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Modern Other and non-Modern Self: Discourses, Silences, and Ruptures of Chinese Modernity  
Deployed in Blogs Regarding Chinese Students Seeking Education Abroad

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A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

University of Washington

2013

Committee:

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Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Geography

University of Washington

**Abstract**

Modern Other, non-Modern Self: Discourses, Silences, and Ruptures of Chinese Modernity  
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Universities around the world are increasingly looking to international students to make up for dwindling state support. The past four decades have seen increased numbers of Chinese students seeking education abroad. Much of the social science research on transnational students focuses on how they are subject to discourses of Modernity and state/transnational Neoliberal projects. These studies fail to take into account how individuals and entities deploy uneven discourses for their own purposes. This thesis looks at Chinese blogs produced by individuals, study abroad experts, advisory services, and businesses to identify how these entities deploy and contest these uneven notions of Modernity. This is achieved through digital humanities methods in using the natural language processing tool MALLET on a corpus of 90 blogs, and a discourse analysis on a selection of 31 blogs from this corpus. The identified silences and ruptures focus on discursive construction of the West and Western education as exotic and Modern, compared to a non-Modern China full of economic pressures and realities. Ruptures occur around the purpose of

receiving a Modern education, and the West as a site of freedom or corruption. This research explores the discursive construction of Chinese Modernity in relation to an increasing body of Chinese international students, and how these syncretic individuals and entities shape and are shaped by discourses of Chinese Modernity.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I would like to thank my wife Hannah. Without your love, support, patience, and insights, none of this would be possible. I dedicate this thesis to you. I would also like to thank my father, mother, and sister who have supported my interests from the beginning. Without your encouragement and confidence in my inquisitiveness I would not have made it to graduate school. I thank and love you all.

I would like to thank my advisor Luke Bergmann whose long meetings and discussions with me helped narrow my interests to this topic. I also am thankful for your tolerance with the atrocious grammar in earlier drafts. The distant reading portion of this thesis would not have happened without your suggestion to use these new and exciting methods. Your academic, technological, and personal advice both in and outside the classroom has been crucial to getting this thesis off the ground. I would also like to thank Lucy Jarosz; your seminars challenged my thinking and directly influenced this work. Your advice and kindness has been another crucial ingredient in getting this project started.

I also thank everyone at the Geography Department at the University of Washington. My teachers, colleagues, and friends have made my time here thought provoking and rewarding. I would particularly like to thank my colleagues Skye Naslund and Marshall Agnew for helping me with countless discussions in respectively structuring a thesis and tech challenges. Without the people mentioned above this thesis would not have been possible, I sincerely thank all of you.

## Chapter One: Seeking Modernity; an Introduction to International Students Pursuing Education Abroad

In September 2012, *The New York Times* reported on the growing number of international students at American universities.

While the University of Washington's demographic shifts have been sharper and faster...similar changes are under way at flagship public universities across the nation: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa and University of California campuses in Berkeley and Los Angeles all had at least ten percent foreign freshmen this academic year, more than twice that of five years ago. (Lewin, 2012)

This story highlighted the University of Washington as having the highest proportion of international students, with eighteen percent making up the incoming freshman class and the majority of these coming from the People's Republic of China (Lewin, 2012). The Chinese Bureau of Statistics most recent data for the year 2011 puts the number of Chinese students seeking higher education abroad, including undergraduates, master/doctorate students, and post-doctorates at 339,700 individuals. This number has been continually increasing since these records were first collected in 1978, with only 860 students seeking higher education abroad that year (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2012). I have experienced this phenomenon firsthand, both as a teaching assistant for the Geography department at the University of Washington, and in Hunan province, China as an oral English teacher and administrator for a volunteer teacher non-profit. Almost all of my students in China dreamed of getting a college degree in North America or Europe. My students often explained this desire by claiming that a Western education was better and more Modern than a Chinese one. These experiences have led to my interest in international education's relationship with Chinese Modernity.

This thesis is an exploratory research project that draws on grounded theory (Emerson *et al*, 1995) to interpret how students', experts', and corporate authors' experience and discussion of studying abroad shape and are shaped by concepts of Chinese Modernity. I draw on the work of Lisa Rofel (1999) and Homi Bhabha's theory of fractured Modernities (1994), to explain how colonized societies, in seeking to achieve imposed Western notions of Modernity, create fractures within modernity<sup>1</sup>. Rofel argues that this fracturing leads to the creation of "Other Modernities" that are based within the social histories of these places, and in turn lead to the creation of "syncretic" subjects who deploy conflicting notions of modernity. Neoliberal policies are often framed as necessary to modernize within today's global economy. Scholars have traced how neoliberal<sup>2</sup> policies are often framed as necessary for modernization in a variety of contexts and places (Lin, 2006; Ong, 2000). With neoliberal restructuring of global education and governance, more and more Chinese students are seeking education abroad. This project seeks to explore the discourses and notions of modernity used by individuals and organizations within the self-produced digital spaces of blogs, and how these uneven discourses of modernity are deployed and contested in relation to neoliberal governance and modernizing projects. The following analysis attempts to answer these research questions:

1. How are the notions of Chinese modernity, modernity, or what is modern deployed in discussions of Chinese students pursuing education abroad?
2. Within the spaces of blogs, are there differences in the way modernity is conceptualized in relation to the West, education, and China?

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<sup>1</sup> The word "Modernity," is written from here on in lower-case. This is done for the reader's convenience, and captures seeks to capture the fractured nature of modernity, even within hegemonic discourses.

<sup>2</sup> Neoliberalism will also no longer be capitalized for the reader's ease, and to reflect a non-singular neoliberalism, which is itself fractured. This does not reflect Rose's (1999) work and his use of different modes of Neoliberal governmentality distinguished by his theory of Neoliberalism vs. neoliberalism.

3. What discourses of modernity are expressed, deployed, silenced, or contested by these “syncretic” individual, advisory, and corporate authors of these blogs?

Answering these questions can allow for insight into how individuals shape and are shaped by the historical trends of Chinese modernist projects, colonialism, contemporary forms of modernity, Chinese neoliberal governance, and the role that international education plays within these ideas of modernity. By interpreting the emergence of these discourses in the blogs of individuals and corporate authors, it is possible to explore how continuing ideas of what constitutes the “modern” are being reshaped and redefined today.

#### Section 1.1: Summary of this Thesis

This thesis draws on literature from a variety of academic fields. Chapter two seeks to situate this analysis within academic literature on modernity and the history of Chinese modernization projects. Chapters two and three contextualize this study and review literature on modernity, international education, and neoliberal forms of governance in the disciplines of Geography, Anthropology, Cultural Studies, Sociology, Political Science, History, China Studies, Comparative Education, and Educational Theory. These bodies of literature include academic work on the history of Chinese students seeking education abroad, as well as theories of modernity, its role in Western colonial projects, its impacts in colonized places, and contemporary modernity/governance in the form of neoliberal projects in relation their roles in restructuring education globally. In chapter two, I draw on this academic work to explore how modernity includes a teleological understanding of progress through the separation of the world into binaries (Latour, 1993; Lichtblau, 1999; Venn and Featherstone, 2006). This separation of the world into the dualisms of human/nature, thought/emotion, and modern/non-Modern allowed justification for imperial domination of other societies in the name of modernity (Latour, 1993).

Some scholars have sought to debunk the singular notion of modernity starting with the European Renaissance and trace contributions to modern developments throughout Afro-Eurasia (Pieterse, 2011). As discussed in chapter two, these colonized societies sought to modernize to remove this justification for their subjugation. However due to the varied social histories and power relations this created fracturing of modernity (Bhabha, 1994). The fracturing of Western modernity resulted in “Other Modernities,” which continued to exist within colonial power relations. In China, this was accomplished through the translation and hybridization of Western modernist concepts into Chinese Confucian and Buddhist terms and principles (Huang, 2008; Wang, 2003; Wang, 2007; Xie, 2007). In *Orientalism*, Edward Said (1978; 1979) explores how the colonized places were discursively structured as inferior and non-modern in comparison to the West. Many social scientists (Ahiska, 2003; Chen, 1995) have further explored how this discursive construction was not only imposed, but taken up within colonized societies leading to a colonization of the mind called Occidentalism. Through Occidentalist discourses, colonized societies self-construct themselves as non-modern. This is either manifested through highly localized conservative projects reaching back to a bygone era of glory, or pushing to strive for Western modernity by erasing their own culture (Ahiska, 2003; Ong, 2006). These theories of modernity situate how concepts of Chinese modernity are historically (re-)produced within power relations.

Chapter three places this study in relation to academic literature on neoliberalism, neoliberalism and modernity, and governmentality. In this chapter I also discuss how this academic work (especially in relation to education) focuses on and privileges macro power relations at the expense of individual agency. This focusing on large-scale phenomenon ignores how individuals contest and challenge modernizing projects and governmentality. Within this

chapter, I draw on the theories of Michel Foucault (1978; 1979) and Nikolas Rose (1999) to explore how modern nation-states exercise a number of different kinds of power to produce self-regulating and productive subjects. Foucault describes this as the art of governing through his theory of governmentality, and Rose explores how governmentality functions under neoliberalism. As modernity requires a break from the past into a new era, contemporary modernizing projects have taken up discourses of neoliberalism and marketization to achieve their goals (Lichtblau, 1999; Lin, 2006; Ong, 2000). I situate this analysis in scholarly work on neoliberal forms of transnational and local governance and its impacts on education. Within China I draw on the work of Lisa Hoffman (2010), who explores how Chinese modernist/neoliberal projects seek to produce educated individuals for the neoliberal goal of developing innovative knowledge economies. This is different from past modernizing projects, such as practices under Maoism, which sought to strengthen China to resist Western imperialism. While transnational neoliberal forms of governance are well documented by academic researchers (Mitchell, 1997; Ong, 1997a/b, 2000; Robertson, 2003; Rofel, 2007, Spring, 2004), many of these studies privilege large-scale, macro power relations over individuals. Many studies of neoliberalism fail to include how individual agency is exercised within the shaping and contestation of these larger forms of governmentality. Here I draw on the work of Lisa Rofel (1999) and Katharyne Mitchell (2004) in exploring how these “syncretic” individuals deploy, contest, and redefine different notions of modernity for their own use. In situating this interpretation of Chinese modernity and its relationship to international education, it is necessary to understand how the modern is discursively constructed and naturalized into what Foucault called “truth-regimes” used in projects of governmentality (1978; 1979). To answer the research questions stated above I draw on work in the digital humanities and critical social sciences to

select topic modeling and discourses analysis as the methodologies used in answering the questions stated above.

Chapter four explores the methods used in examining how individuals use and contest constructions of modernity. With the creation of social media platforms there has been an increase in the availability of digital mediums and data for researchers. This interactive and user-produced manipulation and creation of data has been called Web 2.0 by digital researchers (Boyd & Crawford, 2012; Warf & Sui, 2010). The material selected for this analysis is blogs, since they are produced by individuals and organizations alike. The corpus analyzed here consists of 90 blogs focusing on pursuing education abroad. These blogs were selected from the popular Chinese blogging sites of Sohu and Sina, and all are written in Chinese. This corpus is a purposive sampling and was selected through using simple search engines. Overall, 48 blogs were collected from businesses and advisory blog sites that seek profit through providing services to individuals who desire to study abroad, and 42 were produced by individuals (primarily students) who wrote about studying abroad. As these 90 blogs provided a logistical challenge in conducting a discourse analysis over a four month period, 31 blogs (fourteen by businesses or individuals for profit purposes, and seventeen written by individuals about the experiences of going abroad) were selected for richness of texts. To protect the identity of these individuals and organizations, none of the companies, services, or individuals is identified by name. All quotations are translated into English to prevent a direct web-search using the original Chinese text. Blogs as the unit of analysis provided key insights into how individuals and organizations deploy, contest, and redefine discourses of modernity.

While early studies into digital texts claimed objectivity and positivist results, some digital humanists are contesting this notion. Yu *et al.* (2011) argues that computational research

allows for research that seeks grounded theory to emerge from the text, as well as reflexivity of the researcher through iterative processes. In the beginning of chapter four, drawing on this theory of computational research as a reflexive process, I seek to position myself in relation to my research. Later, in chapter four, I reflect upon the use of MALLET, a natural language processing topic model, for interpreting the emergence of themes and theory that arise from the given outputs through iterative re-programming of the tool. MALLET uses Gibbs Sampling to identify the major “topics” within a group of texts (McCallum, 2002). I also use MALLET within this research as a form of content analysis, or noting/quantifying major themes of a body of text (Waite, 2010). MALLET was run on the blogs grouped by the producer, which were either classified as authored for business or individual purposes. This provided key insights into the different use of language between the two groups and the larger themes that ran across the various producers of the text. This use of language helped inform the discourses analysis process.

Discourse analysis as a methodology provides the ability to explore how the construction of “truth regimes” is shaped through the use of language. Here, discourse analysis supplies a methodology to explore what constructions of the modern were taken as natural within the context of these blogs. These 31 blogs were selected for richness of text and did not seek to exclude blogs based on the producer’s purposes or positionality. As Cope (2010) and Waite (2010) suggest, performing the analysis should first proceed with coding of the manifest content (or obvious meaning) of the text. This was completed during and after my translating of the blogs and running of MALLET to familiarize myself with the language used. The second round of coding is for the latent content (the subtext or discursive constructions). The strength of discourse analysis allows for one to analyze the emergence of silence and ruptures within discourses while remaining reflexive of one’s positionality. Both of these methods allowed for

the interpretation of these texts for the emergence of the “truths” and the discursive constructions and deployment of what is modern and its relation to studying abroad.

The analysis of these texts and their findings are covered in chapter five. I first provide the outputs from running MALLET on the corpus of 90 blogs and the divided corpuses based on the author’s positionality. In these results the business blogs tended to discuss the topic of employment and used financial terms, the individually-authored blogs used language focused on the experience of students abroad. All MALLET outputs demonstrated that locations for studying abroad were in what can be considered the “West,” such as North America, Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan. The outputs all mention terms/words about employment and occupation, which implies concerns about education abroad and its relation to future employment opportunities. These themes and topics are further explored with more nuances in the discourse analysis.

The discursive constructions that are interpreted through the discourse analysis of the 31 texts demonstrate how individuals and entities deploy uneven and conflicting notions of modernity. Across the corpus, a fairly consistent construction was “abroad” or the West as exotic, different, unique, and stimulating to the senses. China’s description constructed it as a place of nostalgia, patriotism, and economic pressures. Within the reform-era Chinese context the social pressures of achieving modernity are centered on purchasing an apartment, car, and getting married are the result of neoliberal policies, such as the privatization of housing in the 1990s (Szelenyi, 2012). These pressures as the result of neoliberal policies contribute to a hegemonic neoliberal discourse of how one can become modern in China. The construction of the modern is centered on difference with the West as more-modern. This is done through juxtapositions between education systems, describing China’s test-based system and lack of

social benefits (pensions, unemployment, and child-support) as preventing individuals fulfilling their potential. China is therefore constructed as not-yet-modern, but working to achieve modernity through economic development. The discourses of modernity in these blogs silence non-Western modernities, as the countries mentioned are all part of the West. These dissonant versions of modernity struggle against each other with some notions silencing others; here we see Western modernity as the hegemonic discourse in China. This also silences any option of a non-Western form of modernity for China, and centers Chinese modernity to the coastal cities, reifying China's inland provinces and rural areas as non-modern. The ruptures that occur within this construction of the West, and a Western education as modern, are areas of contestation by these syncretic individuals for their own purposes.

The ruptures I highlight are centered on the reasons for pursuing a Western/modern education. A few of the blog authors argue that China's lack of modernity in education and social benefits prevents fulfillment of one's potential. They also argue that a more fulfilling life can be had abroad, and that Western social benefits can help a person fulfill the Confucian duties of taking care of one's elderly parents. This is contested by the majority of blogs who argue along the lines of prominent, early 20<sup>th</sup> century author Lu Xun, who called for Grabbism, or taking ideas from the West to modernize China (Huang, 2008; Wang, 2007). These students and organizations argue that a Western education allows for the fulfillment of potential and development of skills, which in turn will help China when Western-educated people return to China to contribute to its development. This rupture exemplifies the role of "patriotic professionalism" in Chinese neoliberal governance as described by Lisa Hoffman (2010), and this form of governmentality is being challenged by students whose purpose is to immigrate to a more modern West. Students and organizations rework the discourse of the West as more

modern and China as non-modern for their own purposes. A second rupture that emerges from these texts centers on the inherent dangers of a Western, modern, and more “free” education.

The rupture of the West’s more “free” education system is discursively constructed as more modern, allowing for fulfillment of one’s potential, but also as a threat of danger and corruption for a student. In addition, many Chinese students embody this “lack” of modernity of the Chinese education system by ascribing their shortcomings in foreign societies as the result of the Chinese exam-based system. While a majority of the blogs describes the West’s education system as superior to the Chinese exam-based system, a few argue that this freedom in education will lead to over-indulgence in temptation. This temptation is discursively constructed as the cause of crime in Western societies that can harm a Chinese student unless they remain vigilant. The temptations in this more free society are also described as having the potential to corrupt a student, turning them into “study abroad trash” with criminal behaviors. This rupture reflects Chen’s theory of Chinese Occidentalism (1995), which constructs the West as a more modern and free, but also as a threat to China’s society. The blogs analyzed discursively do not deny the benefits a Western education may offer, but they warn that it can also damage students.

This thesis closes with a discussion of the how this analysis provides theoretical interpretations of discourses of Chinese modernity in relation to students seeking education abroad. Lastly, areas for further research are identified as interviews with Chinese students abroad, and ethnography of those involved in education abroad and its preparation industries. This analysis also does not explore how discourses of modernity are deployed by Western educational institutions in recruiting students, and how these discourses are used by students in pursuing an education abroad. Use of MALLETT as a predictive tool for discursive practices in these blogs is also an area for further research.

This thesis explores how discourses of modernity are deployed within historical legacies of colonialism through the creation of fractured modernities, and how individuals shape and are shaped by these discourses. The practice of Chinese students seeking education abroad for developing the nation has a long history (Chiang, 2003; Zhang, 2002). However, notions of what is modern are continuously reworked by individuals and institutions of governance. This reworking of the modern continues to be reshaped and redefined by these students today. How these discourses of “Other Modernities” (Rofel, 1999) are deployed can help us understand contemporary manifestations of modernity within neoliberal forms of governance, and how syncretic individuals produced by these projects shape, contest, and redefine discourses of what is modern. Below provides an interpretation of the role of international education in Chinese modernist projects, and how individuals use digital spaces to shape and use constructions of the modern.

## Chapter Two: Situating Modernity Theoretically; Placing Chinese Modernization Historically in Relation to Imperialism

Definitions and implications of modernity have been studied across many different disciplines. The rise of modernity is often described as starting with the change in thought that arose with the Renaissance and Enlightenment in Europe, scientific advancements, and is inextricably linked with subsequent European imperial and colonial ventures. Modernity, therefore, is always seen as new, breaking from and replacing the old and out-dated with more dynamic forms of thought, governance, and social relations (Latour 1993; Lichtblau, 1999). European modernity split the world into binaries of human/nature, thought/emotion, and modern/non-modern (Latour, 1993). Europe's colonialism was based on the binary that they themselves were modern, while their colonial subjects were stuck in the classical or prehistoric era, by being inhumanly close to nature. Homi Bhabha (1994) explores how, which during independence struggles, colonized societies sought their own modernization programs that led to the creation of indigenous notions of modernity, resulting in a disjuncture with hegemonic European concepts of modernity. These "Other Modernities" (Rofel, 1999) are therefore assemblages of power that do not conform to a European or Western notion of modernity, but are unique to a country's social history.

Edward Said (1979) describes how these colonial projects often represented the Other in terms that ignored how colonized subjects saw themselves, creating a discourse of power-knowledge known as Orientalism. Some scholars have criticized Said for focusing too much on the West dominating the helpless and passive East, and have drawn on his work to demonstrate how these representations of the West have led to an Occidentalism. This theory describes how indigenous societies internalize these Orientalist representations, or in other words, led to "a colonization of the mind" (Ahiska, 2003; Chen, 1995). Occidental representations were

employed in China after the confrontation with Western imperialist powers, and through Chinese modernity translating, hybridizing, and displacing Western modernist concepts into the Chinese languages and contexts, creating distinctly Chinese concepts of modernity (Huang, 2008; Wang, 2007; Xie, 2007).

