Continuing Education and Development: An Ethnographic Study of Migrant Workers in the Pearl River Delta of China

Fusheng Jia

The School of Education and Lifelong Learning

University of East Anglia

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Abstract

In 1984, China lifted its control over rural-urban migration. Large numbers of rural people migrated to the Pearl River Delta for employment. However, their vocational and educational qualifications were seen as inadequate to meet the needs of modernizing enterprises run both by the state and private sector. Over the last decade, Guangdong Provincial Government and Shenzhen Municipal Government launched educational interventions – the Yuanmeng Plans - to promote migrant workers' education.

This thesis examines two such educational programmes for migrant workers from the perspective of understanding the process and practice of policy-making and teaching, and how far they addressed the needs and aspirations of the migrant workers.

Drawing on ideas mainly from Deleuze and Guattari, I focus on the dynamics of power relations within and across educational institutions, especially in terms of their use of resources, rules, and events as suggested in Kabeer's social-relations framework, and its implications for learning.

An ethnographic approach was adopted, which helped overcome dualisms such as insider/outsider and researcher/researched, and investigated the processes constituted and developed by these dualisms. One-year fieldwork was conducted in the Pearl River Delta, mainly in a college for migrant workers in Shenzhen City, where I acted as a researcher and a teacher, observing and contributing to curriculum practice.

Findings suggest the government combined administrative control with commercialization, as it allocated funding to educational institutions based on student recruitment. As mainly offering academic courses, the programmes focused on elite migrant workers while excluding other workers through criteria like age and literacy levels. Curriculum practices suggest that tensions existed between the traditional ideology stressing collectivism, selfless devotion and teacher-centred teaching and the new social practices promoting commercialization, personal development and interactive teaching. Migrant workers saw formal and informal learning as inseparable, which, with social connections, contributed to their livelihoods and aspirations.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Emergence of research topic

Most of my first personal memories of rural migrant workers are traced back to the mid-1980s when my rural relatives from Linxian County, a remote mountainous area, Henan Province came to Taiyuan City, Shanxi Province to find temporary jobs on construction sites. Along with men were always some women. For them, those who could *shou(ku)*, which means "suffer (hardships)," were acclaimed as virtuous while those who could not were seen as lazy or unable to survive. "Suffering" was a stoic virtue in their culture. This ideology was deeply rooted in their daily life and work so that they simply said *shou* for "work."

However, I had heard of migration stories of my parents long before that. My parents migrated to Taiyuan City from Linxian County for a living, around the time of the foundation of P. R. China, mostly likely in the early 1950s. At that time, China started to develop her industry and needed a large number of workers in urban areas, thus beginning the first migration wave in the history of P.R. China.

When I was a child in the early 1970s, I would travel along with my mother to Linxian County from Taiyuan City. She told me that we were "going home." For her, Taiyuan was not our home. My father never accompanied us, as he needed to work in a factory in Taiyuan City, while taking care of my brothers and sister, who stayed with him for schooling. My mother had "bound" feet, a result from a general practice for Chinese women lingering into the 1920s or 1930s. So she was not able to walk fast, as bound feet were actually fractured. Taking trains or coaches in competition with men was always difficult. Travelling was sometimes exciting but mostly a nightmare. I once asked her why she chose to have "bound" feet. She told me, "every girl would have this, otherwise nobody would marry you. Then they would have to stay with their parents and brothers for the rest of their life, which was a

shame." So women were forced by their older generation to have their feet bound in order to be accepted by society.

After I transferred to south China's Guangdong Province in 2001, where large numbers of migrant workers gathered, especially in the Pearl River Delta (PRD), I came to understand more of them and their life and work, especially around the time of the Chinese New Year when migrant workers, some along with their family, rushed to go back home. At this time, traffic was always busy. Taking the train was again a physical competition. Stronger men squeezed in while weaker children and women were left out. I admired the strength of strong migrant workers while perceiving their hardships. The stoic spirit of migrant workers and their difficulties prompted me to reflect on their strong survival instinct and life desire, and wish to gain in-depth understanding of them, thus my research topic on migrant workers in PRD came into being.

Now, "a large scale floating population is the most prominent population phenomenon in China's industrialization and urbanization." (National Health and Family Planning Commission of China, 2013). Rural-urban migrant workers, according to the State Council of China (2006), are

> "a new type of labour force that came into being after China's reform and opening up, and China's industrialization and urbanization. With their *hukou* (or household register) still in rural areas, they are mainly engaged in non-agricultural industries. Some of them migrate to find employment in slack season, thus they are both industrial and agricultural workers with strong mobility. Some others are long employed in urban areas and a vital part of the industrial workforce. The employment of the large number of peasants in urban areas or in the local enterprises has made enormous contributions to China's modernizations" (The State Council of China, 2006). [1]

However, in actuality, migrant workers in China were hard to define in numbers and identities. For decades after the foundation of P.R. China, there were no systematic data of

[1] The original quotation is in Chinese, and translated into English by the author of this thesis. This applies to all the following quotations from Chinese official documents.

the migrant population in post-1949 economic development and it was mainly net migration estimates that were used (Wu, H., 1994). Official statistics reveal that the migrant population in China is increasing year by year. By 2012, the floating population had reached 236 million, occupying over 19% of the total Chinese population, with over one hundred million floating population more than in 2000 (National Health and Family Planning Commission of China, 2013). However, migrant workers in China include different communities including university graduates, highly skilled professionals, and even businessmen, with many different names for this group of people. This presented difficulties for me, as I had to decide which group of migrants to focus on.

With the rise of large scale rural-urban migration, there have been discussions and a large number of governmental policies and national and local educational projects on how to help migrant workers adapt to urban society in the fields of education and development. National policies seem to suggest that continuing education and development were positively correlated. A number of state policies were announced to address training and learning of migrant workers. The epochal one was "2003-2010 China's rural-urban migrant workers training plan" issued by The State Council of China in September 2003, in an attempt to "enhance the human quality of migrant workers and their employability and further contribute to a transfer of the rural labour force to non-rural industries in urban areas." (The State Council of China, 2003). Following this were further national educational policies and projects for peasants and migrant workers. Authorities of Guangdong Province, a major receiving area of migrant workers, followed this trend by putting forward educational policies and projects for migrant workers, such as the Yuanmeng Plans, or Dream Fulfilment Plans, as will be further elaborated in the rest of my thesis.

As an educator for many years in universities in China, I acknowledged the possible impact of governments' policies on migrant workers' learning and training. However, I was not sure how to start to query these official development ideas through training and education, or where to start. Escobar's development as discourse suggested the production of "the

adaptation, subversions and resistance that local people effect in relation to development interventions" (Escobar, 2007: 21). This helped me take an analytical and critical stance towards the issue of training policies for migrant workers, and gradually focused on the dialectical relationship and gap between educational policies and migrant workers' needs and aspirations. In other words, I was concerned to explore how state educational policies on migrant workers experienced changes in the process of their implementation, thus shaping my overarching research question: "To what extent did continuing education of rural migrant workers contribute to their aspirations and ideas of development?"

So, my personal understandings of migrant workers prompted me to reflect on this topic. State educational policies on migrant workers and the analytical framework of development as discourse further strengthened my determination to explore how migrant workers looked at these policies and were changed by them. My research topic was thus shaped by factors as diverse as the personal, political, theoretical and practical (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 22-23).

1.2 Research gap

This section presents major findings in the field of migration and adult education, especially in the context of China, in an attempt to locate my research within it. China's rural-urban migration has been a concern in academia with wide ranging research topics such as: causes and features of migration (Mallee, 2000; Wen, T, 2003; and Wen J, 2004), the "hukou" system (e. g. Cheng & Selden, 1994; Chan & Zhang, 1999), impacts of migration and urbanization on sending rural areas (e.g. Murphy, 2004, 2008; Sargeson, 2013; Yan & Chen, 2013), female domestic migrant workers (Yan, 2008), education of the left behind children of migrant workers (e.g., Kwong, Julia, 2004).

There do not seem to have been many qualitative research studies on the education of migrant workers in China. Among them, for instance, Murphy's (2004) ethnographic research on rural areas in Jiangxi Province focuses on the discourse of *suzhi* or "population quality", arguing that "quality" as a development discourse enabled peasants of "low quality" to have a goal to work towards; however, wide use of "quality" made it legitimate for state to play

active roles in "regulating fertility, encouraging good parenthood, removing children from the village and socializing them to be the citizens of a modernizing nation" while "retreat[ing] from the public sphere, particularly the withdrawal of collective welfare" (Murphy, 2004: 19).

However, most researchers have used quantitative approaches to study the issue of the education of migrant workers. Firstly, research has been done in analysing migrant workers' educational motivations and attitudes. Surprisingly, there exist contradictory conclusions. Some studies argue that migrant workers have an internal need for continuing education (e.g., Zhao, X., 2004; Li, H., 2006); others suggest that migrant workers lack motivation for further training (e.g., Wang et al., 2005; Lei et al., 2004). Wang (2005) et al think that migrant workers' lack of drive for further training is due to inadequate funding and their conservative ideology, while Lei argued that China's migrant workers were possessed of the characteristics of both workers and peasants, thus providing them with more choices in living and working, which shaped their inactive attitude towards further education (2004). Huang (2008), studying migrant workers in five cities in China, suggests that their need was related to multiple factors including age, marriage status, educational level, income, occupation and its system, and training tuition fees, and the migrant workers' lack of internal drive for training.

Secondly, research has been conducted in analysing the roles of government in migrant workers' education. Major problems seem to be similar, such as inadequate supervision and funding support in education implementation, poor teaching and learning facilities, and inadequate teaching force (Zhao et al, 2004; Liu et al, 2005; Sun, 2006). Training institutions were also an area that received criticism. For instance, Lei et al (2005) argue, educational institutions located in rural areas were inefficient in providing technical and vocational training to returned migrant workers, as many training programmes lacked definite teaching and learning goals. Guan and Shi (2013) suggest that a modernized apprenticeship system be established and optimized to provide learning and economic benefits for migrant workers.

In the specific case of migrant workers' education in PRD, Yang et al (2006) draw on questionnaires from 1000 migrant workers to suggest that nearly two thirds of (64%) of them had never received any training. This poses a sharp contrast to the specific study on Shenzhen by Xiao et al (1999), which shows there were, even seven years earlier, nearly 60% of employees had received at least one sort of training. Of course, Yang's research is on migrant workers only, while Xiao's investigation is on all the employees in Shenzhen, most of whom, however, were migrant workers. This reveals that migrant workers presented marked differences in their academic qualifications and training experiences within PRD area.

Similar to Yang et al (2006), Zeng et al (2009), based on a survey of 2835 questionnaires from migrant workers in five cities across PRD, examined personal data, employment situations, factors influencing one's decision for education, educational preferences, and future life and work plans. Their study shows that over 2/3 (76.5%) of the interviewees were willing to take continuing education or vocational training. However, more than 2/5 of them had never received any training. In response to the motivations for training, nearly half of them (48.72%) chose self-promotion, followed by less than 1/4 (23.86%) choosing increased income.

From the perspective of human capital development, Zeng et al (2009) drew out the fundamental factors hindering the migrants' enthusiasm for continuing education in terms of economy, society and personal elements, thus combining both individual and structural factors. The study displays some contrasts between the migrants' limited income and their need for education, and between strong demand for migrant workers' education from over 9/10 of the families and the poor support from their employers (only 1/3 of them expressing their support). When replying to what kind of courses they would take, over 80% of them chose vocational training while only 16.7% preferred academic degree courses.

Based on the above, it seems that there have not been many qualitative research studies on the processes of how educational projects have transformed migrant workers. Besides, as Xie & Li (2007) point out, most of the research projects on migrant workers' education are "limited to superficial phenomena, and there are not many sociological and psychological studies" (2007). What is more, there exist contradictory conclusions on migrant workers'

internal drive for learning and training. Ethnographic research on the implementation of education projects of migrant workers in urban areas, such as mine, would fill a gap in this area. My research project, in contrast with some of the studies mentioned above, explores the dynamic and multiple social relationships as well as changing subjectivities embedded in educational development programmes for migrant workers.

1.3 Shaping research questions and research methodology

After deciding on the overarching research question "To what extent did continuing education of the rural migrant workers contribute to their aspirations and ideas of development?" I further formulated subsidiary questions. I found this was an iterative process involving literature review, fieldwork experiences, theoretical and methodological changes.

In deciding the research questions, I found clues from Rogers' division of education in development into two phases: "a matter of planning or technical assistance" and "a process of educating and training adults," (1992: 3). But I reframed his idea and suggested that migrant workers' continuing education is a process concerning educational policy making, education practice and educational goal attainment, as well as various factors influencing the fulfilment of this process. My idea of dividing my overarching question into three sub-research questions was further strengthened by Deleuze and Guattari's (1988) idea of how subjectivities are formulated out of "desiring production" and Escobar's definition of development as discourse in three "axes": forms of knowledge, system of power, and forms of subjectivity (1994: 10). I will explain this further in Chapter 3.

