because of the cultural elements that can be found in the responses, editing for grammar was minimal. As long as the meaning was clear, responses were reported as transcribed.

Responses:

Question 1: How did you find out about the CAU?

CAU recruits students mainly through newspaper advertisements. Even though the Chinese partner is responsible for student recruitment, advertising through newspapers is considered to be "an effective way to recruit students" by the U.S. partners.

Six of the students found out about CAU through a friend or relative. Three students found out about CAU through Internet and five students said that they found out about CAU through newspaper advertisement. One student found out about CAU when he was studying at the Chinese partner university's high school.

Question 2: Why did you choose to study at CAU?

Students at CAU are mainly the students who have not been able to pass the National Examination to study at a Chinese public university. Even though CAU is accredited by the Southern Accreditation Association in the U.S. and Southern Bureau of Education in China, the Beijing government still does not recognize CAU and CAU graduates are not allowed to work for the government as they have not been able to pass the National Examination in China. The reasons for studying at CAU can be explained in four different categories. First, the Chinese students have no choice/alternative. Second, the Chinese students want to study using a "truly American learning style" with a "very good English teaching program." Third, the Chinese students want to get "American diplomas." Lastly, the Chinese students felt that studying at CAU would help them get an "American visa easily." One student described his experience at CAU as:

> I love to experience the life of studying in a foreign country and the foreign cultures. CAU gave me that chance and it cost much less. It should be the way to go, wasn't it? Furthermore, CAU was providing lots of chances to study aboard after graduate. That means people would be having nice futures after that.

One student who has left CAU to study at the main campus in America expressed his feelings for CAU as:

> I love CAU. I have no regrets that I spent three years of studying at CAU. Professors are all very kind and they are conscientious. They not only taught me the knowledge which is in the textbook, but also taught me how to study and how to become a strong person in society. CAU set up my personality, the way I think and how I judge things all around me. Life in CAU was funny, full of challenge

> and expectancy everyday. However, there are weaknesses I feel that is CAU lacks of a strong organizing and structure. It lacks of pressure and life is too easy there for some people. Those guys [CAU students] are not self-conscious teenagers. Anyway, an easy way to study is a major feature of CAU. I don't want to see someone is going to abandon it. Otherwise there is no significant difference between CAU and the rest of the universities in China.

Other responses included:

> It is not my choose, my father's choose. My father said if I go to the international school it will better for my future. I don't know about business. I don't want to be a businessman woman".
>
> I can learn lot of different knowledge and skill in CAU that other Chinese university can not.
>
> I could live in an English environment but didn't need to go abroad.
>
> Wanted to improve my English and leaned a professional skill—accounting.
>
> All the teachers come from the U.S.A. I want to try what life is going on in the American Education.

Question 3: What were some of your expectations before you came? Can you give me specific examples?

Most of the responses on their expectations before they came to CAU focused on their wish to improve their English language skills as they "expected that they can learn a native English." One expectation was that all of the professors would come from "America," all dormitory rooms would have hot water with "good living," and "rich and colorful living environment." They wanted to make friends "in the innocent campus" and "learning as much as" they could. One student explained:

> Everything at CAU was a mystery and so expected. For me, I really did not have specific expectations before I had come to CAU. I was getting ready to experience a different life there. Anyway, there is one thing I am sure that is I was really expecting to meet some foreign professors and would like to talk and communicate with them. It would be interesting and could be learn something or be aware something that I did not know before. That's why I still remember the first time I met some of the professors.

Other responses included:

> American knowledge, learning English, studied by American teachers and professors, American teaching style.

> I think CAU is a big family, a lot of teachers and students.

> I think CAU is just like an American school…hundred percent American school.

Question 4: Did you find what you were expecting at CAU? Can you give me specific examples?

Except the "living environment," most of the students expressed that they had found what they had expected. They improved their "oral English," met with "high education" foreign professors, and "made good friends." They "communicated with English teacher directly and daily, so it gave a very language learning environment." One student said:

> Yes. I found what I had been expecting at CAU. Professors were all very easy going. I felt they were so happy to talk to students and they really did. I learned how to talk to people, how to do presentations and how to write from Mr. A and Mr. B. I learned the word responsibility from Mr. C. Mr. D gave me great confidence to do all his courses well. He loved me and I was not afraid of anything.

Three students explained that they have not found half of what they had expected. They had expected "more real business stuff," and "some teachers seem came to China not for work, just for fun. They do not work hard, then the student not to need work hard."

Other responses included:

> Yes, I did. I learned a lot differ from Chinese university. Like working attitude.

> I find a lot friends. I find nice teachers.

Question 5: What do you think about the cost of studying at CAU?

When asked about the cost of studying at CAU, few students said that it was expensive but "it is worthy to take those courses." Majority of the students accepted the cost as reasonable and "worth because all the teachers are national Americans" but "the book material cost a little high." One of the students, now studying in Canada, said, "I had thought the cost was reasonable. And after I went to Canada, I even found that the cost was so cheap and unbelievable." One student responded by saying that "I think the cost is okay for me because many students in CAU could pay more than that tuition to study in such this school." Two of the students expressed their concern on the quality of the CAU program, but they are not concerned with the tuition cost. One of them explained that he was not as much concerned about the cost of studying at CAU as much as he was concerned about the quality of the program: "The cost is ok. But CAU needs to hire very good professor" and one other student confirmed this concern: "But the precondition is the education level. I mean the passing level should be increased. It is so easy go get this diploma. That makes me suspect the quality of the diploma."

Other responses included:

> It is so so, not too expensive but not cheap. Maybe expensive for my parents.

> I think its cheap, very cheap. Is good for students to study.

> I think the study fee of CIW is acceptable for me, but as a Chinese student, the textbook fee is expensive.

Question 6: What do you think about the teaching methods of American professors? Can you give me specific examples?

Most of the responses centered on the positive aspects of teaching methods of American professors. Having "less students" in the classroom, teachers "talking to students," "teachers and students being just like friends", and "enjoying outdoor activities" were main examples given by the respondents.

Some students said that "the environment is not only in classroom" and "in China, there is no any teaching method to improve the courage and speaking skill like at CAU," so "students love different methods that they didn't meet before." One student said:

> Some professors are very serious, if you wanted to get "A" in their class, you need to work hard too much, but when you see "A", you would be proud of that result. But if you talked with them and play with them after the class, they will tread you as good friend. But some professors they looked like as working a part-time job. They do not take serious of their class, and we do not feel fair of that.

They enjoyed "the actual example during taking the Business" whereas "Chinese style pays more attention on theories than practice" that it is "the reason I could be a business woman at present." Humorous attitude of professors "attached all the students focused on that lesson." Professors "went through details of the textbooks, gave representative examples and used easy ways to explain complex theories" and they "can communicate freely in the class." Professors told them "do not give up any hard time,

pushed to learn more, and gave confidence" and "most of they really care about the students and we need our professors really use their heart to teach us, they treat us as their children and good friends."

Some students expressed their dissatisfaction as "the professor who has more real business experience will be better and the teaching should not be only teach the thing in book, but also the real business." Some said that "some teacher waste the time to teach nothing to us, I like the teachers who use some substantive examples to let us solve the main problem. Not just know the answer from the book at the same time. I do not like cancel the courses without important reason. We pay for the fee." One student explained that "all the subjects that I took just had the text books, no other additional books, for instance, study guide, lecture notes, and exercise books."

One student commented about the differences in cultures as "we are come from two different cultures then you can learn our culture from us and we can [learn] your culture. If everything is very new, it is exciting." In terms of the communication problems with the American teachers, he explained that "I think if students ask the questions, teacher don't want to answer or in the American tradition you shouldn't ask the question. But we don't know and we ask. But I think the teacher will not angry because they know we come from Chinese." "If compared to Chinese teacher, American teacher is more like a teacher, for the Chinese teacher is like your father or mother", which he explains to "fit the students." As for American style, it "tells you how to live yourself." "Language problem is the most important thing," one student responded, and "the other thing is the study and the teachers' style need to change. That is the most important thing. Because for the Chinese students, they are young and growing up and

but for the American teacher, they teach you how to think yourself. So they need to change a little bit."

Question 7: Are you working or continuing your study at the moment? If working, where? If studying, where?

Five of the former students are currently studying; four of them in Canada, one of them at AU in the U.S., and one of them is studying at a Chinese-Australian joint venture university in China. The rest of the students said that they are working. All but one of them were working in the Southern Province as "office clerks," "business development officer," "special projects assistant," and "translator". One student is working in a Northern Province of China as a "financial assistant".

Question 8: Do you think studying at CAU helped/will help you find a better job after graduation? Why? Why not?

Most of the answers focused on benefiting from gaining confidence in their English language skills. They explained that they have benefited from CAU in terms of "gaining confidence," "learning useful knowledge," "learning a second language," and "help me open my mind."

Other responses included:

> Yes. I learned things from life more than from books. The teachers not only were teaching u the knowledge from book but also the life. They try to help us and give us confidence. They try to tell us do not easy to give up for your life.

> Yes, because I got my confidence from CAU teachers, and I knew more how the foreigner people thinking than before, so when I work for a foreign company, I knew how to talk with my boss, and I learn when you want to talk to people, you cannot hire yourself, even you make mistake you must need to talk. And I know if I want to get an "A", I need to learn hard and work hard.

> Wherever I work, the bosses like me. And they know I am hard worker and know what they want. Even now I left CAU about two years but I still dream the life of there.

> Yes. My present job has high requirement for oral English. My oral English had been improved so much.

> Yes, I think present job is ok. I also think it will have promotion in the future.

Some of the students explained that the CAU diploma did/will not help them to find a better job. Those responses included:

I don't think that is enough.

I still cannot find a better job, because I didn’t learn the professional skill well.