The literature used to situate modernity and Chinese modernity in section 2.1, includes literature from Geography, Anthropology, Cultural Studies, Sociology, Political Science, History, and China Studies. Below explores literature on modernity, the imperialist legacies of modernizing projects through colonialism, colonial projects resulting in fracturing modernity, and the work of scholars examining how modernity is discursively and geographically constructed through Orientalism/Occidentalism. This chapter outlines current work on modernity by social scientists studying cultural geographies, the role of Imperialism in “Other Modernities”, and historical literature on Chinese modernization projects.

### Section 2.1: What is Modernity? Its Teleology and Dualisms

What is commonly called modernity is considered to emerge from Europe’s Dark Ages into the era of rational thought, scientific pursuits, and enlightened governance (Foucault, 1979; Lichtblau, 1999; Latour, 1993; Venn and Featherstone, 2006). Bruno Latour maps out the rise of modern thought and its implications for European societies’ relations with nature, other parts of the world, and other forms of thought (Latour 1993). Latour explores the “Constitution” of modern thought, which split ontological thinking from one of relational hybrids into binaries. The world was thus portrayed as a place inhabited by the dualisms between nature/man, knowledge/emotions, the moderns/the savages. Man (not Woman) was then able to use scientific reasoning to overcome nature and be free from nature’s and God’s wrath. This birth of Man into rational thought also started “History,” which arises from the atemporal Dark Ages and

*emerges* into the measurable progress of the Enlightenment. This breaking with the past is a central mechanism of modernity, which is used today in the argument that we are on the cusp of a new era of a globalized world (Ong, 2000). European societies constructed other societies as being unable to achieve modernity and therefore being stuck dangerously close to nature (Latour, 1993). Under this notion the modern Europeans then were superior, and other societies therefore required their tutelage. Latour's argument is that the modern "Constitution" actively obscured the hybrid nature of Western societies, while also actively seeking to divide itself from the non-modern others (Latour, 1993: 99). Thus imperialist ventures were justified by the fact that these non-modern societies could not help themselves, and needed to be saved from the wrath of nature and their primitive gods.

Venn and Featherstone (2006), and Lichtblau (1999) argue that normative (i.e. Western/hegemonic) notions of modernity ignore its diffracted definitions. Recognizing these diffractions in modernity allow for the possibility for alternative conceptualizations of what is modern through the reemergence of alternative and past knowledge. Viewing modernity as a unified historical progression creates a totalizing and hegemonic discourse of modernity that blocks out these other conceptualizations. Venn and Featherstone (2006) demonstrate that the idea of what is modern and when modernity began varies within the hegemonic Western European discourse of modernity and often involves a break from previous understandings (Lichtblau, 1999). For example, the beginning of modernity has been described as the break with the Classical era in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, or during the 17<sup>th</sup> century as the debates of ancient Greek forms of knowledge, and the "discovering" of America in 1492 (Venn and Featherstone, 2006: 458). By demonstrating these diffracted notions of the beginnings of modernity, Venn and Featherstone hope to challenge the discourse of modernity as singular, linear, and progressive.

They argue that by looking at modernity as diverse processes with subjectivities and technologies, we can create a space for alternative definitions of modernity. Like Latour, they highlight the dualisms in modern thought and its implications for interacting with other societies:

A persistent feature of the discourse of Modernity is the fact that in its emergence it has instigated a dichotomy between Modern and traditional societies that is, between processes of legitimation and the inscription of meaning based in rational calculations and institutions, in legal contract and individual volition as opposed to custom, religion and communal forms of wealth (2006: 459).

This inscription of alternative forms of knowledge into existing rational calculations justifies a dominance of the moderns over the non-moderns. Challenging the totalizing and progressive historical notions of modernity creates a space for these alternative forms of wealth and knowing to be part of and redefine the modern.

Examples of challenging a singular notion of modernity and its hegemonic origin narrative readings can be found in Pieterse (2011), who seeks to trace modernity's development across Afro-Eurasia. Likewise, Lichtblau (1999) argues against the notion of modernity as a normative historical concept depends on a break with the zeitgeist of the times through a "start" of History. Lichtblau traces this through teleological utopian ideals of European Enlightenment. An example is manifested in Marx's statement of declaring capitalism as over, and being inevitably replaced by Communism. Prominent German socialist Werner Sombart made a similar declaration about capitalism at the beginning of World War I (Lichtblau, 1999: 2), encapsulating the tendency to place a start on modernity and to make it epochal. In contemporary China, this break from the past is often framed with Deng Xiaoping's market reforms and neoliberal policies in the name of modernization and creating a powerful China (Lin, 2006). These policies and privatization of government services (like housing) have shaped the contemporary discourse of modernization efforts in China, and the need to acquire marketized

housing and transportation has become the hegemonic discourse of being modern in the Chinese context (Hoffman, 2010; Rofel, 2007). As will be discussed further in the next chapter, neoliberalism now embodies this epochal break with a past, through the need of nation-states to compete on a now global world (Lichtblau, 1999; Ong, 2000; Venn & Featherstone, 2006). This reading of modernity as a teleological and ahistorical process forces a reading of history only within a modernist discourse of progress. By avoiding this singular teleological narrative we will be able to analyze the differentiations within modernist projects by looking at the different discourses being deployed. This includes the opening of space for readings of “Other Modernities” through the inclusion of past forms of knowledge that have been obscured by the hegemonic Western notions of modernity, allowing for creating a more equitable definition of modernity.

## Section 2.2: The Fracturing of Modernity into Other Modernities within the Chinese Context

To place these theories within the Chinese context, below I quickly recount a brief history of China’s experience with imperialism and efforts to modernize. The purpose of this historical recounting is to provide some contextualization for further explanation of early discourses of modernization in China. Defining modernity as arising from European Enlightenment and the ontological viewing of the world through binaries obscures other regions’ contributions to modernity (Latour, 1993; Pieterse, 2011). While Western European notions of modernity justified the colonization of peoples in the Americas, Africa, Australia, and Asia, these modern concepts were imposed on these peoples through imperialist ventures. Colonized peoples started to use Enlightenment ideals and discourses against the imperialist occupation of their homelands, and employed many Liberal political notions and teleological readings of

modernization (Bhabha, 1994). As these societies sought self-rule and modernization of their own countries, they did not subscribe to solely European notions of modernity but instead redefined them to their own social contexts. Homi Bhabha (1994) explains that people who have been colonized and are oppressed by imperialism are often subject to contradictory processes. These processes highlight the “belatedness” of the colonized, while attempting to enforce projects on these colonized societies aimed at achieving their modernity. While colonized societies strive to achieve their own modernity to remove the justification for their subjugation. Due to the varied social histories and contexts these indigenous projects striving for modernization create new notions and definitions of what is modern, and thus fracturing the Western notions of modernity imposed on these peoples. As Lisa Rofel describes: “Modernity is thus fissured with paradox and incompleteness, not simply because all categories implode on their own unstable differences but because of distinctive social histories within global imperialism” (Rofel, 1999: 15). These modernities then are not part of the hegemonic colonial discourse (while these power relations between colonizer and colonized still exist in some capacity). Rofel goes onto explain that another universal theory of modernity will ignore variations within these modernities. She calls for empirical research and theories of “Other Modernities” embedded within specific cultural and social histories (Rofel, 1999: 15).

China’s social history of modernization and experience with imperialism differs from that of many countries that were colonized. China was in fact never outright colonized, but was subject to unequal trade practices as a market for the dumping of Western goods, and was subject to foreign enclaves where citizens of imperialist powers enjoyed extraterritorial rights (Schoppa, 2000; Wang & Li, 2009). Historians generally point to China’s defeat by the British during the Opium Wars (1839-42 and 1856-1860) as the impetus starting Chinese efforts of achieving

Western modernization. The continual weakening of the Qing dynasty and encroachment of Western imperial powers resulted in a number of internal rebellions based on nationalistic sentiments and the strengthening of the Chinese nation-state to remove foreign influence. The largest of these included the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1871) and the Boxer Rebellion (1891-1901). With growing external pressure from the imperialist powers and domestic dissatisfaction with the Qing government's dealing with these foreign powers, the Qing court initiated a number of modernization projects. Many of these campaigns were implemented in the 1890's with the purpose to modernize China technologically and militarily, but not politically or culturally (Schoppa, 2000; Huang, 2008; Xie, 2007). This period of reform culminated in the 100 Days Reform of 1898, but was quickly halted when the conservative Empress Dowager Cixi used this initiative to purge reform-minded officials from the government (Schoppa, 2000)

In 1911, the Xinhai Revolution forced the abdication of the last Qing emperor and led to the formation of the Republic of China. The president of the new republic, Yuan Shikai, attempted to install himself as the new emperor. After his death in 1913, without a clear successor, the country descended into a period of being controlled by competing warlords. Efforts to modernize China were revitalized after the Treaty of Versailles awarded former German spheres of influence in China to Japan (Shandong province). This, sparked the May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement (1919), which called for a New China not only militarily and technologically, but also politically, linguistically, and culturally. Soon after, the Nationalist Party (known as the KMT or the GMD) was able to unify China by either defeating or incorporating warlords into their government. The KMT attempted its own reforms to modernize and strengthen China, but with the invasion of the Japanese Imperial Army (Manchuria in 1921, China proper in 1937) and the civil war with the Communists, the KMT abandoned its modernization programs to focus on

defeating its adversaries. The KMT was widely regarded as a corrupt and ineffective government dedicated to the upper classes and quickly lost popular support after 1945 (Schoppa, 2000). The civil war with the Communists ended with the KMT fleeing to Taiwan in 1949. The Communist government under Mao Zedong sought to modernize China and to offer an alternative modernity to what it saw as US imperialism in the region (Chen, 1995; Rofel, 1999). These modernization efforts included universal education, gender equality, and rapid industrialization (such as the Great Leap Forward, 1958-1961) in an effort to create a Marxist utopian society. The most radical modernization effort is seen as the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). This was the Maoist faction's attempt to overthrow new classes Mao argued as becoming entrenched within the Communist government that threatened the implementation of his idea of an equal social utopia. This led to a decade of extreme social turmoil and violence in China, with Maoist Red Guards challenging, beating, and sometimes killing people in positions of authority. In later decades, Deng Xiaoping, who seized power from Mao's successor, implemented market economy reforms and opened China to foreign investment in an effort to distance the Communist government of the 1980s from the violent excesses of Maoist utopian modernization efforts (Wang, 2003). While each of these periods sought to modernize China in different ways, they each engaged with, translated, and redefined different notions of modernity.

In his four volume work *The Rise of Chinese Modern Thought*, Chinese scholar Wang Hui (as this work is not yet available in the U.S. or in English it was accessed through reviews by Huang, 2008 and Wang, 2007) explores how Western concepts of nation-state, empire, and modernization do not apply to China and force China into a Western dominated history of modernization. Wang explores how the Chinese definitions of empire and the nation-state differed from the West's notions, with the Qing Empire being more ethnically and

administratively cosmopolitan than Western empires. Wang also demonstrates that the academic historical work arguing that other societies achieved modernity before the West imposes Western notions of modernity and a teleological progression onto different contexts.

Wang Hui argues that 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Chinese modernist projects relied on translating European concepts into Confucian and Buddhist principles, which created uniquely Chinese concepts of modernity. For example, the Confucian principle of *Tianli* (天理), or “principle of heaven,” first arose during the Song dynasty and was used for governance as the implication of this phrase is of a transcendental cosmic law that was used to justify an administrative hierarchy. Later, the Qing dynasty employed the similar concept of *Gongli* (公理), or “public principle,” which took on the connotation of a universal principle and modern truth-seeking through science. Wang Hui explores how the May 4th Movement later used this terminology in their call for “Science and Democracy” (Wang B., 2007). This is just one example of how Chinese modernist projects used a hybridization of Chinese and Western concepts in deploying discourses of modernity, and did not merely take up Western definitions.

An example of this redefining modernity, is the work of scholar Xie Shaobo (2007) who explores how 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Chinese intellectuals translated Western Enlightenment ideals using Buddhist and Confucian concepts to create new hybrid notions. Xie argues that the old meaning of these modernist concepts ceases to exist and instead takes on a new hybrid meaning through the interpretive act of translation. Xie demonstrates how the intellectuals in the May 4th Movement called for the translation and adaptation of Western knowledge to Chinese needs. Most prominently, the well-revered writer Lu Xun called for this adaptation of Western knowledge for a Chinese modernity in what he called Grabbism (拿来主义). The May 4th period sought to use this Grabbism to create a New China through the creation and

modernization of Chinese language, politics, and culture (Xie, 2007; Wang, 2008). This discourse of a New China can be seen in many later modernization campaigns, especially undertaken by the Communist government. Within both these early and contemporary Chinese modernization campaigns international education has played a central role.

Education is integral to the reproduction of nationalist sentiments and the governing of subjects through national modernizing projects. This has been well researched in academic literature (Kaplan, 1992; Mitchell, 2003; Spring, 2004; Kipnis, 2011). Between the years 1850-1940 about 18,600 Chinese students studied in American universities alone (Zhang Y., 2002). The first students were sent abroad by the Qing government to study in America in 1872 to learn science and technology to help modernize the military and produce systems such as railroads and telegraphs. Many of these students went on to hold positions as officials within the government (Chiang, 2003; Zhang, 2002). During the warlord era (1913-1927), a number of Chinese students voluntarily went abroad to study or were forced into exile. Notably, the founder of the first Chinese Republic and the KMT Sun Zhongshan (also known as Sun Yat-sen) studied medicine in Hawaii during this period. Some of these international students later became prominent leaders in the Communist government, including Deng Xiaoping studying in France; Zhu De, in Germany; Jiang Zemin and Liu Shaoqi, in the USSR; and Zhou Enlai and Chen Duxiu (founder of the Chinese Communist Party), in both France and Japan (Schoppa, 2000). The May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement of 1919 is often seen as a shift in the discourse of modernization away from reforming China through technology to one calling for the reform of China politically, the abandoning aspects of Chinese culture, and the pursuit of Science as seen in the movement's mantra "Science and Democracy" (Xie 2007; Wang, 2007). The Communists took up this call and Mao would later launch campaigns to dispose with the four olds: old ideas, habits, customs,

and *culture* (Schoppa, 2000, italics added). The most intense Chinese modernization campaigns were undertaken by the Maoist government (1949-1976). Many of these campaigns involved the mobilization of large segments of the population in order to industrialize China. Examples can be seen with developing steel production during The Great Leap Forward (1958-1961), intervening in the Korean War (1951-1953), and involving the public in the violent upheavals of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) (Rofel, 1999; Schoppa, 2000; Yang, 1988). During the earlier years of the People's Republic of China, students studied abroad in the Soviet Union, but with the Sino-Soviet termination of relations in 1962, China turned to a policy of self reliance and halted sending students abroad.

There is a great deal of historical scholarship on Chinese students studying abroad before 1949 when the Communists took over. Since the market reforms and opening of China by Deng Xiaoping in the 1980s and 1990s there has been a resurgence in Chinese students seeking post-secondary education abroad (Wang, 2000). Many of these contemporary accounts of international education mention current international students as a continuation of this historical trend, but do not recognize the influences and changes of global power relations and changing discourses of modernizing projects. With the rise of Chinese hybrid notions of modernity as a result of imperialism, China has embarked on numerous modernization programs where international education has played a central role. While the contextualization of Other modernities is important, it is also necessary to place notions of modernity within the imperial and global power relations and their representations of the colonized today. Theories of Orientalism and Occidentalism elucidate how Chinese modernity was translated and hybridized in ways that (re)produce colonial understandings of modernity.

### Section 2.3: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and their Manifestations in Chinese Modernization

In his ground-breaking work *Orientalism*, Edward Said (1979) demonstrates how Western Imperialist powers' images have colonized others. These representations of Western images are often contrary to how colonized subjects view themselves, which creates the discourses of the West as the center of rational modernity with the East as unable to modernize. While Said focused on Western constructions and images of the Middle East, scholars have criticized Said for only looking at how a hegemonic West acts upon a passive East. Scholars such as Chen Xiaomei (1995) and Meltem Ahiska (2003) seek to understand how the other thinks of themselves in relation to the West, or in what they call Occidentalism. Academic literature on manifestations of contextualized Occidentalism can be found in research on Chinese transnationalism (Ong, 2006), in Chinese modernist projects (Chen, 1995; Yang, 2011), in Turkey's application to the join the European Union (Ahiska, 2003), and in Comparative Education's role in focusing on difference and creating Orientalist analyses (Takayama, 2008). I will outline academic literature and debates on Occidentalism, research on Occidentalism in China, and examples of Occidental/Orientalist assumptions made in Chinese academic literature today.

The theories of Orientalism and Occidentalism tie discourses of self and other into global power relations and capitalism. Anthropologist Fernando Coronil (1996) defines Occidentalism as “the expression of a constitutive relationship between Western representations of cultural difference and worldwide Western dominance” (1996: 57). Occidentalism accomplishes this domination of difference by dividing the world into bounded units (often through mapping), disaggregating their relational histories, turning difference into hierarchy, naturalizing these representations, and intervening to reproduce these asymmetrical power relations (Coronil, 1996).

Ahiska's analysis on Occidental discourse used during Turkey's 2002 bid to join the European Union elucidates some theories on the mechanisms of Occidentalism and the reproduction of asymmetrical power relations. She writes:

The concept of Occidentalism that I want to introduce is different from an idea of internalized Orientalism or a defensive reaction against the West. Instead, it points to the specific mechanisms that "Orientals" employ to create their subject status (not at all a homogeneous entity) and also to the common sky that structures different horizons. (2003: 365)

These mechanisms include how the colonized mind creates their own subjectivities through either: accepting teleological (Hegelian) linear history and seeking to destroy its own past to achieve a future of Western modernity, or seeking to idolize a "golden past" and return to a uniquely indigenous form of glory, which in the Turkish example is centered on the Ottoman Empire. Trying to achieve Western modernity becomes impossible due to the different social histories and geographies of a place and its relations to others, and therefore ends up reinforcing power relations and assumptions of difference between Western modernities and the attempted modernizer, while the glorification of the past creates spaces for conservative fundamentalism (Ong, 2006).

Examples of studies of Occidentalism in the Chinese context include Mayfair Yang's (2011) piece on post-colonialism and religiosity in China, and Chen Xiaomei's (1995) analysis of different manifestations of Occidentalism in Chinese literature and media. Mayfair Yang (1988, 2011), critiques post-colonial studies for focusing on countries that were colonized and by not looking at countries that were never fully colonized, they create theories that do not explore how some were subjected to "colonization of the mind." She maps how Chinese colonization of the mind led to the destruction of Chinese religious practices, such as Confucianism (which provided a different spiritual, governing, and epistemological function than Western notions of

religion). She also explains that this self colonization of the mind led to the destruction of Chinese religious texts and sites in the Communist party's attempt to reach Marxist utopia based on Western secularism. Chen Xiaomei, in her book *Occidentalism* (1995), explores how Chinese deployments of Occidentalism are used within contemporary China. Wanting to modernize politically is used by China's intellectual class in the mobilization of the West as an example of a possible political liberalist future for China. Official Occidentalism deployed by the Communist government uses the West's past of imperialism in China as a threat to ensure that citizens see the government as the aegis preventing such imperialist exploits as described above. Chen argues that by looking at the other as a self-totalizing subject ignores indigenous political struggles and using the concept of the West for the empowerment of individuals living in authoritarian regimes. This can be seen within popular media (Hua, 2012) and Chinese academia (Xu, 1997).