I thus formulated the following three sets of sub-research questions, under each of which I further designed questions, as shown below.

My first set of sub-research questions was intended to address:

Who designs continuing education policies for migrant workers, from whose perspective, and in what way? What factors are involved in the process of shaping and reshaping policies? Why are migrant workers targeted? Are there sufficient resources for educational projects? How are educational resources employed and distributed? Are there restrictions on students' recruitment? What are the ideological and socioeconomic implications in the interaction process of policy making? What responses are encountered to educational programmes and policy design?

Secondly, I explored the process of educational practice, as shown in the following subsidiary questions, and investigated the relationships in this practice and their implications:

In what educational programmes are migrant workers engaged, and in what way? How are vocational education and other educational programmes implemented in the framework of continuing education? Do social actors in relevant institutions observe the educational policies and guidelines stipulated by relevant institutions? What extracurricular activities are there for students? How far do they contribute to the changes of routinized educational practice and norms? How is student assessment conducted?

My third set of subsidiary questions was intended to explore the gap between the social and personal targets of the migrant workers' education and educational realities:

What is the contribution of continuing education of migrant workers to their livelihood and aspirations? To what extent do migrant workers identify themselves with the goals set by programme designers? What ideological conflicts exist between social development goals and individual aspirations? How far does continuing education contribute to the integration of young migrant workers into city life? To what extent does it help alleviate the inequalities that migrant workers face in social reproduction? How far does continuing education as well as urban experiences make them more competent to meet the targets set by policy planners?

To address these questions, I adopted an ethnographic approach, which helped overcome dualisms such as insider/outsider and researcher/researched, and investigated the processes constituted and developed by these dualisms. I investigated the educational programmes focused on rural migrant workers, the Yuanmeng Plans, as mentioned above, in PRD of

China's Guangdong Province from September 2012 to September 2013 and explored how they were implemented as a dynamic process.

This evolving approach will also be seen in the way I adapted my research questions in the process of data analysis and research writing, as will be shown in the empirical chapters. I had planned to examine the gap between continuing education and the aspirations of migrant workers as well as their ideas of development within the framework of development as discourse. However, I realized later that the tendency in that framework to see as two binaries the relationship between developers and developees could overshadow the multiplicities and becomings residing in the social relationships of educational programmes. Thus, in the process of further establishing my theoretical framework, especially the introduction of Deleuzian nomadism (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988) and Kabeer's (1994) social-relations framework, and the concept of hidden curriculum, as will be elaborated in Chapter 3, I came to take a multiple and changing attitude towards my research questions in an attempt to gain a holistic picture of what I had been studying.

I started to examine my research questions from the perspectives of the internal relationships among educational stakeholders and the ideological aspects in pedagogical practice. I came to shift my focus on the gap between the education of migrant workers and their aspirations and ideas of development, as suggested in my overarching research question, to a wider exploration into how far learning was related to their current livelihoods and their outlook. This will be further shown in Chapter 5 on educational policies and multiple relationships embedded within these, Chapter 6 to Chapter 8 on the teaching practice of migrant workers' educational programmes, and Chapter 9 on discussing the influence of adult learning and urban experiences on migrant workers as learners.

My fieldwork was focused on a college for migrant workers in Shenzhen City with its Yuanmeng intervention educational programmes for migrant workers. I acted as both a researcher and a teacher, observing and contributing to curriculum practices. Meanwhile, I also examined, mainly through online interview and data collection, another Yuanmeng

educational plan targeted at migrant workers in a wider provincial scope. This will be described and analyzed in depth in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

1.4 Research significance

As mentioned above, my research needs to be seen in the context of China experiencing an unprecedented wave of rural migration and urbanization. This means that there have been many difficulties that need to be resolved such as enhancing migrant workers' quality (Murphy, 2004). Research studies on this issue have also been plentiful.

Chinese government has been concerned about the education and training of migrant workers, and it has realized some of the existing problems such as "lack of coordinated planning in training programmes, inadequate efficiency in funding utilization, low quality in training and imperfect monitoring mechanism" (The State Council of China, 2010). My research will provide some insight into these difficulties and issues, and shed light on how to improve educational policies.

On the other hand, research studies in this field, as has been stated above, point to the need for more "sociological and psychological studies" (Xie & Li, 2007). Thus, my research will make academic contributions to this area of study by means of an ethnographic approach, which helped me explore how educational programmes were implemented as a process, what social factors were involved and how human subjectivities were transformed. This will inform how empirical qualitative research such as mine could enhance research on migrant workers' education and learning.

1.5 Thesis structure

This section outlines the structure of my thesis. Chapter 1 introduces how my research topic emerged on the education of China's rural migrant workers, followed by reviewing relevant literature to identify the research gap in this area. I then recall how my research questions came to be shaped and reshaped, before discussing the potential significance of my research.

Chapter 2 attempts to contextualize my thesis by reviewing the history of rural-urban migration as well as relevant adult education policies and ideas after the foundation of P.R. China. I divide it into pre-1980s and post-1980s, as these two periods present vastly distinct features in discourses and social practices. This section gradually moves towards PRD as a focus, a major receiving area of rural migrant workers, where I did my fieldwork.

In Chapter 3, I provide an in-depth discussion of how my theoretical framework has been established, which mainly integrates the concepts of Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1988) with Escobar's (1994) development as discourse and Kabeer's (1994)'s social-relations framework. Its aim is to examine the dynamics of social relations embedded within and across educational institutions for migrant workers. I also draw on concepts concerning curriculum theories and adult education to explore how teaching, learning and assessment are implemented in educational projects and the embedded implications.

Chapter 4 describes why and how I adopted ethnography as my research methodology, arguing that it enabled me to provide a holistic picture of the continuing education and development of migrant workers in the extremely mobile society of PRD of China.

I analyze empirically my fieldwork data in Chapters 5 to 9. Chapter 5 is focused on Research Question 1, "Who designs migrant continuing education policies, from whose perspective, and in what way?" In this chapter, I analyze the Yuanmeng Plans for migrant workers in Guangdong Province, in terms of their policy design, funding resources, teaching force and students' recruitment, and the dynamics of power relations.

Aiming to address Research Question 2, "In what educational programmes are migrant workers engaged in the Pearl River Delta?" Chapters 6 to 8 investigate respectively teaching force, teaching process and assessment of students in the educational programmes.

In Chapter 9, which addresses my third research question "What is the contribution of continuing education of the migrant workers to their aspirations and livelihoods?" I provide

an in-depth analysis of the relationship between adult learning of migrant workers with their changing identities and livelihoods.

As a concluding chapter, Chapter 10 summarises my major research findings, and theoretical and methodological contributions of my thesis, and put forward tentative suggestions for policy making.

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Chapter 2 Rural-urban migration and adult education in P.R. China

This chapter presents a historical review of the changes in China's rural migration and adult education policies and practices, especially those relevant to workers and peasants, in order to contextualize historically my research topic on migrant workers and education.

2.1 Introduction

Rural-urban migration is not a new phenomenon. It happened in many parts of the world, usually in the process of booming industrialization. In his discussion of migrant labour in South Africa, Wilson (1972: 218) concludes: "So long as the economy continues to grow, urbanization will continue to take place." In other words, where there was progressive industrialization, there would be a continuous need for migrant workers to fill the labour gap. Similarly, the migration surge of rural-urban manual labourers in China took place after the initiation of the reform and opening up policy in 1978. Generally, they transferred from the less economically developed areas to the more economically developed ones, mostly from rural areas to the urban. A survey of the migration history in P.R. China shows there is an internal relationship between social and economic development and migration. This is especially true of the initial stages of the migration.

However, the reasons for rural-urban workers' migration can be more than economic, as migration is "a complex process in which economic, political, social and cultural factors all work together," and concentration on "individual wage maximization" is "simple and misleading" (Castles et al. 2009: 25). That is to say, migration not only depends on the migrants' individual attempts to gain material benefits, but also on complicated external factors. Thus, it is advisable to take a holistic approach to the issue of the rural-urban migration.

The general survey of China's 60 years long rural-urban migration history and its changing discourses reveals that peasants' migration and the concomitant state's control over their

migration is not a new phenomenon. Changing labels for rural migrants reflect changing attitudes towards floating population. For most of the time from the foundation of P.R. China to the beginning of the large scale migration after post-Mao era, migrants were referred to as *mangliu* or "purposeless floating population," which conveys negative meaning due to the then ideology of China's planned economy. After the reform and open policy, the rural-urban migrant workers came to be called *nongmingong*, or shortened as *mingong*, which means literally "peasant workers." Still, for quite a few years, this term was a derogative label. In the recent few years, a new term *wailaigong* or "migrant workers from outside," has come to be used. *Wailaigong* is obviously broader in its connotations, for not every migrant worker from outside is a peasant, and some of the migrant workers from outside can be highly valued professionals. However, the use of this word, reduces, in a certain sense, some of the negative elements contained in *nongmingong*. In some cases, *nongmingong* and *wailaigong* are mutually substitutive.

One of the biggest obstacles that affected migrant population was that they held agricultural *"*hukou*"* register or household register. Historically speaking, the *"*hukou*"* system as a household registration had its prototype 4000 years ago. P. R. China re-established this system in 1958 to limit strictly the free flux of rural population to urban area. A household registration booklet, as a symbol of social status, especially before the reform-open era, recorded the household leader, household members, birth date, and place of birth. There were urban *"*hukou*"* and rural *"*hukou*"*. Those registered with rural *"*hukou*"* were not entitled to the benefits of the urban *"*hukou*"* holders, like housing, medicare, pensions, education, and employment. And *"*hukou*"* has been a symbol of social status, especially before the reform-open era. The "hukou" system gave rise to social and economic problems, increasing inequity between rural and urban people. As Wong et al (2007) argue, "the 'hukou' system (household registration system), the process of decentralisation and the obscure role of trade unions have contributed to the experience of marginalisation of rural migrant workers in urban cities in China" (Wong et al, 2007: 34).

Thereafter, in 2014, the State Council of China stipulated "the establishment of 'hukou' registration system integrating rural and urban areas," which required "the abolition of differentiation of agricultural and non-agricultural 'hukou,'" and the establishment of "corresponding systems involving education, birth control, employment, social insurance, housing, land and population statistics" (the State Council of China, 2014). This was a milestone which indicated that urban and rural residents would be gradually treated the same. However, the "hukou" system remains, and issues concerning migration and rural migrant workers still need to be addressed.

After Mao Zedong-led Communist Party of China forced Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang to retreat to Taiwan, P. R. China was founded in 1949. A large-scale industrialization was initiated. This contributed to a booming of rural-urban migration. Though not undergoing such a large scale migration as the recent 30 years, the first three decades from 1949 to 1978 did witness some migration events on a national level. In the rest of this section, I will divide migrant history and education into two stages, in the light of discourse changes: pre-1980s and post-1980s, the boundary of which is 1980 after the initiation of the 1978 reform and opening up policy.

2.2 Pre-1980s rural migration and adult education

This section aims to describe how rural migration proceeded before the reform and opening up policy and how education, especially adult education for workers and peasants, developed in China.

2.2.1 Industrialization, migration and education

The historical and economic development of P. R. China started roughly at the time when the developed countries began to be enthusiastic about "development," right after the Second World War, and those in power embraced the "American dream of peace and abundance be[ing]extended to all the peoples of the planet" (Escobar, 1995: 4). However, Mao Zedong-led China took a path away from the developed states. Different from the international

economic development, China had its own set of socialism discourses of development, in which ideology played a vital role.

To be freed from the Western economic blockade, Mao Zedong developed his idea of *duli zizhu, zili gengsheng* ("be independent and rely on oneself") in his theory of neo-democracy and further elaborated it in the period of socialism construction. Wang, G. in his official report on "The Basic Tasks of China's First Five-Year Plan" posits that Industrial construction of socialism was set as the mainstay, followed by "establishing a preliminary foundation for socialist reform in agriculture and in the handicraft industries", and fitting "capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises into varied forms on the road of state capitalism" (Howe & Walker, 1989: 10). Mao Zedong's goal was to establish an industrial working class by integrating all social classes (Cheng & Selden, 1994). Consequently, China had accelerating economic development in the three decades from 1952 to 1981, during which "[e]xcluding the rapid post-war recovery, real per capita output tripled" (Lardy, 1983: 1).