If I have a bachelor degree, I think may find a job easier. The education in China is getting higher. The competition outside is furious.

I don’t think so. For me, I learned the ability to study, to communicate with people at CAU. However, my specialty at CAU was not strong. I majored in international business which was not enough specialized, in my opinion. So, it would be very hard to find a job once I graduated from CAU.

Well, it only depends on how well-known CAU in China nowadays if you want a job in China.

No, because in China, lots of people. Lots of people look for one job

No, because I will not be a businesswoman. Maybe I will open a restaurant sell the health food and also I like the children’s school. Three or four years old children.

I will work with my father after graduation

Not really. If the diploma of CAU is recognized in China, I probably can easy to find jobs in different companies

One student even expressed his concern about the diploma he would be getting from CAU as it is not recognized by the Beijing Government and said that "I plan to go on studying at a Chinese school and get a Chinese diploma which major is relate to international business."

Group 5: Present Chinese Staff

There are currently two Chinese staff working at the CAU office as administrative assistants. They are studying "Secretarial English at CIC" and Financial Management at Beijing University through distance education" as part-time students in addition to their full time jobs as administrative assistants. The two were interviewed at the same time as one administrative secretary had limited English and the other one helped her with translation of certain English words. Also, interview responses were edited for grammar and anonymity concerns. As long as the meaning was clear, the grammar was not edited in order to keep the cultural elements in the responses.

Responses:

Question 1: How did you find out about CAU?

One of them explained that she was affiliated with CIC prior to her employment at CAU. She was recommended to the CAU administration by a director at CIC. She had an interview and was asked to start the next day.

Other assistant said that she found out about CAU through the other administrative assistant as they live in the same dormitory room. She was interviewed by present CAU Director and was selected to be employed. She was also recommended by CIC administration and her "dormitory friend". Her father is one of the administrators at CIC.

Question 2: Have you had any working experience with Americans before?

One of them responded that when she was a student she was able to work with "Americans" through helping her cousin in his company. Her cousin had an advertisement company and they dealt with "some of the foreign clients." In addition, she worked at the trade fairs, helping foreigners communicate with the Chinese companies. Other administrative assistant did not have any experience working with Americans prior to coming to CAU.

Question 3: How are Chinese administrators different than American administrators?

One of them responded that Chinese administrators are more serious and "usually leader is leader and worker is worker" in Chinese organizations. She further explained

that when she joined the CAU team, “everybody seems like a family and like friends, very warm, and active,” “When I need to work, I want to work.” Another response was that working with American administrators was “very easy, very well.”

Question 4: How are Chinese teachers different than American teachers?

They explained that “Chinese teacher pays more attention to talk by himself or by herself,” and “he is the only people in the class.” They further added that students listened to the instructors “in most of the cases” and “teacher guided the class.” As for American teachers, “the American class may give more chance for the student to learn also give more chance to communicate for both.” Also, in Chinese classes “students just listen to the teacher, but American teachers give many chances and ask students speak.”

Question 5: What are the strengths and weaknesses of American teachers?

When asked about the strengths and weaknesses of American teachers, one response was that American teachers were not only acting as teachers but, because of their diverse professional backgrounds (i.e. businessman), brought experience to the classroom. As for Chinese teachers, “they are doing teaching for their whole life.” “American teachers will bring the student more experience in society but Chinese teacher will bring more students more in the book. Because maybe they do lots of research in the book and as they had already read the book and they don’t need anything to teach.”

For the weaknesses, one response included that American teachers have different backgrounds. Some of them have no teaching experience and “if you want act as a teacher, teaching experience is very important.” They need to learn “how to

communicate with the student." "Maybe sometime you cannot find way to teach them, you don't know how to let them understand what you said so, if you want to act as a teacher, you need to learn how to be a teacher first. Maybe you really are very smart, you really have lots of knowledge but sometimes you don't know how to teach the student." Another response to the weaknesses of American teachers was that the American teachers were "friends" with the students and sometimes students would not follow teachers' instructions: "you are the teacher, they are the students."

Question 6: What are the strengths and weaknesses of Chinese teachers?

"Chinese teacher usually pays lots of attention to students' exam papers", explained one respondent. Even though "the knowledge from books can help the Chinese students" to become successful members of the society, "students just memorize the information in the books if they want to get a good mark in the paper." Also, Chinese teachers "will give more space for the students." That is, the students have a lot of free time and not guided by the teachers outside the class, "they don't care the students sleeping too much" and they try "a little to communicate with the students." Another response included that "The students who are taught by the Chinese students are boring. There is no activity."

Question 7: How do you communicate effectively with Americans? What obstacles have you encountered?

Respondents explained that "if you want to communicate effectively with the Americans you have to learn the culture first." "You have to know what they want." One respondent further added:

> Because somethings in Chinese opinion, it should be okay, its fine, but Americans think "Oh Boy!" Maybe sometimes they think it is easy, they say, 'Take it easy girl' but I cannot. Maybe I had already paid attention in my heart. It had already placed important part in my heart. I cannot take it easy. So, different cultures, different backgrounds, they will have different thinking.

Question 8: What are some cultural differences between the Chinese and Americans that you observed while working here?

Language (spoken language) was explained to be the major challenge for both respondents. In regard to cultural differences between the Chinese and Americans, one respondent explained:

> American people is very direct people, "I like this one", and "I don't like this one." Maybe Chinese people, for example when Mr. X invites us dinner, but you think that the food is not very good. You tell them, "I don't like this one." But Chinese people say, "Oh Thank you Mr. X, I like it very much, very much."

They both expressed their concern for China being a developing country and added that U.S. and China cannot be compared. Most of the Americans affiliated with CAU are "from very good environment" and "sometimes when they meet something bad,

they will think Chinese are behind and feel uncomfortable." Even though they are trying to help the Americans at CAU, there would still be complications and it would be hard for the Americans to understand: "If electricity suddenly stops, that is what I cannot help them and they [Americans] will be very uncomfortable. If I am Chinese, I say, oh, that is fine."

Chapter Summary

This chapter reports the interview responses and other relevant findings and field notes of this research. Participants that were interviewed in this study are grouped as follows:

Group 1: Officials that helped get the approval from the Chinese government throughout the establishment phase

Group 2: Present Administrators of CAU

Group 3: Former and Present CAU Professors

Group 4: Former and Present CAU Students

Group 5: Present Chinese Staff

Responses in this study focused on the challenges of administering such a joint venture campus in China. Responses included why it was challenging to establish CAU, what types of challenges they had while administering the campus. Former and present professors reflected on their experiences at CAU. Former and present CAU students expressed their opinions about their teachers, tuition cost, textbooks and cultural differences between American and Chinese. Present Chinese staff explained how they communicated with the CAU administration and teachers.

Chapter Five

Analysis of Findings

"*Everyone finds a different China*"

Anonymous

This chapter focuses on the analysis of the findings. The "Internationalization" concept of Knight and de Wit (1999) and "National Culture: Four Dimensions" concept of Hofstede (1980) were utilized for the analysis. Human Capital Theory helped explain the rationale behind the acceptance of an American education in China by the Chinese. The "Internationalization" concept is categorized under four sub-headings. These are: political, economic, socio-cultural and educational. Hofstede's (1980) research helped formulate the analysis using four dimensions. These four dimensions are: Power Distance, Individuality, Masculinity-Femininity, and Uncertainty Avoidance. Human Capital Theory explains the economic gains as being the basic rationale behind the acceptance by the Chinese of an American education in China but examines other arguments (i.e. modernization) by various scholars.

Internationalization of Higher Education

Knight and de Wit (1999), two well-known scholars in the field of international and comparative higher education, have developed a structure in an attempt to understand and rationalize internationalization of higher education. Knight (1999) defines internationalization of higher education as "one of the ways a country responds to the impact of globalization yet, at the same time respects the individuality of the nation" (p. 14) while globalization is defined as "the flow of technology, economy, knowledge, people, values, ideas…across borders" (p. 14).

In an attempt to bring a framework and some logic to the "rationale" discussion, they identified four categories: political, economic, social/cultural, and academic. The political category includes the interference of government [the Chinese Communist Party in my case]. The economic category refers to the desire to use higher education to help a nation compete in global markets. To the economic rationale developed by Knight and de Wit, this study included the cost of living in China (average annual income per capita), tuition, and the wages within the joint venture. The social/cultural category primarily refers to the development of individual learners to improve the quality of their lives. Knight (1999) explains that "the preservation and promotion of national culture are becoming a strong motivation for those countries which consider internationalization as a way to respect cultural diversity and counterbalance the perceived homogenizing effect of globalization" (p. 20). For this category, this study includes the analysis of cultural differences and interaction between Chinese and American partners as well as student-teacher and teacher-teacher interactions. For the academic category, Knight (1999) explains that "for hundreds of years there has been international mobility of scholars and an international dimension to research" (p. 20). For this category, known differences between American and Chinese teachers and students are included, as well as the impact of these different interactions between the two cultures.

Political Challenges

CAU was established in 2000 to provide the Chinese students an opportunity to receive an American education due to the difficulties of getting a visa to go to the U.S. Even though it was argued in the literature (Chen, 1995; Southworth, 1999; Mok, 2001; Tse, Au, & Vertinsky, 1996) that the involvement of the Chinese Communist Party does

have significant effects on the operation of joint ventures, there is no evidence in the collected data proving such an effect. The only challenge, that is, interference, if you will, by the Chinese government was during the process of gaining acceptance of an American curriculum by the Chinese Education Bureau. This issue was solved through finding an alternative, a change in the name of the course, without sacrificing the essence of the curriculum.

The Party Secretary has not been involved in the negotiation talks during the establishment process, and his present duties focused on overseeing the academic program. That is, he has been primarily helping the Director of Academic programs with her requests regarding the facility (classroom, technology) concerns and extracurricular activities for CAU and CIC students. Even though Chen (1995) argues that Party Secretary has always been powerful and has significant decision-making power, there has been no evidence of invoking such significant decision-making powers.