Examples of Occidentalism and education manifest themselves through China's concern of how to develop a globally competitive education system, how to get students who sought education abroad to return (Stith, *et al.* 2011), and how to claim the achievements of the students abroad as Chinese. These Occidentalist tensions can be seen in a review by historian Ma Zhibin (1999) of a history textbook for middle school students in China in the 2000s. Ma repeatedly points to how the textbook highlights the achievements of China in science and society, while promoting healthy thinking and a correct attitude in the reader (Ma, 1999). Within Chinese academia there are a number of articles on how to get Chinese students who have gone abroad to study to come back to help China modernize. Zhang Jianshi (2000), Wang Xi (2000), and Cai Qilian (2000) highlight Chinese professionals that have returned out of patriotic feelings towards their country in the 1990s. These authors seek to incorporate Chinese students abroad into

Chinese modernist projects, but also claim the work abroad as part of China's accomplishments. This is done through promoting "national sentiments" (Cai, 2000) for Chinese modernization through education and within Chinese neoliberal governmentality. The role of governmentality, neoliberalism within global and Chinese modernization projects is discussed in the next chapter.

### Chapter Three: Neoliberalism, Governmentality, Education, and Literature on Inter/Transnational Students

*The point of highlighting the problematic status of Modernity is to put into context the new form of purification at work today which is seeking to bring about through a renewed Modernization the age of the market and of the economic subject as its calculating agent (Venn and Featherstone, 2006: 457)*

In the quotation above we can see that the modernity is being deployed through the marketization of the individual as a calculating and rational subject. Lichtblau also points to how the modern is continually redefined as new and a break from the past. Today neoliberalism is identified as the hegemonic ideology based on consumerist choice, trade deregulation, and globalized markets (Robertson, 2006; Thiem, 2009). Neoliberalism is often described as an inevitable process and requiring governments to implement marketized services such as education (Robertson 2006; Spring, 2004) or housing (Szelenyi, 2012). Neoliberalism and neoliberal projects therefore are new forms of governance that seeks to create economic, innovative, and self-reliant citizen-subjects on a global scale (Rose, 1999; Thiem, 2009). These neoliberal forms of governance are being deployed by state and supra-state organizations and entities (Ong, 2000). This chapter will outline the literature on how neoliberalism and forms of governance are shaping concepts of the modern and nation-state. Modern state projects are designed to shape and rule their subjects through forms of governmentality as described by Michel Foucault (1978, 1979) and Nikolas Rose (1999). The discussion of this academic work is focused through literature on transnational neoliberalism, Chinese deployments of neoliberalism, neoliberal restructuring of higher education, and the resulting increase of international students originating from China and the Chinese Diaspora. In the final section of this chapter I critique many analyses of modernity and neoliberalism for focusing on power structures on the macro-scale. This privileging of large-scale assemblages of power ignores how individuals deploy and

use these narratives of governance for their own purposes. I point to the work of Mitchell (2004) and Rofel (1999) to highlight research on how individuals deploy discourses of modernity in navigating tensions within local structures of power and governmentality. This discussion closes with an explanation of the contributions of this study to the fields of Cultural Geography and Anthropology in understanding how contradictory discourses of modernity are used and struggled over by individuals and entities within these digital spaces.

Michel Foucault (1979), in his theory of governmentality, explores methods of governing subjects that arose with modern nation-states. He explains that classical states employed what he refers to as sovereign power, or the ability to take the life of a subject. With the rise of the modern nation-states, these states started to employ forms of governing subjects that he refers to as *governmentality*. Governmentality is the use of state power to create self-regulating, productive citizens, which is done through:

The ensemble of institutions, procedures, analysis and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security. (Foucault, 1979: 102)

This form of governing replaces sovereign power with what Foucault termed *biopower*, where subjects' lives and bodies were brought under the mechanism of state calculation (Foucault 1978, 1979). Biopower arose from the modern state's concern for fostering and caring for a healthy population. Foucault explains:

During the classical period, there was a rapid development of various disciplines—universities, secondary schools, barracks, workshops; there was an emergence, in the field of political practices and economic observation, of the problems of birth rate, longevity, public health, housing, and migration. Hence there was an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the controls of populations, marking the beginning of an era of “biopower.” (Foucault, 1979: 140)

As seen in the quote above the state uses institutions such as schools or the army to *discipline* its subjects into being productive citizens. This biopower then couples with other forms of disciplinary and sovereign power to allow the state to create different forms of knowing, or knowledge-power regimes of truth (Ong, 2006).

Nikolas Rose explores how neoliberal (1999) forms of governmentality and the decline of the post-World War II welfare state have led to deregulation and privatization of public services. Rose examines how neoliberal governmentality tends to replace the modern state's focus on caring for its citizens to one of coercing its citizens to act as free self-actualizing, self-enterprising subjects acting on their own behalf. He argues that this is the decentralization of power, or "governing from a distance" (Rose, 1999: 49). The ethics of this ideology of self-responsible subjects is framed through one of individual freedom to make choices in response to uncertainties (Rose, 1999; Ong, 2006). Spring (2004) further elucidates that nation-states deploy neoliberal governmentality through the emphasis on education being able to contribute to the nation-state's competitiveness. This is accomplished through creating innovative citizens necessary to what is claimed to be a globalized 21<sup>st</sup> century knowledge economy.

### Section 3.1: Transnational Neoliberal Governance and Graduated Sovereignty

Neoliberal projects often argue that the globalizing world is witnessing the end of the nation-state. Anthropologist Aihwa Ong (2000) argues that these neoliberal myths that globalization and transnational bodies of governance will lead to the end of the nation-state are false. She explores how neoliberal governance depends on "graduated levels of sovereignty" (Ong, 2000), through the lens of Southeast Asia, to demonstrate how neoliberal global market connections both simultaneously weaken and strengthen different activities of the nation-state.

Key features of this graduated sovereignty in Southeast Asia are the free trade areas or Export Processing Zones. These areas often allow the state to increase surveillance on workers or migrants, usually through the use of military control, while other capacities of the state, such as building a tax base or managing worker safety and rights, are diminished. While these processes are the result of globalized forces, they mix, interact, and conflict with local, national, or smaller, scale power regimes.

Scholars have also traced the tensions between national biopolitical and neoliberal power regimes and governmentality. Chua (2006, 1999) has explored the use of biopower in Singapore's policies in encouraging the immigration of well-educated transnational individuals and promoting the idea that the locals must become well-educated to compete with these new migrants. In the edited volume *Ungrounded Empires*, Ong, Nonini, and Mitchell (1997) explore the rise of Chinese transnational nationalism as a new form of supra-state and state level neoliberal governance. Ong and Nonini draw on David Harvey's concept of flexible accumulation which "rests on flexibility with respect to labor processes, labor markets, products, and patterns of consumption" (Ong and Nonini, 1997: 9). In other words, success in the global economy today is characterized by the development of entirely new markets, such as providing new financial services, new forms of production, or access to new markets. The development of these new markets takes a large amount of organizational innovation, referred to earlier as the innovation of the knowledge economy (Ong and Nonini, 1997). The transnational Chinese community is being redefined as the rise of an "Asian" modernity, aiming to define a "Neo-Confucian" form of governmentality embedded in these international capitalist relations of transnational flexible accumulation.

Ong (1997a, 1997b) analyzes how imagined communities, modernity, along with state biopower developed this meta-narrative as a form of truth. She writes that these national discourses of modernity produces an ideology of what is an appropriate national subject. With the large investments made in China by Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, leaders (particularly in Singapore) have deployed a new discourse of a “Greater China” to “celebrate subjects in diaspora and the ways of their hybridity and flexibility suggest transnational solidarities” (Ong, 1997b: 173). Here we see this new modernity centered on the concept of a “Greater China” rising out of neoliberal trade liberalization and the search for new markets and production in China. This deployment of an authoritarian Occidentalism as a transnational form of governmentality is used to discipline subjects to promote the flexible accumulation of the nation-state.

### Section 3.2: Manifestations of Neoliberalism in China

Much as with modernity, looking at global structures and manifestations of neoliberalism runs the risk of de-contextualizing local and fractured projects of governmentality. Neoliberalism in China has manifested itself in unique ways that differ from global neoliberal policies and the “Greater China” transnational governmentality listed above. With the market reforms and opening in the 1980s and 1990s led by Deng Xiaoping, this period is often said to be the beginning of neoliberalization in China (Szelenyi, 2012). In the West, neoliberalism is equated with the decline of the welfare state. China has seen similar declines in publically provided services such as housing and employment guarantees, and deregulation of production from Maoist era levels. However, this has been accomplished through a large amount of government investment in increasing the innovation (flexible accumulation) and productive

potential of the populace to develop key industries. For example, state-run enterprises today are the most profitable companies within China, marking a difference between privatization in the West and China (Szelenyi, 2012). Wang Hui (2003) further explores how Chinese neoliberalism and Communist policies have conflicted over the last 30 years. Due to these different contexts of the application of transnational and national neoliberal policies, Chinese neoliberal governmentality must be contextualized within the conditions of Chinese society. These manifestations of Chinese neoliberal governmentality and education's role in shaping good citizens are further explored below.

Lisa Hoffman (2010) explores how the idea of freedom to choose a profession in China doesn't necessarily mean a movement towards political liberalization, but manifests new interactions of Chinese neoliberal governmentality and patriotic Marxist/socialist national modernization. Most theories of neoliberal governmentality do not explain mainland China's deployment of what she calls "patriotic professionalism." Hoffman argues that the freedom of choice represents new neoliberal governance in China. Even though there is a greater degree of movement and freedom to pursue education in China; this governmentality is deployed through discourses of becoming educated and successful professional to modernize the nation. This patriotic professionalism focuses on industries seen as central to developing a modern nation-state, Hoffman particularly focuses on the development of the software industry in the coastal city of Dalian, and the policies the local and national governments employed to develop this global industry (as similar to Ong's graduated sovereignty discussed above). Lisa Rofel (2008, 2007) similarly writes about how LGBT people in China expressing their sexualities have employed discourses of freedom and market choice which fall into the state's neoliberal governmentality of meeting people's basic "desires" to achieve harmony. Hoffman and Rofel's

work on forms of Chinese neoliberal governmentality is central to understanding how neoliberalism and choice do not reduce the capacity of nationalist modernization campaigns, but can strengthen state projects.

Modernization through neoliberal policies has become part of a hegemonic discourse of modernity in China. While discourses of modernity are fractured and continuously redefined, within China the policies of privatization have created hegemonic redefinitions of how China should modernize. Hoffman (2010) and Rofel (2007) explore how individuals enact neoliberal policies and are shaped by these policies' outcomes. For example, housing was a guaranteed government service during the Maoist era, and was privatized when Deng Xiaoping enacted market reforms. The cost for housing has become a large financial burden on Chinese families, with many striving to achieve buying their own apartment (Szelenyi, 2012). This pressure to secure housing as a symbol of affluence is observed by Hoffman (2010) and Rofel (2007), but was also witnessed by myself during my time in China. The need to acquire affluence goes beyond housing, with many families desiring to buy a car, and for young people to marry early on. People in China often colloquially claim that owning an apartment and a car are a prerequisite to attracting a spouse. These pressures are partly the result of the neoliberal privatization policies enacted by Deng Xiaoping, and have become part of the hegemonic discourse of modernization through neoliberalism. While the Chinese manifestations of neoliberalism differ from other contexts, these neoliberal policies of creating knowledge economies and for individuals to become affluent are part of dominant hegemonic discourses of Chinese modernization through neoliberalism. The aforementioned pressures of family, housing, and cars are present within the blogs analyzed in chapter five. While neoliberal modernization

efforts affect why students study abroad, they have also led to the global restructuring of education.

### Section 3.3: Global Neoliberal Governmentality, Restructuring of Education, and Transnational Chinese Students

As mentioned above neoliberal governmentality often portrays citizens' need for education to face the uncertainties of, and help the nation compete in, the global market economy (Hoffman, 2010; Spring, 2004). While many of these neoliberal projects take on rhetoric of national development, they also are part of transnational efforts to make a global marketplace (Ong, 2000). Universities and schools have witnessed a restructuring under national and international neoliberal policies, with privatization of services and recruiting of international students in the face of declining state support (Dolby & Rahman 2008). Thiem (2009) calls for more geographic research into how the restructuring of education plays across various scales and institutions. This is especially important as the number of students who pursue education abroad is growing rapidly. She argues that more research needs to explore how various forms of governmentality around education are being deployed to drive economic development. Robertson (2003) traces the history of this restructuring of education through the establishment of the General Agreement on Trade and Services near the end of World War II, the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the rise of neoliberal policies from the WTO Uruguay discussion round in 1986. Literature from various disciplines on the restructuring of global education has found similar trends across various geographies.

Mitchell (2003) explores the decline of Liberal modern education systems encouraging tolerance, to one of increasing a citizen's economic potential. This is done through replacing the tolerant citizen with a globally-strategic, cosmopolitan one. Butcher (2004), and Robertson and

Dale (2002) explore the contradictions between national neoliberal immigration policies and local government's modernist policies of supplying public education in New Zealand. They describe how the national government has actively encouraged wealthy immigrants from Asia (particularly Hong Kong during the hand-over) to settle into New Zealand. Local schools however face challenges in teaching students of varying language ability without national governmental support (Butcher, 2004; Robertson & Dale, 2002). Mok (1999) also demonstrates how Hong Kong's universities are being restructured to offer degree programs that produce employable graduates for Hong Kong's companies. Mok documents the change in language regarding education to that of being a market and emphasizing marketable skills. He also explains that the universities which were meant to educate the general public are becoming more competitive to attend, and require increasingly high scores on secondary school examinations.

Academic literature also deploys neoliberal discourses of universities reaching a wider market and the need to privatize these services. Counsell (2011) surveyed Chinese business students studying for their bachelor and master degrees in the UK to see what attracted them to pursue their education there. His study only looks at the "competitive" characteristics of the UK education system, and argues that UK universities are well situated to tap a global market of international students. Likewise, O'Keeffe (2003) draws on neoliberal arguments that privatization leads to competitiveness and better results for the consumer. He postulates that national education systems are dismal not due to underfunding, but due to the fact that they lack property owners, which would increase the competitiveness of the education system. Global neoliberal restructuring of education has seen general trends of conflicts between neoliberal education policies and local policies providing education to the national populace. This conflict lies in the contrary notions of education as a marketplace, wherein privatized services offer better

and more employable graduates than education as a public service. Although these trends are present in China, the governmentality surrounding education has manifested itself through national campaigns to further develop both private and public education for modernization purposes (Ertl & Yu, 2010).

Literature on the restructuring of Chinese education is mainly focused on the rise of increasing inequalities. The Chinese government has encouraged the development of industries, knowledge economies, and views education programs as key to its survival. The Chinese government has been investing heavily in its universities through the 211 project, which seeks to create 100 universities that can meet the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Choi, 2010). While there has been increased national investment in education, accessibility to education has seen a corresponding increase in inequality. Rong and Shi (2001) demonstrate that investment in schools has been focused on schools located in urban places with rural residents unable to access these resources due to the *hukou* (household registration) system. This inequality severely limits a student's chances of testing into a good university. With China's neoliberal governmentality creating subjects that wish to compete in the globalized markets of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there is a growing inequality of access to education resources between urban and rural areas (Rong & Shi, 2001). The competitiveness of the education system and the college entrance exam in China (Ertl & Yu, 2010) and Hong Kong has led middle and upper class families to seek education abroad as a method to reproduce the social status of the family across generations. The West, especially the U.S., is seen by Chinese families as the location for the most modern education (Zhao *et al*, 2008).

Much of the academic literature on transnational students focuses on middle and wealthy classes pursuing international education as a method to reproduce the social status of the family

(referred to from now on as social reproduction). The majority of this literature focuses on the middle and wealthy classes of Hong Kong, and their use of international education to ensure the reproduction of their status in Hong Kong society (Waters 2007, 2006a, 2006b). Waters explores how Hong Kong secondary schools became universally compulsory in the 1980s, and how this challenged the reproduction of the middle and wealthy classes. These families were able to use Hong Kong's connections to, and neoliberal immigration policies of, former British colonies such as Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, to send their children abroad to study. Meanwhile schools in Hong Kong saw an increase of standardized testing and competition for spaces in Hong Kong's universities (Mok, 1999). Waters interviewed students from Hong Kong studying in Vancouver to explore what advantages for social reproduction getting a foreign degree offered. Many of these students' families either immigrated to provide their children with this opportunity or sent their children alone to Canada. She found that this transnational education contributed to a form of cultural capital, in the perception that students with a foreign degree were able to think more critically and freely by avoiding the standardized testing of Hong Kong's education system. Many companies hire managers with foreign degrees, and nearly all of her respondents said that managers would always choose the more cosmopolitan foreign-degree holding students over the locally educated ones. In short Waters (2007, 2006a, 2006b) found that pursuing an education in Canada allowed for middle and wealthy class families to ensure the social reproduction of their place in society, and functioned as a mechanism of exclusion for the lower classes that could not afford to send their children abroad. This has also been documented by Bodycott and Lai (2010) with Chinese families sending their children to Hong Kong for studying and framing it as fulfilling the Confucian duty of filial piety.

With neoliberal ideologies constructed as a break from the past into a so-called new, globalized world and the new forms of governmentality used by governments to produce self-reliant and innovative citizen-subjects through education, neoliberalism has been described by Rose (1999) and Theim (2009) as a the new form of modernity. This can be seen in neoliberalism and the notion of a new globalized world breaking from the past (Lichtblau 1999; Venn & Featherstone, 2006). Within China this is evident through the modernization efforts of patriotic professionalism (Hoffman, 2010) and the heavy investment in China's universities to promote flexible accumulation (Choi, 2010; Ong, 2000). The discourses of governmentality are deployed through institutions and the use of biopower as theorized by Foucault (1978; 1979) and Rose (1999). Neoliberal forms of governmentality exist within transnational and national power assemblages and global capitalism, and have been restructuring the purpose of education globally. The role of these forms of governmentality is to create cosmopolitan, educated, and globally-strategic productive subjects that allow for the state to "govern from afar" (Mitchell, 2003; Rose, 1999: 49). Chinese manifestations of neoliberal governmentality have seen the development of "patriotic professionalism" (Hoffman, 2010), where neoliberal governmentality of freedom in career and educational choices are used in conjunction with Communist national modernization discourses. While these analyses are helpful in elucidating the role of class and cultural accumulation in the choice to study abroad, they do not explore how national governmentality discourses of modernity contribute to this decision to study abroad or how these individuals deploy, contest, and use these discourses themselves. The next section will outline literature that individuals exercise agency in deploying discourses of national modernity, and how the literature reviewed above privileges global power relations and capitalism over this individual agency.

### Section 3.4: Individual Agency through Discourses of Governmentality and Modernity

Much of the academic literature on modernity and neoliberalism focus on and privilege capitalism/large-scale assemblages of power; these studies only relate to individual agency in how individuals are constrained by these mechanisms of control. For example, Ong and Nonini (1997) argue that:

But what has often dropped out of this approach [of studying culture of transnational groups] is an interest in describing the ways in which people's everyday lives are transformed by the effects of global capitalism, how *their own agencies* are implicated in the making of these effects, and the social relationships in which these agencies are embedded (Ong and Nonini, 1997: 13, emphasis added)

While macro networks and relations of power are undoubtedly important, these studies fail to include how individual agency shapes the results of hybrids of global structures, relationships, and individual uses of power. This is evident in academic work such as Ong's (2000) theory of graduated sovereignty as a result of neoliberal governmentality. This study only explores how individuals are constrained by state and transnational neoliberal policies and institutions. This same can be seen in Butcher (2004), Robertson and Dale (2002), whose analysis of neoliberal restructuring of education in New Zealand do not include how individuals navigate the challenges within this restructuring of education. Earlier work by Mitchell (2003) describes neoliberal restructuring of education across the world, but only takes a macro level approach. Her analysis does not include how individuals contest or co-opt conflicting discourses between Liberal and neoliberal modernization projects. However, later studies by Mitchell (2004) and Rofel (1999; 2007; 2008) look at how individuals deploy, redefine, and conflict with neoliberal governmentality projects in their work described below. Rofel writes about the contradictory outcomes of other state modernization projects: "Modernity, then is conveyed in inconstant projects of governmentality, education, and scientific management: restless, discontinuous

cultural interactions that create impure, syncretic subjects” (Rofel, 1999: 15). Rofel goes on to explore how different cohorts of women use conflicting Chinese discourses of being a modern women for their own empowerment. Below, I draw on the work of Mitchell (2004) and Rofel (1999), which serve as examples of how these syncretic subjects deploy discourses of modernity within projects of governmentality for their use. This section concludes with a recap of the literature reviewed here and situates the contribution of this analysis to the work of Cultural Geography and Anthropology on Other modernities and discourses deployed by these “syncretic” Chinese students seeking to pursue higher education abroad.