Along with the rapid economic development was the fast growing rural-urban migration. From the early 1950s through 1957 to the Great Leap Forward of 1958 to 1960, rapid urbanization brought a large number of rural-urban migrants into urban areas (Lardy, 1983:1-2; Wu, 1994), thus causing extra population pressure. China's central government tried to curtail this tendency during this decade from time to time, although the 1954 Constitution allowed people to have "freedom of residence and freedom to change their residence." (Cited in Cheng & Selden, 1994). In 1958, the "hukou" system was established, which gradually stopped the rural-urban migration. Then, China's urbanization started to be stagnant for nearly twenty years until the end of 1970s. So, to deal with economic hardships, the state restricted peasants to farming under the "hukou" administration. This made it impossible for peasants to enjoy the social benefits privileged to urban people, thus further stratifying the Chinese population and causing more inequities.

2.2.2 Education and adult education in the first 17 years of P. R. China

In the first 17 years after the foundation of P. R. China, the ideology of revolution and socialism played a central role in maintaining the continuous socioeconomic development, as pointed out by Ascher (1976), "the ideological path and leadership of the Communist Party are crucial to China's development" (3). The centrality of ideology can be shown in the state educational policies and concomitant educational practices, which mainly include the following points: national scale literacy movement, great emphasis on vocational training, technical and natural sciences education, comprehensive educational enhancement of human development, and stress on the direction of socialism. The following is a survey of the major educational events, policies and discourses in this period.

National scale literacy movement

Before the foundation of P.R. China, Mao Zedong (1949) had analyzed the relationship between peasants' class and workers' class, positing that "Peasants should be educated," and "a long time will be needed to realize the socialization of agriculture." Mao Zedong argued that the working class acts as the leader in the socialist construction. So the literacy education of peasants and workers immediately became an important issue on the agenda of China's central government after its establishment in an attempt to expand the nation's literate and educated masses.

A series of official documents and notices in the 1950s show the central government required that adult literacy education be implemented in both urban and rural areas (Hao, 2009; Wang, Q, 2006). For instance, in March 1956, the State Council of China issued "Notice of Communist Party of China and State Council on Illiteracy Elimination". This notice decided that the objectives of illiteracy elimination be mainly those from 14 to 50 years of age, with the literacy standard of knowing 2000 Chinese characters for workers and 1,500 for peasants. They should also read simple and popular articles in newspapers, do simple sums, write simple notes and do simple abacus calculation (Hao, 2009). These literacy objectives "were closely connected to the political and economic objectives of collectivization" (Peterson, 2001: 227). With the issuing of this decree, "Chinese peasants and urban dwellers alike became swept up in the largest and most dramatic literacy campaign in the country's history"

(Peterson, 2001, p.226). There were regular conferences on the teaching and learning promoting adult literacy campaigns; on some occasions, the fervour with the learning and teaching was intense; however, the learning results was not so desirable (Hao, 2009).

The integration of a political sense of mission with regard to education and the functions of literacy propelled the mass adult illiteracy elimination movement. People encouraged and helped each other. Learning and teaching methods were so diverse and practically based that, for today's standard and values, they might sound acceptable for child learners, but might not be so for adult learners. Hao's (2009) reflection on the typical case of the then literacy campaign is informative:

"In Pingyuan County, Shandong Province, over 300, 000 people, including the young and the middle-aged, the old, children and even the deaf, the dumb and the blind, were devoted to the movement of learning Chinese pinyin and Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese). All the people had cloth straps on their clothes. The illiterate used a yellow one, and the literate a red one. 'The yellow' would consult 'the red,' and 'the red' would teach 'the yellow.'" (ibid, 2009)

Interestingly, the people in this county, whose other distinctions were overlooked, were divided into two kinds and labelled with literate and illiterate respectively according to relevant literacy criteria.

With national fervour for literacy, from 1956 to 1960, around eighty million may have received some form of literacy education (Peterson, 2001: 226). However, unlike urban areas, this learning practice abruptly came to an end in the rural areas in October 1958 due to the "steel making" campaign on a national level and autumn harvest season, as the industrial development, especially steel making, became a national focus. The 1958 autumn harvest also demanded peasants to be fully devoted to farming. So peasants' literacy education was not resumed until 1960 when China's central government ordered that the rural literacy continue. (Hao, 2009).

It seems that the literacy campaigns in the 1950s were closely connected with the then political, social and economic developments, as these campaigns, which contained "the tension between literacy education and political mobilization" (Peterson, 2001: 225), "were endowed with a politico-symbolic and even spiritual significance that went well beyond their pragmatic and often rather limited pedagogical ambitions" (Peterson, 2001: 221).

Comprehensive development of human beings in education

Some of the policies and guidelines in China's state education fifty years ago seem to be practicable and humane even for today. One of these is the so-called "*sanhao xuesheng*" or "distinctive students in morality, academic field and Physical education." This discourse influenced China's education for over forty years since it was proposed by Mao Zedong in 1957.

Mao Zedong posited in his article "Treat properly the contradictions within the people" that "Our educational strategy should be that the educatees be fully developed in morality, academic aspects, and physical education, and become literate labourers with a sense of socialism" (Mao, 1957b) The influence of this statement continued until the 1990s. Many students aspired to be a *sanhao xuesheng*.

So Mao's consistent educational thought implied that education be combined with practice and practice-based, and also education should help students be fully developed (Li, S., 2007: 5-6). It was also the basis of general theory being integrated with practice, which was the most common educational method in pre-1980s adult education as well as in formal school education.

Being "both red and expert"

The popular phrase "both red and expert" (*youhong youzhuan*), as a discourse, was influential from 1957 until even the early 1990s. Even in some academic writings in the early 1990s, this phrase is evidenced. Being "red" suggested being politically and ideologically directed while being "expert" meant technologically and professionally driven.

The dialectical thinking of being both "red" and "expert" was first elaborated by Mao Zedong in the 1957 Third Plenary Session of the Eighth Congress of Communist Party of China. He

pointed out that “all the cadres in all walks of life should know thoroughly the techniques and expertise, and make experts of themselves so as to be both red and expert” (1957a). By red, Mao Zedong meant politically firm in socialism; by expert, he mainly referred to technology and natural sciences.

The New China state government laid great emphasis on technical and vocational training as well as natural sciences education. The Mao Zedong-led central government advocated highly both technology and engineering education. The resolution on education reform issued by the State Council of China (1951) stressed the status and the importance of industrial and agricultural schools and adult literacy training classes.

Adult educational practice during this period was in step with state policies. There was an “expansion of worker-peasant part-time education” from 1951 to 1952 (Ascher, 1976: 9). Many part-time schools for adult education were set up; “notably, over 30,000 part-time agricultural high schools” (Ascher, 1976: 19). During the first ten years of P. R. China, vocational and technical education was given prominence to develop industrial and agricultural techniques; “On-the-job training and apprenticeship were introduced on a national scale” (Li, C., 1960: 40). Cui (2012) describes how Tianjin City prescribed how to implement its training of new workers around 1958: management of workshops under the supervision of departments of human resources should coordinate theoretical education and invite technicians and experienced workers to deliver lectures; *shifu* or an experienced worker should be allocated to each new apprentice (Cui, 2012). This helped shape the induction and training practices of new workers for a few decades in China’s industrial sector. As a result, “the engineering and technical personnel in industry” grew from 58,000 in 1952 to 175,000 in 1957; on the whole, employees engaged in industrial fields grew from 6.15 million to 10.19 million (Li, C., 1960: 40).

Mao Zedong’s thought of being “red and expert” revealed that he admitted the importance of being technologically well-equipped for China’s construction. The investigation of the context where he posited this idea demonstrated he was more ideologically concerned, thus

being “red” dominated over being “expert.” If one was “red”, one would not run the risk of being criticized while being “expert,” one might be labelled as a “white expert,” which means an expert without sense of correct political direction. So from the latter half of 1957, China’s educational field was politicized, and “a large number of ideological issues were taken as the indications of class struggles” (Li, S., 2007: 6). The discourse of “being red and expert” was influential for the next three decades from late 1950s to the end of 1980s.

I have discussed, as shown above, the major educational events, especially adult education of peasants and workers, polices and distinctive discourses in the first seventeen years from the foundation of P. R. China to the breakout of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. These events and discourses were not independent of each other, but mutually involved, thus constituting the configuration of the social and economic development of the first seventeen years of New China. Technical education and political ideology existed in tension. This continued until extreme leftism predominated when the Cultural Revolution broke out in 1966, as will be discussed below.

2.2.3 Adult education in the Cultural Revolution

The 1966-1976 Cultural Revolution did not see prominent progress in formal education, but did witness the fulfilment of “relat[ing] general theory with real-life problems” (Ascher, 1976: 31). This general teaching method was closely connected with Mao Zedong’s thought of education.

The idea of comprehensive development of human beings in education was further or rather so much, that it would be distorted, strengthened through his well-known quotation (1966) or the so called “ May 7th instruction” (*wuqi zhishi*). In this article, Mao called on students to integrate cultural education with industry, agriculture and military study, and also criticism of capitalists. He required “the education duration to be shortened” and “education to be revolutionized,” so that “the phenomenon of capitalists swaying our schools cannot continue.”

Accordingly, China's central government issued a notice in June, 1966 abolishing entrance examinations for senior middle school and higher education, and a new type of enrolment method combining selection with recommendation began to be introduced. As Peterson has summarized, Mao Zedong attacked the inadequacies of formal schooling "from the perspective of the greater mobilizational efficacy of nonbook learning" (2001: 224)**.** An educational revolution was soon launched. Many intellectuals and experts were persecuted, throwing the educational sector into disorder.

In commenting on the educational practices during this period, the general literature is completely negative (e. g., Wang, L. et al, 2006). However, Ascher (1976) notes how some practices in education implemented in the process of the Cultural Revolution were advanced, such as their emphasis "on reasoning ability as against memory-work," flexible teaching methods and sites, workers as initiative rather than passive learners, cadres receiving re-education (Ascher, 1976: 33). So, although being dominated by ultra-leftism, some of the teaching pedagogies integrating educational theories with practices, are still thought provoking from today's perspective.

2.2.4 Summary

I have surveyed the rural migration and adult education of peasants and workers before the reform and opening up policy in terms of two periods: the first seventeen years after the foundation of P. R. China and the Cultural Revolution. It seems that a tension remained between taking adult education as a way of learning and education as a way of mobilizing masses, and between learning knowledge and being directed by political awareness.

2.3 Post-1980s booming rural-urban migration and continuing education

2.3.1 Introduction

In December 1978, the reform and opening up policy (*gaige kaifang*) was stipulated. So the state's focus started to shift from class struggle to the construction of socialist modernization. In 1987, the national policy of "one centre and two basic points" *(yige zhongxin liangge jibendian)* was prescribed at the 13th Congress of Communist Party of China. Thus, the state focused on economic construction while adhering to two basic points: four fundamental principles and the reform and opening up in order to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. The four fundamental principles are: sticking to the path of socialism, the people's democratic dictatorship, the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CCP), and Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

In the 21st century, representative official discourses include: "well-off society" (*xiaokang shehui*), stipulated in November 2002 16th CCP Congress Charter, "scientific development" (*kexue fazhan guan*), first put forward in 2003, and stipulated in 17th CCP Congress Charter in 2007, and "harmonious society" (*hexie shehui*) in 17th CCP Charter. "Well-off society" carried on the idea of economic development while "scientific development" and "harmonious society" were contextualized in relation to the accelerating social-economic development and increasing social conflicts. After the closing of the 18th Congress of CCP, the current Chinese president Xi Jinping elaborated on "China's Dream" on 29th November 2012 as his signature slogan. According to him, the China's Dream "is the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation."

Along with urbanization and ever-increasing rural-urban migration in China, both rural and urban areas changed dramatically. Migrant workers have gained more working and living spaces in cities; however, they have also lost much of their rural base with the invasion of the progressive urbanization and its concomitant rural land expropriation, which caused conflicts between peasants, enterprises and local authorities. As Sargeson's research shows, "between 2010 and 2012 open source media reported that in at least 17 provinces conflicts over land

expropriation resulted in people being shot, beaten and crushed to death" (Sargeson, 2013: 1064).

Moreover, 30 years' economic development "has brought about commodification of agricultural inputs, labor, public goods and technical services" (Yan & Chen, 2013: 964), and social problems such as "a steady exodus of educated rural youth as migrants to cities, the aging and feminization of rural producers, fragmentation of familial life, estrangement of social relations within villages, growing rural disparity, etc." (Yan & Chen, 2013: 964). Likewise, urban areas were also faced with diverse social problems, such as increasing crime and mass incidents, especially in economically developed areas such as the Pearl River Delta (PRD) and the Yangtze River Delta. This means migrant workers would have to deal with difficulties both at home villages and working cities.