In terms of U.S. managers' recognizing the importance of understanding and being able to influence government decisions (Osland & Cavusgil, 1996), it is extensively explained by the participants that "guanxi" was considered to be a very effective tool, not only socio-culturally, but also politically when dealing with Chinese policy makers. It was "one's social bank account" as Bond (1991, p. 58) defines. In dealing within the political considerations, U.S. administrators have shown a comprehensive understanding of the significance of having a local partner enabling them to develop close connections with government decision-makers. In the case of CAU and its relations with the Chinese government and bureaucracy, it is very well understood and negotiated that the

government relations and bureaucratic procedures will be dealt with by the Chinese partner university.

In the case of the CAU-CIC partnership and dual-degree approvals, Chinese partners were in charge of preparing the necessary documents and then sending those documents to the appropriate department in the Bureau of Education. They then followed up through their connections within the Chinese government and education system. Even though dealing with the Chinese government has not been a direct challenge for the U.S. partners, understanding of the waiting period and patience has been a consideration. That is, U.S. partners have been feeling impatient during the process, thus creating a tension between the two parties. Chan (1967) explains this tension as part of the negotiation process as the Chinese are less likely to take a dominating or coercive stance toward negotiation, but instead seek a middle ground between conflicting positions for preservation of collective harmony.

Chinese partners are working on the process but it is taking time within the Chinese system. Chinese partners are aware of this waiting period as most procedures within the complicated Chinese bureaucratic system take time and require serious ‘guanxi’. As for Americans, it has become a challenge as they do not understand why this is taking “too long” for them to get the approval. In their opinion, they are a legitimate, accredited American university, and things should go smoother and quicker for them. As President of the American Chamber of Commerce (PACC) in Southern Province explained:

> We are impatient people. We are into time management; we want to get something done and have our meeting, where it probably should take 2-3 days, of

> getting to know the other person. And, that is where a lot of conflicts arise because the Chinese do not understand; you are asking someone for something you don't have a right to ask. Why should I do this for you? I don't know you. We haven't had a chance to talk to each other, we haven't had a drink together, and we haven't even had breakfast together…Lots of joint ventures fall apart because the people who come they do western mentality of moving very quickly on a project are the ones who get the least support and the worst partners. And I have dozens of those cases.

As Su (1999) points out, China is experiencing a dynamic reconstruction and disorder is an integral part of the society. There is an absence or lack of effective laws, and bureaucracy, which leads to ambiguity. This ambiguity is unsettling for U.S. administrators, staff and faculty. Hofstede and Bond (1988) explain that it is the cultural dimension of tolerance of ambiguity, the extent to which a culture programs its members to feel either uncomfortable or comfortable in unstructured situations.

As an example, when the teachers first started coming to CAU for the 2005-2006 academic year in August, it was expected by the administration that they could enter China with a tourist visa and their tourist visas could be changed to employment visa and residency permit could be received afterwards. This has been the procedure for CAU when hiring teachers from the U.S. in the previous years. However, when teachers applied to change their tourist visas to employment visas, Chinese authorities first asked that the teachers provide "copies of their diplomas, a resume (showing a minimum of two years teaching experience), and an invitation letter from the hiring party (it is CAU in this case)." However, the teachers were already in China, and they had not been asked to

bring a copy of their diplomas, and an invitation letter was not required for them to be hired. It was then discussed with the Chinese partners and it was recommended to the CAU administration that these teachers provide copies of their diplomas, write up a resume, and the VP write invitation letters, back-dating letters to August (this situation is taking place at the end of September). This created discomfort for the U.S. side as they had not expected to have issues with visa issuance as this has not been a problem, especially for U.S. citizens. However, as a solution, scanned diplomas of the teachers were e-mailed to CAU campus, invitation letters dating back to August were sent, and resumes were "written up" for the teachers to get their employment visas as. Students had already arrived and teachers had already planned their semesters and begun classes.

However, as China is changing, laws are changing. China is trying to catch up with the globalization and internationalization. Therefore, it should be expected for the Chinese to change their laws, which could also be explained as 'bringing Chinese laws up-to-date'. In the case of changing the rules and regulations in the residency permit approval process, the reason for its difficulty is that China needs a great number of English language instructors and these instructors are expected to be "native English speakers", mainly from North America, Canada, Australia, Britain, and New Zealand. However, many native speakers have been flooding China with the promise of teaching English, with no college degrees (no high school degrees in some cases) and no teaching experience, and in some cases, wearing "shorts". As China is 'waking up' to the realities of the world, laws are changing to adapt to the changes in the world as now they know 'better' and are not simply amazed by the appearance of a 'native speaker' in their

country's classrooms teaching their children. They now want "better" teachers with "better" education.

To sum up the political challenges, the data support the obvious existence of the government influence in the overall approval process of such joint ventures. Chinese laws are changing and conditions of presence of an American university in China are getting harsher, with new visa regulations being an example. However, it is also supported by the data that the Chinese government's interference in the overall operations of such a joint venture is minimal and has only been a challenge to CAU/AU, CIC and the Education Bureau because of the pressure from CAU/AU on "getting things done" and "not understanding" how things work within the overall Chinese system. That is, the political challenge is typically during the approval process of such a joint venture while visa procedures for foreigners have been stricter in the recent years throughout China.

Economic Challenges

Knight and de Wit (1999) explain the Economic category as the desire to use higher education to help a nation compete in global markets. Economic category also relates to Human Capital Theory as will be explained further in the chapter.

As Holton (1990) argues, the major hurdle in the negotiating process leading to the establishment of the joint venture was the question of the number of the employees to be hired. The Chinese wanted the joint venture to employ far more workers than did the foreign partner. In the case of CAU, number of instructors and staff to be hired was determined by the CAU administration and the Chinese partner was not involved in the hiring process.

However, in terms of recruiting local staff for CAU, the Chinese staff at CAU was recommended by the CIC administration to work at the CAU office. Eventually, Holton's further argument that the workers in such joint ventures continue to be employees of the Chinese partner and are essentially seconded to the joint venture itself is supported by the interview and observation data.

In one incident, from the investigator field notes, the DAP at CAU had to go to the city for a meeting. She instructed one of the office assistants to proctor a quiz that she was going to give in one of her classes. The office assistant started the quiz and during the test, she received a phone call from the Vice-President of the Chinese partner university asking her to come over and participate in the Tug-Of-War event. The office assistant immediately left the class and the students unsupervised during the quiz and ran to participate in the event. After the event, she returned to the classroom and continued her proctoring.

In another incident, one of the CAU office assistants was asked to proctor in the Chinese partner university's final examinations. Even though she had other duties at CAU, she left to proctor for the Chinese partner university. It was most probably because she thought that she had to go because she felt obliged to the Chinese more than the American partners. For her, her employer is the Chinese more than the U.S. administration on campus. For U.S. administration, she is an employee of CAU and she is primarily responsible for reporting to the Director of Academic programs at CAU, especially in such events.

To further explain this issue, the Chinese staff are not as willing to cooperate with the U.S. administrators as they are with their actual employer, the Chinese partner.

Chinese staff consider the Chinese partners as primary employers and are loyal to them and rather unwilling to take orders from American partners. At times, they think the American partners are insensitive to the Chinese culture and do not know how things are done in China. As one of the office assistants commented: “Sometimes when they [Americans] meet something bad, they will think Chinese are behind.” “If electricity suddenly stops, that is what I cannot help them and they [Americans] will be very uncomfortable. If I am Chinese, I say, oh, that is fine.” Overall, their pay schedule is determined by “the CIC salary scale” and whoever decides on how much they should get paid would decide what their duties should be.

Holton’s further argument that most American managers of joint ventures in China are especially unhappy with the policy requiring Chinese counterparts of U.S. managers to be paid salaries comparable to the Americans, has not been an issue at CAU. American administrators and professors receive much higher wages than their Chinese counterparts, but there is no evidence in the data supporting the resistance of the Chinese partners to pay higher wages, demanding equality in wages. CAU pays higher wages for its American administrators and professors but the wages of the Chinese teachers hired by CAU to teach support classes are determined by the CIC pay scale, which is rather low compared to the wages of the Americans at CAU.

In terms of the tuition fees paid by CAU students, students expressed their acceptance of the CAU tuition. Even though the tuition fee to study at CAU was higher than most Chinese universities, students explained that studying at CAU was actually worth more than what they are currently paying. In this case, as these students depend on their families for the tuition fee and other living expenses, there is also no evidence in the

data that either parents or students had complaints about the tuition fee. However, one issue that emerged during the interviews with the students was that the students were more concerned with the price of textbooks and the quality of education than the actual tuition fee. As most CAU textbooks are sent from the U.S., students find the price to be rather expensive. To solve this issue, CAU has started a protocol requiring the students to pay a "use fee" for the students to use the books during the semester for a minimal fee and then return books to CAU at the end of semester.

Socio-Cultural Challenges

Knight (1999) explains that "the preservation and promotion of national culture are becoming a strong motivation for those countries which consider internationalization as a way to respect cultural diversity and counterbalance the perceived homogenizing effect of globalization" (p. 20). She further argues that there is a need for improved intercultural understanding and communication. Socio-cultural analysis of such institutions and their operations focus more on the development of the individual (student, staff member, or teacher) instead of the national or the educational institution, which is the case in this study. Knight places the emphasis on the "overall development of the individual as a local, national and international citizen" (p. 20).