Mitchell (2004) explores the conflicts and contestation of liberal and neoliberal citizenship between wealthy Hong Kong immigrants and local, primarily white, communities in Vancouver, British Columbia. At the time of her analysis the urban space became the site of conflict between neoliberal governmentality and immigration policies, and Liberal Canadian notions of promoting tolerance, universality, normality, and harmony associated with legitimacy and governing. Mitchell was able to document how these two groups of people deployed often contradictory discourses to challenge the formations of governance and challenge the disjuncture between Canadian notions of liberal multiculturalism and neoliberal governance of the Canadian state. The different deployments of discourse of governmentality were centered on these new immigrants’ “monster houses” that did not conform to the surrounding neighborhoods. While the white Canadian residents sought to challenge neoliberal transnational cosmopolitan citizenship reshaping their neighborhoods through these “monster houses,” the Hong Kong residents deployed discourses of liberal multiculturalism and the need to take care of extended family members. Her study explores not how individuals adapt but “Rather it is how the *actions* of individual agents who negotiate contradictory structures of late modernity and contest

different logics of liberalism in space.” (Mitchell, 2004: 8, emphasis added). The contradictions were reinforced by the ability of the transnational migrants to be able to choose their site of their social reproduction in accordance with neoliberal governance, but the local white Canadian populations were not.

Similarly, Lisa Rofel (1999) in her book *Other Modernities* explores how different contradictory projects of modernity are implemented by the Chinese Communist State is reflected in a silk factory in Hangzhou China, where women workers (in the mid-1980s) deployed contradictory discourses of femininity. The female workers at the Zhenfu silk factory sought to embody the different ideals of femininity that were used by the Communist state through different modernization projects. The oldest cohort of women workers started working at the factory at the time of the Revolution and founding of the People’s Republic (1940s and 50s). Women before the revolution were only allowed to do prep work for weaving silk, as running the looms was seen as masculine work during this particular time period. After the Communists took control, the government embarked on a modernization campaign with gender equality as a central tenet. This gender equality was a Communist project of modernity (Rofel, 1999:48). The ideal form of femininity was through doing the same labor as men, as the working classes (workers, peasants, and soldiers) were the idolized subject of the Chinese Communist state. The next cohort of women came of age during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Generally during the Cultural Revolution, many people in positions of authority were removed by the Red Guards and forced to read long confessions (Rofel, 1999). The people were encouraged to “speak bitterness” or explain how these people of authority had wronged them. The women of this cohort saw their femininity and their role as modern subjects as one of criticizing authority and striving for social equality. This era also portrayed the Chinese people

without gender divisions. The last cohort Rofel writes about is the post-Maoist cohort of women who grew up after the Cultural Revolution ended with Mao's death in 1976. After the excesses of the Cultural Revolution and what became seen as the unnatural de-gendering of people, this cohort saw the re-emergence of "natural" gender types. Among this cohort gendered divisions of labor and gendered roles returned to the Zhenfu silk factory with managerial positions being seen as masculine, while running the looms was becoming women's work (Rofel, 1999: 121).

Both Mitchell (2004) and Rofel (1999) are able to explore how individual subjects exercise their agency in deploying discourses of modernist/neoliberal governmentality. Scholarly work on modernity, neoliberal governmentality, and education tend to focus on macro-scales of power, or how individuals react through capital accumulation and social reproduction. This privileging of the macro does not include understandings of how individuals interact with projects of governmentality and deploy discourses of modernity, something that Mitchell and Rofel are able to explore this Vancouver, British Columbia and the Zhenfu silk factory respectively. Chinese students seeking education abroad however are located within academic research between different notions of Chinese national modernization, social reproduction, and local/global neoliberal cosmopolitanism.

With regards to the contexts and literatures reviewed above, I see Chinese international students occupying a tension between neoliberal cosmopolitanism and Chinese nation-building. The blogs that are written about studying abroad provide a corpus with these tensions and provide a space for individual deployment and contestations of these discourses. I will analyze a corpus of publically available blogs collected from the popular Chinese blogging sites of Sohu and Sina. Drawing on textual analysis, any act of reading is an interpretive act (Drucker, 2009); I use two methods to interpret this corpus of material. I first engage it with coding via topic

modeling, and then I personally read and code the blogs for the deployment of discourses. The next chapter will explore the theoretical debates around the methodologies selected for interpreting this corpus of texts.

## Chapter Four: Methods for Interpreting Discourses of Modernity within Blogs

In exploring contemporary forms of Chinese modernity in relation to pursuing higher education abroad, I have chosen to analyze and interpret blogs. Blogs were selected as the unit of analysis for this study due to their production by people from various positions in Chinese society, including individuals, parents, experts, and corporate authors who seek to deploy and use the discourses of modernity and education for their own purposes. The rise of digital media such as blogging sites has increased the ease with which individuals can produce their own texts and deploy discourses of modernity, and were therefore selected as the object for this study.

My interest in this research arose from my experience studying Chinese over the last decade, and teaching for and running a volunteer teaching non-profit in China. I taught oral English in middle school in Changsha, Hunan province from 2009 to 2010 and witnessed the desire of many of my students wanting to pursue a college education abroad, primarily in the United States. Many of these students attended a variety of English afterschool supplementary classes, which commonly ran on the assumption of helping students prepare for the *gaokao* or college entrance exam (which has an English component), or helping prepare students for pursuing an education abroad. While these students wanted to study abroad they were also subject to political classes in school where the history of China's modernization and current modernization projects are taught. After my experience in China, I started graduate school and a teaching assistantship at the University of Washington, where I have witnessed the increasing fiscal dependence of this institution on international students, particularly from the People's Republic of China (Lewin, 2012). Through these experiences I became interested in the relationship between Chinese modernist projects (such as the political classes my students

participated in) and the growing trend of Chinese students seeking education abroad. This interest in this phenomenon has led to the research questions stated in chapter one.

This research study is an exploratory analysis of the discourses of modernity deployed around the topic of international education. I have chosen to conduct my analysis with publically available blogs on the popular Chinese social networking websites: Sihu and Sina. I have selected these forms of texts to study Chinese modernity since the relationship between Chinese modernist projects and international education have not included how these discourses are deployed by the “syncretic subjects” produced by these modernist projects. I draw on the work of other digital humanists and qualitative social science researchers in pursuing an analysis that allows for grounded theory (Emerson *et al*, 1995), or allowing for theory to emerge from the text and its context through careful reflexive and iterative analysis on the part of the researcher. This research employs a mixed method approach of topic modeling with the software MALLET 2.0.7 on a corpus (90 blogs) and discourse analysis of a selection of blogs (31 blogs) from this larger corpus. Both these methods are used to interpret these texts to highlight the major uses of language and allow for a nuanced reading of the discourses of modernity used.

#### Section 4.1: Explanation of selected Corpus, Blogs as text for Analysis.

With the rise of blogging, micro-blogging, and social media sites like Facebook or in China QQ, there has been a corresponding increase in the large and “rich” amounts of data that are being produced through these mediums. Social and critical scholars have an increased interest analyzing this data and the increasing availability of computational power to analyze large data sets. These trends can be witnessed in the increasing importance of digital Humanities research involving “Big Data,” and within the discipline of Geography, in interest of

participatory mapping software which enables users to produce their own material, commonly referred to as Web 2.0 (Boyd, Crawford 2012; Warf, Sui, 2010). Early studies of digital texts in the digital humanities, and the often referenced “Big Data” research studies that we see today, frequently rely on assumptions that large amounts of data can lead to objective knowledge through the computational methods applied (Boyd & Crawford, 2012). Drucker (2009) describes how research in the early digital humanities often led to the quantification of literature and claims of objectivity through computational tools such as the use of algorithms. Within this study I do not claim to be objective, but aim to locate myself as a researcher and provide a reflexive and contextualized interpretation of these blogs.

As examined above, Lisa Rofel (1999), in her exploration of gender, identity, and modernity in China, examines how modernist projects are uneven and lead to syncretic individuals who exist within conflicting notions of what is modern. Social scientists, in studying Chinese modernity have often relied on interviews and ethnographic methods to explore how individuals navigate and deploy conflicting notions of modernity. While ethnography allows for proximity in observation, new digital formats like blogs create spaces where these individuals can deploy their own discourses of studying abroad and what is modern. This production of blogs by individuals and institutions themselves makes them an ideal text in exploring the deployment of conflicting discourses of modernity. I have also chosen to analyze blogs due to the fact, as mentioned above, that previous academic work on Chinese modernity has not used these texts as objects of study.

In exploring the connection between Chinese discourses of modernity and the choice to pursue education abroad, I collected a corpus of 90 blogs written between 2006 and March 2013 from the popular blogging and social media sites of Sohu and Sina. The selection of these blogs

was a purposive sampling designed to select texts that would provide insights into Chinese notions of modernity and studying abroad (Waitt, 2010). The blogs I selected are considered as existing and public data and all are publically available. These blogs can be accessed by the public through the use of a search engine and do not require a user name or password to view them. Sohu and Sina allow for the author to make their material publically available or available only to a selected few friends; the entire collected material are from blogs that were made public by their authors. None of the authors here will be identified by name, nor are the URLs for their blogs are given, to protect the identity of the authors.

The blogs selected for this corpus were selected through searches on Sohu or Sina or through search engines such as [www.sogou.com](http://www.sogou.com) or [www.baidu.com](http://www.baidu.com). The terms searched included phrases such as “studying abroad”<sup>3</sup>, “studying abroad in the US”<sup>4</sup>, “going abroad to study”<sup>5</sup>, “studying abroad experience”<sup>6</sup>, “going to college abroad”<sup>7</sup>, “preparing to study abroad”<sup>8</sup>, “applying to colleges abroad”<sup>9</sup>, “studying abroad blogs”<sup>10</sup>, and “my diary of studying abroad”<sup>11</sup>. As many of these searches returned frequent results for blogs of large companies, and often returned many hits for these sites on the same results page, I decided not to use a Python script that would systematically and automatically download the returned results. Doing so would have given these corporate sites a greater representation within the selected corpus than blogs written by individuals. Therefore the sampling technique I conducted was a careful search and reading of these blogs before deciding if a certain text should be added to the corpus based on relevance.

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<sup>3</sup> 留学

<sup>4</sup> 在美国留学

<sup>5</sup> 出国学习/外国上学

<sup>6</sup> 留学经验

<sup>7</sup> 在外国上大学

<sup>8</sup> 准备留学

<sup>9</sup> 申请外国大学

<sup>10</sup> 留学博客

<sup>11</sup> 我留学日记

This purposive sampling is often recommended within the social sciences for exploratory studies involving discourse analysis (Waitt, 2010).

The blogs that were selected describe the advantages/disadvantages of studying abroad, the application process, the necessary preparation, the experience that studying abroad offers, and the students' personal experiences of studying abroad. Many search results were excluded because the returned blogs only tangentially mentioned studying abroad, such as mentioning a former high school friend who had done so. If the blogs were determined to be relevant, they were not excluded based on the producer of the text. Blogs that also included popular essays on studying abroad, companies' informational material, individual experiences, and the advice of academic experts on studying abroad were all included to provide a diverse corpus for analysis. While it is not always clear who produced these blogs I noted which ones appeared to be by individuals, and which ones were produced by individuals or companies for profit, as to later analyze if there were differences in the discourses deployed by these groups. All search results and blogs on studying abroad were focused on countries that are generally considered "modern," these include countries generally seen as part of the "West." These "Western" countries consisted of the U.S., UK, Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, but also countries that Chinese intellectuals historically saw as not part of the "West" (as mentioned above) but are considered contemporary modern nation-states: these include Russia, Japan, South Korea, and Singapore. While I did not attempt to favor any region over another, the vast majority of blogs focused on the U.S. and to a lesser extent the UK. The next most frequent in number discussed Western Europe (generally France, Germany, and Spain), Australia and New Zealand. Blogs on locations in Asia mentioned foremost Japan, South Korea, and lastly Singapore. None of the search results returned blogs about studying abroad in Africa, South America, or other parts of

Asia such as the Middle East, India, or Southeast Asia (the significance of which will be discussed in the next chapter). The searches for and collection of blogs were conducted between November, 2012 and March, 2013. I selected as many relevant blogs as possible, and completed the search of a certain term when the search results only appeared to be returning blogs already viewed. These methods were selected to provide analytical techniques that met the theoretical requirements and epistemology of this analysis as described below.

#### Section 4.2: Defining Methods: The use of MALLET and Discourse Analysis in Interpreting the Texts

In exploring how truth was historically variable, Michel Foucault described: “Discourse as an ideological practice, constitutes, naturalizes, sustains, and changes significations of the world from diverse positions in power relations” (Fairclough, 1992: 67). Fairclough drawing on Foucault argues that we should treat language as a form of social practice that is not purely created and employed by an individual, but should be viewed relationally dialectical between social identity, social relationships, and systems of knowledge (Fairclough 1992: 62). Blogs then provide insight into how individuals and organizations are subjected to these power systems of knowledge and truth, yet deploy uneven discourses for their own purposes. In relation to modernity in the previous chapters, I have examined how Chinese notions and projects of modernity have been shaped through discourses and projects of resistance to imperialism, the post colonial era need to strengthen the nation, and projects of neoliberal governmentality to create a workforce that can compete (or flexible accumulation) within globalized market economies (Nonini & Ong, 1997). First, I will situate these two methods within theoretical debates on analyzing digital media and texts.

Early work within the digital humanities involving computational work on texts, such as topic modeling, and qualitative methods such as discourse analysis were seen as incompatible. This early computational work frequently used quantifying of words and phrases to claim the results as objective (Drucker, 2009; Berry, 2011). Qualitative researchers often criticized these forms of research as positivist and argued that these methods failed to take into account the positionality of the researcher (Yu *et al.*, 2011). Boyd and Crawford (2012) and Yu *et al.* (2011) argue that these computational forms of research, while they may be incorrectly used to make positivist claims about social relations, are not at odds with research methods reflexive of positionality. While many algorithms and statistical models rely on some sort of quantification in producing their results, all forms of research involve the interpretation of data. Boyd and Crawford write: “Interpretation is at the center of data analysis. Regardless of the size of a data, it is subject to limitation and bias” (2012: 666). Yu *et al.* (2011) argue that data mining of texts, often mistaken as a positivist due to its computational nature, actually is compatible with qualitative methodologies and epistemology through iterative and reflexive practices.

As mentioned above qualitative researchers also point to the positionality and the subjectivity of the researcher in interpreting the data. Qualitative researchers describe the ability for these methods to create Grounded Theory, which by suspending the researcher’s preconceptions seeks to allow for the emergence of situated categories, concepts, and constructs from contexts to develop rather than verify, hypotheses (Emerson *et al.*, 1995; Yu *et al.*, 2011). Therefore, both digital humanists and qualitative social scientists seek to situate the researcher’s interpretation of the theory that emerges from texts based on the researcher’s positionality. This reflexivity of the researcher is accomplished through an iterative process, often through the coding of interview transcripts or texts. This epistemological dedication to contextualize

research and place the researcher as part of the research process differs from positivist claims of objectivity. Yu *et al.* (2011) argues that computational forms of research such as text mining allow for subjective interpretation though the use of what was traditionally regarded as positivist and objective forms of research. Text mining requires an algorithm or program to interpret along the researcher's parameters useful information or major themes in a text. This form of programming and interpreting the results are also an iterative process, as the researcher may decide to delete or reclassify some entries into different categories (Yu *et al.*, 2011). In terms of the analysis that text mining provides, it is very similar to content analysis used by qualitative researchers. Content analysis "... is a system of identifying terms, phrases, or actions that appear in a document, audio recording, or video and then counting how many times they appear in what context" (Cope, 1991: 282). Recent programs in text mining, such as natural language processing also allow for analysis beyond the mere quantification of certain words, but looking at keywords and phrases in context (Weingart, 2012). By changing the input and by interpreting the categories and results of the algorithm or program makes text mining an iterative process and allows for the researcher to reflect on their subjectivity.

In selecting the topic modeling software MALLET as a computational method for the larger corpus, I also use this tool in an iterative process to compare the results of my discourses analysis and reflect on my positionality and reflexivity in undergoing this analysis. In this analysis reflexivity was accomplished through the careful selection of texts relevant to this study. Some texts that were by minors and contained too much personal information were not chosen as they may have harmed these children. MALLET was run numerous times with different amount of topics selected, with fifteen providing topics that were not redundant and the greatest amount of information. The outputs were revisited and reflected upon both before and after the discourse

analysis to use MALLET's interpretation to inform the results of both analyses. These interpretations were compared while reflecting on my own preconceptions and positionality to critically reflect how these may have influenced my interpretation. My codes for the discourse analysis and interpretation of the MALLET output were changed based on the reflecting on my pre-held beliefs and attempting to suspend and reduce the influence of these preconceptions. By using topic modeling in conjunction with discourse analysis of a smaller and more manageable corpus of texts, both will provide iterative and reflexive methods in interpreting the notions of modernity within these corpuses.

Discourse analysis is particularly well suited for exploratory studies of social relations and power in the construction of truth, such as in constructing what is modern. Waitt (2010) writes that in order to conduct a discourse analysis one must choose the source materials that will allow for a rich text, and recommends a purposive sampling. This sampling technique not only ensures the richness in nuance, but also allows the researcher to familiarize themselves with the text. Waitt (2010) and Cope (2010) highlight that coding the data without preconceptions and assumptions are of key importance to conducting qualitative analysis in a rigorous manner. Waitt (2010) points to Foucault's recommendation that only by approaching the text with fresh eyes can we then see how what is natural and true are constructed within these texts. This method of analyzing discourses requires two processes of reading and coding the text. First coding the manifest content, or in order to analyze the content and understand what themes are being discussed and to organize them. After this process of Descriptive Coding has been complete, Waitt (2010) recommends reviewing and reflecting on the descriptive codes and then coding for analysis. Analytical Coding is used to elucidate the latent content of the text or the subtexts and discourses used by the author (Cope 2010; Waitt, 2010). This was attempted by

first coding the various themes within the text and then reflecting upon these themes while reflecting on my preconceptions and position as a researcher. The first round of coding was informed by the MALLET output and any correspondence between the outputs and codes were noted. I then coded again analytically, critically reviewing my previous codes while also interpreting the discursive practices within the text. These codes were also reflected upon based on my position as a researcher and in relation to the previous round of coding/MALLET outputs. Throughout the coding process it is essential to track the changes of your coding, revisit them, and update them as part of an iterative process. This process as explained above allows for the researcher to be reflexive of his or her own positionality and subjectivity.

The natural language processing program MALLET can analyze a large corpus of texts and determining the “topics” or themes that exist within these texts. MALLET determines these topics by looking for clusters of words that frequently occur together, and are able to differentiate between various meanings of the same word through contextualization (McCallum, 2002). In order to run MALLET on my corpus of texts it was necessary to save the blog as a text or .txt file. An issue that arose with running MALLET is that it runs on a java binary platform (McCallum, 2002) and therefore the Chinese characters had to be re-encoded. This re-encoding resulted in a number of errors that took some time to correct. The encoding format that worked with MALLET turned out to be UTF-8.