In terms of the further divisions of the post-1980s migration, scholars had different understandings. For example, Lu, X. (2003) suggested two periods, one of which is from 1984 to 1988 during the rise of local enterprises while the large scale movement of migration took place in the 1990s. Mallee (2000) focused on two eventful periods 1985-88 and 1992 to his writing time (2000), and also discussed two other transitional periods 1978-84 and 1989-91. Wen, J. (2004) also used this classification method. On the basis of the above review, I will divide the past three decades into three periods as will be discussed below.

2.3.2 Rural migration in the 1980s

The enormous agricultural population before the 1980s was out of proportion with its share in GDP of the whole country. With the reform and opening up policy stipulated in the third plenary session of the 11th Congress of CCP in 1978, China began to focus on economic development, and especially agricultural development. China's economy had been developing for the first three decades after its foundation, but most of the economic resources were concentrated in the industrial sector. After the household responsibility system was set

up, China's agriculture achieved enormous progress. Consequently, a huge surplus of labour force appeared in rural areas. They needed to find employment in urban areas.

In 1984, there was a big crop harvest in China, which, however, did not bring peasants happiness and wealth, because they had difficulties in selling their products (Lu, 2003). So, after 1984, some peasants found employment in the rising township and village enterprises in the countryside where they lived, but they needed to guarantee their own food supply, while non-agricultural residents received rationed food supply from the state. So, although the *"hukou"* system hindered peasants from migrating to cities, newly established local enterprises accommodated the surplus labour force, thus alleviating the pressure of rural population while not posing pressure on urban areas. Migrant workers became released from the restriction from the state policy, which strictly forbad the rural-urban migration, as reiterated by the State Council of China in 1981 (Emerson, 1983: 8). This suggests that free migration had started even before the state policy officially changed.

Migrant workers were thought of "as a way to solve urban labour shortages" in the construction field, textile industry, urban sanitation and so on (Mallee, 2000: 91). So, despite social and economic difficulties at the turn of 1990s, such as inflation, the closure of rural enterprises, the reduction of construction projects and concomitant dismissal of migrant workers, migrant workers arrived in large numbers in urban areas. To explain this paradox, Mallee argues that "urban demand" may not be the only reason for rural-urban migration (2000: 91). Mallees's interpretation is enlightening, for migration is more than economically driven, and we will see more evidence for this in the subsequent forms of migration, which show more diverse reasons.

2.3.3 Rural migration in the 1990s

The large scale migrant workers' wave did not happen until the 1990s, especially after Deng Xiaoping's Southern China tour in February 1992 (Mallee, 2000: 93; Wen, T., 2003), when he delivered a series of theories and ideas for developing socialism with Chinese characteristics. As a result, "People's thoughts were once again liberated" (Ding, 2001: 179). The 14th Party Congress of CCP, held in October 1992, solidified the guiding status of Deng Xiaoping's theory on "constructing socialism with Chinese characteristics" and called on all

the Party to concentrate on economic construction (CPC, accessed 29/12/2015). This clarified the direction of a "socialist market economy," instead of the planned economy (Mallee, 2000: 93).

With further economic development in south-eastern China, many migrant workers flocked into the Yangtze River Delta and PRD. Wen, T. (2003) mentioned three basic reasons for the 1990s rural-urban migration. The first reason is the cancellation of the planned daily necessities supplies system, whereby migrants could buy food with cash instead of the food rationing tickets which used to be available to urban dwellers only. This was the necessary condition for "migrant peasants 40 million in number" to work in urban areas. The second reason, according to Wen, T (2003), is the hard-to-sell harvested crop in the early 1990s, which damaged the enthusiasm of the peasants for farming. The third reason is that local town and village enterprises were in decline, thus were not able to absorb rural labour forces.

Rural migrants not only migrated to urban areas for employment, but also thought of becoming city people entitled to benefits such as employment, schooling and medicare. A specific event through which many peasants changed into urban dwellers was the so called "nongzhuanfei" or "peasants changed into urban dwellers". This took place in the early 1990s. In order to become city people with an urban "hukou" and enjoy concomitant benefits, some migrants spent a considerable amount of money buying an urban "hukou". For example, in a small town in Jiangsu province in August 1992, 1006 "hukou" registrations were processed, each of which was charged 12,000 yuan (Yu, 2002: 53) This exhibited obviously marketing features.

Thus, rural migration in 1990s proceeded on an unprecedented scale. The number of migrants soared from 40 million at the beginning of 1992 through 72 million in 1996 up to 94 million by 2002 (Wen, J., 2004).

2.3.4 Migration at the turn of 21st century: focus on PRD

In the last fifteen years or so, rural-urban migration has been on the increase. The floating population had reached 236 million by 2012, with an increase of over one hundred million over the year of 2000 (National Health and Family Planning Commission of China, 2013). The migration in this period presents complicated characteristics such as diverse components of migrants, state policies, and social environment. This section will discuss the recent development in China's rural-urban migration with a focus on PRD in Guangdong Province.

According to the National Bureau of Statistics of China (2009), rural –urban migrant workers in China had reached over 145 million by 2009, with 3.5% increase over the previous year. 70% of those under 40 years of age had received formal junior middle school education, while 26% of those under 30 years had received senior middle school and 31.1% of those between 21 and 25 had senior middle school qualifications. However, statistics also show a pessimistic picture of vocational training, as over half of migrant workers did not receive any training.

Most of the migrant workers were born after the 1980s, thus being categorized as second generation migrant workers. According to the National Bureau of Statistics of China (2009), over 60 % of the migrant workers were between 16 to 30 years old. This means the second generation migrant workers had become a major working force. Likewise, a large scale and comprehensive "Research report on new generation rural-urban migrant workers" issued by All-China Federation of Trade Unions (2010) reveals that young migrant workers were concerned about their self-development, and sometimes uncertain about their future. The old generation were concerned about making some money while the second generation were concerned about quality of life. However, they could be confused about their identity of being peasants or city people. Different from their forefathers, who had strong perseverance for physical survival, they felt marginalized and tended to become emotionally fragile when encountering hardships. However, due to the influence of modern thoughts, they "had increasingly strong awareness of maintaining their own rights" (All-China Federation of Trade Unions, 2010).

Guangdong Province has the largest migrant population. Located next to Hong Kong, this area has excellent geographical position. Of the first four Special Economic Zones (SEZs) established in 1980, three were in Guangdong Province: Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Shantou with the first two of them in PRD. The Chinese government intended SEZs to entice foreign investors with preferential tax exemption and other flexible management measures. Since the opening of China after 1978, PRD has been attracting migrant workers as well as other professionals. This is especially true after 1992 Deng Xiaoping's southern China tour with PRD as his main interest.

The influx of migrant workers drives China's economy forward rapidly. PRD as a "world factory" produces and exports for consumers all over the world. Contributions made by migrant workers to the Chinese social and economic development cannot be over-emphasized. Wen Jiabao, former Chinese Premier, spoke highly of the important roles of migrant workers in his interview for the Financial Times (2009): "We should thank those Chinese migrant workers because they made an enormous contribution to China's modernization drive and, in times of this financial crisis, they have also become a big reservoir of the labour force" (Wen, J.B., 2009).

However, the fast pace of urban life, monotonous working conditions and isolated life styles caused social and psychological problems. In 2010, a string of 18 suicide attempts was made, mostly by jumping from buildings, resulting in 14 deaths in the Foxconne Group, whose headquarters was in Guangdong's Shenzhen City (Moore, 2012). With such discourses as democracy, freedom, justice and human rights becoming more and more influential among migrant workers, they learned to protect themselves in their struggle for better benefits. According to a Guangdong provincial meeting (South China Newspaper, 2010), there were 36 strikes from May 25th to July 12th 2010 in Guangdong Province, mostly in PRD. There have been reports of mass incidents and workers on strike in this area ever since, although I could not find exact data for recent years.

In short, from the onset of the 21st century onwards, there has been an increase of rural-urban migration in China. Migrant workers, especially young migrant workers, have been increasing in number, especially in the southeast China, such as PRD. Social problems and conflicts also have become more severe. To solve these problems, the government designed and adopted comprehensive measures, such as running educational programmes to enhance population quality, as will be discussed below.

2.3.5 National educational policies and projects for peasants and migrant workers in 21st century

Currently, the educational practices in China's formal education system vary from countryside to city, and from area to area. There are three levels of education, primary education, lasting six years; secondary education, or middle school education, for six years, which further divides into junior and senior middle school education (some students take vocational education instead of senior middle school), and then tertiary education, usually four years for undergraduate study. The first nine years are called compulsory education.

As stated above, current migrant workers have had richer formal education experiences than the first generation migrant workers. The Chinese government has begun to pay more attention to the design and implementation of the public policies on migrant workers' education (He, L., & Wang, C., 2011). However, most of these migrant workers did not experience appropriate vocational training. Both central and local government became aware of this issue and made a series of educational policies to address it. In September 2003, the State Council of China issued an official document "2003-2010 training plan for China's migrant rural-urban migrant workers," which drew a blueprint intended to establish a well-equipped comprehensive continuing educational system requiring the collaborative capital investment among enterprises, government and individual migrant workers. This document was a milestone in that the employment and the training of the rural-urban migrant workers began to be administered and supervised in institutions and through formal regulations. This plan was intended to offer guidance and training on the issues such as law knowledge, urban life common sense, basic rights protection and hunting for jobs, and also on vocational training according to different jobs (the State Council of China, 2003).

In 2004, a number of national educational projects focused on peasants or migrant workers were launched by central governmental ministries, including, "Sunshine training project for rural labour force diversion" started by the Ministry of Agriculture, "Training plan for rural labour force diversion" by the Ministry of Education, "Sparkling special plan of science and technology training" co-sponsored by the Ministry of Science and Technology, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, and the Central Committee of Communist Youth League, and "Rain and Dew Plan" by the Poverty Relief Office of the State Council of China (He & Wang, 2011).

To further stress the importance of the learning and training of migrant workers, the State Council of China announced "Some guidelines on resolution of issues of migrant workers" in 2006 (the State Council of China, 2006). Education was expected to develop migrants' capacity for survival and propel the ongoing urbanization and industrialization.

During the economic crisis in 2008, many migrant workers returned to their home villages. The Ministry of Education of China (2008) issued "urgent" notices calling on local vocational education institutions to organize the vocational training of the returned migrant workers.

Then in 2010, the State Council of China reiterated this issue in its "Guidelines on the training of migrant workers" (2010), which acknowledged "the remarkable achievement in the training of migrant workers" while starting to address such problems as "lack of coordinated planning in training programmes, inadequate efficiency in funding utilization, low quality in training and imperfect monitoring mechanism" (the State Council of China, 2010).

The shaping of the official documents reflects the changing social conditions and the increasing power of the migrants in the cities, whose presence and absence have made a difference to the social-economic development. The government could no longer neglect their roles in social and economic development.

2.3.6 Adult education for migrant workers in PRD

The migration process and continuing education, as co-related issues, have received due consideration in governmental policy making and planning in Guangdong Province. To re-echo the educational policies and projects of the central government, the Guangdong Provincial Government and the Provincial Committee of CCP issued "Modernity education construction guidelines of Guangdong Province: 2004-2020." This document planned an all-embracing education blueprint for both formal education and vocational education, ranging from primary to tertiary level. It required the harmonious development of vocational education and formal senior middle school, and encouraged cooperation from industries, enterprises and society in running vocation training. It planned to establish a lifelong educational network covering the whole society (Guangdong Provincial Government and the Provincial Committee of CCP, 2004).

Accordingly, Guangzhou, capital of Guangdong Province, paid great attention to migrant workers' education. Local media said that there would be 800 schools set up for the training of migrant workers in Guangzhou by the end of 2007 (Ma, 2007). Around this time and in this context, two influential educational projects mainly for migrant workers were initiated in Guangdong Province. In 2008, "Shenzhen City General Trade Union Yuanmeng Plan educational assistance action for needy and migrant workers" was launched by Shenzhen General Trade Union. In 2011, the Guangdong Communist Youth League in coordination with Guangdong Province Department of Education, Guangdong Province Department of Finance, and Guangdong Province Department of Human Resources and Social Security initiated "Guangdong Province new generation industrial leading workers' training and development plan." Both were known as the Yuanmeng Plans or "Dream Fulfillment Plan".

The Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan was initiated in the spring of 2011 on a trial basis, with P University as the first and only teaching and degree awarding institution. However, this project has been developing since then with more cities having teaching sites and more participating degree awarding institutions. The aim of this plan was to help migrant workers realize their dream of going to university. By contrast, though not so prevalent as the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan was started as early as 2008, and

it has been running on for seven years. Its courses were comprehensive ranging from short term vocational courses like domestic service, tea making, flower arrangement, electrician training and property management to long term programmes like academic degree courses.