Chan (1999) explains that "Westerners may benefit from an understanding of Chinese cultural values and how these can lead to the high achievement motivations in individuals" (p. 303). The data collected through this study confirm that social and cultural issues have been significant challenging for both parties of the joint venture as well as the people (students, parents, etc.) affiliated with the venture. This is mainly due to cultural (mis)communication and as Tsang (1999) explains, "Managers from

industrialized countries are ready to teach native Chinese staff, but seldom do they realize that they can learn something from the locals" (p. 94).

In the case of CAU, this researcher found this to be the case not only for managers but also for American teachers. It is the (mis)understanding from the American side that the Chinese should listen more to what they have to say rather than listening to what the Chinese have to say, as PACC explained, "We have to listen a lot more than we talk."

Guanxi was also explained to be a significant, if not the ultimate, communication tool for the Chinese and crucial for the continuation of this joint venture. The research data support that the 'guanxi' was very well-understood and, in most cases, properly utilized. Establishing and maintaining guanxi was mainly accomplished through gift-giving, lunch and dinner gatherings for social interaction, and going to karaoke clubs for both sides to get to know each other better. It is very important for the Chinese to socialize so that a guanxi can be established. As literature suggested, Chinese nationals tend to rely heavily on personal relationships (guanxi) in business dealings (Chen, 1994; Luo, 1995) as it provides the lubricant for the Chinese to get through life. It is a form of social investment. No company in the Chinese business world can succeed unless it benefits from an extensive guanxi.

It is also applicable in the case of CAU. If CAU wants to grow and develop its market share in China, U.S. partner needs to focus more on establishing guanxi. PACC explained Guanxi as "building relationships" and elaborated on this further:

> Why should I do this for you? I don't know you. We haven't had a chance to talk to each other, we haven't had a drink together, and we haven't even had breakfast

> together. Why should I do this for you? Why should I even be your partner? You are asking someone to be your partner. Why should I be your partner? They don't know you. It is a family based society, friendship means a great deal. How can I trust you to get into business with you? I need to spend sometime with you to get to know you. How can you trust me as a Chinese to do this?

Building relationship is a significant part of Chinese life. Tsui et al. (2000) explain the complex relationship in three categories. The first is the "*chia-jien* (family)" relationship (p. 229). It is characterized by "permanent, stable, expressive connections in which the welfare of the other is part of one's duty" (p. 229). General rule of exchange is that "one does his or her best to attend to the other's needs with little or no expectation of return in the future" (p. 229).

The second category is the "*sheng-jen* (stranger or mere acquaintance)" category (p. 229). It includes all those "with whom one has no prior or current interactions" (p. 229). They could include "members of one's local community, fellow employees in a large company, or customers of a business with whom one rarely interacts and with whom no other connection is shared" (p. 229).

The third category is the "*shou-jen*" (p. 230). It is neither *chia-jen* nor a *sheng-jen*, but is someone with whom "one has a friendship that may range from superficial to extremely intimate" (p. 230). A coworker or subordinate falls into this category. "The relationship is a mixture of *chia-jen* and *sheng-jen*, and takes both expressive and utilitarian forms" (p. 230).

Another issue was the concept of 'face'. An often repeated Chinese proverb puts it, "A person needs face as a tree needs bark". Hwang (1987), Alston (1989), and Chen

(1995) suggest that "Face" has special importance in Chinese societies because of its centrality in social life and business transactions. Compared to the American attitude and understanding of "losing face" which is practiced as "leaving it behind and getting on with your life", when a Chinese person "loses face" it is rather difficult, if not impossible, to gain his/her confidence back. PACC explains:

> China is what they call it, face-based society. People always talk about it, but trying to understand it is very important. A Chinese will never ask you to do something that they know you cannot do. Because if they ask you, that puts you in a position that you might lose face. So, you should never ask a Chinese to do something that they cannot do. Because you make them lose face. And once they lose face, they will never, never, be a friend. They will never support you, never do anything for you. If you ask Chinese for something that they can do, they will break their back to do it for you. They give you face. But when they ask for something, they expect the same. Once you give somebody the face, you are best friends for the rest of your life and vice versa. So either relationship, the way to continue to succeed is to guarantee to make sure that every level of CIC, you have given face to everybody.

Concept of 'face' was also understood by the U.S. administrators as was guanxi, but actual application and noticing it in the daily operations of the partnership was a significant challenge. U.S. partners sometimes would not notice that they have actually caused some administrator at CIC to 'lose face' in front of her/his subordinates. It was not because they did not know the meaning or the importance of 'face' in China, but it was because of poor application within the daily operations of the joint venture. In some

cases, when the U.S. partner seeks out and attempts to deals with the facts, this problem-solving approach may be perceived by the Chinese counterpart as showing dislikes.

Face was not only a challenge for administrators at CAU but was also apparent in the teacher-student interaction. Again, most of the professors indicated that they had received cultural training before they arrived in China, which also included the importance of 'face'. However, when teaching in the classroom, asking students why they had not done their homework by singling out specific students or playing favorites in the classroom were explained to be a significant catalyst for the cross-cultural (mis)communication between teachers and students.

Another significant issue that arose during interviews was the significance of the family for the Chinese. China is a family based society. The most important element in the society is the family. When somebody gets a job at some place, she or he has to take care of his family first. PACC gave an example:

> when someone comes from the village, where the family is making 800-1000 RMB a year in income, and suddenly son or daughter, goes to work in factory in South or East, and suddenly that son or daughter is making 600-800 RMB a month. Ten times more than the whole family made back…with very few exceptions, half of their income is sent back to their family in the village. They make 600RMB, 300RMB is wired home. It is a culture. It is a family system. So that money goes back into the village and that has resulted in lots of villages developing business hotels, buying more tractors…more buffalos, whatever it is...

Thus, when a student wants to study, it is not only the parents' responsibility to provide an education for their son or daughter, but it is the extended family that would make sure

that one person gets educated. It is sometimes uncles, sometimes aunts. It is not only that the parents and extended family are responsible for one's education, children have responsibility of taking care of their family members. Waley (1989) gives an example from Confucius: "Tzu-Yu asked about the treatment of parents. The Master said, 'Filial sons' nowadays are people who see to it that their parents get enough to eat. But even dogs and horses are cared for to that extent. If there is no feeling of respect, wherein lies the difference?" (p. 89).

As an example, one of the CAU students had to leave at the end of Fall semester because of financial difficulties. She did not return to CAU after winter vacation. When the CAU administration called and checked on her, they found out that her uncle was the one who was supporting her education and he could not get the tuition fee together to pay for his niece's education. In the U.S., students' motivation is mostly for herself or himself but when a Chinese student attends school, it is not for himself, or for herself, but rather for the whole family. This issue will be further analyzed in the "Educational Challenges" sub-section.

Educational Challenges

After interviewing, surveying, and observing students, faculty, administrators, and staff, it became apparent that the educational challenges at CAU were not very different than the challenges of Chinese students on U.S. campuses. The only significant difference between the Chinese students at CAU and Chinese students in the U.S. was in the issue that CAU was not approved by the Beijing government. Even though most of these students have not been to the U.S. or to any other country in that sense, the needs

and expectations of CAU students were similar to those of the Chinese students in the U.S.

For example, CAU students have expressed their major concern to be the "language problem", that is their lack of English language skills. Even though CAU has an intensive ESL program with experienced teachers, and, CAU students study English language for nearly one academic year, students at CAU considered their English language skills "inadequate".

As for the Chinese students in the U.S., during interviews with six East Asian students at a U.S. institution in the U.S., Dillon and Swann (1997) found that one of the major areas of their insecurity was the lack of confidence in their English language skills. Takahashi (1989) reported that contrary to a common American assumption that everybody readily understands English, acquiring foreign language proficiency, especially academic English in adult years, requires relatively long periods of hard studying, strong linguistic ability, and an extensive knowledge of the adopted culture. Tompson and Tompson (1996), as reported in Senyshyn et al. (2001), explained that international students enrolled in business programs also identified the lack of confidence in language skills to be one of the most daunting barriers to a positive adjustment experience. One of the most widely used tools to measure the language proficiency level of the students is the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). However, because of the complexity of the language proficiency, there are significant number of studies suggesting the lack of relationship between the TOEFL and academic success (Stover, 1982; Özturgut, 2001). CAU also uses TOEFL as a measurement tool for students' English language skills. After studying English language for almost one

academic year, the students then move on to their content classes. However, there is not sufficient English language support after their first year even though they might still be struggling to understand their textbooks and follow the instruction in the classroom.

The research data indicate that challenges faced by CAU students, other than the lack of English language skills, centered around "CAU not being recognized by the Chinese government," "expensive textbooks,", "teachers not being professional", and at times "not having an idea" of what they (teachers from the U.S.) are teaching. These findings were not expected and there was no indication in the literature review conducted prior to this study. It was only after the interviews with the students that the cost of textbooks and quality of instructors were found to cause significant issues with the students.

In contrast to the literature suggesting Chinese students' refrain from voicing opposing views in the classroom (Liu, 2001), or their unwillingness to speak out, to question or to criticize (Tsui, 1996), the data presently collected does not indicate any such characteristics of Chinese students. Chinese students in this study expressed concern, and criticism to a certain extent, of American teachers. As for American teachers, they have explained that Chinese students were responding to an American education system positively.

One issue expressed by one of the Chinese students was that the Chinese students needed to learn how to study "by themselves" as the "American" teachers require the students to be self-motivated. American teaching style encourages individualism and gives the students the responsibility to learn and expect them to be independent individuals, but Chinese students at CAU struggle to understand the reason behind

teachers' asking them to be independent individuals which is contrary to their past cultural experience. For them, asking them to be individuals is almost like asking them to leave their centuries long traditions of family and society which simply does not make sense to them. Bond (1992) confirms that the Chinese students are expected to compromise, moderate and maintain harmonious relationships in which individualism and self-assertion are discouraged.