Another issue that needed to be addressed in using MALLET is that Chinese texts need to be segmented. Chinese is often written without spaces between the characters, and in order for an algorithm to recognize the words it needs to be segmented. This has turned out to be a problem in computing and processing Chinese texts that was only recently addressed in the form of open source software. This issue arises from the fact that Chinese characters can have

meanings individually, but characters can be joined with others to form words with different meanings. For example, the word school is made up of the characters “学校” but by separating the characters the meaning can change: “学” means to study, while “校” means school or field officer, so the segmented characters take on a meaning of studying and school/field officer, instead of just school. With 90 blogs the task of segmenting all the characters by hand becomes quite tedious and time consuming. I was able to use a recent open source program developed at the Stanford Natural Language Processing Group to segment out the blogs in this corpus (Stanford Natural Language Processing Group, 2012; Tseng *et al*, 2005). MALLET also has the ability to remove what are called stop words, or words that carry little meaning such as “to,” “and,” “by.” For this analysis I used an open source stop word list developed by Chuan Shi at Tsinghua University (Shi, 2009). With the blogs segmented and with the Chinese stop word list I was able to run MALLET on this corpus of texts.

Table 4.1: Example output of Topic Model (translations by author; Manser, 2003):

0	2.5	大学 (university), 英国 (England), 年 (year), 留学生 (study abroad student), 世界(world), 呢 ( <i>linguistic particle</i> ), 图书馆(library), 欧洲 (Europe), 呵呵 (ha ha), 丹麦 (Denmark), 德国 (Germany), 国度 (state, nation), 之后 (after, afterwards), 伦敦 (London), 意大利 (Italy), 牛津(Oxford), 读书(to study; read), 提供 (to provide, supply, furnish), 英国人 (English person)
1	2.5	就 (undertake; already; accomplish; only, merely, just), 说 (to speak), 我们 (we), 什么 (what), 这个 (this), 觉得 (to think), 时候 (at the time), 老师 (teacher), 还是 (still,), 他们 (they), 同学 (classmates), 知道 (to know), 怎么 (how), 能 (to be able), 问 (ask), 找 (to look for), 然后 (then, after that), 为什么 (why), 一下 (a bit; awhile)
2	2.5	天 (day, heaven), 地 (land, earth; <i>linguistic particle</i> ) 就(undertake; already; accomplish; only, merely, just), 吃 (to eat), 学校 (school), 月(month) 住 (to live; to live in), 宿舍(dormitory), 时间 (time), 已经 (already), 写 (to write), 由于(due to; owing to) 太 (very), 地方 (place), 回到 (came back to), 超市 (market place), 时候 (at the time), 房子 (apartment; house), 房间 (room)

3      2.5      英语 (English), 学习 (to study), 交流 (exchange; interflow), 文化 (culture), 自己 (myself, by one's self), 专业 (special field of study; major), 生活 (life), 学 (to study), 语言 (language), 方面 (aspect), 中 (middle, relating to), 对 (correct; compare; to face) 西方 (the West; occident), 等 (to wait; grade, class; and so on), 机会 (opportunity), 基础 (foundational; basis), 提高 (improve), 在 (at), 能力 (ability)

For an example of the “topics” that MALLET produced from the entire corpus see the appendix. These word clusters give the most common topic that occurred in the text (see table 4.1 above). In this example MALLET was run to identify fifteen topics (recommended default is 10), four of which are shown above (labeled 0-2), and the 2.5 is a Dirichlet parameter for the topic, which was not used for this analysis. The Dirichlet parameter was not used due to time constraints, and because it is a probability distribution, which was not necessary for this analysis. This is an exciting area for future research within this area and corpus of texts. MALLET provides an insight much the same as content analysis in interpreting the major themes and language used within a text. I grouped similar texts based on the assumed or identified producers of the text to analyze if differences in topics and language used, this was done to allow for an emergence in different language use based on the producer of the text. To use MALLET with Chinese characters I had to use the parameter “—token-regex “[ $p\{L\}$ ] $p\{M\}$ ]+” to produce an output. These groups were separated into individual authors that described the choice or experience of studying abroad, and were compared to the blogs of businesses and experts offering advice or trying to “sell” the option of study abroad. MALLET provided an opportunity to interpret topics from the different uses of language between these two groups; this will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Table 4.2: Example of Descriptive and Analytical codes for Discourse Analysis.

Quotation	Descriptive Codes	Analytical Codes
“Why should you go to study abroad? Because over the next 100 years the world will be continued to be ruled and occupied by Western thinking.”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. West as dominant</li> <li>2. Studying abroad to obtain Western thought</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Western thinking and thought can only be gained abroad</li> <li>2. World as dominated by hegemonic West</li> <li>3. China as needing to conform to Western thought</li> </ol>
"I believe many students come abroad for the same reasons as me: to find a good job [in China], to earn a large and steady salary." Note added.	Employment opportunities	Abroad as route to economic affluence upon return
"I looked around the station and found a distinctive furniture store. A small candle holder gave off an aroma for decorating a living room, dining room... This was my first exposure to Japanese style, and I think it had fine delicacy and grandeur... suddenly I could see forward to my future life, I want my future to belong to that house... I could not help but smile."	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Japanese distinctive style</li> <li>2. Aroma - Sensual description</li> <li>3. Japanese style as delicate and grand</li> <li>4. Future after studying</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Use of senses to describe Japan as different and distinctive</li> <li>2. Japan as shaping her future.</li> <li>3. Happiness/value gained through going abroad</li> </ol>

In completing the discourse analysis of the blogs selected from my larger corpus, I followed the advice of Waitt (2010) and Cope (2010) in suspending my preconceptions and experience to approach the text with fresh eyes. Since it is not entirely possible to suspend preconceptions and be objective, I frequently reflected upon, edited and changed codes to account for my positionality and preconceptions. This reflecting and editing of codes allowed for me to remove codes and interpretations that were shaped by my previous understandings, as well as to remove codes sensitive in nature that could be used against the authors of these blogs. I first completed a descriptive coding of these blogs to determine the main themes that appear within them. I frequently revisited the texts I had just coded in order to reflect upon them, to change any codes that could be merged or separated. See table 4.2 for an example of this

descriptive coding. Note the codes have been translated for ease of the reader, but also to protect the identity of the author of the blog. These descriptive codes helped organize the themes and content of the text in order to embark in the next stage of analytical coding, to code the naturalization of “truth” and to note what assumptions, silences, and ruptures emerge from the texts (Waite, 2010; Cope, 2010).

An example of a discursive construction of modernity and education is the fact that none of the collected blogs described were about studying abroad outside countries in North America, Europe, Singapore, South Korea, or Japan. The silence of countries in Africa, other parts of Asia, and South America naturalizes these countries as unable to offer a modern education. But on reflecting on this silence it also constructs China’s own university and education system as inferior to the education in the “modern” countries. This assumption creates a China that is still in the process of modernization, but cannot provide the educational development to compete within the global system. In analyzing these texts careful attention was paid to *who* was the producer of the text. As described by Waite (2010) while conducting discourse analysis it is important to pay attention to who is producing the text and their positionality. The corpus analyzed discursively was selected purposively to include texts produced by individual students and parents, but also experts and businesses. This allowed me to identify ruptures within the text or differences in the language used. As described above, the use of both topic modeling and discourse analysis allowed a reflexive and iterative process in analyzing the themes and naturalization of truths surrounding modernity and Chinese students who seek education abroad.

As described in the introduction, this research has arisen out of my experience teaching in China and the University of Washington, my participation within critical Geography, and as a newcomer to the digital humanities’ methods. This thesis seeks to draw on methods from

different disciplines to interpret discourses. The analysis of blogs allows for the emergence of discourses as they are deployed by students, parents, experts, and companies looking to profit from this trend. The selection of these texts was completed through a purposive sampling of blogs for their relevancy. The methods selected and the collection of materials allowed for this research to be completed in a reflexive manner and does not claim objectivity through the use of computational methods, such as natural language processing and topic modeling. This reflexivity was accomplished through reflecting on the selection of materials, the iterative process of selecting MALLET topics, and repeatedly revisiting and changing codes through critically reviewing my positionality and preconceptions.

Limitations of this analysis include the reliance on blogs as the sole material of inquiry. Due to time and resource constraints this study was only able to analyze the 90 blogs that were collected. While these blogs provide rich nuanced text from a variety of locations and positions, these blogs were selected from only publically available blogs, and do not include material from sites which require a user name and password to access them, such as QQ or Douban. This use of publically available data does provide ethical safeguards as these authors have all chosen to make their content available to the general public. The use of blogs however only allows the analysis of texts that come from producers that have the ability to access the internet and a computer. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that these producers come from affluent positions within Chinese society as the cost to prepare and pay for studying abroad (going to English cram schools for example) is relatively quite high. People who do not have access to the internet, such as migrant workers or rural residents, are most likely not represented within these texts. Due to time constraints the use of MALLET was performed in a relatively basic manner. While MALLET provided some key interpretations of language used further research can use

multiple outputs and the other parameters of this tool for new and different interpretations.

Lastly, the limitations of this analysis involve my positionality as a researcher. While I am fluent in Chinese I am not a native speaker of the language. My non-native status and reading from a distance may have led to some linguistic and discursive nuances to go undetected. However, my language ability is strong enough to provide a reliable and valid analysis of Chinese blogs and the deployment of notions of modernity and students seeking education abroad.

## Chapter Five: Analyzing Digital Spaces of Blogs and Discourses of Modernity

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the discourses and notions of modernity deployed within digital spaces around the pursuit of education abroad by Chinese students. I first analyze the results of using the natural language processing and topic modeling program MALLET on a corpus of 90 blogs from the popular websites of Sina and Sohu. MALLET is used to explore the language or “topics” that emerge in discussing studying abroad, and to interrogate differences in language use based on the producer’s positionality. Using MALLET allows me to interpret a corpus of texts that is too large for a single researcher to manually analyze in a period of four months. I then explore the discourses and notions of modernity used within a selection of 31 blogs written by students abroad, seeking to go abroad, advisory services, supplemental English schools, and businesses. Completing a discourse analysis of these 31 blogs provides insights into interpreting the discursive constructions of modernity, abroad, China, and the role of education in modernity. This analysis allows for the emergence of ruptures and silences within these discourses and understanding how syncretic individuals (Rofel, 1999) deploy conflicting notions of modernity within global and local neoliberal/modern projects. The analysis below provides an insight into how individuals deploy and contest notions of modernity in relation to neoliberal projects of governmentality. As mentioned above, scholarly work on neoliberal governmentality and its role in education tend to focus on large-scale institutions and networks of power, at the expense of individual agency. This analysis provides a much needed look into how individuals and organizations deploy modernity within Chinese neoliberal governmentality.

## Section 5.1: Language and Topics Describing Education Abroad: the results of using MALLET on a large corpus of texts

I use MALLET to interpret the themes within the larger corpus of texts, and to interrogate differences in language based on the text-producer's positionality as suggested by Waitt (2010). MALLET was also used to inform the "content analysis" process within coding for discourse analysis (Cope, 2010; Wait, 2010). Content analysis is usually described as the quantification of language use within a text to identify words and phrases commonly used. I categorized these blogs based on purpose and producer, separating them into business/advisory services and into those written about individual experiences abroad. As Yu *et al.* (2011) describes, the interpretations of these texts were included as part of an iterative process. Through running MALLET a number of times on the larger and divided corpus, I identified fifteen topics as the most effective in both reducing redundancy and clearly identifying the topics that emerged. Multiple runs with fifteen topics were completed and to ensure that outputs were returning similar results. The outputs included here are from three runs of MALLET, one on the whole corpus, and one each on the business oriented and individually authored blogs. As this is an exploratory study one output was selected to inform the later discourse analysis, running and comparing multiple outputs could be conducted for future research. The parameters used are explained in more detail in chapter four, and due to the scope of this thesis, many of the defaults were used. An area for future research would be using MALLET with more of the probabilistic parameters while running statistical analyses on the outputs, as these were not used in this thesis due to time constraints. I will analyze first the output of MALLET on the corpus as a whole, then the outputs for blogs by businesses and study abroad advisory services, and lastly the outputs by individuals. The outputs are included in the appendix and the Chinese characters include translations here for the reader's convenience.

At first glance, many of these topics reflect what one would expect from blogs about studying abroad (see table 5.1 in the appendix). These topics include words like: essays, schools, dormitories, teachers, friends, life, society, studying, problems, *et cetera*. However, on closer inspection one can see some themes begin to emerge from these topics. For example, only a few countries are mentioned in this output. The countries that emerge in this output for the entire corpus include England (2), the United States (2), France (1), and Japan (2). The only other country mentioned is China (7), which included terms like domestic (国内). This highlights places discussed for pursuing an education “abroad” as focused on Western Europe, the United States, and Japan. In topic eleven the word “Occident” or “the West” is even used (西方). Countries that are not considered part of the West do not make an appearance, which demonstrates that Western (this includes Japan), developed countries are the most discussed locations for studying abroad.

Another theme that emerges here within the topics of the entire corpus is of employment. In topics four, ten, and fourteen, include the words MBA (Masters of Business Administration), work, salary, and working. Interestingly, business is the only field of study mentioned. The words work (工作), salary (收入), and working a part time job (打工) ties the topic of employment into the language used for going abroad. The term development (发展) may refer to personal or national development, but is often used as a phrase for economic development; the distinction is not known here. The topic of employment highlights the close impact that going abroad to study may have on a student’s future profession. Whether that impact is described as positive and negative is not clear from MALLET’s output on these texts. By separating the blogs into business/advisory and individual authors, MALLET allows us to visualize and identify the differences in language deployed through these two groups’ positionality.

I will first analyze the blogs identified as business or offering expert advice, which were categorized based on whether the author was involved in the study abroad preparatory or advising industries. Many of these blogs were posted on Sina and Sohu by companies, but a few were written by individuals offering their expert standings as consultants for applying or going abroad. Within the corpus of blogs, 48 were categorized as business-oriented, making up 53.3% of the corpus. Table 5.2 in the appendix shows the fifteen topics identified within this subset. The themes produced by MALLET demonstrate the language used by these blogs identifies places to study abroad. Work and employment as well as with also words about cost/money are mentioned within more topics. For example, England or English universities within are mentioned the most here, appearing in five topics. England is not only mentioned by name, but included in this count are two English universities: Oxford and Swansea. The rest of Europe is mentioned once, with France and Denmark appearing in topic two. The US emerges three times, with Japan and Australia each once. Here we see again that studying abroad is centered on what would be generally considered the “West,” or Western Europe, the United States, and the emergence of Australia. These places could reflect an Occidentalism (Chen, 1995; Coronil, 1996) notion of where can be modern, which is later identified as a discourse below. These blogs also mention employment and financial terms more frequently than the output from the entire corpus. Words relating to employment, including work (工作), salary (收入), working part-time (打工), occupation (职业), and employment (就业), add up to being present six times within topics, with “mba” also mentioned. The cost of studying abroad likewise emerges as a theme within these blogs, with money mentioned twice (钱), as well as units of money (元) and US dollars (美元) each mentioned once. Lastly scholarships (奖学金) emerge in this theme of money as well. The emergence of topics of working employment and money may reflect concerns regarding social

reproduction as discussed by Water (2006a/b, 2007) and Bodycott and Lai (2012) or also concerns of filling one's potential in accordance to neoliberal governmentality as described by Ong (2000), Nonini and Ong (1997), and Hoffman (2010). The major themes that emerge from these business-oriented blogs are the West as a location of study, employment, and occupation, as well as the money/cost involved.

The positionality of the authors of these blogs suggest they stand to profit from offering services in helping students preparing to go abroad to study. The emergence of occupation and employment may offer insight into what careers can be aided in, or the professions available for those, going abroad. The mentioning of money and scholarships may also imply that these services can help families in reducing the cost of getting a foreign education, making it more affordable. The themes that the business blogs have in common with the larger corpus are the West as locations of study and discussions of employment/occupations. The blogs written by individuals differ from these business-oriented blogs in a number of ways.

The blogs categorized as written by individuals numbered 42 or 46.7% of the larger corpus. The locations that emerge from these topics are roughly the same as those interpreted from the larger corpus and business blogs, with the addition of Canada (see table 5.3 in the appendix). These blogs mention France (1), Canada (1), England (1), the United States (2), and Japan (2, including the phrase Japanese people, 日本人). While these blogs refer to these places abroad less than the business blogs, they are still centered on the same places as described above. Work (工作) and development (发展) are also referred to, but only twice and once respectively, which is less than the business-oriented blogs (mentioned six times). The language that emerges within these topics focuses more on words of studying and experiences than anything else. This is exemplified with words such as experience (经验/经历), study abroad (留学), student (学生),

teachers (老师), English (英语), exchange (交流), culture (文化), eating (吃), etc. Interestingly “mba” does not emerge from these topics. This suggests differences in language and discourses used between these individually-authored blogs and ones authored by businesses. The countries of study and employment are consistent themes despite being mentioned fewer times than the outputs from the larger corpus and business blogs.

MALLET provided an opportunity to interpret language use based on the positionality of the author, with business blogs mentioning more countries of study, employment, and finances than individual blogs. Individual authors deploy more descriptive language with words relating to the experience and life of a student abroad, than business blogs. Interestingly, business and individual blogs mention the same places of study and of work as the larger corpus. Due to time constraints, MALLET was not used as a more probabilistic tool and the further interpretation of these topics can be further researched. Here we can see that the language used varies due to producers, while carrying some of the same basic themes. In the next section I will explore the discourses surrounding studying abroad that emerged from a selection of 31 blogs written by businesses and individuals.

## Section 5.2: Constructing Abroad as Different through Exoticism and China through Nostalgia, Patriotism and Economic Pressures

Through iterative and reflexive coding the descriptive and latent content of the 31 blogs on studying abroad, discursive practices and structures started to emerge through defining differences between China and abroad. As previously mentioned, these codes were reviewed and edited based on reflecting on my positionality, preconceptions, and MALLET outputs. These practices particularly construct Western countries as sites of vibrant sensuality and exoticism, while at the same time, describe China in language that reflects nostalgia, patriotic

emotions, and economic pressures of everyday life. In this section, I explore the language used to create a discourse of the West as different and exotic through descriptions of vibrant and sensual experiences, creating an Occidental discourse of the West as more exotic/cosmopolitan than China (Chen, 1995; Mitchell, 2003). First of all, I use the terms “West” and “abroad” interchangeably in this chapter, as this is how it often appears within these blogs. As will be explored further later on, all of the blogs on studying abroad analyzed here described education and life in North America, Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and South Korea. These countries are described in these blogs as having Western thought and will hence be referred to interchangeably as the West or abroad.<sup>12</sup>

In these blogs, life abroad is often described with the use of vibrant colors and other sensual stimuli in constructing abroad as a place of distinctive difference. This difference is further constructed with descriptions of defining characteristics such as vast and huge landscapes, run-ins with strange animals, and encounters with exotic diversity and thoughts. For example, a student recently returned from France after completing a Master’s degree writes: “Sometimes I yearn for France, the beauty and simplicity, the impenetrable blue sky, the aroma of the coffee shops on the street.” This description plays on the senses, creating France as a place with deep colors and aromas. This use of vibrant colors can also be seen in a blog by a student studying in Japan he describes the beauty of Japanese cherry blossoms:

The Japanese environment is good, the air is good, on clear days, the sky is a deep blue that flows, and the wind smoothly blows into your heart. If you look at the flowers from afar, the dim colors contrast the blue sky... If you have the opportunity, friends you must come here, allow that blue color and pink to intoxicate you, allow your heart to accept that blue, afterwards you forget everything.

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<sup>12</sup> As mentioned above, the individuals, organizations, and the blog URLs are not included to protect the privacy of the authors.

This language is describing the beauty of Japan's cherry blossoms draws heavily on the senses of sight and touch, and emotions to describe a scene so beautiful that it can intoxicate (陶醉) you and allow you to forget your earthly burdens. Another student studying in Spain describes the "strong Spanish sun," and the ability to take the bus to view Madrid's cityscapes and cultural views, which sparks "the exotic flowers" (奇葩) of thoughts and feelings. Many of these blogs also describe the general world outside of China as "a vast sky outside" or "big and wonderful." This description of foreign scenes and the larger world is not the only discursive practice used to construct the outside world as different, diverse, and sensual. Experiences and interactions with the exotic local fauna cause people to reify these foreign lands as different and unique.