As these two educational projects are the focus of my research, they will be analyzed in terms of their differences and similarities in the rest of my thesis.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has surveyed the history of rural-urban migration in P.R. China and its concomitant educational policies and projects. Its aim was to contextualize my ethnographic research on continuing education for migrant workers in PRD. It can be seen that rural-urban migration in China, as well as educational policies and projects, were closely related to political, economic and social factors.

The three decades before the 1980s are strongly ideologically characterized with such discourses as revolution, socialism, collectivism, production, class struggle, and masses, while the recent three decades is marked with discourses, as Yan suggests, "constitutive of the process of post-Mao reform," including "development, modernity, suzhi (quality), human capital, self-development, and consumer citizenship" in one line, and also "the unceasing pain, injury, disaster, collateral damage, anomalies, and unrest as the transitional costs of the lofty telos of development" (2008: 3). The first line represents the development trend while the latter its undesirable by-products.

Educational policies for peasants and workers in different periods evince different concerns. Before the 1980s, the tension in educational practices of workers and peasants seems to remain between taking adult education as a function and as a way of mobilizing masses, until the Cultural Revolution broke out when ultraleftism predominated and education became an area of political struggle. After the 1980s, especially in the 21st century, educational practices for industrial sector have started to be focused on how they would be able to contribute to

economic development, especially rapid urbanization. This will be further discussed in my empirical chapters.

Chapter 3 Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

I am interested in exploring what power relationships are embedded in the Yuanmeng educational plans in the Pearl River Delta (PRD) of China, and how relevant social actors share and utilize corporate and incorporate resources, participate in social and educational activities, and formulate new subjectivities and assume new identities. To attain these goals, I need to establish a corresponding theoretical framework to describe and interpret these relationships and social changes. Accordingly, I will elicit ideas from a variety of resources, as shown below.

Firstly, I am guided by Deleuze's transcendental empiricism and nomadic thought as my philosophical outlook. Its concern with the relationship between the virtual and the actual, and its principles of heterogeneity, connections, flat multiplicities, and asignifying rupture lay a foundation for my research framework. Deleuze privileges becoming and differences over static beings, which sheds light on how I can understand the fundamental force that propels social transformations.

Secondly, to investigate the educational processes of migrant workers, I gain theoretical support from intellectual resources on power, discourse, and development, mainly by Foucault, Escobar and Kabeer. The ideas developed by Foucault and Escobar will help inform, 1) how discourses of development as a multiple concept clash while integrating each other in the educational programmes targeted at the migrant workers in PRD, 2) what ideological implications exist in policies and educational institutions, and 3) how far migrant workers as students identify themselves with the development discourses. In addition, other factors involved in the educational programmes, such as social relationships and resources, will need to be considered. To reach this end, I will turn to the social-relations framework (SRF) proposed by Naila Kabeer (1994), which offers practical guidance on what to analyze and how to analyze it in the aforesaid programmes.

Finally, to examine teaching and learning process at a microscopic level and find out how teaching and learning interact in the educational projects I observe, I will turn to concepts in adult learning as well as curriculum design and implementation.

The formulation of my research framework has been a dynamic process, involving changes and modifications along with my research experiences, research participants and also my own changing subjectivities.

3.2 My overall philosophical outlook: multiplicities, power and desire, and their synthesis

In exploring how migrant workers change in their identities and subjectivities after their urban experiences and educational projects, I find illuminating Deleuze's transcendental empiricism, which provides me with theoretical support to investigate the changing social and educational relationships where migrant workers as students in my observation are involved; what is more important, it lays the foundation for my research philosophy.

3.2.1 Transcendental empiricism

Deleuze's philosophy is mainly transcendental empiricism, which addresses the issues of difference and becoming. This is different from traditional Western metaphysics, which cherishes the Platonic and Aristotelian belief in "fixity" being "worthier" than "change" (Kepos and Poupard, 1989: 3). Deleuze's thought about becoming and changes encourages me to reflect how it will illumine my study of the changing relationships, social events and ideology in migrant workers' education and relevant educational institutions.

Transcendental empiricism, according to Mark, "entails a spirit of experimentation which rejects the distinction between empirical particularities and abstract universals," and it "is an attempt to overcome the Kantian dualism between real and possible experience" (1998: 83). This suggests that the transcendental empiricism envisages an indiscernible plane of immanence between the virtual and the actual, or between the empirical and the abstract.

As transcendental empiricism studies flowing events, difference and becoming, it will provide me with a lens through which to examine dynamic social relationships in the educational programmes and the changing subjectivities of migrant workers. Thus I will be able to focus on the dynamics in the social and educational events. As for how becomings proceed, Deleuze and Guattari offer me principles of nomadic thought, which will be expanded on in the following section.

3.2.2 The principles of "nomadic thought": how they enlighten my research epistemologically

Deleuze and Guattari's transcendental empiricism is concretely embodied in nomadic principles, overlapping but from different perspectives (1988: 7-13), offering epistemological guidelines for investigating my research project. They use sprawling "rhizome" as their primitive image of thought rather than regularly grown "tree". I will link some major principles to my study.

The first two principles are connection and heterogeneity: "Any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be" (1988: 7). This suggest any point can be linked to any other one, even if they are of different kinds. This enlightens me to assume diverse dimensions in my study as universally connected, thus exploring their internal relationships in a wider scope. I am especially concerned to explore how tangible dimensions like institutions and human resources could be connected with intangible ones such as discourses and general attitudes in the development of migrant workers' education, as the intangible aspect could be more easily neglected, but play an equally indispensable role.

The next important principle is multiplicity. Deleuze and Guattari developed the concept of the Stoic surface, which was elaborated in Deleuze's *Logic of Sense*, and maintained that multiplicities as flat. "Flat multiplicities are asignifying and asubjective" (Deleuze, 1990: 9). The flatness of multiplicities erases the distinctions between the physical and the metaphysical, or between the corporeal and the incorporeal, as mentioned above, leading to multiple planes interconnected and interpenetrating. One plane contains more planes. On this basis, any of the planes turn may be connected with the initial one, as one point can be connected with any other. Starting with this idea, I will explore how diverse dimensions in

my research on migrant workers' education interact both in an educational setting and across a larger social background.

Besides heterogeneity, connections and flat multiplicities as discussed above, I gain equal illumination from the principle of “asignifying rupture.” A rupture arises in a rhizome “whenever segmentary lines explode into a line of flight, but the line of flight is part of the rhizome” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988: 9). By "asignifying," Deleuze and Guattari mean that “becoming” dominates “representation," while by "rupture," they emphasize that breaking means a chance to make connections with another point, thus formulating new subjectivities. The notion of rupture will be picked up when illustrating the working pattern of power and discourse and the notion of subjectivities in the latter part of this chapter, and will inform how and why changes in social relationships and educational programmes happen in my research project, such as changing educational partnerships in the case of Dongguan City under the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, which reflects the flux of capital and the changes of power relations among relevant institutions.

The above principles on nomadic thought of Deleuze and Guattari are centred on multiplicities and becomings: about how any dimensions are connected on a plane of immanence and multiplicities, thus producing new connections, new events, and new subjectivities. The nomadic thought offers a picture in which dimensions or desiring machines, as Deleuze and Guattari used, are interconnected. However, this thought could blur the distinctions between the major elements and the minor ones in the research practice.

To apply a remedy, I adapt Naila Kabeer’s SRF (1994) to decide what dimensions to focus on, as will be further discussed in the section on SRF in the latter half of this chapter. Accordingly, I will concentrate on some major dimensions both intangible and tangible, such as institutions, resources, and discourses. I will then explore how these dimensions combine, segregate, and meld, thus propelling the development of the educational projects and human subjectivities. I will also investigate how social relationships formulate, evolve, stagnate, and

change across the Chinese society, educational institutions and the community of migrant workers.

The way that the dimensions both tangible and intangible interact will be further expanded on when it comes to the discussion on power and discourse in the latter half of this chapter. I will show how similar Deleuze's nomadic thought is to Foucault's discussion on power and discourse, and how their thoughts enlighten my research concerning power relationships and discourse analysis.

3.2.3 Between "desire" and "power": my ontological stance

I believe flowing forces and energy that penetrate both the tangible and the intangible, or between the corporeal and the incorporeal, are the universal power propelling social and human developments. My understanding starts with Deleuze's ontology, which, according to Manuel DeLanda, is, "a world of actual individual entities (nested within one another at different spatio-temporal scales), produced by intensive individuation processes, themselves governed by virtual multiplicities" (2006).

To embody his ontology, Deleuze, in collaboration with Guattari, develop a line of concepts, the most influential one is "desire" (1983). Desire is the continuation of Deleuze's study of events, intensities, simulacra, and becoming. It fuses the Stoic bodies and incorporeals, and Nietzchean bodies and forces. Deleuze and Guattari underscore the productivity of desire: "Desire does not lack anything; it does not lack its object." (1983: 26). For them, desire does not mean the lack of object, but is intended to produce something. In Deleuze and Guattari's world, desire, as an immanent, productive and universal force, flows where bodies, ideas, words and things co-exist and interact. Meanwhile, desire has similar and substitutable expressions such as becomings, intensities, forces, multiplicities, sensation and affect. These concepts can be sliding and slipping across different areas.

However, I will tend to use the term "power" more, generally linked to Foucault, especially in the latter half of my thesis, although I mainly start with Deleuze's nomadic thought as a general framework. Also, in my thesis, though I use desire and power as substitutions, I am

aware that they have different focuses and starting points in their respective theoretical frameworks.

I synthesize Deleuze's notion of "desire" and Foucault's "power," in that there are many similarities and connections between them. As both of them were influenced by Nietzsche's will to power, Deleuze and Foucault extended mutual support, provoking adverse criticism. Foucault wrote a preface for Deleuze and Guattari's well-known *Anti-Oedipus* (1972), while Deleuze wrote a monograph entitled *Foucault* (1986). I will juxtapose desire, force, energy, intensities and power as substitutes, while in most of the cases in the latter half of my writing, I use "power," as a more common and acceptable expression, which does not mean the power in Foucault's sense only, but mean there has been a reconciliation and integration of different sources and thinkers, which are, among others, mainly Foucault and Deleuze.

Taking power or desire as the universal force driving forward social and human development, I, therefore, do not adopt the ontological position that there are static beings, but choose to take becomings as my philosophical stance; in other words, I will integrate in my research framework a line of concepts of flux such as power, desire, becomings, and force.

What desire and force integrate is an "interworld" (Bogue, 1989), which comprises both corporeal and incorporeal entities, as is the focus of the following section.

3.2.4 "Interworld" of the corporeal and the incorporeal

I gain inspiration from Deleuze and Guattari's description of the world with no clear distinctions between the ideal world and the sensible world, or between the virtual world and the actual world. This is a world where desire, forces and intensities flow, interconnect and interpenetrate.

According to Ronald Bogue (1989), in his analysis of Deleuze and Guattari's study on Proust, Sade and Masoch, "Proust, Sade, and Masoch all explore a curious interworld, in which bodies, and words, things and ideas interpenetrate and the traditional demarcations between

the physical and the metaphysical becomes blurred." (1989: 54). It follows that the educational field that I explored is such a world of undecidability of the corporeal and incorporeal, and contained social institutions, human beings, resources, policies, curriculum, forces and power, and thoughts, all of which interact and interpenetrate, giving rise to incessantly changing subjectivities and social transformations.

3.2.5 Conclusion: Synthesizing desire, power and multiplicities

I have gradually taken desire, power, forces, and other similar concepts in this line as my starting point to analyze how tangible and intangible dimensions interact, as desire and power permeate every place of social institutions, discourses and human beings in a multiple, interactive, and dynamic way. Out of this process, social transformations and human subjectivities emerge.

As there exists a state, or an "interworld" (Bogue, 1989: 54), as mentioned above, where corporeal and incorporeal dimensions interpenetrate, I will interpret how and why the educational programmes such as the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan integrate virtual spaces and actual spaces in their educational practice, and how they integrate tangible and intangible dimensions, such as funding, discourses, teaching resources and social capital.

This fundamental understanding also lays the foundation for my research framework involving power and desire, development as discourse, SRF and curriculum analysis, as will be further elaborated in the rest of this chapter. All these areas are interconnected and interpenetrating, in line with the Deleuzian interconnected "plateaus" or planes. Accordingly, in the light of the basic principles of nomadic thought as an epistemological approach, and desire and power being my ontological stance, I place all relevant sources and ideas on the same plane of multiplicities in my research framework, and take them as interpenetrating and interconnected.

In the rest of this chapter, the Deleuzian sense of desire and multiplicities and Foucauldian “power” will be further incorporated with my understanding of development as discourse, Kabeer’s SRF and curriculum issues. Gradually, Deleuze’s name can be mentioned less and

less, along with Guattari, his collaborator, as they will have been fully merged in this process of "becoming" in my research.