CAU faculty explained that Chinese students were not different from any other student in a college in the U.S., and the challenges were similar: "Cheating" and "talking during examinations" were the main challenges faced by U.S. teachers. As Sapp (2002) explains that "Chinese students often consider cheating as a skill that everyone should develop just like Math and computer skills; this skill is something they feel that they need in order to compete in the real world" (p. 5), cheating has become a challenge for CAU faculty. For the Chinese, cheating is a skill rather than something that should be avoided. Also, a student could be isolated for not helping a fellow student during an examination because of the collectivist nature of the Chinese society (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005).

Regarding the teachers' classroom discipline issues, it was mainly due to their inexperience in teaching, as they had minimal, if any, teaching experience prior to coming to China. Even though discipline problems are uncommon in the classroom where students have been taught never to question their tutors or challenge their judgment (Liu, 2001; Bond, 1992). American teachers had discipline problems due to their lack of experience in academia, as educators. The interview and survey data included responses from Chinese staff and students that the CAU teachers lacked

classroom management skills, and they either became too friendly with the students or too distant.

U.S. teaching style was considered to be an attraction for the students at CAU. CAU students reported that one of the main reasons for them to study at CAU was "American teaching style", in addition to their main motivation, which is getting an "American diploma". It was confirmed through this study that American teaching style was greatly enjoyed by Chinese students and its benefits were highly appreciated by the Chinese students and parents. Chinese students find U.S. teaching style to be effective and "fun" compared to the Chinese style, which is text-bound and didactic.

CAU students' motivation played a significant part in their academic success. Chang (1999) indicates there is great pressure to succeed academically on Chinese students which is primarily because parents, uncles, aunts and other members of the extended family participate in the children's learning. Most of the CAU students explained that studying at CAU was not their option but they chose to study at CAU upon the "strong recommendation" of their parents and/or relatives.

Overall, the educational challenges at CAU were due to: CAU's not being approved by the Chinese government (thus not being accredited in China), the faculty members' lack of teaching experience and professionalism, expensive textbooks for students, and cheating and discipline problems for CAU teachers. Even though faculty members had received some form of cultural training in the U.S. before they arrived in China, they have not received any instructional training regarding classroom management and interpersonal communication skills. To maintain its high quality education, CAU offers Instructional Support Seminar(s) (ISS) to its instructors to make up for any lack of

teaching or in some cases, teaching abroad experience, and in-service training. During these ISS meetings, instructors share their experiences in their classrooms and exchange information about what teaching methods worked in their classrooms and what did not. These ISS sessions are scheduled twice a month with an instructor presenting an issue at each session.

Hofstede's Research

One of the most cited definitions of culture in two decades is Hofstede's (1980) in which he defines culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another" (p. 5). His IBM survey, which collected data by questionnaires from over 116, 000 employees in IBM's subsidiaries in over 50 countries, has been one of the most influential contributions in the field of cross-culture studies. Four dimensions (i.e. Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism, and Masculinity-Femininity) were found through a combination of factor analysis and theoretical reasoning. By applying the concept of these four dimensions, Hofstede examines major Western management theories to see if they are universally applicable. He suggests that while the principles of leadership, motivation, and decision-making may be applicable almost everywhere, their success or failure depends heavily on ways in which managers adapt to the local culture and work situation. It is important to note that Hofstede's (1980) four dimensions of culture do not constitute a definition of culture but simply an instrument to show that cultures differ. The latter part of this chapter analyses the research findings according to these four dimensions.

Power Distance

> …the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally. (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 46)

Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) found that China scored twice as high in Power Distance Index than the U.S. Large Power Index (in this case, China compared to the U.S.) suggests that there is considerable dependence of subordinates on bosses.

Table 4: Power Distance Index

Country	**Score**	**Rank**
China	80	12-14
United States	40	57-59

Adapted from *Power Distance Index (PDI) Values for 74 Countries and Regions. Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind, Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 43.*

Subordinates are unlikely to approach and contradict their bosses directly. Hierarchy reflects the existent inequality between higher and lower levels, where privileges and status symbols are an expected part of it. Managers rely on superiors and on formal rules when making decisions and subordinates expect to be told what to do. The ideal boss is expected to be an autocrat and a good father, where the employer-employee relation is emotional. Table 4 shows the Power Distance Index for China and the U.S.

In the case of CAU, the research data supports the strong reliance on hierarchy and subordinates' dependence on their boss. Thus, large power distance applies.

However, the “boss” is not perceived to be the U.S. partner, but rather is the Chinese partner. When the U.S. Director interacts with the Chinese staff as it would have been done in the U.S., giving the Chinese the opportunity to easily approach and contradict their bosses, Chinese staff consider it a weakness of U.S. management style. They expect the administration to be “administrators” and staff to be “staff”. For the Chinese, there should be a clear distinction between these two, and interaction should be through formal rules and regulations, while being sensitive to the emotional aspect of such cross-cultural communication.

In terms of the interaction between teachers and students, in large power distance societies, teachers take all initiative in class, are gurus who transfer personal wisdom and quality of learning depends on the excellence of teacher. The educational process is teacher-centered; teachers outline the intellectual paths to be followed. What is transferred is not seen as an impersonal “truth”, but as the personal wisdom of the teacher (p. 53). In the case of CAU, even though students expect teachers to take all initiative in class, research data suggest that CAU students question the ability and knowledge of teachers and do not necessarily see them as ‘gurus’ who transfer personal wisdom as argued by Hofstede and Hofstede (2005). Therefore, Hofstede and Hofstede’s research is not supported in terms of what CAU students expect from CAU teachers. They expect “professionalism”, “being on time to class”, “using extra materials”, and bringing “real business knowledge to class”. It is not so much that the teacher is the ultimate decision maker and the authority, but the students are well aware of the fact that they have certain “rights” in their educational careers.

Individualism-Collectivism

> Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself and herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism….societies in which people from birth onward are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetimes continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 76)

In organizations, individualist cultures expect the employees to act according to their own interest, while organizing the work in such a way that this self-interest and the employer's interest coincide. In a collectivist culture, an employer never hires just an individual, but rather a person who belongs to an in-group. The employee therefore will act according to the interest of an in-group, which may not always coincide with his or her individual interest. In collectivist cultures, group interests supersede individual interests, and one's sense of identity is defined by the relationship to the group. Individualist cultures, on the other hand, place greater emphasis on self-sufficiency and individual identity. Group harmony and loyalty are less important than individual achievement and autonomy. The good of the group and the good of the individual are seen as identical. The employer-employee relationship is more like a family relationship with strong emotional and moral ties (Hofstede, 1993). Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) found that the U.S. scored much higher than China on the Individualism Index. That is, the U.S. is considered to be highly individualistic whereas China is highly collectivist.

Table 5 shows the Individualism Index for China and the U.S. as the two countries being researched in this study.

Table 5: Individualism Index

Country	**Score**	**Rank**
United States	91	1
China	20	56-61

Adapted from *Individualism Index (IDV) Values for 74 Countries and Regions. Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind, Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 78-9.*

In the case of CAU, group harmony and loyalty are considered to have significant effect on social interactions. Again, this is true only for the Chinese-U.S. interaction (U.S. Administration – Chinese Staff and Partners). U.S.-U.S. interaction (U.S. Administration and U.S. teachers) still remains rather individualistic. In one example, when one of the administrative assistants was being hired, she was recommended by the Chinese partners. After she was hired, the U.S. administration found out that her father was one of the administrators at CIC and her cousins were employed at different departments of CIC. Some other employees of CIC were also from a Western Province of China where she was born and they knew each other when they were living in the Western Province. That is, they were not employed randomly but recommendation of a group member was the tool for the higher administration to make a decision on the hiring.

In the case of CAU teachers and administration, interaction is rather individualistic where teachers consider their individual needs and expectations to have higher importance than the group needs and expectations. This creates certain issues where team work is needed and also causing emotional problems where group support is very important when living in a foreign country. U.S. administration and teachers represent a mini version of a U.S. higher education system where individualism might

work for the benefit of the individual and eventually for the institution while in the U.S., whereas at CAU, emotional support of colleagues and administration has more significance due to the challenges of living in a foreign country. However, representation of an individualist culture with a few people in a highly collectivist culture present great difficulties for the U.S. administration. That is, U.S. administration is even responsible for the behaviors of its teachers as one teacher's (mis)behavior can be attributed to the whole group and can create significant problems within the partnership.

Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) further argue that students in collectivist cultures do not speak up, not even when the teacher directs a question to the class. For collectivist cultures, the individual student is part of a group and it is only logical to speak up when sanctioned by the group. For them, if the teacher wants students to speak up, the teacher should address a particular student personally.

In the case of CAU, this argument is not supported. As the data indicate, CAU students speak up in the class and ask questions to the teachers. Even though they protect and help each other both in and out of the classroom during examinations and with homework, CAU students express their individual needs and expectations freely when communicating with U.S. administration and teachers.

Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) suggest that the purpose of education is learning how to do, and diplomas provide entry to higher social groups in collectivist cultures whereas in individualist cultures, the purpose of education is learning how to learn, and diplomas increase economic gain and, in some cases, self respect. In the case of CAU, "American Diploma" is the main reason for the students to study at CAU. Through getting an "American Diploma" students will enter higher social groups and economic

gain is not the main purpose of getting such a diploma [degree] as it is in individualist cultures.

Masculinity-Femininity Dimension

> A society is called masculine when emotional gender roles are clearly distinct: men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success, whereas women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. A society is called feminine when emotional gender roles overlap: both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 120)

Masculinity and Femininity dimension explains why cultures stress aggressiveness, achievement, and pursuit of material things, relationships, harmony, and preservation of the quality of life. Relationships and quality of life are more important in feminine cultures whereas challenge, earnings, recognition, and advancement are important in masculine societies. Therefore, in the case of CAU, relatively close scores in the Masculinity Index were supported as the U.S. and China having relatively masculine organizational and educational structures. However, as Hofstede (1993) acknowledged, there is not necessarily any relationship between femininity and masculinity of a culture and the actual distribution of power and status.