A number of blogs use interactions with animals or local forms of diversity to describe their experience as exotic. One blog by a student in Australia gives a detailed account of interactions with small birds that are very curious and will feed from your hand. This student goes on to describe ducks living on campus that aren't afraid of humans, and claims you can walk right up to animals in Australia. This same student writes about a nature reserve near his university: "People say it is lucky to see a Kangaroo, but I unfortunately haven't seen one yet." These animals are coupled with descriptions of interactions with diverse people in creating abroad as a different and unique place. The author of the same blog writes about experiencing a Diwali celebration with some Indian classmates: "I didn't understand the meaning of this holiday, we listened to Indian music and it was interesting. Indian music is quite foreign." Not only is his interaction with this new culture confusing, but he was able to experience for the first time a *foreign/strange* (异域, which has connotations of foreign, exotic, and strange) form of music. Whether it is of the landscape filling one's senses to the point of intoxication, or interacting with new animals or cultures, these descriptions create discourses of abroad as a place of difference

and sensuality. This discursive practice fits with the construction of the Other as exotic and different, which reflects Orientalism/Occidentalism (Ahiska, 2003; Chen, 1995; Said, 1979) in creating the West as different/exotic. This discursive practice also fits with transnational/Chinese neoliberal governmentality in using exotic difference to allow for one to be more cosmopolitan. As described before (Mitchell, 2003; Ong, 1997a/b), this cosmopolitanism can allow for one to be more globally strategic for social reproduction (Waters 2006a/b, 2007) and for a nation-state's flexible accumulation (Nonini & Ong, 1997). While these blogs tend not to compare China with these new experiences, the absence of mentioning home implies that one cannot have these unique experiences in China. The nearly universal discursive construction of China in these blogs is of a place that juxtaposes abroad as exotic and sensual.

Within these blogs China is most frequently mentioned with feelings of nostalgia, patriotism, and concern with economic pressures. As can be expected, many of the blogs mention home when describing homesickness, but the construction of China as a place of nostalgia and patriotism especially emerges from descriptions of Chinese national celebrations. These descriptions tend to be very emotional, drawing on shared camaraderie or identity. For example, the aforementioned student completing her Masters studies in France describes returning to China around the Chinese New Year. Upon arriving at her gate in the airport she finds nearly everyone in the waiting area to be Chinese. She writes: "The people were waiting to go home for the New Year, at once I was not accustomed to this, and in the twinkle of an eye I felt *warm close feelings*" (emphasis added). This interaction with fellow Chinese people is described as highly emotional, with warm, close, familial feelings (亲切感). Another blog about a student studying in Korea also describes the emotion and love for China, while describing Chinese students celebrating on October 1<sup>st</sup>, the anniversary of the founding of the People's

Republic of China. He describes the Chinese students at the university watching the traditional military parade in Tiananmen Square on TV. He writes “All the Chinese stared at the screen with sparkling eyes, shared feelings, and feelings being far from the motherland, it cannot be expressed in language.” (Motherland here is 祖国, which can also mean ancestral homeland).

The sparkling eyes (眼睛闪闪) and the deep, warm, shared emotions create China as a place that is thought of with nostalgia and deep patriotic sentiment. China is not only discursively constructed this way, but is also juxtaposed with the sensual West through descriptions of a place where one must face economic realities and pressures.

As examined in chapter three, the economic realities and pressures for buying a house, car, and getting married partake in a hegemonic neoliberal construction of modernity. With the privatization of housing starting in the 1980s, housing was no longer a guaranteed government service and became a large financial burden for many Chinese families (Szelenyi, 2012). The ability to buy an apartment or car has become symbols of affluence and thereby contributes to the hegemonic neoliberal discourse of affluence achieving modernity. These neoliberal policies are often framed within China as policies for the modernization of the nation-state (Lin, 2006). The desire to obtain these amenities contributes to a hegemonic neoliberal/modern discourse, as one needs to be a modern citizen to be able to purchase/acquire these amenities. This hegemonic discourse of becoming modern through buying a house and car was observed in my personal experience in China, but is also present in the work of Hoffman (2010) and Rofel (2007). The pressures felt within this hegemonic neoliberal/modern discourse to obtain this modernity through buying a house, car, and getting married are clearly present in these blogs as discussed below.

Economic realities are often expressed in these individuals' blogs as the desire to find a good job after returning to China. This creates China as a place where one needs to face economic demands and social expectations. One student for example, writes after returning to China: "House, car, work, marriage, [in China] it always revolves around these topics, in reality this forces every person to practice survival of the fittest." Not only does she face the pressures of getting a job that allows her to purchase a house, she is also expected to find a husband soon. She feels that these economic and social pressures force people to compete for resources, as expressed through the mentioning of Darwin's theory of survival of the fittest. She goes on to denounce this as a cruel practice of Chinese society that "wears people down and can kill them." While this is an extreme and negative example of the construction of China as a place of economic and social pressures, nearly all of the blogs describe the desire to get a "good job" upon returning home. This juxtaposes China as a place of economic and social pressures and of nostalgic feeling, to that of an abroad that fills the senses with new, exciting, and vibrant experiences.

The discursive construction of difference between China and the locations in the West is accomplished with the language used to describe the two places. As elaborated above, the West is often described with language that fills the senses with vibrant colors, feelings, and emotions which are exotic/strange to the point of intoxication. This creates an Occidental construction of the West as a place of difference (Ahiska, 2003; Chen, 1995; Coronil, 1996; Said, 1979) and a place where cosmopolitanism can be gained (Mitchell, 2003; Ong, 1997). This practice also constructs China as being a site of pressure to fulfill social reproduction, as seen in the need to obtain a spouse, car, and house (Waters, 2006a/b, 2007). China is also often described through nostalgic emotions of camaraderie and patriotism. The next section explores how discourses

around education further this discursive difference, by constructing education abroad and the West as modern/free and China and the Chinese education system as non-modern.

### Section 5.3: Modern Other, Non-Modern Self: Discursive construction of Western education as Modern

The discursive practice across all of the analyzed blogs constructs China as a modernizing nation still lagging behind the modern West. This is particularly done portraying differences in education systems, with the West being based on freedom of thinking, which fulfills a students' potential. On the other hand, the Chinese education systems are based on testing, which allows for only a few students to succeed. This view of gaining modernity abroad fits with Occidental discourses, but also the need to gain valued skill sets abroad. This is often a purpose of neoliberal governmentality (Robertson & Dale, 2002; Rose, 1999; Spring, 2004) as explored in China through patriotic professionalism by Hoffman (2010). The main obstacle in allowing for Chinese students to freely develop their potential is the college entrance exam, or referred to from now on in Chinese, as the *gaokao*. The memorization based skills necessary to succeed in the *gaokao* is often cited by students in these blogs as the reason they go abroad to pursue a modern or "better" education.

Nearly all of the 31 analyzed blogs assume that a Western education is superior, as it allows one to "open your eyes" or "expand your horizons" for the fulfillment of one's potential. The opening of one's eyes to the outside world is often declared as the reason for pursuing an education abroad. One blog from a prominent English supplemental school company states that going abroad and experiencing these Western forms of thought is essential for Chinese students in today's world. The author argues: "Why should you go to study abroad? Because, over the next 100 years the world will continue to be ruled and occupied by Western thinking." Not only

will Western thinking continue to be hegemonic in this description, it must be learned to survive under its occupation. This quote also implies that Western thinking cannot be accessed through China's education system and must be sought abroad. Another author of a blog advising students on preparing to study abroad argues: "Abroad is more suitable for a student's education. It can really open up a student's potential. The American education system stresses that a student obtain a balanced and diverse foundation (In China, only test grades weigh a student's abilities)" Parenthesis part of original text. Educational resources in the US and European Union are described by another author of an advisory blog as "excessive" (过剩), with these countries looking to use these resources to meet the demand of Chinese students in a global market. Here we see the construction of Western education and thinking as not only more modern than China, but necessary due to the continued hegemony of Western thinking. Again, this fulfillment of potential is posed as an opportunity for Chinese families to ensure the social reproduction of their family's status through the generations, much as Johanna Waters (2006a; 2006b; 2007) describes in Hong Kong families sending their children abroad for education.

Describing the "freedom" (自由) of Western society and education allows for a variation in thinking methods and fulfillment of a student's potential is used to construct the West as modern and China as not. Through this freedom a person can develop their potential rather than study for merely passing an exam such as the *gaokao*. One student hoping to complete a master's degree in America writes about how this freedom can allow for a deeper understanding of the world. "I've said I want to go abroad and open my eyes to the world...I like America, some say she has character, some say she is debauched, some say she is widely known. I like her for one reason – Freedom! ...What can be happier in life? Freedom!" This quote clearly constructs the West as a place where there is freedom to "open my eyes to the world." This, in

turn co-constructs China as a place that is not free, nor a place where you can view the world. This can also be seen in a blog written by a student in New Zealand: “Grasp the opportunity to study, especially in thinking methods, culture, and the exchange of ideas...you must exchange with your classmates and become a part of that society.” Here we see that this difference and freedom in thinking-methods is an opportunity (机会) to be grasped. By grasping this difference in thought, by becoming part of the other society, you are then able to gain a foreign perspective and knowledge to achieve a cosmopolitanism that can only be grasped abroad and not back in China.

The development of potential through this varied and free education is seen as more modern and desirable than getting an education in China. Only by fully developing this potential can a child truly have a great future (i.e. social reproduction as described by Waters 2006a/b, 2007). The author of an English preparatory school blog urges parents to send their children abroad, even if they test into the best universities in China. “If your child can test into a top domestic school, for example Beijing University or Qinghua University, then they should go abroad. If they study abroad they will have a great future.” This blogger argues that even the top two Chinese universities cannot compete with a foreign education in developing a student’s potential for the future. Students writing blogs about their time abroad also take up this discursive practice about their education abroad providing a great future. This is a quote from a blog of a student studying in Tokyo, who writes about finding a Japanese furniture store while waiting for a subway. I quote her in full:

I looked around the station and found a distinctive furniture store. A small candle holder gave off an aroma for decorating a living room, dining room... This was my first exposure to Japanese style, and I think it had fine delicacy and grandeur... suddenly I could see forward to my future life, I want my future to belong to that house... I could not help but smile.

This author uses the description of the aroma and delicate and grand Japanese style to give a sensual description of Japan as different from what she is used to. While looking at the furniture she also recounts the desire to have such a house in her future, which is now possible since she has gone to Japan to get an education, opened her eyes to new experiences, and developed her potential to acquire such a future. Just as abroad is described as allowing for freedom of thinking to allow for potential, China is likewise constructed as non-modern and its education system as harmful to students' future.

One post on a student's blog compares China in terms of development through an Occidental metaphor of age. "Comparing China and America, China is like a young 25 year old, but America is like a middle aged 45 year old..." Therefore America, the author continues to argue, has more resources and money to do what it wants, while China is still trying to acquire these, ever since Deng Xiaoping's neoliberal reforms (Nonini & Ong, 1997; Ong 1997a/b; Wang, 2003). All of the blogs assume or state that China's education system, especially the rigorous exams, harm a student's ability to develop their potential, similar to what Ertl and Yu describe (2010). China also lacks the resources for this needed freedom, as described in the quote above. This criticism extends to the Chinese university system, and the low level of social benefits compared to the West, as signs of modernity lacking in China. Students writing in their blogs often write about how they themselves embody this lack of modernity in their educational abilities as will be discussed below.

The lack of modernity in China is highlighted through the low amount of social benefits (pensions, subsidies, and worker protections) and the exam-based education system. One blog author argues the US provides a number of social benefits to protect its workers and the elderly, which go far beyond China's benefits. In describing China in the relation to the US he uses the

word “backwards” or “to lag behind” (落后). This is further echoed in blogs criticizing Chinese universities in terms of quality and student admission policies that lack a modern approach. The blog mentioned above by the English preparatory school describes Chinese universities. (The quotation marks are added to show that the word in the blog was originally in English):

We call Chinese universities “universities,” this translation came from the world. In Chinese universities, no matter if you study or not you are OK. In Chinese universities a semester is five months, for the first four and a half months no one studies, they all go surf the internet, hang out, join clubs, fool around, or do other things. In the last half month, everyone crazily reads, studies, copies answers, just to pass the exam.

This description clearly aims to demonstrate Chinese universities as inferior to Western universities. This author goes on to explain that this is partially due to modern universities only being in China for about one hundred years, compared to Harvard’s 500 and Oxford’s 1000 year history. This reifies China’s education system as too new (or young) to be modern, and the West as being able to teach modern ideas through their effective university systems. This reflects the teleological notion (Lichtblau, 1999) that China will gain modernity with time when it manages to break from its non-modern past. Another student’s blog posted a news article written by an admissions officer at a prominent Beijing university. In this article the author describes a story of a mother who comes to plead for her daughter for another chance to take the entrance exam. The mother explains in detail how her daughter has won science fair competitions and sought to help the poor in rural China. The daughter is described as an outstanding artist and a Good Samaritan. The mother wants her child to go abroad for college, but her daughter wants to stay in China and help others. Due to Chinese admission policies the officer has no choice but to deny the daughter’s admission due to her low test scores, despite her being an outstanding individual. The articles posted on these blogs portray China as not only unable to provide social

benefits, but also denying individuals opportunities develop their potential and therefore help China achieve modernity because the exam-based education system. This discursively constructs the West and its educational systems as modern and China as not modern. This again, reflects an Occidentalist discourse through a need for students to pursue a Western education to obtain a “bright future,” which in turn serves the state’s needs. Blogs written by students studying abroad even demonstrate the embodiment of this subjectivity of being non-modern.

Students studying abroad describe their shortcomings as the outcome of the Chinese education system’s harmful practices, furthering the discourse of its inability to develop a person’s potential. One student who went abroad for a Master’s degree describes how a Chinese undergraduate degree lacked employability in Shanghai: “Some years ago I graduated from Hangzhou University, at the time I thought I only needed a to find a good job, and everything would be OK, I started looking in Henan province, I never thought I could find work in Shanghai.” Henan province is a poorer inland province, and Hangzhou University is generally considered to be a good academic institution within China. This inability to get a job in Shanghai both reifies Chinese universities as inadequate and Shanghai as a center for Chinese modernity. The message here is in order to get a job in Shanghai; one must get a degree from abroad. The student who blogged about the Japanese furniture store also displays the embodiment of the lack of modernity when describing her own shortcomings while lost in the Tokyo subway. “I’ve used the subway in Beijing for ten years as a child, but Tokyo’s subway is confusing, what can a child from Shandong [province] do?” Here we see her inability to navigate through the Tokyo subway attributed to being a child from Shandong province, despite riding the subway in China’s capital. Lastly a student studying in Australia describes his shortcomings directly as the result of the exam-based education system in China: “I have the

opportunity to come to Oceania, I've come to Australia, full of curiosity, but I only understand about 30% of the spoken English (sigh, the exam-based education system really harms people).” This student directly blames China’s exam-based education system.

Through these blogs we see the discursive construction of West and its education system as “free” and able to develop a student’s potential, and more modern in its results and providing of social benefits. China, on the other hand, is constructed as non-modern through the critiques of the universities as unable to provide a quality education, the exam-based system and *gaokao* as weeding out good students, and actively harming students abilities to think. This Occidental construction shapes a West where students can shed their lack of modernity and fulfill their potential (Hoffman, 2010; Mitchell, 2003). This modernity in turn can contribute to the Chinese states desire for flexible accumulation and the development of innovative industries (Nonini & Ong, 1997). This self-colonization of the mind creates a discourse of portraying one’s nation as not modern and striving to achieve Western modernity. The construction of the West as modern through education is reflected in these blogs, arguing that Western modern education is the only route for a Chinese student to develop their potential. The next section will describe how different and conflicting notions of modernity are deployed by these individuals for their own purposes. This section will look at the silences and ruptures emerging from the deployment of these different discourses within modernist projects and forms of neoliberal governmentality.

#### Section 5.4: Struggle and Redefining the Modern: Syncretic Deployments of Modernity through their Silences and Ruptures

The deployment of notions of modernity by the syncretic individuals produced by modernist projects creates silences and ruptures within these discourses of modernity (Rofel, 1999). In this section I will explore the silences and ruptures within the discursive structures

described above. These silences are mainly characterized by the absence of the global south as sites of study, blogs written by individuals from less affluent regions and positions within China, and by the absence of descriptions of China as modern. Ruptures within the discourse of China as non-modern center on the purpose for pursuing an education abroad: for patriotic professionalism (Hoffman, 2010) to help China develop, or for immigration to the West. Interestingly, the Confucian family value of caring for one's elderly parents (Ong 1997a; 1997b) are used to support by both sides of this rupture. Lastly, there is a rupture in regarding the "freedom" offered in a Western education as being the mechanism to develop one's potential or as a corrupting/criminal influence on Chinese students. Chen's (1995) discussion of Occidentalism in China helps elucidate the political motivations behind this rupture. These conflicting notions of modernity and their deployment and contestation by syncretic individuals help shape and redefine what is modern.

The blogs analyzed here make no mention of studying outside what is generally considered the "West." Out of the 31 total analyzed blogs there are thirteen that focus on the US, eleven on the UK and Western Europe (this includes France, Spain, and the Netherlands), six on Australia and New Zealand, and four in Asia (two on Japan, one on South Korea, and one on Malaysia). Interestingly the discussion of Malaysia is by a doctor who quit his job at a hospital to have an "abundant life of wealth" (丰富的人生财富). Going to school in Malaysia was a stop for later immigrating to New Zealand. The numbers above reinforce the constructions of modernity centered on the United States and the United Kingdom. The authors of these blogs write about places, which discursively constructs areas as modern and appropriate for the pursuit of an education abroad. None of the blogs analyzed discursively discuss pursuing an education in Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East, or South and Southeast Asia (with the exception of

Malaysia previously mentioned). One exception is a blog collected for the MALLETT but not analyzed here which discussed studying in Russia. This silence constructs the pursuit of Chinese modernity by achieving Western modernity. It also reinforces the notion that other areas of the world that have been colonized are not modern. However, Japan and Korea, contradict this, as Korea was colonized by Japan, and Japan had been “colonized in the mind” as China had been (Chen, 1995). One blog on studying in Japan explains that the Japanese were able to meld Western thinking (西化思想) and ancient culture (古典保守思想) to modernize and eventually become the power that challenged the West during the Pacific war (1937-1945). Only through adopting Western thinking, he argues, was Japan able to modernize and become this global power. These silences limit modern education to Western notions embodied by North America, Europe, Oceania, Japan, and South Korea.

Another silence within these discourses is the absence of poorer regions and peoples. While few of the authors of blogs mention where they are from, those who do are from the more affluent coastal cities and provinces of Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, and Shandong. If any of the bloggers are from the less affluent inland provinces, they exclude this information. This silence constructs these more economically developed areas as being modern and affluent enough to pursue an education abroad, which contributes to neoliberal Governmentality projects in limiting what areas can be modern. This creates binaries in what areas are modern or non-modern, and which classes can be/contribute to modernist projects. As described in chapter two and three these distinctions in China of where and who can be modern contributes to neoliberal modernization projects (Lin, 2006). The pressures to be able to afford a house and car contribute to neoliberal projects as individuals must achieve the wealth to acquire these (Hoffman, 2010; Rofel, 2007). This is also represented in the quote mentioned above, of a domestic

undergraduate degree not being able to get a job in Shanghai, but being sufficient in inland provinces like Henan. This silence points to the more affluent Chinese citizens seeking education abroad as a source of modernity. The poorer and more rural residents are then silenced as a source of contributions to modernity through their education opportunities. Further research could analyze if these workers are encouraged to contribute to China's modernization only through labor. This in turn reifies these affluent citizens and places within China as being able to acquire modern knowledge abroad and to be a source for China's modernization. This discursive construction parallels Lu Xun's concept of Grabbism in acquiring and translating of Western thinking (Huang, 2008; Wang, 2007; Xie, 2007), but also Chinese neoliberal forms of governance of patriotic professionalism. The purpose of studying abroad for professional and national development as a form of governmentality is a site of rupture in the discourses of modernity deployed within these texts.