3.3 Development as discourse and its multiplicities

I am inspired by the research achievements of my supervisors, especially in the field of development as discourse, social practice and power relations relevant to my research. For instance, Robinson-Pant (2001) elucidates the interpretive power of development as discourse in describing the complexity in different relations in Nepal's educational field, such as policy implementation, educational provision, and teacher-student relationship (2001). Likewise, Rao and Hossain (2011: 624) discuss social relations and ideological conflicts in the educational process, suggesting that the ultimate concerns of education systems reside in "power and its negotiation in society." These statements encourage me to investigate how educational discourses could embody changing social relations in the national education campaigns in China's history, like today's migrant workers education campaigns, programmes and policies, and also to reevaluate the research gap existing between the different researches about migrant education. Development as discourse thus will help me gain new understandings about the problems of migrant workers in their contradictory attitudes towards continuing education.

Development as discourse offers me a lens through which to examine a specific field such as the education of migrant workers in PRD of China. I have decided to take development as discourse as a part of my guiding theoretical framework.

Development, as an area in anthropology, began to arouse attention in the early 1980s (Grillo 1997: 1). Development can be defined "in economic terms," which "underpins much of the work of international organization," and "by the use of a wealth measure," and also defined as human development by certain indexes (Willis 2011: 3-5). Around the turn of 1990s, the idea of development as discourse or post-development emerged, mainly under the influence of Foucault's work on knowledge and power (Gardner 1997: 133).

Among many definitions of development as discourse (e.g. Gardner 1997: 133; Grillo 1997: 11), I felt Escobar's (1995: 10) definition is more suitable for my research framework, and for him, development is "a historically singular experience, the creation of a domain of thought and action," and in development as discourse, he suggests that there are three "axes":

> "the forms of knowledge that refer to it and through which it comes into being and is elaborated into objects, concepts, theories, and the like; the system of power that regulates its practice; and the forms of subjectivity fostered by this discourse, those through which people come to recognize themselves as developed or underdeveloped" (1995: 10).

Escobar's conceptual framework provides an approach to understanding the internal mechanism governing the whole process of my overarching research question and some major research concerns, especially his idea on the three axes: system of discourse, system of power, and the way that subjectivities are formulated. I mean to investigate how some of the concepts in development as discourse and the discourse in general could help me explain social events and human relations in my research.

Development discourse is "generally presented as homogeneous and rooted in 'scientific rationalism'" (Gardner, 1997: 134). However, discourses concerning development are miscellaneous, as noted by Grillo (1997: 25), there is always "a significant distance between the ideas and practices of development agencies and those of 'local' people."

Accordingly, development discourses constructed in the Chinese context are many and dynamic. "Development," over the past thirty years, as a catch-phrase in China mainly refers to the economic and material success both for individuals and for the state.

China's development discourses can be official policies and strategies, grassroots discourses, traditional ideology and exotic borrowings, and they are always sliding and shifting, producing new discourses and events, and this represents a configuration of social practice and power interaction. As displayed in Yan's (2008: 3) investigation on female migrant domestic servants, "development, modernity, suzhi (quality), human capital, self-development, and consumer citizenship" are "constitutive of the process of post-Mao

reform," and also "the unceasing pain, injury, disaster, collateral damage, anomalies, and unrest as the transitional costs of the lofty telos of development" in the other line constitute a line of undesirable by-products from development. This way of classification is a help to gain insight into a full picture of the development situations in contemporary China.

This incessant process comprising discourses and social events produces constantly changing and renovated subjectivities of migrant workers and other educational participants. For instance, as Murphy (2000) concludes in her research on China's migrant workers, the income gained from migration helped the migrant workers obtain more equality, because their improved material conditions and their newly established urban connections released them to a certain degree from the local power base in their home villages.

I am interested in the implications behind various social phenomena and the discourses embedded in them; in other words, the diverse social relations and the changing identities and subjectivities are concealed in the process of education and development of migrant workers.

3.4 How development as discourse is related to my research project

As mentioned above, Escobar's notion of development as discourse is based on its three axes: system of discourse, system of power and formulation of subjectivities. These three axes constitutes the general framework of his notion of development as discourses.

In this section, I intend to start with the "three axes" of Escobar' development as discourse and delve into the implications in the first two axes interconnected dimensions, and explore how they inform the relationships between discourse, power struggle and changing subjectivities of social actors in the area of migrant workers' education. Thus, the concept of development as discourse will be employed to address mainly my Research Question 1 "Who designed the migrant continuing education policies, from whose perspective, and in what way?", but this theory can also appear in some other parts where relevant development issues appear.

I will, however, defer my discussion of the third axe, formulation of subjectivities, separately, after reviewing Kabeer's SRF, as the issue of subjectivities seems to stand alone and is worthy to be explored as a result from the converged influences of all sorts of social dimensions such as restraint of knowledges and rules, social activities engaged, and allocation and utilization of resources.

3.4.1 System of discourse

We live in the world where materiality and spirituality co-exist. Discourse is merely a part of the complex system, but it plays a key role in constituting social network. Language is traditionally seen as a representation of the reality. Now, the dynamic aspect of discourse as power is more emphasized. As Foucault (1994, p.54) argues, "discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this more that renders them irreducible to the language (langue) and to speech." In this thought pattern, Foucault attempts to disrupt the usual sense of continuity of history, and to expose the complicated and subtle power relationships concealed within the system of discourse and language.

Likewise, Deleuze and Guattari (1988) argue for the nomadic thought of anti-representation. For them, discourses do not always represent or describe the social or physical phenomena but act as one of the links in a changing world and society. For instance, a book, in the words of Deleuze and Guattari, "forms a rhizome with the world," and "the book assures the deterritorialization of the world" (ibid: 11). By paralleling books with the world, Deleuze and Guattari contend that discourses constitute an indispensable link in the process of the transformation and becomings of the society and the world, more than act as a medium used to represent the worldly and social phenomena.

On Foucault's basis, researchers developed diverse definitions of discourse in social and cultural context. For instance, Fiske (1987: 11) stresses the socially contextualized meaning of discourse by defining it as "a language or system of representation that has developed socially in order to make and circulate a coherent set of meanings about an important topic area." Grillo defines discourse of development as that, which "includes language, but also what is represented through language. A discourse (e.g. of development) identifies

appropriate and legitimate ways of practising development as well as speaking and thinking about it" (1997: 12). All these definitions stress the basic activities in discourse system: not only speaking, but also thinking, acting, and interacting in social context.

I intend to use the concept of development as discourse to investigate the diverse relationships constituted by the tangible and the intangible dimensions, including discourses, and interpret the sociocultural and ideological implications behind the social events in migrant workers' education and development.

3.4.2 System of power

As pointed out above, discourse is about not only speaking but also acting and thinking. Discourse conveys power. Foucault is most likely to be "the first person to pose the question of power regarding discourse" (Foucault, 1994: 116). In this regard, he does not attempt to identify unreliable knowledge but to emphasize the "reliable instrumental efficacy" of multiple knowledges (Gordon 1994, p. xviii); in other words, he is concerned with the power in discourse.

Power is seemingly neutral and invisible, but actually concealed in the web of everyday practice and discourse, as everybody is "caught in relations of power" (Gordon 1994: xvi). Similarly, Hodgson and Standish (2009: 314) point out "the most common misunderstanding of Foucault's work" that equates power to "an entity." In other words, Foucauldian power exists and flows in action and relations, and one will be powerful if he/she is in a relationship. Moreover, power operates in the manner of "multiplicities, flows, arrangements, and connections" (Foucault 1994, p. 107); or in a "rhizomatic" or nomadic way, said above by Deleuze and Guattari (1988).

Discourses operate in roughly the same way as powers in interaction. Discourses "split," "meld," (Gee, 1999: 21-22) and change constantly, with new discourses appearing and old ones vanishing, "defined in relationships of complicity and contestation with other Discourses," and existing in countless number. The case of development as discourse is

similar, as Gardner (1997) posits, development discourses of different actors "drew on different types of knowledge," and different understandings of development are not "discrete and separate but constantly influencing and influenced by each other" (134). This perspective demonstrates that there are sophisticated social relationships and modes of thinking underlying the development discourses produced in the educational programmes for migrant workers in my study. This will be fully investigated in my Research Question 1.

I will particularly address how migrant workers' discourses are produced in relation to educational development projects, as the two aspects that Escobar highlights in encouraging the local knowledge production: "the adaptation, subversions and resistance that local people effect in relation to development interventions" and "the alternative strategies produced by social movements as they encounter development projects" (Escobar, 1995: 21). This will be reflected in the analysis of students' comments and responses to the implementation and change of the Yuanmeng educational plans targeted at certain groups of migrant workers in PRD.

Also, I am considering how the migrant workers develop their capacity. I find theoretical support from Foucault's notion on two opposing tendencies of power: inertia and dynamism. Foucault was attentive to the normalizing and suppressing side of power in his earlier studies (Gordon 1994: xvi). Later, he explored its liberating and productive side (Sarup 1993: 73). This sense of power indicates that migrant workers can transform urban society when they are in connection with it. I will link the two aspects of power to exploring how far migrant workers in the learning process become more empowered, or if not, change the trajectory of educational plans and their implementation.

3.4.3 Conclusion: Placing discourses with other approaches on the same plane

I have analyzed how power, discourse and social relationships are interconnected by starting with development as discourse. However, I will not restrict myself to development as discourse but expand my discussion to the ideas of power and its wider applications in a general sense. I am guided by my philosophical outlook on desire and power, multiplicities, becoming and transformation, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. This is

reflected not only in my discussion on development as discourse, but also shown in Kabeer's SRF, as will be expanded below.

I believe that discourse, as a significant part of social and educational research, is powerful but not omnipotent. Discourse is indeed a vital factor for the existence and formation of power, as Foucault says,

"in any society, there are manifold relations of power, which permeate, characterize, and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse" (Foucault, 1977: 93).

However, Foucault argues that discourse is the only necessary medium through which power can be manipulated, "There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth" (Foucault, 1977: 93). This suggestion tends to neglect other tangible dimensions in the implementation of power. Accordingly, there seems to be a tendency to be over-reliant on development as discourse, which in turn constructs "power," as is well argued by Kiely (1999: 31), development as discourse "closes off alternative ways of thinking, and so constitutes a form of power" (cited in Lie: 123). The problem is that, as Lie notes, post development scholars "are mistaken in ascribing too much power to the discourse and thus viewing the subject as a mere bearer and reproducer of a given discourse" (2008: 123). Consequently, development can be homogenizing, because in the process of developmental process, "human agency is neglected as a factor that might deviate from the prevailing discursive order, and individuals, in being instruments of the discourse, are disengaged from any kind of freedom" (Lie, 2008: 123). This informs that there are actually more dimensions than discourses only that contribute to the changes of society and human subjectivities, especially dimensions concerning individuals that can turn away from the influence of the dominating power of discourse.

This awareness receives further support from Deleuzian "interworld," as discussed above. This "interworld" contains bodies, words, things and ideas, as described by Bogue (1989), just mentioned above; in this "interworld," words or discourses are merely a part of a system or systems with power and desire circulating in between. In other words, development as discourse does not seem to be able to offer me concrete dimensions to analyze the educational institutions I explore. So parts of Research Question 1 cannot be fully resolved within the framework of development as discourse.

It follows that I adopt Kabeer's SRF, which offers both tangible and intangible dimensions for my analysis and practicable approach to my education and development research. SRF will be used to address the whole educational process, that is to say, together with development as discourse, it will help address most of Research Questions 1 and 2 at a macro level.

To draw on the conceptual ideas by Kabeer does not mean to go against my constant concern with power and force. The use of "power," as one of the dimensions to be analyzed, finds full expression in Kabeer's SRF in her gender research. For instance, in exposing the influence of power on policy implementation, she points out that the so called 'effective demand' could show "claims based on political power rather those based on equity or need" (1994: 289). This alerts me that the Yuanmeng plans in my research, as top-down programmes initiated by authorities, as well as its general design, student targeting, and change of teaching partnerships as I have observed, seem to reflect mainly the original intentions of the funders and organizers, rather than based on what students needed or requested.

Kabeer's academic practice strengthens my determination to draw on her SRF, which offers me an approach to understanding social events and social groups, such as educational programmes and educational participants in my research, by focusing on specific dimensions, which include discourses and power. Thus, SRF is in alignment with my general outlook on an "interworld" and development as discourse just articulated above. This will be further elaborated in the following section.