In terms of education, in feminine cultures, teachers will rather praise weaker students, encourage them, than openly praise good students. Rewards for excellence for teachers or students are not expected. In fact, “excellence” is a masculine term (p. 136). In the Masculinity Index of Hofstede (1980), U.S. and China scored very close. That is,

they were both found to be relatively Masculine societies. Table 6 shows the Masculinity Index for China and the U.S.

Table 6: Masculinity Index

Country	Score	Rank
China	66	11-13
United States	62	19

Adapted from *Masculinity Index (MAS) Values for 74 Countries and Regions. Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind, Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 120-121.*

In the case of CAU, U.S. teachers were more feminine (feminine, as explained by Hofstede's Index (1980) than the Chinese teachers thus causing some surprise and ambiguity for Chinese students. In CAU classes, students, whether successful or unsuccessful, were praised for their strengths in various areas. If they were not successful in one area, their success and strength in another area were praised by CAU teachers. Good students were openly praised and expected that the weaker students would be encouraged by such praise. However, there is no data to support whether such an appraisal system was actually beneficial for the weaker students' success.

Uncertainty Avoidance

> …the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations. (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 167)

Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) explain that, in the workplace, there is strong emotional need for rules in a society with a strong uncertainty avoidance culture. That is, individuals have been programmed since their early childhood and they feel more

comfortable in structured environments. In a society with weak uncertainty avoidance, people expect the rules to be established only in case of absolute necessity. That is, there is tolerance for ambiguity and chaos whereas in strong uncertainty avoidance cultures, there is a need for precision and formalization.

Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) found that U.S. and China scored relatively close scores on the Uncertainty Avoidance Index. That is, they were not significantly different than each other in terms of how they perceived the uncertainties within the society. However, this research data suggested that the U.S. and China had significant differences in the sense of how they perceived and communicated uncertainty within the organization.

Table 7 shows the Uncertainty Avoidance Index for China and the U.S.

Table 7: Uncertainty Avoidance Index

Country	**Score**	**Rank**
United States	46	62
China	30	68-69

Adapted from *Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI) Values for 74 Countries and Regions. Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind, Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005, p. 169.*

In the case of CAU, tolerance for ambiguity and chaos was one of the major issues within the partnership. For CAU administration, strict rules and regulations were to be followed, and as for the Chinese, they would not understand why all these rules and regulations should be followed. U.S. administration, emphasizing precision in the operation of the institution, as a strong uncertainty avoidance culture was startling the

Chinese where ambiguity is part of the social life. The Chinese culture has a high tolerance for ambiguity (Hsu, 1985) and tolerance for ambiguity leads to more compromising (Kale & McIntyre, 1991). To further confirm this, Levine (1985) explains that ambiguous expressions in speech and thought are endorsed in many Asian societies to serve different social purposes. When making decisions, U.S. partners expected to have everything settled after a long dinner-meeting, whereas for the Chinese, it was just a beginning of a conversation. U.S. administration expected a "yes or no" whereas for the Chinese, it was usually "maybe."

AUP explained that the Chinese did not understand how the rules and regulations in the U.S. worked and for the CAU to continue to operate as an accredited U.S. higher education institute, the same rules and regulations had to be followed. However, for the Chinese, it did not make sense why the same rules and regulations would have to be followed as CAU is being operated in China under Chinese rules and regulations. In one case, AUP expressed his concern that the Australian or Canadian universities in China were successful in getting the Government approval because they did not have strict rules and regulations as did U.S. institutions.

As for U.S. teachers, tolerance for ambiguity, whether they have lived in China for 2 months or for 6 years, was rather low. In one example, teachers are picked up from certain locations at certain times in the morning to go to the campus and buses bring the teachers back to the city dropping them off at certain locations. However, bus schedules change very often. This has become an issue for the U.S. teachers at CAU as they expect to be picked up at a certain time at a certain place and when the schedules and pick-up and drop-off places change, it creates a significant frustration among them. They want to

be picked up at a certain place, at a certain time, by a certain bus. In this example, U.S. teachers felt uncomfortable in unstructured situation as they were programmed differently by their native cultures (Hofstede & Bond, 1988). As for Chinese, these changes are natural and are part of the social and professional life.

In another case, when the Chinese partner university prepares the Academic Calendar, it is always a "tentative plan" whereas U.S. administration and teachers expect it to be their ultimate guide in making "vacation plans." At the end of the Fall Semester, the Chinese partner university announced that they were shortening the Academic year by two weeks, for whatever reason. However, CAU could not simply cut the last two weeks but had to accommodate this change by cutting the semester by a week. During the last week, CAU students were the only students on campus as all CIC students had already finished their final examinations and left. This became an issue since the CIC campus is a rural campus and there are not many places for students to eat. Also, when CIC students left, CIC administration ordered that the "hot water" should be cut. This left the CAU students without hot water and food. U.S. administration had to "negotiate" with the CIC administration to provide hot water for the students (one hour a day) and permission to use the faculty cafeteria. That is to say, any changes in the Academic Calendar create frustration for the U.S. partners. This challenge requires a great talent to 'foresee the unforeseeable' when operating in China. It then becomes a challenge for the U.S. administration to explain it to the U.S. teachers and in some cases, to the students. As for the Chinese students, again, it is a part of their educational experience on a Chinese campus, even though they receive a U.S. education. Therefore, they are not as concerned and frustrated as the U.S. administration and teachers.

Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) later explain that students from strong uncertainty avoidance countries expect their teachers to be the experts who have all the answers whereas students from weak uncertainty avoidance countries accept a teacher who says, 'I do not know'. In strong uncertainty avoidance cultures, students are comfortable in structured learning situations where teachers are supposed to have all the answers. Teachers who use complicated academic language are respected in strong uncertainty avoidance countries whereas plain language is much more appreciated in weak uncertainty avoidance countries.

In the case of CAU, students do not consider all the teachers to be experts in all areas, while expecting a certain level of professionalism and expertise, and are not necessarily comfortable in structured learning environments. They question the qualifications and teaching style of their teachers and express their opinions on such issues freely. Even though they prefer some sort of structure, it is not significantly different than from any other student in other weak uncertainty index countries and institutions. This supports Hofstede and Hofstede's research result where they explain China to have weak uncertainty index (42%).

Also, Hofstede and Hofstede's research explain that in weak uncertainty avoidance cultures, teachers involve parents in the students' education. This study supported this argument in the case of CAU. Parents of CAU students were involved in the students' education. U.S. administration informed parents of the progress of their children and, in some cases asked for help in providing support at home, when needed. Children's responsibility towards their parents is also protected by the Chinese Family Law, article 15, "Children have the duty to support and assist their parents. When

children fail to perform the duty of supporting their parents, their parents have the right to demand that their children pay for their support" (Bond, 1991, p. 6). In terms of releasing data about the students' progress including their grades was considered to be a sensitive subject for the U.S. administration. As it is regulated by the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act of 1974 (FERPA) for the higher education institutions in the U.S. requiring the written consent of the student for the release of information to anyone (including parents) other than "directory information", they also required the CAU students to sign a form (Written Consent Form) explaining that they would release any academic information to their parents if and when requested. This was a significant step forward for CAU because this not only gave the U.S. administration the legal standing in dealing with the accreditation but also a 'cultural capital' when dealing with parents that are constantly seeking to receive more information about their children's education.

Human Capital Theory

In order to understand why the Chinese are accepting Western educational institutions in China, it is imperative that we look to another conceptual framework. This framework will help the readers of this research and future researchers with a better understanding of why China is finally opening its doors to Western (American) education in China through educational joint ventures.

There are many scholars in the humanities trying to answer the question of China's acceptance of American education and America's attempt to educate the Chinese. In this part, it is argued that Chinese acceptance can be explained through Human Capital Theory. Comparative and International scholars like Hayhoe (1996), Altbach (1991) and Little (2000) try to set a baseline theory to explain this phenomenon.

Hayhoe, an expert on Chinese Education, argues against the position that most scholars are trying to explain the present changes and transformation of the Chinese Higher Education through dependency and modernization theory. Little claims that "theories of economic and social modernization became central frameworks for the analysis of economic growth and societal development, and became influential also in determining national economic and social policy and policy implementations" (p. 286). Kang (2004) further confirms that, "modernization means that Chinese higher education should remain at the forefront of contemporary development of sciences (including natural sciences, social sciences and humanities) and technology in both ideas and practice" (149).

Hayhoe (1996) further argues that the theory of modernization presented an optimistic model for development of those societies that were not yet modern and industrialized. However, the transformation in Chinese Higher Education cannot be explained by means of a single scientific concept. Even though Hayhoe (1989a) suggests that dependency theory and world systems theory have been valuable in raising the question of why modernization has not worked in China, she leaves out Human Capital Theory in the justification of her argument. Hayhoe (1989a) argues that, for modernization, "knowledge interaction is conceived as a technical contribution to progress along a defined economic continuum involving the rationalization of educational provision to create as efficiently as possible the types and levels of manpower needed for rapid economic growth" (p. 17). For dependency, international educational relations appear to consolidate pressures to conform to the political-economic interests of the capitalist world by "co-opting a compliant elite and reinforcing educational structures that favor capitalist development strategies" (p. 165). Dependency theory as suggested

by Little is that "poor countries are conditioned by their economic relationships with rich economies to occupy a subordinate and dependent role that inhibits development by expropriating investible surplus" (p. 287).