While these blogs unanimously construct the West and education abroad as more modern than in China, there are a number of ruptures that arise within this construction of modernity. The purpose of studying abroad is one site of this rupture, with patriotic professionalism being mentioned by many of these students as a duty, while some students conflict with this project in suggesting their purpose as immigrating for more a modern/cosmopolitan life (Mitchell, 2003, 2004). Both sides within this rupture deploy notions of the West as modern as well as the Confucian familial duty of caring for one's parents, to justify their viewpoint. The site of the second rupture is centered on the freedom offered by the West, particularly the U.S. and UK. Freedom is often described as allowing for an education that develops a student's potential, but can also be a possible source of corruption and criminal behaviors abroad. This rupture then sees

the West as both a site of fulfillment and risk/danger. These ruptures demonstrate how syncretic individuals deploy these notions of what is modern in uneven ways for their own purposes.

Out of the 31 blogs analyzed discursively only four view the purpose of studying abroad for immigration. The majority of the blog's authors write that they intend to return to China after completing their studies. There are a number of blogs that criticize students whose end-goal is to immigrate and settle in another country. One student studying in Australia writes "Many of my friends have told me that after 1-2 years work experience they will choose to go home to develop China [回国去发展]; this can have a lot of opportunities [机会]." (original characters added here for clarity). She goes on to say: "According to me, China is the country with the most potential to develop, and it is also the place I will realize my occupational dreams [职业梦想], therefore I don't want to use tricks [手段] to immigrate abroad." (original characters added here for clarity). . This author goes onto criticize Chinese students for immigrating saying that they cannot take advantage of the opportunities in China and they will be forced to choose low-paying jobs in Australia. Therefore, according to the author, these students are inherently lazy and not living up to their potential to help China and make the most of themselves. She goes on to write that immigrating "erodes" (流失) China and Chinese society. This especially harms Chinese elderly parents since they must also immigrate and cannot adapt to life abroad. Immigration, she argues, harms the Chinese nation and does not fulfill one's Confucian family duties of taking care of elderly parents. This patriotic professionalism can be seen in another student studying engineering in the Netherlands. He writes: "I'm longing to graduate early and return to China, find a job I like, use my acquired knowledge, and say this good-sounding phrase: Serve the motherland: use the knowledge of the returnees (海归)." Both of these students construct the knowledge they have acquired abroad as essential to the development of the Chinese nation.

These arguments reflect neoliberal notions of the knowledge economy as a source of innovation and development (Hoffman, 2010; Rose, 1999), but also Occidentalistic notions that this knowledge cannot be obtained in China (Ahiska, 2003). These students see it as the patriotic duty of all Chinese students to return home and work for their own occupational “dreams” and for national development. This however is challenged by students who argue that immigration allows for one to fulfill their professional potential, a cosmopolitan lifestyle, and familial duties.

Students who choose to immigrate cite China’s lack of modernity as the primary reason for wanting to immigrate. This is justified through not being able to fulfill one’s potential in a non-modern China, and of elderly parents receiving better social benefits abroad. One student who immigrated to Canada writes: “I wanted to study something useful, where one can excel, work with outstanding peers, find a good job, and give my parents a Canadian pension.” This student constructs China’s lack of modernity as an obstacle for her to excel at a job with outstanding peers, and further more as a place where fulfilling her Confucian familial duties is difficult due to poorer benefits such as a pension. Another blogger (previously mentioned) was a doctor in China for six years, before choosing to immigrate, by first studying in Malaysia and later working as a travel-agent in New Zealand. This doctor writes that the life abroad is more “rich and colorful,” meaning that living abroad offers a more transnational cosmopolitan lifestyle than being a doctor in China (Mitchell, 2003). This rupture exists within neoliberal forms of governance itself: should one return home to help the nation through patriotic professionalism? Or should one follow the route of transnational neoliberal cosmopolitanism and move to the location that offers the best living conditions and benefits as described by Waters (2006; 2007) and Mitchell (2003; 2004)? Here we see individuals deploying these discourses and notions of modernity for their own purposes and necessities.

The second rupture within these texts centers on the West's freedom as an advantage or the source of crime and corruption. As previously described, many authors argue that a Western education is freer than a Chinese one. Below, I will discuss how some authors argue that this openness can also be a corrupting influence on students, possibly even leading to criminal behaviors. This rupture has been described in many post-colonial societies and above as Occidentalism (Ahiska, 2003; Chen, 1995). As I have already discussed the construction of the West as vibrant, different, open, and free, I will focus here on the language used in describing abroad as a site of risk for corruption. Crime figures prominently as a threat to Chinese students while abroad.

In creating the West as a place of crime and possible corruption for Chinese students, America and England are the most often described as places of danger. Interestingly, they are also the most cited destinations for studying abroad. One blog by a student studying in Britain warns students wanting go there that "England is a twisted society," where, if a Chinese student is not careful, they will be taken advantage of. Another blog describing the US writes about American subways as the epicenter of crime. The imagery seems to describe a society whose very foundations, deep underground in the subways, are dangerous:

In fact, American society is the most unsafe in the world. Especially late at night, America is becoming a hell (地狱). Particularly the subway, it is full of violence and blood. The subway is the scariest place in America. It is America's dirtiest place, at night it becomes gang territory. Drugs, theft, hooligans, narcotic trafficking, if you see them it will cause you to tremble in fear.

The descriptions of violence, blood, and trembling in fear further create America as a site of extreme danger and risk. This author goes on to warn students, particularly female students, about the intentions that some people in America may have:

We all know Americans are very nice, but everyone, don't let yourself become confused by American's niceness. Sometimes, behind American's friendliness is a terrifying plot... Absolutely do not allow a handsome American to lie to you, if you get in their car, you're in their control, and they can take advantage of you.

Again, we see that this author argues that niceness could potentially be a ploy to exploit and take advantage of Chinese students. This deep-seeded crime and danger in American and English society is used to construct the West as a space of great risk.

A number of blogs describe education abroad as having too many temptations, which can corrupt a student and ruin their development. These blogs highlight the West as being a place that can offer the fulfillment of potential, but if a student isn't self-disciplined they can fall victim to these temptations. The previously mentioned student who is studying engineering in the Netherlands writes about how younger students may not be able to cope with the temptations abroad: "[younger students] can't handle or grasp many things, and the temptations are too many, it is easy to indulge yourself." Another blog written to advise parents on choosing to send their child abroad uses much stronger language to highlight the risk of corruption abroad (emphasis and characters added):

For some [immature] students, if they go abroad and don't study safely [安心学习], it can be very difficult to routinely and diligently study, and they quickly become study abroad *trash* [留学垃圾]. After wasting their parents blood, sweat [血汗] and money, they will come back home in dire straits and without any gain. Then they can evilly fall into doing drugs, selling sex, and become criminals.

While the language and rhetoric is quite strong, we can see the risk posed is inherent to studying abroad. These risks stem from a student's inability to regulate themselves and the constructed unsafe environment abroad. These factors can lead a student being corrupted by the free environment to the point where they may even become drug addicts and prostitutes. Again, this discursive construction creates a rupture with the modern West as a vibrant, exotic, and free

place where one can fulfill their potential beyond what they could do in China, but also one of great risk and corruption. The West can both represent the achievement of a great future, or the corruption and fall into criminal behaviors.

The discursive construction of the West as modern and China as non-modern contains silences and ruptures as deployed by individuals. These silences shape what countries and cultures can be considered modern within the international and domestic discourses, with Occidental discourses of modernity (Ahiska, 2003; Chen, 1995; Coronil, 1996) solely focused on the West and coastal regions of China. Ruptures emerge in conflict between national neoliberal forms of governance and international neoliberal cosmopolitanism, in choosing to return to China for development, or immigrating abroad (Hoffman, 2010; Mitchell, 2003; Rose, 1999; Waters, 2006a/b, 2007). Another rupture constructs the West as a place of fulfillment of potential and one of great risk and corruption which also reflects the West as a site of potential threat to an Occidental society (Chen, 1995). The next section will connect the findings of this analysis to the theoretical gap identified in chapter three.

#### Section 5.5: Individual Deployments of the Modern in Blogs on Pursuing Education Abroad

The gap highlighted in academic work such as Butcher (2004), Mitchell (2003), Nonini and Ong (1997), Ong (2000), and Robertson and Dale (2002) focus on the macro and fail to take into account how individuals and organizations deploy conflicting discourses of modernity. This study interprets how individual, expert, and corporate authors deploy uneven discourses of modernity in relation to Chinese neoliberal governmentality and modernization projects. The discourses and various notions of modernity used within these blogs construct China as non-modern in relation to a modern and hegemonic West. This construction displays China as not yet able to achieve Western modernity, yet seeking to attain this through a break from a

subjugated past (Latour, 1993, Lichtblau, 1999, Venn & Featherstone, 2006). This is done through a number of discursive practices through creating a different, unique, and exotic West through vibrant descriptions that fill the senses. This is juxtaposed against descriptions of China through nostalgic, patriotic, and economic pressures, such as getting a house or car and finding a spouse. This reflects the pressures for social reproduction and the role of education in achieving this as described by Waters (2006a/b, 2007). The construction of the West as different and unique is further deployed in naturalizing the West as being more modern than China.

Numerous blogs highlight the Chinese *gaokao* and exam-based education system as the obstacle to receiving a modern education where one can fulfill their potential. This discourse of the modern other and non-modern self is manifested in discussions and descriptions of education systems and social benefits, and is even embodied by students in the description of their own shortcomings abroad. The silences within these discourses create the West as the only option for Chinese modernization, while also silencing the people and regions of China that do not fit with this modernity. The ruptures within these discourses are used by individuals for their own empowerment.

As previously described, the deployment of uneven modernist notions creates ruptures within discourses of what is modern (Rofel, 1999). These ruptures emerge between Chinese neoliberal forms of governance, such as patriotic professionalism (Hoffman, 2010) and an international cosmopolitanism of transnational citizens (Mitchell, 2003, 2004; Waters 2006a, 2006b, 2007). This rupture uses a number of cultural discourses centered on fulfilling one's maximum potential through work (Hoffman, 2010; Rose, 1999) and being able to best take on the Confucian family duties of caring for elderly parents (Ong, 1997a/b). Both sides use these discourses to justify studying abroad to help China modernize or to seek immigration abroad.

The second rupture within the discourses on modernity and international education centers on the West and its open/free and modern education system as allowing for fulfillment of potential or possibly the corruption of Chinese students. Ahiska (2003) and Chen (1995) explore through Occidentalism how the self-colonization of a people creates the construction of the West as both an unattainable modernity, but also as a threat to this people's culture. The rupture between these two forms of Occidentalist thought is manifested in the rupture in the discourse of the West as modern and possibly corrupting. The modern aspects of a Western education are frequently described as fulfilling a student's potential and allowing for a great future. The risks and dangers are described through the crime and violence of Western society, seeping to the very foundations of Western society. Crime and violence can combine with the temptations of freedom to turn students into "study abroad trash," which can lead to them becoming criminals upon returning to China. Analyzing of this study allows for the interpretation of individual and organizational use of discourses of modernity, which provides insight into how individuals and organizations exercise their agency through deploying and contesting uneven discourses of modernity. This understanding goes beyond the academic work which focuses on individuals as being acted upon and constrained by larger macro-scale institutions and power relations of neoliberalism. The analysis of these blogs allowed for the emergence of how individuals take up and contest projects of governmentality and modernization to support their own purposes.

## Chapter Six: Concluding Remarks and Areas for Further Research

Modernity is a highly contextualized and inconsistent project, which is constantly redefined and struggled over (Bhabha, 1994; Rofel, 1999). As explored in chapters two and three, Chinese modernity is situated within legacies of Western imperialist ventures and contemporary shifting power relations (Huang, 2008; Wang, 2007; Xie, 2007). These shifting power relations and definitions of modernity are continuously repackaged as a break into a new era (Lichtblau, 1999; Venn & Featherstone, 2006). This new era today places modernity within neoliberal ideologies and governmentality (Mitchell, 2004; Ong, 2000; Rose, 1999). Previous scholarly work on neoliberalism, modernity, and education tend to privilege macro-scale power relations and institutions, over how individuals and organizations deploy uneven concepts of modernity. Some examples of this privileging of the macro include work by Mitchell (2003) on global restructuring of education, Ong, (2000) on issues of national sovereignty, and Butcher (2004), Robertson and Dale (2002) on restructuring of education in relation to New Zealand. All of these studies explore how transnational and national neoliberal policies constrain and harm individuals in their access to educational resources or basic human rights. Within these works the individual/organization is merely acted upon, but how they deploy and contest modernity for their own empowerment/purposes is not examined. I point to the work of Mitchell (2004) and Rofel (1999) to situate the importance of interpreting how individuals face these projects of governmentality within ever-changing concepts of modernity.

The blogs analyzed through MALLET and discourse analysis allowed for the interpretation and emergence of discursive practices of modernity. The analysis conducted in the previous chapter demonstrates an Occidentalism through China lagging behind (落后) compared to the modern West (Ahiska, 2003; Chen, 1995; Coronil, 1996). Therefore, these blogs

universally frame Chinese international students as being able to obtain modernity abroad. This discourse relies on the construction of the Chinese nation/education system as non-modern. The ability to bring back modernity reflects a 21<sup>st</sup> century version of Lu Xun's idea of Grabbism. Modernity can then be brought back to China and translated and hybridized into a Chinese modernity (Huang, 2008; Wang, 2007; Xie, 2007). This obtaining of modernity abroad also serves Chinese neoliberal governmentality, as described by Hoffman's theory of patriotic professionalism (2010). The patriotic professionalism evident here, differs from earlier Chinese modernist projects. For example, during the Maoist era, modernity entailed a Marxist Socialist utopia, which could challenge and provide an alternative to Western imperialism/modernity (Rofel, 1999; Schoppa, 2000). These contemporary students then can help the Chinese state develop (发展) key sectors of the knowledge economy for flexible accumulation (Nonini & Ong, 1997). Although all of these blogs construct China within an Occidentalist paradigm, ruptures and silences occur within these discourses as students and organizations seek to deploy modernity for their own purposes.

By looking at how individuals use uneven concepts/discourses of modernity this thesis allows for the emergence of uses beyond the macro-level. The Occidentalist construction of China as yet-to-be-modern silences non-Western forms of modernity. This is evident through the locations of study all being in the West. Areas such as the Middle East, Africa, Eastern Europe, and South America are excluded from these blogs. The Occidentalism within these blogs mirrors its imperialist origins, as these places were all colonized or subjugated to Western imperialist ventures (Ahiska, 2003). Alternative forms of Chinese modernity are also silenced by authors arguing that a foreign degree is required to get a job in place like Shanghai, but are not necessary for poorer inland provinces. The ruptures within this discourse deploy

Occidentalists notions of the West and China, but the purposes for doing so are contested and struggled over.

The purpose for studying abroad is ruptured between patriotic professionalism/Grabbism and one of immigrating for a more cosmopolitan lifestyle. The construction of China as not-modern is used by some students to argue for the importance of returning to China to aid in its development. Underlying these declarations of patriotic professionalism are suggestions that studying abroad will also allow for these students to have a good life in China, and fulfill their responsibilities of social reproduction and the Confucian duty of caring for their ageing parents (Bodycott & Lai, 2012; Mitchell, 2004; Waters 2006a/b, 2007). Social reproduction and the cost of studying abroad is a theme that emerges from both the MALLETT outputs and the discourses read here. Other students cite China's lack of modernity as the reason to pursue studying abroad and to immigrate. Many of these students cite the poor social benefits and the inability to fulfill their maximum potential in China, and that better social benefits abroad will allow them to take care of their elderly parents. They also cite the more cosmopolitan lifestyle (Mitchell, 2004) and advanced careers that immigrating offers.

Lastly, another rupture within the Occidentalists construction of China and the West centers on the open and free education allowing either for fulfillment of potential or as a possible corrupting influence. Chen (1995) describes how the West is used within Chinese Occidentalists discourses as both a role-model for modernity, and a threat to Chinese society and sovereignty. This is evident in blogs who vehemently argue that a more open and free Western education system offers fulfillment of one's potential and a better future. Other blogs argue that this lack of limitations in the West can lead a student astray. This will cause students to fail in their studies and return home after wasting their parent's hard work and money. This corrupting

influence can eventually lead a child to return to China as a drug addict, prostitute, or criminal. Likewise, crime in the West figures prominently, with descriptions of criminals waiting to take advantage of unsuspecting Chinese students. This rupture serves to construct the West as a source for modernity and as a threat to Chinese society, which requires caution of Chinese students abroad.

This thesis contributes to a wide range of literature on modernity, post-colonial studies, neoliberal governance, Chinese modernity, and research studies on international education. While much of the scholarly work on modernity and neoliberalism focuses on how power affects individuals, they fail to take into account how individuals shape and contest discursive constructions of modernity. This study provides an empirical case of how Chinese modernity is deployed within digital spaces, its use in neoliberal governmentality, and its use by individuals involved in pursuing education abroad. This study therefore explores China's post-colonial modernity in relation to neoliberal governance, and adds to this corpus of literature mentioned above.

Further research in this area can be carried out by looking beyond blogs as the medium of discursive practice. How these individuals and organizations deploy modernity could also be researched through ethnography and interviews of Chinese students and individuals involved in the study abroad industry. Also, this study does not include official texts written by Chinese government officials, or materials used by foreign educational institutions in recruiting Chinese students. These could provide further insight into how individuals interact with discourses across national borders, and how these interactions produce notions of modernity. Expanding the methods used and incorporating more sources of material could provide a wider examination of Chinese notions and discourses of modernity. This research could also be furthered through a

deeper use of MALLET, through using the probabilistic functions to interpret the larger corpus of texts. Multiple outputs could also be analyzed statistically to determine the distribution of topics across numerous runs of MALLET. Using MALLET and other methods could provide a deeper analysis and understanding of both these blogs and Chinese modernity beyond digital spaces.

This thesis provides an empirical study of how Chinese modernist projects and discourses are contested and deployed on multiple scales with regards to Chinese students seeking education abroad. The study here moves beyond the macro-scale to provide an interpretation how individuals and organizations interact and participate within Chinese modernization efforts and Chinese/global neoliberal governmentality. Modernity is uneven due to it being highly contextualized and varied across societies and their social histories. As is evident within these blogs, what is modern is continually redefined and struggled over, and will continue to change and shift based on individual deployments, and national/global modernizing projects. This thesis provides a glimpse into this continuous redefinition of Chinese modernity, the role of international education within modern projects, and how individuals and organizations interact and contest these projects. As Chinese modernity has changed throughout history so it will continue to do so, but it is necessary to interpret how individuals contest, deploy, and redefine their own modernity.