3.5 Linking Kabeer's SRF with my research

As mentioned above, while there exist some limitations with development as discourse, I find that Kabeer's SRF offers me what to analyze and how to start it; in other words, SRF will operationalize development as discourse. I need to adapt SRF to my own research purposes. This is a process towards an action-orientated approach by integrating theories of Deleuze, Foucault, Escobar, and so on.

I am aware that Kabeer focuses on the inequality of gender and the marginalized status of women in the family and society. With the attempt to replace gender issues with migrant workers' development education in PRD, I wish to reformulate Kabeer's SRF and bridge the gap between development ends and development means in the implementation of development policy in the study of the educational programmes for migrant workers in PRD, and explore what happen, why and how in the interactive and dynamic educational process, which involve multiple elements.

Kabeer's stress on dynamic multiplicities seems to be in line with Deleuzian nomadic thought. Therefore, to reformulate SRF, I will carry on my previous theoretical reflections on Deleuzian nomadic thought, Foucauldian discourse and power and development as discourse, and converge them into SRF. I do not contradict these theories, but assume that SRF provides concrete measures or steps so that I can continue my ongoing thinking into clearer directions.

A brief review of how Kabeer proposed SRF casts light on the significance of SRF. She realizes the limitations of gender training approach and triple roles approach in studying gender issue, and then designs the "social-relations approach" to place the study of gender in the broader area of society. She asserts that "development policy can be thought of in terms of the technical logic by which means are translated into ends,"(1994: 279) and "this technical logic is embedded in a broader institutional context in which the social relationships between different means and ends become a critical focus of analysis" (ibid: 279). This

implies that the technical logic is not workable enough to show the complicated social relationships between means and ends, as the technical logic tends to be linear while the social logic can be more complicated and multiple, which ensures connections between different levels such as state, market, community and individuals and across heterogeneous means and ends. This understanding is in line with the principles of Deleuzian nomadic thought, as stated above. Thus, Kabeer proposes five "distinct but interrelated dimensions of social relationships within institutions": “rules, activities, resources, people and power” to address "social inequality in general and gender inequality in particular" (ibid: 281).

While gender inequality is her central concern, she also underscores the applicability of this framework to addressing general social inequality, which can be brought into the area of migrant workers' education in my research. This makes me conscious that the study of migrant education such as mine should be extended to a wider scope of society rather than the educational field only, as the education area is not an enclosed area, but a field open to the general society outside educational institutions. Meanwhile, what strengthens my determination to employ SRF in the educational projects I study is that SRF addresses changes “within institutions,” as mentioned above, which is similar to my research case, as what I observe are mainly educational institutions.

Hopefully, the five interconnected dimensions in SRF are combined and integrated to formulate a holistic picture of multiple social relationships: "who owns what, who does what and how, what gets what, on what basis, who benefits, who decides" (Kabeer, 1994: 310), thus presenting educational and social processes within an institution and between institutions. I will link the five dimensions with my research project.

Rules and their invisible sway

The dimension of "rules" dictates "how things are done" (Kabeer, 1994: 281). Kabeer holds that the so-called rules can include "official and unofficial norms, values traditions, laws and customs" (ibid: 281). In other words, the rules are institutionalized discourses and knowledges, which transmit the power of ideology, as rules, when having been immersed in an institution, are capable "of giving them the appearance of being natural or immutable"

(ibid: 282). This suggests that any knowledge and discourse can take the guise of certain authority or truth and influence people's decisions to take actions.

This will help inform, accordingly, in the case of my research project, how migrant workers or learners in my research, when fully entrenched in such discourses as documents, regulations, curriculum design and policies including its general guidelines and implementation measures, peer responses and instructors' comments, respond to and are affected by surrounding multiple discourses. Likewise, educational practitioners and facilitators are immersed in discourses of official documents for education of migrant workers and of prevailing teaching methodology such as "interactive methods" and "outward development", as mentioned in the teaching process in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, they show internal anxiety of being influenced by various discourses.

I will particularly mention the omnipresent power of regulations and educational practice institutionalized via distance learning systems. As there lack a face-to-face dialogue as that of traditional media, these systems could play a more powerful role in integrating masses of people by means of such stipulated rules as those for coursework and assessment, thus exerting invisible influence and dominating their educational procedures and students' mentality, as will be discussed in my analysis chapters.

To be freed from the deceptive power of discourses and knowledges, Kabeer suggests the idea of "conscientization" (1994: 299), elaborated by Freire in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). With a view to enhancing migrant workers' abilities to survive, as is the concern of my research, migrant workers would need to experience the stage of conscientization, and understand themselves further. This is actually a step to formulate new subjectivities, a topic to be discussed soon.

Production and distribution of resources

"Resources," the second dimension of the five in Kabeer's SRF, include both "what is used" and "what is produced" (1994: 282). In other words, resources can be means themselves and

products coming out of the means. According to SRF, the distribution of resources, as the "other side of the coin to the 'rules' of an institution," assumes "distinct patterns" (ibid: 282). This will encourage me to examine, along with the observation of the rules implementation, how resources within an institution, such as educational organizations in my research, are accessed, produced and distributed and what ideologies might be contained.

Kabeer categorizes resources into human resources including "the labour power, health and skills of individuals," tangible resources such as "assets, money and commodities," and intangible resources such as "solidarity, contacts, information, political clout" (1994: 280). She stresses the vital function of social relations as intangible resources in modern society such as "informal networks and association," as they act as means of producing intangible resources "through which people defend or improve their material resource base," and "most productive activities" "can be carried out through a variety of social relations and in a variety of contexts" (ibid: 280). By this, she argues that social relations can both be means and products. The perspective of resources will help explain how resources contribute to the development of other dimensions in educational interventions.

When discussing social relations as a kind of resource, I will draw on the concept of "guanxi," a social and cultural phenomenon and a popular discourse in the Chinese society. "Guanxi" literally means "relationship." The Chinese culture is concerned about the nurturing of personal relationship. Gold (2002) thinks that "In a very general sense, *guanxi* resembles Pierre Bourdieu's concept of social capital" (Gold, 2002: 7), and he believes that "*guanxi* has both positive and negative connotations." The negative side of it is "fueling the country's rampant corruption," while its positive side is that "*guanxi* adds an element of humanity to otherwise cold transactions, and comes to the rescue in the absence of consistent regulations or guidelines for social conduct" (ibid: 7). So, "the study of *guanxi* has begun to unearth many of the most interesting and challenging questions for understanding Chinese society" (Gold, 2002: 17). Thus, I will examine how "guanxi" transforms in the working relationships between employers and employees and within employees.

People and their differentiations

As the third dimension, "people" refer to any "who is in, who is out, who does what" (Kabeer, 1994: 282); in other words, all social actors in a particular institution or on a particular working site. What is illuminating in this category is Kabeer's emphasis on the "institutional patterns of inclusion, exclusion, placement and progress," as these contain implications concerning "class, gender and other social patterns" (ibid: 282).

When it comes to my research, I will not take human participants in my research as a homogeneous whole but address mainly social patterns of migrant workers caused by conditions like age limits in being recruited by enterprises or educational programmes, different types of “hukou” household registers and required working time with a particular company, as are stipulated in some educational programmes in my observations in an attempt to interpret how social actors such as migrant workers, students of the educational programmes and educational practitioners are categorized, differentiated and segregated, thus creating inequity and conflicts, also how they encounter and resolve these issues, and what implications are contained in these processes.

I will also examine the power relations embedded between educational workers within the same programmes but "de-institutionalized" yet connected by virtual space, as shown in the case of distance learning education in my observations, or between educational facilitators and practitioners, and uncover the changing relations brought about by the Internet age and liberal marketing.

Likewise, the study of “people” will find full expression in the changing relationships, or their “guanxi,” as mentioned above, between students in migrant workers' educational programme of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan. There seem to be some changes in the attitudes towards the importance of personal relationship. This will be shown in the discrepant phenomenon in students' different responses towards "an outward development" programme and a collective group assignment, as will be recounted in my analysis chapters.

Rule-governed activities

I was thinking how to gain insight into the activities I observed ranging from students' recruitment activities to students' in-class and extracurricular activities, and how to explain the nature behind these events. Kabeer suggests that activities are "rule-governed," and "institutions generate routinized patterns of practice and are reconstituted through such practice" (1994: 282). That is to say, to understand why and how the educational institutions offer activities will help understand the norms and ideologies behind.

It follows that I will analyze a range of events I encounter, as mentioned above, especially those routinized ones, for instance, the large-scale students' recruitment campaign, large scale formal and rigid examinations and extracurricular activities such as "outward development" programmes as these activities reflect the entrenched ideologies of the social actors involved.

Power

I have been concerned and guided by power and discourse since I started to prepare for my research proposal. I was also guided by it in an attempt to introduce development as discourse. Meanwhile, the discussion on Kabeer's SRF enables me to realize Kabeer had been guided by this line of thought but further developed the meaning of power in assessing developmental interventions.

While acknowledging the universal nature of power, as has been discussed above, in this subsection, I focus its particular significance in SRF within a particular context, as power is identified as one of the five dimensions in SRF. Kabeer argues, "power is constituted as an integral feature of institutional life through its norms, its distribution of resources and responsibilities and its practice"(1994: 282). This means that power exists in discourses and rules, resources production and allocation and all the activities. What is more, institutions are subject to change "by the practice of different institutional actors through processes of bargaining and negotiation" (ibid: 283). What is more impressive, as Kabeer expects there to be "a bottom-up back flow of evaluative information into the planning process" (ibid: 302), she anticipates that "the main actors must be those whose voices have been suppressed for so long within the different arenas for development" (ibid: 304). This is tune with Foucault's idea of power as productive and dynamic, as mentioned above. This means that the minor

part in a relationship can become stronger and engaged in a dialogue with the major party, and even dethrone and subvert it.

I intend to consider how I should analyze the changes in rules and practice in the fieldwork sites in my research project, as there exist power relations with vicissitudes and fluctuation in the institutions and organizations.

Summary

So far, I have attempted to reformulate and tailor Kabeer's SRF to my own research based on my general understanding of power and development. Kabeer seems not to have elaborated on subjectivities and identities, which was intended to be covered in my research analysis, as indicated in my research questions. However, she points out the domination of rules on people, as the rules when being institutionalized "entrench the ways things get done to the extent of giving them the appearance of being natural or immutable" (Kabeer, 1994: 282). She adopts the necessary step of "conscientization," a concept of Freire in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), in order for women to become aware of the nature and inherency of inequality that women were faced with, and encourages them to "increase their capacity to define and their subordination, to construct a vision of the world they want, and to act in pursuit of that vision" (ibid: 299). The shows the potential influence of discourse and ideology as well as the probability of being freed from such impact through "conscientization," which indicates the awakening and the start of a process of changing subjectivities. This will be the focus of my discussion in the following section.

3.6 Formulation of subjectivities

Migrant workers will gain new subjectivities and acquire new identities in the incessant urban integration process. The social development discourse precedes and pre-exists their advent into the city. It is through negotiation in discourse and social practice that they constantly become new selves rather than get stuck as a stable human subject.

To address Research Question 3, "What is the contribution of continuing education of the migrant workers to their livelihood and aspirations?" I attempt to reformulate Kabeer's SRF for my research purpose. However, she does not include the formulation of subjectivity, which is actually the end of development projects, as one of the dimensions for her research framework. I again look to Deleuze and Foucault and the line of similar thinkers who are concerned about force, power and discourse.

I find Foucault's conception on subjectivity in relation to power useful, in the words of Hodgson and Standish (2009: 316), "The concepts of power/knowledge or governmentality, [...] were not intended to be explanatory conclusions of enquiry or models to be applied to different contexts but rather to show us how we as human beings become subjects." Power "requires and produces particular truths and thereby a particular form of subject." The subject formulation demands "the identification of the relationship of the subject to power" (ibid: 316). This way, subject is derived from power relations, power actions, social discourses and social practice. Accordingly, I will especially keep in mind that discourses, institutional practices and power relations precede individual human subjectivities, which are formulated and reformulated out of discourses and social relations.

Likewise, Deleuze investigates how subjects come out of social processes. In illustrating how human subjects evolve, Deleuze, in his collaborative work with Guattari (1983), employs the terms "desire" and "desiring machines," and suggests that the subject is nomadic "strange" "with no fixed identity" (ibid: 17). Deleuze and Guattari (1983) contend that the subject is born as a product of desiring production, and it claims the product and tries to be identified with it. It is in the incessant process of being renovated along with each newly produced state. In other words, there is no definite subject, and what is more, it might be better to say subjectivity instead of subject, which is, according to Lorrain (1999), is

> " the notion of subject as process that must continually repeat itself in order to maintain a specific form and an 'economy' or 'structuring' of subjectivity to the various means by which a subject can regulate and stabilize this process of being a subject" (ibid: 6).