Human Capital Theory explains that a large gradation in earning by level of education reflects to returns to individuals' investment in education (Becker, 1993; Mincer, 1974). Human capital theorists view humans as economic resources. For them, the idea of education was a form of "capital" and the notion of education, a form of "human capital" (Little, 2000, p. 287). For any given economic enterprise, regardless of what is being produced and of where, how and under what conditions it is being produced, "more educated workers will always be more productive than their less educated counterparts" (Baptiste, 2001, p. 189). Baptiste further explains the pedagogical implication by claiming that "human capital theorists treat people as *homo economica*: radically isolated, pleasure-seeking materialists who are born free of social constraints or responsibility, who possess no intrinsic sociability, and who are driven, ultimately, by the desire for material happiness and bodily security" (p. 195). When today's students reach adulthood, their children will gain by virtue of the informal education received at home. Much learning takes place at home, where the child's attitude towards school is also largely shaped. Better educated parents are more likely to raise children who recognize the value of education, in terms of job opportunities, as well as in terms of cultural opportunities (Weisbrod, 1971).

Properly conceived, education produces a labor force that is more skilled, more adaptable to the needs of a changing economy, and more likely to develop the imaginative ideas, techniques, and products which are critical to the process of economic

expansion and social adaptation to change. “By doing so - by contributing to worker productivity - the education process qualifies handsomely as a process of investment in human capital” (Weisbrod, 1971, p. 74).

If one pursues education because knowledge is desired for its own sake, or if one considers that education can enrich one’s life through increasing the variety and depth of intellectual pursuits, then educational services can be treated as consumption good. In this sense, education is an end itself. However, if one obtains educational services solely because of their impact upon future occupational choices and earnings, then educational services can be treated as an investment good (Hu, Kaufman, Lee, & Stromsdorfer, 1971). Education is, after all, much more than a means of raising productivity or otherwise bringing financial returns.

China currently spends about 2.5% of its gross domestic product (GDP) on investment in education. At the same time, roughly 30% of its GDP is devoted to physical capital investment. In comparison, the figures for the United States are 5.4% and 17% respectively. In South Korea, they are 3.7% and 30% (Heckman, 2003). China is below average among comparable countries in expenditure on investment in people.

Heckman (2003) further argues that education and skills are important determinants of economic growth and investment in education and this is part of the solution for China’s development. First of all, human capital is productive because of its immediate effect on raising the skills levels of workers. That is to say, if a mechanic is trained to repair cars, the mechanic will be more productive in repairing cars. Investment in human capital, through investing in education in this case, has direct effects to the growth of the economy. This is true for China and its investment in education; even it is

through accepting foreign investment to benefit the economic system. One might argue against the significance of such acceptance. However, Chinese history of keeping Westerners outside the Great Wall is a solid proof of how significant this acceptance is, as relates to Westerners having eventually found a hole in the Wall,.

China is in a state of change. Its capitals markets are changing, its labor markets are changing, and its people are changing. Education, that is, investment in education, in this sense, is important because people with higher levels of education are better able to absorb new ideas.

With China's entrance in world markets, WTO being an example, it will have access to newer forms of technology and organizational arrangements. The need for a more skilled workforce will increase. The new technology brought into China by its investment in physical capital requires more skilled workers to operate it. It takes skilled workers to make the most efficient use of modern technologies (Heckman, 2003). It is therefore appropriate to conclude that China's acceptance of Western ideas and thus institutions is not a defeat on China's side, but rather a victory in the sense that China is finally becoming aware of the opportunities of the 21st century.

Chapter Summary

This chapter analyses the findings of this study. In order to analyze the findings, the study used two separate concepts as it would be almost impossible to analyze any cross cultural research findings through a single concept (Hayhoe, 1988). It categorized Internationalization concepts under, Political, Economic, Socio-cultural and Educational subheadings and analyzed each of these subheadings using the research data. The study then explained the national culture and Hofstede's research as it relates to my main

research questions. The four dimensions (Power Distance, Individuality, Masculinity, and Uncertainty Avoidance) are explained while comparing the U.S. and China as they relate to each of these dimensions. In the final part of this chapter, Human Capital Theory is explained, while referring to modernization and dependence theories and how they might clarify China's acceptance of an American education within Chinese borders.

Chapter Six

Conclusion and Recommendations

Overview

In the case of CAU-CIC joint venture, there are challenges. There are political, economic, socio-cultural and educational challenges. However, these challenges are not simply because of these two cultures' systems and structures being different, but rather due to lack of interpersonal and cross-cultural communication skills of both sides of the partnership. These challenges do not necessarily apply only to a specific Sino-U.S. joint venture campus in China or to other U.S. institutions operating in China, but also to any foreign institution operating in a foreign country, especially in a country where Confucian ideas and values are still dominant. Examples of such countries include China, Korea, and Japan. One of the conclusions of this study is that both sides need to understand each other better for such a joint venture to operate effectively.

The question about the CAU-CIC partnership is one of how significant this partnership is for both sides. Concerning the U.S. partner, the question is how committed they are in making this partnership work. That is, how are they benefiting from such an endeavor and how far they are willing to go to maintain this partnership? Regarding the Chinese, how significant this relationship with CAU is for them in the bigger picture? There are significant number of U.S. and other Western universities looking for Chinese partners to establish branch campuses in China. CAU might have been the first U.S. institution to start granting U.S. degrees to Chinese students without those students having to leave China, but they are not alone now. As PACC puts it, they are not the "only game in town" now. This is a significant consideration for both sides, because if

the U.S. partner starts becoming a problem and takes up more time than it should (in the overall strategic business plan of China Investment Company), the CIC could decide that it is time for the CAU to leave and a less problematic partner chosen to replace them. The Chinese have options now. This partnership would have been more significant to the Chinese twenty-five years ago, but with the globalization movement and China's openness and willingness to cooperate with the Western world provides many more opportunities from which China can choose.

Political Challenges

There are political challenges in administering a Sino-U.S. joint venture campus in China. However, in the case of CAU, it is not so much an issue considering that Chinese partners are indeed responsible for getting the approval from the Chinese Government, which is the major difficulty for a foreign institution to be established in China. Regarding bureaucracy concerns, it is a natural process for the Chinese as "the Government of such a vast country as China, however, requires some form of bureaucracy, and the system has proved remarkably resilient throughout Chinese history" (Bond, 1991, p. 74) and the U.S. partner simply needs to follow the instructions of the Chinese partner and, approval would eventually be granted by the Chinese Government. In terms of curriculum and teaching methods, the Chinese side does not interfere in the curriculum and teaching methods of the U.S. partner, and thus does not constitute a challenge for either side.

Economic Challenges

Economic challenges faced by the U.S. partner are not the tuition fee and wages of staff and teachers as it was anticipated by the research. Tuition fee was not an issue for the Chinese students and parents, and relatively high wages of the U.S. teachers did not create a discomfort among the Chinese. However, the economic issue was mainly because of the low count of students. CAU has approximately fifty students and maintaining a budget causes issues in recruiting quality teachers and providing students a quality education with technological and administrative support is challenging.

Socio-cultural Challenges

Understanding the Chinese was the biggest challenge found through this study. It was the lack of intercultural and cross-cultural communication skills that caused the biggest challenge, for both partners. The U.S. partner was trying to understand how things worked in China, while the Chinese struggled to understand the rationale behind CAU's decisions. As Newman (1992) argues, when the U.S. partner sought out to deal with the facts, its problem-solving approach was perceived by its Chinese counterpart as showing dislikes. In addition to the cultural problems experienced by both partners, interpersonal communication challenges were found to cause significant damages for the partnership. That is, the interaction and communication within CAU administrative structure and teacher-teacher communication issues were affecting the student satisfaction and the overall operation of such a campus. This issue should further be analyzed with another research study as the focus of this research was mainly Chinese-American communication in such joint ventures.

Also, building relationships, which is establishing guanxi, within the partnership was another challenge, especially for the U.S. partner. This was significant since CAU is a guest on CIC campus; it needs to establish strong relationships with the Chinese more than the Chinese need to establish strong relationships with the U.S. partner. Again, the Chinese partner, in this case, has more options in terms of partner selection whereas it would be rather difficult for CAU to find a new partner, especially after breaking up with the first partner. It was not the lack of research and information in the literature or lack of experience in operating overseas joint venture campuses, but rather employing staff and teachers who are more sensitive to the needs and expectations of the Chinese are needed. However, it should be noted that this is not only a challenge for CAU in this case, but it has been a challenge for Westerners in many failed joint venture cases. Bond (1991) explains the phenomenon of guanxi as:

> If an individual (X) needs a resource from a stranger (Y), he may be able to obtain it by 'pulling on his relationship' (*la guanxi*) with an associate (Z), who is also associated with Y, so long as Z is indebted to X and Y is indebted to Z. This Z may then be able to repay the debt which he owes to X by allowing Y to repay the debt owed to Z indirectly by granting Z's request. (p. 59)

Educational Challenges

Chinese students at CAU are not traditional Chinese students, expecting the teacher to have the ultimate power while obeying the authority without questioning. In contrast, they were asking questions and were very much aware of the quality of the instruction and the degree in general. With the Internet and other information sources

being readily available to them, they are researching and learning about what they should expect from a U.S. education.

It should be noted that Western teaching methods, though highly enjoyed by Chinese students at CAU, are not always the 'best practice in teaching". Wenzhong and Grove (1999) explain:

> We know that some Western educators are strongly convinced of the superiority of their methods. Nevertheless, we believe that they will be overstepping their bounds if they are assertive in pressing Western methods on their Chinese counterparts. For thousands of years the Chinese have been successful in learning needed information and skills using traditional pedagogical procedures. It is presumptuous for outsiders to visit and, after a rather brief period of observation, set out to reform those procedures. (p. 163-164)

While being independent learners, Chinese students maintain their cultural roots and are proud of their long historical and cultural background. However, the researcher argues that these qualities do not belong only to Chinese students in China, but to Turkish students in Turkey, German students in Germany, and even American students in the U.S.