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Appendix:

Table 5.1: MALLET output from whole Corpus (translations by author and Manser, 2003):

Number	Topic Language
0	过 (pass through; spend, go over), 没有 (not, do not), 就 (already; shortly, take...up), 都 (all, even, already), 地 (verb particle; land, earth), 自己 (oneself), 已经 (already), 时间 (time), 想 (to think; to want; to miss), 一切 (all; everything), 太 (too), 这里 (here), 快 (fast; quick), 心 (heart; mind), 回来 (come back), 路 (road; route), 朋友 (friend), 实在 (honest; really), 记得 (to remember)
1	会 (be able to; can; might), 要 (important; want; ask), 就 (already; shortly, take...up), 能 (can, be able), 这个 (this), 如果 (if; in case of; in the event of), 所以 (therefore), 但是 (but), 做 (to do; to make), 问题 (question; problem), 这样 (so; such; like; this way), 时候 (time), 大 (big; great; important; strong), 事情 (matter), 其实 (actually; in fact), 大家 (everyone), 时间 (time), 对 (answer; treat; face), 现在 (now; at this time)
2	没 (not have, not), 都 (all, even, already), 多 (a lot; more), 次 (time; ranking; inferior), 才 (ability; talent, just; not...until), 天 (day; heaven), 月 (month), 两 (two; a pair), 课 (subject; class; lesson), 现在 (now; at this time), 考试 (test), 家 (family; home), 非常 (very; extremely), 班 (class; team; shift), 前 (front; first; before), 啊 (oh; ah), 只有 (only), 感觉 (feeling; feel; sense), 开始 (to start; begin, beginning)
3	要 (important; want; ask), 或者 (maybe; or), 都 (all, even, already), 一些 (some; few; a little), 写 (to write), 可以 (can; may), 交流 (to exchange), 国外 (abroad), 其他 (other; else), 论文 (dissertation), 语言 (language), 文章 (article; essay), 中 (center; China; the middle), 地 (verb particle; land, earth), 需要 (need to; must), 文化 (culture), 进行 (carry...out), 种 (genre; kind; species), 资料 (means)
4	年 (year), 工作 (work; job), 英语 (English), 对 (answer; treat; face), 经验 (experience), 移民 (immigrant), 交流 (to exchange), 学位 (academic degree), 学 (to study), 能 (can, be able), 为了 (in order to), 发展 (develop), 多少 (how much), MBA (Master's of business Administration), 毕业 (graduate), 海外 (abroad), 公司 (company), 但是 (but), 读书 (to study)
5	美国 (United States), 大学 (university; college), 英国 (England), 他们 (they), 里 (inside; inner), 年 (year), 中国 (China), 学生 (student), 美国人 (American person), 教授 (professor), 呢 (language particle, no meaning), 世界 (world), 啊 (oh, ah), 图书馆 (library), 校园 (campus), 当然 (of course; natural), 毕业 (graduate), 呵呵 ("ha ha"), 欧洲 (Europe)
6	说 (to speak; to say), 就 (already; shortly, take...up), 都 (all, even, already), 什么 (what?; something), 他们 (they), 我们 (we), 觉得 (to think; feel), 因为 (because), 想 (to think; to want; to miss), 没有 (not have; there is not), 还是 (still; had better; or), 知道 (to know; to understand), 时候 (time), 要 (important; want; ask), 自己 (oneself), 老师 (teacher), 能 (can, be able), 那么 (pronoun, can mean that way), 同学 (classmate)

7	买 (to buy), 大 (big; great; important; strong), 吃 (to eat), 住 (to live), 法国 (France), 看到 (to see; catch sight of), 这里 (here), 生活 (life), 不过 (no matter), 里 (inside; inner), 虽然 (although; even if), 宿舍 (dormitory), 点 (o'clock; drop; stain; dot), 学校 (school), 终于 (finally), 发现 (to occur; occurrence), 有些 (some), 飞机 (airplane), 小时 (hour)
8	学习 (to study), 自己 (oneself), 生活 (life), 国内 (domestic; in-country), 多(a lot; more), 可以(can; may), 能力 (ability), 机会 (opportunity), 环境 (environment), 社会 (society), 中(center; China; the middle), 等 (grade; kind; equal; to wait), 不同 (different), 同时 (at the same time), 提高 (raise; increase), 适应 (adapt), 方面 (aspect), 将 (be going to ; support; bring), 很多 (many, a lot)
9	我们 (we), 就 (already; shortly, take...up), 家 family; home), 天 (day; heaven), 里 (inside; inner), 乔依丝 (Joyce), 二 (two), 年 (year), 分 (divide; assign; distinguish), 过(pass through; spend, go over), 起来 (get up), 要 (important; want; ask), 开始 (to start; begin, beginning), 四 (four), 女儿 (daughter), 第二 (second), 三 (three), 这样 (this), 时 (hour; time; fashion)
10	留学生 (studying abroad student), 中国 (China), 钱 (money), 陈 (set...out; state; old), 就 (already; shortly, take...up), 国家 (country, nation-state), 工作 (work), 打工 (work; get a part-time job), 老 (old), 企业 (enterprise), 费用 (expenses), 万 (ten thousand), 可以(can; may), 国内 (domestic; in-country), 日本 (Japan), 小时 (hour), 高 (tall; high; senior), 学费 (tuition), 收入 (income)
11	种 (genre; kind; species), 自己 (oneself), 更 (change; replace; experience), 里 (inside; inner), 可以(can; may), 文化 (culture), 日本 (Japan), 多(a lot; more), 才 (ability; talent, just; not...until), 中国人 (Chinese person), 都(all, even, already), 两 (two; a pair), 日本人 (Japanese person), 中国 (China), 中(center; China; the middle), 时(hour; time; fashion), 西方 (Occident; the West), 影响 (influence), 很多 (many, a lot)
12	留学 (study abroad), 出国 (go abroad; leave a country), 孩子 (child), 国外 (abroad), 教育 (education), 学生 (student), 中国 (China), 家长 (parent; head of family), 大学 (university; college), 对(answer; treat; face), 高中 (middle/high school), 选择 (to chose; to pick), 高考 (college entrance exam), 更 (change; replace; experience), 父母 (parents; father and mother), 大 (big; great; important; strong), 国家 (country, nation-state), 年 (year), 地 (verb particle; land, earth),
13	学校 (school), 专业 (major; area of study), 申请 (to apply), 美国 (United States), 很多(many, a lot), 学生 (student), 这个 (this), 留学 (study abroad), 成绩 (grades), 都 (all, even, already), 非常(very; extremely), 比较 (compare; relatively), 会 (be able to; can; might), 准备 (prepare), 重要 (important), 一些 (some), 需要(need to; must), 选择 (to chose; to pick), 阶段 (stage of a project)

14	大学 (university, college), 读 (to read; to study), 学生 (student), 学校 (school), 课程 (course; curriculum), 语言 (language), 老师 (teacher), 硕士 (Master's degree), 英国 (England), 时间 (time), 预科 (preparatory course; foundational course), 国际 (international), 签证 (visa), 本科 (undergraduate course), 月 (month), 中心 (center), 工作 (work), 学习 (to study), 教育 (education)
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Table 5.2: MALLET output from business oriented blogs:

Number	Topic Language
0	工作 (work; job), 陈 (set...out; state; old), 日本 (Japan), 元 (Yuan; unit of money), 国家 (country; nation-state), 要 (important; want; ask), 中 (center; China; the middle), 就 (already; shortly, take...up), 企业 (enterprise), 老 (old), 钱 (money), 万 (ten-thousand; definitely), 家 (family; home), 海归 (returnee from abroad), 来说 (used when discussing from a certain perspective, or certain topic), 收入 (income), 回国 (return to one's country), 国外 (abroad), 金融 (finance; banking),
1	就 (already; shortly, take...up), 会 (be able to; can; might), 这个 (this), 都 (all, even, already), 成绩 (grades), 自己 (oneself), 学生 (student), 学校 (school), 其实 (actually; in fact), 非常 (exceptional; very), 大 (big; great; important; strong), 很多 (many; a lot), 觉得 (to think; to feel), 英国 (England), 考试 (test), 国内 (domestic; in-country), 课 (subject; class; lesson), 还是 (still; had better; or), 同学 (classmate),
2	年 (year), 可以 (can; may), 打工 (work; get a part-time job), 月 (month), 大学 (university; college), 法国 (France), 时间 (time), 费用 (expenses), 课程 (course; curriculum), 中 (center; China; the middle) 学生 (student), 必须 (must; have to), 丹麦 (Denmark), 种 (genre; kind; species), 小时 (hour), 等 (grade; kind; equal; to wait), 美元 (U.S. dollars), 周 (week; circle), 实习 (to practice; to exercise skills),
3	对 (answer; treat; face), 接种 (to inoculate; to vaccinate), 包括 (including), 国际 (international), 进行 (carry...out), 应 (answer; respond to; comply with), 当地 (local; in the locality), 需 (need), 子女 (), 前 (front; before), 富 (rich; abundant; wealth), 次 (time; ranking; inferior), 体检 (physical examination), 代 (do on behalf of; act as), 疫苗 (vaccine; inoculation), 注意 (to be careful), 检查 (examine), 完成 (complete), 特别 (especially),
4	留学 (study abroad), 教育 (education), 中国 (China), 出国 (go abroad; leave a country), 对 (answer; treat; face), 学生 (student), 高考 (gaokao; Chinese college entrance exam), 国外 (abroad), 年 (year), 地 (verb particle; land, earth), 多 (a lot; more), 选择 (to choose), 更 (change; replace; experience), 家庭 (family), 国 (country), 院校 (university; college), 目前 (present), 家长 (parent; head of family), 压力 (pressure),
5	都 (all, even, already), 多 (a lot; more), 中国 (China), 能 (can, be able), 这些 (these), 种 (genre; kind; species), 那些 (those), 甚至 (even), 没 (not have, not), 美 (beautiful; good), 找 (to look for), 只有 (only), 中国人 (Chinese person), 钱 (money), 点 (o'clock; drop; stain; dot), 高 (tall; high; senior), 左右 (left and right sides; control; master; influence; those in attendance), 才 (ability; talent, just; not...until), 新 (new; newly),
6	就 (already; shortly, take...up), 我们 (we), 乔依丝 (Joyce), 家 (family; home), 里

	(inside; inner), 公司 (company), 地(verb particle; land, earth), 二 (two), 吃 (to eat), 生活 (life), 等 (grade; kind; equal; to wait), 没 (not have, not), 开始 (to start; begin, beginning), 三 (three), 澳洲 (Australia), 房东 (landlord), 时 (hour; time; fashion), 住 (to live), 文章 (article; essay),
7	读 (to read; to study), 大学 (university; college), 说 (to speak; to say), 学生 (student). 语言 (language), 老师 (teacher), 硕士 (Masters degree), 能 (can, be able), 课程 (course; curriculum), 预科 (foundation course), 中心 (center), 学校 (school), 没有 (not have; there is not), 读书 (to study), 斯旺西 (Swansea, UK), 签证 (visa), 政策 (policy), 之前 (before), 他们 (they),
8	英国 (England), 美国 (United States), 大学 (university; college), 说 (to speak; to say), 年 (year), 他们 (they), 就 (already; shortly, take...up), 啊 (oh; ah), 世界 (world), 呢里 (inside; inner), 呵呵 (ha ha), 毕业 (graduate), 图书馆 (library), 欧洲 (Europe), 什么 (what?; something), 名校 (schools), 牛津 (Oxford), 吗 (particle demoting a question),
9	学生 (student), 学习 (to study), 生活 (life), 能力 (ability), 可以 (can; may), 国内 (domestic; in-county), 留学生 (study abroad student), 机会 (opportunity), 更 (change; replace; experience), 社会 (society), 国家 (country; nation-state), 方式 (way), 英语 (English), 自己 (oneself), 大 (big; great; important; strong), 文化 (culture), 环境 (environment), 经济 (economy), 不同 (different),
10	美国 (United States), 要 (important; want; ask), 就 (already; shortly, take...up), 会 (be able to; can; might), 他们 (they), 如果 (if; in case of; in the event of), 我们 (we), 这样 (so; such; like; this way), 时候 (time), 因为 (because), 能 (can, be able), 大家 (everyone), 老师 (teacher), 可以 (can; may), 什么 (what?; something), 事情 (matter), 学 (to study), 的话 (if; used to express a condition after a conditional clause), 说 (to speak; to say),
11	孩子 (child), 大学 (university; college), 出国 (go abroad; leave a country), 重要 (important), 要 (important; want; ask), 家长 (parent; head of family), 高中 (middle/high school), 留学 (study abroad), 通过 (pass; by means of), 国外 (abroad), 规划 (plan), 容易 (easy; likely), 同时 (at the same time), 学习 (to study), 将来 (future), 适合 (suitable), 行 (walk; be current; do; be able to), 前 (front; first; before), 心理 (mentality; psychology),
12	工作 (work; job), 没有 (not have; there is not), 两 (two; a pair), 做 (to do; to make), 年 (year), 过 (pass through; spend, go over), 要 (important; want; ask), 想 (to think; to want; to miss), 次 (time; ranking; inferior), mba (Master's of business Administration), 朋友 (friend), 问 (ask), 全 (complete; whole; entirely), 最后 (final; last; ultimate), 多少 (somewhat; slightly), 第一 (first), 要 (important; want; ask), 项目 (item), 已经 (already),
13	专业 (major; area of study), 时间 (time), 美国 (United States), 学校 (school), 申请 (to apply), 本科 (undergraduate course), 大 (big; great; important; strong), 能够 (be able to; be capable of), 中 (center; China; the middle), 奖学金 (scholarship), 将 (be going to ; support; bring), 提供 (to provide), 准备 (to prepare; to plan), 要

	求 (to demand; request), 职业 (occupation; profession), 工作 (work; job), 就业 (get a job; employment), 签证 (visa), 首先 (first),
14	问题 (question; problem), 留学 (study abroad), 很多 (many; a lot), 自己 (oneself), 都 (all, even, already), 做 (to do; to make), 这个 (this), 会 (be able to; can; might), 一些 (some; few; a little), 对 (answer; treat; face), 学校 (school), 知道 (to know; to understand), 说 (to speak; to say), 一定 (must; certain; shall; sure), 比较 (compare; relatively), 如果 (if; in case of; in the event of), 就 (already; shortly, take...up), 专业 (major; area

Table 5.3: MALLET output from individually produced blogs:

Number	Topic Language
0	考试 (test), 非常 (exceptional; very), 国内 (domestic), 课(subject; class; lesson), 问题 (question; problem), 会 (be able to; can; might), 而且 (moreover; and what's more), 以后 (afterwards), 月 (month), 讲 (speak; explain; discuss), 上课 (go to class; start class), 大学 (university; college), 课程 (course; curriculum), 信息 (information), 遇到 (to run into; to encounter; to come across), 慢慢 (slowly; carefully), 没 (not have, not), 苦 (bitter; hard suffering), 位 (location; position),
1	我们 (we), 都 (all, even, already), 买 (to buy), 小时 (hour), 里 (inside; inner), 没有 (not have; there is not), 带 (take; wear; have; come with), 才 (ability; talent, just; not...until), 飞机 (airplane), 法国 (France), 于是(so; then; thereupon), 看到 (to see; catch sight of), 这里 (here), 之后 (after), 非常 (exceptional; very), 坐 (sit; travel by), 十分 (extremely), 走 (walk; run; go through), 会 (be able to; can; might),
2	地 (verb particle; land, earth), 生活 (life), 但是 (but), 发现 (to occur; occurrence), 里 (inside; inner), 东西 (thing; object), 可能 (possible; maybe), 知道 (to know; to understand), 今天 (today), 事情 (matter), 以后 (after; afterwards), 走 (walk; run; go through), 回来 (come back), 吗 (particle demoting a question), 一切 (all; every; everything), 一点 (some; a little), 听 (to listen), 路 (road; route), 要 (important; want; ask),
3	过 (pass through; spend, go over), 朋友 (friend), 因为 (because), 我们 (we), 一直 (straight; always), 心 (heart; mind), 新 (new), 事 (thing; accident; problem), 自己 (oneself), 努力 (try hard), 分 (divide; assign; distinguish), 知道 (to know; to understand), 别人 (other people), 大家 (everyone; everybody), 如何 (pronoun; how; what; whereby), 越来越 (more and more), 世界 (world), 来说 (particle; general), 考 (have an exam; check; study),
4	年 (year), 专业 (major; area of study), 工作 (work), 留学 (study abroad), 问题 (question; problem), 能 (can, be able), 高 (tall; high; senior), 已经 (already), 硕士 (Master's degree), 读 (to read; to study), 发展 (develop), 英语 (English), 我们 (we), 毕业 (graduate), 经验 (experience), 学 (to study), 但是 (but), 希望 (hope), 公司 (company),
5	说 (to speak; to say), 就 (already; shortly, take...up), 我们 (we), 老师 (teacher), 觉得 (to think; feel), 他们 (they), 没 (not have, not), 真的 (really), 同学 (classmate), 因为 (because), 当时 (then; at that time), 家 (family; home), 还是 (still; had better; or), 后来 (afterwards), 中介 (intermediary; agency), 开始 (to start; begin, beginning) 办 (handle; set up; run), 知道 (to know; to understand), 啊 (oh; ah),
6	留学 (study abroad), 学生 (student), 学校 (school), 大学 (university; college), 申请 (to apply to), 美国 (United States), 孩子 (child), 语言 (language), 成绩 (grades), 对 (answer; treat; face), 英国 (England), 高中 (middle/high school), 父母 (parents), 这个 (this), 适合 (suitable), 部分 (part), 加拿大 (Canada), 比较

	(compare; relatively), 了解 (to understand),
7	要 (important; want; ask), 可以 (can; may), 或者 (maybe; or), 文章 (article; essay), 中 (center; China; the middle), 一些 (some), 需要 (need to; must), 论文 (dissertation), 地 (verb particle; land, earth), 写 (to write), 其他 (other; else), 老师 (teacher), 不同 (different), 学习 (to study), 资料 (means), 学会 (student association), 种 (genre; kind; species), 对方 (other side; counterpoint; opposite side), 国外 (abroad),
8	就 (already; shortly, take...up), 要 (important; want; ask), 能 (can, be able), 多 (a lot; more), 大 (big; great; important; strong), 时候 (time), 天 (day; heaven), 两 (two; a pair), 所以 (therefore), 可以 (can; may), 这个 (this), 现在 (now; at this time), 对 (answer; treat; face), 次 (time; ranking; inferior), 都 (all, even, already), 感觉 (feeling; feel; sense), 很多 (many; a lot), 第一 (first), 中 (center; China; the middle),
9	学校 (school), 住 (to live), 边 (side; edge; limit; border), 宿舍 (dormitory), 时间 (time), 地方 (place; locality), 一下 (measure word for an action; at once), 习惯 (to become accustomed to; habit), 太 (too), 外 (outside; outdoors; abroad), 房间 (room), 月 (month), 买 (to buy), 阳光 (sun; sunshine), 房子 (house; building; apartment), 热 (heat; hot), 钱 (money), 上海 (Shanghai), 出去 (get out; go out),
10	种 (genre; kind; species), 自己 (oneself), 日本人 (Japanese people), 日本 (Japan), 才 (ability; talent, just; not...until), 可以 (can; may), 更 (change; replace; experience), 像 (look like; as if), 中国人 (Chinese people), 会 (be able to; can; might), 他们 (they), 做 (to do; to make), 一样 (same; like; as), 文化 (culture), 思想 (though; idea), 里 (inside; inner), 面对 (face; to confront; to encounter), 影响 (influence), 一定 (must; certain; shall; sure),
11	都 (all, even, already), 没有 (not have; there is not), 自己 (oneself), 会 (be able to; can; might), 想 (to think; to want; to miss), 说 (to speak), 什么 (what?; something), 太 (too), 觉得 (to think; feel), 要 (important; want; ask), 那么 (pronoun, can mean that way), 还是 (still; had better; or), 喜欢 (to like), 怎么 (pronoun/adverb; how; very), 找 (to look for), 这样 (so; such; like; this way), 开始 (to start; begin, beginning), 呢 (language particle, no meaning), 为了 (in order to),
12	英语 (English), 学习 (to study), 交流 (to exchange), 学 (to study), 提高 (raise; increase), 文化 (culture), 美国 (United States), 年 (year), 我们 (we), 岁 (measure word for years/age), 年龄 (age), 语法 (grammar), 时 (hour; time; fashion), 认为 (to think), 对 (answer; treat; face), 单词 (word), 等 (grade; kind; equal; to wait), 精神 (energy; energetic), 很多 (many; a lot),
13	吃 (to eat), 这里 (here), 不过 (no matter), 没 (not have, not), 真 (really; true), 已经 (already), 终于 (finally), 挺 (straighten; upright; distinguish), 妈妈 (mother), 由于 (as a result), 连 (connect; in succession), 啊 (oh; ah), 东西 (thing; object), 晚上 (evening), 有些 (some), 实在 (honest; really), 超市 (supermarket), 回 (return; reply), 下午 (afternoon),

14	出国 (go abroad; leave a country), 生活 (life), 自己 (oneself), 国内 (domestic; in country), 选择 (to choose), 更 (change; replace; experience), 如果 (if; in case of; in the event of), 多 (a lot; more), 工作 (work), 国外 (abroad), 能力 (ability), 做 (to do; to make), 这样 (so; such; like; this way), 学习 (to study), 对于 (preposition), 国家 (country, nation-state), 中国 (China), 经历 (experience), 很多 (many; a lot),
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