Answers to the Main Research Question:

What are the Political, Economic, Socio-cultural, and Educational Challenges of Administering a Sino-U.S. Joint Venture Campus in China?

This study concludes that there are many challenges to administering such a Sino-U.S. joint venture campus in China. These challenges are as follows:

1. Political Challenges

- Getting approval from the Chinese government (Beijing Government)
- Bureaucracy and uncertainty of laws and regulations and being uninformed of such changes, and
- Weak communication with the home campus and CAU.

2. Economic Challenges

- Student Recruitment,
- High cost of bringing teachers from the U.S., and
- High cost of textbooks.

3. Socio-Cultural Challenges

- Lack of application skills of the concept of Guanxi,
- Lack of application skills of the concept of Face,
- Lack of intercultural and cross cultural communication training for staff and teachers, and
- Not willing to adapt the American management style to fit the Chinese standards. That is, not being flexible and patient enough to grow within the Chinese education market.

4. Educational Challenges

- Having inexperienced teachers where they also lack cross cultural communication skills and their lack of knowledge of “the Chinese learner”,
- Having too many ‘online’ classes without having the necessary technological competency as relates to availability of computers and internet access to conduct such courses. Also, poor communication between the faculty teaching online classes in the U.S. and the students at CAU,

- Lack of team spirit among teachers, and
- Difficulty in getting textbooks on time for the students.

Despite these challenges, the investigator argues that CAU in this case is proving to be a promising success both for the Chinese and the U.S partners as an experiment, again, for both participants of the partnership. For example, AU has recently opened a new campus in Mexico. This new campus in Mexico was modeled after CAU. Degree programs, instruction methods, curriculum, and the administrative systems were designed in accordance with the CAU model, also adapting to the political, economic, socio-cultural, educational systems in Mexico. The investigator also recommends conducting a comparative research study of China and Mexico campuses, which could result in findings that could lead to a better understanding of such joint ventures and possible development of new campuses in the other parts of the world.

Recommendations for CAU

1. Focus on getting approval from the Beijing government regarding the issue of dual-degree and getting into the National Examination books next year.
2. Establish different forms of communication between home campus and CAU. Scheduling online meetings, telephone meetings, and sending monthly reports could help communication and decision-making processes be more effective.
3. Analyze the Chinese partner. Understand who your partner is, what they expect from this partnership, what their strengths and weaknesses are and

how you can make use of their strengths. Especially, how significant you (CAU) are in the "big picture" for the Chinese partner?

4. Establish a system for the hiring of the new faculty for the CAU campus in the U.S.
5. Conduct longer and more practical training sessions for the U.S. staff and teachers before leaving for China.
6. Search among the AU faculty who are willing to go to CAU for a semester or two (through sabbatical leaves, etc.). This will help students' convictions and belief in AU and the diploma they will be getting.
7. Establish a 'performance monitoring and evaluation' system for the CAU faculty and staff. This could be done according to the AU rules and regulations for the faculty and staff (i.e. a tenure system could be established at CAU).
8. Find expatriates who are already in China and are qualified to teach at CAU. Have a list of names and resumes so that they can be contacted in case of a need. That is to say, instead of bringing a faculty from the U.S. to teach one or two classes, it would be cheaper and more convenient to find expatriates who would be willing to work at CAU temporarily.
9. Keep the staff and the teachers for more than one year. Continuity would create a better learning atmosphere for students as teacher would be having more experience after the first year, and teacher could have a sense of belonging after the first year. Returning teachers and staff would not go through an adaptation process and would function more effectively as a

result of having lived in China and worked at CAU. They would be familiar with the national and organizational culture.

10. Learn more about Human Resources in China. This will help CAU understand how they should be communicating with the Chinese staff, teachers, and administrators.
11. Learn about other foreign higher education institutions (preferably other Sino-foreign joint ventures) operating in China. This will help CAU not to make the mistakes others have already made.
12. Present achievements of CAU to the AU board members clearly and more often so that you ensure their support. This will, specifically in the case of financial difficulties, facilitate justifying presence in China and explain to the AU board the long term benefits. Arrange visits for the AU board members to visit the China Campus.

Research Summary

As the literature review, research data, and analysis in this study suggested, administering a Sino-U.S. joint venture campus in China is not an easy task. It requires a broad understanding of the host country and a significant amount of flexibility. Understanding of the host country, China in this case, which has a long and complicated historical and cultural background is a challenge for the U.S. scholars, educators, business people, and politicians. Even though China has been of interest to many scholars in the Western world and even a life-long ambition for some—Ruth Hayhoe, Mike Willis, Jane Knight, John Child, Michael Bond, and Geert Hofstede to name a few— China still maintains a mystery to the West. Western researchers have tried to

understand the Chinese from various perspectives. They were scholars, educators, business people, anthropologists, and politicians. However, they were all looking into the "Chinese puzzle" from a Western perspective, with Western standards. As the anonymous saying goes, "Everyone finds a different China", and it is the investigator's conclusion that he also found a different China, adding one more perspective, an insight, one more part, if you will, to the Chinese puzzle.

China is open to new ideas and willing to experiment. In *The Analects of Confucius*, translated and annotated by Waley (1989), "Tzu-kun asked saying, Why was K'ung Wen Tzu called Wen (The Cultured)? The Master said, Because he was diligent and was fond of learning that he was not ashamed to pick up knowledge even from his inferiors" (p. 110). That is, they have finally operationalized the idea that they should learn more about the West so that they can better succeed. They are willing to make changes in their political, economic, educational, and even socio-cultural structures for the purpose of leading China to be a world power. This does not mean that they are willing to accept democracy, and open-market economy with Western cultural and moral values, but China is willing to gain strength through Western ideas while maintaining their political, and most importantly moral and cultural values. The question remains, "Is this possible?" Is it possible for China to be a leading figure in the world, if they insist on maintaining their a few thousand years old cultural values, and just over fifty years old political system? And, finally, is it possible for a 'high quality' American education in China to survive and flourish?

Recommendations for Future Research

This study was conducted as a single case study at a Sino-U.S. joint venture campus in China. CAU was very well researched; conclusions and recommendations were made in the light of the data collected throughout this study. It is the investigator's contention that, after spending three years in China, that China is still a mystery and more qualitative research needs to be conducted. This study focused on CAU and utilized the data collected throughout this to come to a conclusion. It is not the researcher's argument that the findings of this study can be generalized. It was not the purpose of this study to generalize the findings to other organization and countries but 1) to add another perspective to the literature so that future endeavors in similar cases (in fact, not only for educational joint ventures, but for any form of Sino-Western joint venture in China) could be better prepared prior to their entrance into China, and 2) to provoke some constructive criticism in how such campuses are operating within China yet maintain their academic integrity.

Therefore, the researcher recommends qualitative studies be conducted using single case studies where possible, to give a deeper understanding of partnering with the Chinese educational system. One weakness of this study was that the researcher was not able to involve more Chinese respondents as he had limited Chinese language skills. In addition to the lack of Chinese language skills, Even though he had lived and worked in China for three years, he was still an 'outsider', representing America and working for America in the eyes of the Chinese. It is the researcher's recommendation that future research be conducted, where possible, by two researchers, one of which is a Chinese, and basically an 'insider'. This way, it is possible to get a clearer perspective on what

the Chinese are thinking about such joint ventures. It should be noted that China belongs to the Chinese and, as PACC commented, "We need them more than they need us and we need to learn to listen more."

Another research area that is now needed is the quality of such programs in China. As Knight (2004) explains:

> Probably the most pressing issue surrounding education programs and providers across national border is the issue of quality assurance, namely of who is monitoring and assuring the relevance and quality of the education programs and qualifications being offered. (p. 83)

The researcher foresees that the number of such programs will increase despite the number of unemployed university graduates from Chinese universities: "The number of graduates seeking employment increased from 1.15 million in 2001 to 2.80 million in 2004" (OECD, 2005, p. 539). Observations and participant responses indicated that the Chinese are tending towards a more quality education, which is U.S. education in this context, thus there is a need for more foreign higher education programs. However, the researcher also found that the Chinese are concerned about the quality of such programs, therefore, there needs to be more research conducted to understand how 'American' 'the American education' actually is in China. What the standards are and who is, as Knight (2004) says, "monitoring" and "assuring the relevance and quality" of such programs (p. 84).

Although Tobin (1999) and Said (1999) suggest that 'outsiders' should stop researching developing countries as it becomes problematic when the researchers operate from a position of arrogance coupled with the criticism of 'colonial' outside research, the

researcher strongly recommends conducting long-term qualitative research studies, with the researcher(s) getting immersed in the local culture. Even if it is true that most 'international researchers' often ignore the strengths of the native culture and the society and do the research simply "to teach" the natives, cross cultural research is valuable and necessary. It is not necessarily to find out what we can 'teach' them or how we can 'help' them but it is also, what we can learn from them as Ruth Hayhoe (December 2005), in an interview with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto, explains:

> So, what can we learn from China in education? We can learn a great deal about in individual in community, about how to improve society, about bringing up children who are concerned about good governance, and social improvement. Chinese knowledge traditions are very different from western ones. But I believe they are complementary rather than a contradictory with the western ones. They have tended to emphasize a kind of dialectical and holistic view of knowledge. Knowledge as it is applied for the benefit of human kind. And they have tended to emphasize also the connective introducing knowledge. So, I see them as complementary to the traditions of enlightenment which have focused on the individual, protection of individual rights and tended to nurture a more linear and rationalistic form of knowledge… we can grab strengths of both of these civilizations together and we can learn from China, from Chinese educators, teachers, from the community in china as it has proven over the last twenty years how education can contribute to economic advancement. (Retrieved from http://www.oise.utoronto.ca/experts/december2005/, on March 10, 2006).

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