The subject thus has been in a seemingly stable yet constantly transforming process.

Also, Deleuze and Guattari offer an illumining explanation on how human subjects feel psychologically when subjectivities change. They believe that, at the moment when human subjects change, there is “a schizophrenic experience of intensive quantities in their pure state” that is “a celibate misery and glory experienced to the fullest” (1983: 18). By “celibate,” Deleuze and Guattari refer to “pure intensity, an ecstatic torture that makes no differentiation between enjoyment and pain” (Bogue, 1989: 72-73). In other words, subjects may experience great pleasure and ecstasy, even in suffering, and they can be lonely but also powerful, anticipating their rebirth. This celibate misery and glory will be used to interpret how research participants in my project experience mixed feelings in their transformations in urban life.

In the case of my research, I will reveal how the subjectivities of migrant workers are formulated and evolved as social products out of the processes of the programmes of education and development, involving rules and knowledge, production and distribution of resources, activities engaged, and inclusion and exclusion of social actors. I will examine how they change in terms of their livelihoods and aspirations, for instance, why some of the students registered with Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan targeted at migrant workers do not think of them as migrant workers (or "nongmingong").

The inquiry into human subjects, as discussed above, seems to boil down to two points: that human subjects are changing, dynamic and multiple social products out of the interactions between rules, resources, events and social actors, and that human subjects experience painful and pleasant sensations in the process of the formulation of subjectivities. The ideas will be incorporated in the analysis of how migrant workers change, are empowered or become disillusioned after their educational projects or urban experiences, as Research Question 3 will cover.

3.7 Curriculum design and implementation

So far, I have reviewed power and discourse, development as discourse and SRF, and intend them to help analyze the major dimensions in the education and development process within my research context and relevant institutions. However, to address Research Question 2 "In what educational programmes are migrant workers engaged, and in what way?", there are some elements that have not been detailed, especially those in curriculum implementation process. That means, SRF is not enough to resolve concrete curriculum issues. So, I will adopt relevant curriculum concepts and SRF in combination to address Research Question 2.

The endeavor to gain insight into curriculum process pushes me to align the curriculum implementation with the whole educational process, which means that I will keep to the dimensions of analysis in the general outline I made above. I will examine teaching and learning rules and discourses, the distribution of resources, institutional actors or people on the same site and educational activities, but my major focus will be on curriculum as discourse, and analyze the practices and texts in the process of the curriculum implementation.

According to Stenhouse (1975), "A curriculum is an attempt to communicate the essential principles and features of an educational proposal in such a form that it is open to critical scrutiny and capable of effective translation into practice" (1975: 4). Stenhouse' definition indicates that curriculum involves planners' design and practitioners' enforcement, as well as any relevant inspections.

Under Stenhouse' historical influence, Kelly (2009) develops the definition of curriculum, which includes

> "at least four major dimensions of educational planning and practice: the intentions of the planners, the procedures adopted for the implementation of these intentions, the actual experiences of the pupils resulting from the teachers' direct attempts to carry out their or the planners' intentions, and the 'hidden' learning that occurs as a by- product of the organization of the curriculum, and, indeed, of the school" (2009: 13).

In comparison with Stenhouse' early summary of curriculum, Kelly's definition seems to be able to operationalize the study of curriculum as discourse, as it portrays a holistic picture of curriculum, integrating different educational actors and students, educational activities, and discourses. It especially stresses the hidden learning, which can be neglected as an inherent part of curriculum yet conveys educational and social implications.

It follows that I take curriculum planning and implementation as a dynamic and interactive process, in line with my discussion above on thinkers and researchers such as Foucault and Deleuze, Escobar and Kabeer. I find the following concepts will illuminate these issues and the implications embedded within, and they will provide useful perspectives for me to explore curriculum implementation in the educational projects I examine.

3.7.1 From curricula of individual subjects to total curriculum

There are curriculum of different levels, either targeted at individual subjects or the total curriculum for a whole educational institution. Curriculum design, like any other discourse and knowledge, reveals the ideology of its designers, who act as negotiators between policy makers and students.

Lim (2012) investigates the significance and ideology contained in the subject of "Thinking Skills Curriculum" by analyzing its syllabus, and argues that "such synoptic documents mediate between the dominant (official) discourse and the actual practices in classrooms, crucially revealing the power relations both across society and within the field of education." (ibid: 486). This means that curriculum design discourses offer a plane where social actors such as policy makers, curriculum designers and practitioners, along with their thoughts, assert their power upon each other, thus displaying ideological struggle. The analysis of a particular curriculum design documents can thus help understand complicated social and educational relations.

The understanding of an individual curriculum merely reflects designers' and policy makers' attitudes from one perspective. In investigating a whole institution, there is a need to observe

the general atmosphere. So Kelly suggests the necessity of schools establishing a total curriculum rather than going into the curriculum of individual subjects directly. According to her, a practicable curriculum should be "much more than a statement about the knowledge-content or merely the subjects which schooling is to 'teach' or 'transmit' or deliver" (2009: 9) and curriculum should go deeper to prove why such content was taught and what probable effects would be caused by learning such knowledge. This means that the total curriculum reflects the prevailing and acceptable norms and discourses about the teaching practice and learning performance within an educational institution.

The notions of curriculum from the perspectives of the individual subjects and the total planning of an institution shed light on the teaching plans and general requirements of the educational projects I explore. Analyzing them will expose planners 'ideologies towards migrant workers' education by examining their teaching content selection and teaching principles. This will be fully shown in Chapter 5 about the Yuanmeng plans and the design of their total curriculum.

3.7.2 The hidden curriculum

To further explore Research Question 2, “In what educational programmes are migrant workers engaged, and in what way?”, I will focus on the tension between what have been prescribed and what are actually practiced in the curriculum practice. To achieve this aim, I will employ the concept of hidden curriculum.

The hidden curriculum refers to "those things which pupils learn at school because of the way in which the work of the school is planned and organized, and through the materials provided, but which are not in themselves overtly included in the planning or sometimes even in the consciousness of those responsible for the school arrangements." (Kelly, 2009: 10). This definition shows that the hidden curriculum, not clearly in the teaching plan, is a product out of the educational planners, facilitators and teachers, relevant educational activities, employment of resources and institutional rules in a certain educational organization. Therefore, the hidden curriculum embodies "the attitudes and values of those who create them" (ibid: 10).

The hidden curriculum is an inseparable part of the total curriculum. In their empirical research of medical education, Paul et al (2014) argue for the "congruence between formal, informal and hidden curricula," otherwise "approaches to addressing disparity in health care outcomes in medical education may continue to represent reform without change" (2014). This suggests that the hidden curriculum is a significant part of the total curriculum, but is apt to be neglected.

Kentli (2009) categorizes curriculum as two kinds: "didactic curriculum," which is "an explicit, conscious, formally planned course," and "an unwritten curriculum," which is actually hidden curriculum, characterized by "informality and lack of conscious planning" (Kentli, 2009). There exists discrepancy between these two curricula. Thus, I will explore the tensions between well-defined didactic curriculum and hidden curriculum in an attempt to investigate the implications embedded between formal educational plans and documents and their actual implementation in the Yuanmeng education plans, as will be shown in Chapter 7 on teaching practice.

3.7.3 Student assessment and its implication

Educational assessment such as pupil assessment, curriculum evaluation, teacher appraisal and school inspections, is an important component in most educational programmes. Student assessment is especially a central link in the educational projects I investigated. As the students are engaged in part-time education, they are extremely concerned with their assessment. I will treat student assessment as discourse and concentrate on the events and the texts relevant to this area in an attempt to explore what has happened and why in this domain and what social, educational and ideological implications are embedded.

There seem to be inevitably ideological implications, political intervention and social intrusions in the area of school examinations. Bourdieu and Passeron suggest that we break with "the illusion of the neutrality and independence of the school system with respect to the structure of class relations" "so as to discover what examinations hide and what research into

examinations only helps to hide" (1977; 1990: 141). Bourdieu's and Passeron's statement suggests that examinations, in relation to the school system, construct power and ideology; it is impossible to find entirely fair examinations.

Bourdieu and Passeron further note that "academic selection and hierarchization" perform the "external functions and particularly the social functions" of the educational system (1977; 1990: 152) and that there could be compromise between certain classes and the education system when the latter is allowed to "enforce its own standards and its own hierarchies." In this transaction, the educational system can be "concealing social selection under the guise of technical selection and legitimating the reproduction of the social hierarchies by transmuting them into academic hierarchies" (1977; 1990: 152-153). By this, Bourdieu and Passeron attempt to stress the potential that academic grading and examinations in educational systems can further contribute to social inequality in a seemingly fair and legitimate way.

Likewise, Kelly (2009), contextualized in the British educational curriculum, believes that, educational assessment has been "used, as key instruments in the establishment of direct political control, of combating that centrality of the teacher we have also just noted and of imposing a narrow and bureaucratic form of teacher accountability" (Kelly, 2009: 18). This means that examination is an area where power of diverse sources struggles, and where teachers' roles in pupil assessments are reduced by the influences from authorities.

In relation to my research, I will focus on the aspect of student assessment while also touching on teacher appraisal. The discussion above on the changes informs how to understand the examination processes in my research project, ranging from test paper design, review and marking. I will analyze how these processes proceeded, changed, stopped and then continued, and why. I will particularly bear in mind that there is no pure "neutrality and independence" of the school system, as stated above by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977/1990: 141), and analyze what ideological implications are contained in these examination practices.

Political influences and social relationships involved in examination practices, as suggested above by Bourdieu and Kelly seem to be focused on the co-workings of educational and social authorities. This can overshadow the dynamic power from students, as a part of the educational relationship, in changing and formulating examination policies and practices.

Thus, in line with Deleuzian nomadic thought, and Foucauldian power and discourse, as stated above, I will not only analyze the influences from the authorities above, but also take power as multiple and dynamic, in an attempt to explore how migrant workers as students exert power on the examination processes and change the trajectory of student assessments that could have been otherwise.

3.7.4 Summary: curriculum as discourse

In bringing curriculum into my research framework, I have no intention to judge the curriculum activities of the educational institutions I observe. I will instead focus on their practices and discourses to explore social relationships and ideological implications in curriculum processes from curriculum design through its implementation to assessments in the educational projects targeted at migrant workers.

Therefore, I adopt relevant concepts and perspectives concerning curriculum design and implementation, especially the concept of hidden curriculum, as shown above. I will focus on the tensions between policy and its implementation, such as the tensions between official rules and their actual implementation, and between officially prescribed curriculum activities and the activities actually conducted. These theoretical perspectives will help resolve Research Question 2 on the process of curriculum implementation.

3.8 Informal learning, non-formal learning and formal learning: adult learning as a "continuum"

The concepts above of curriculum are mainly based on formal education, which ensures adequate learning time within fixed institutions. While acknowledging that some educational projects in my research offered formal education, students' learning time and teachers' teaching in the educational institutions were limited, as each subject could be allocated a few days over a number of weekends across a semester. What is more, some programmes simply provided distance learning courses, which were totally different from

traditional teaching and learning. That means there were no "actual" teachers in some subjects. Therefore, I need to review different learning styles, especially non-formal and informal education. This theoretical aspect will be used as a complementary perspective to strengthen my exploration in Research Question 2 about the educational processes which are not covered by the classroom or formal educational practices. As I take curriculum as discourse, I will take the educational process as discourse, and attempt to inquire into the general practices and texts in this process.

3.8.1 The interrelationship of formal, non-formal and informal learning

Researchers have conducted both empirical and theoretical studies in the three kinds of learning: formal, non-formal and informal learning. There have also been different understandings of how to differentiate the three kinds of learning, as Petnuchova's (2012: 614) study, rooted in Slovak' adult education, holds, there exist different understandings of formal, non-formal and informal learning between the educational systems of different countries.

Among the numerous studies, Rogers (2014) elaborates on three kinds of learning: formal, non-formal and informal learning, and their respective learning efficiency and interrelationship. According to his summary based on UNESCO report in 2009:

1) Formal learning is directly related to a formal educational institution, with learning objectives clearly stipulated and the intention of both learners and educational institutions to certification;

2) Non-formal learning, as an intentional practice, typically does not lead to certification; it is not supported officially by an institution, but learners have clear learning objectives with learning time ensured;

3) Informal learning is based on daily activities, and has no well-structured learning goals, learning time or learning support, with learning being non-intentional. (UNESCO, 2009 cited in Rogers, 2014)

As learning is a dynamic process, it would be problematic to segregate learning into clear cut three stages. Apparently on the basis of Colley et al (2003)'s analysis on the relationship between informality and formality in learning, Rogers suggests that "Informal learning and formal learning then may be seen as lying on a continuum" (Rogers, 2014: 10), and argues that the informal learning is actually most influential on learners' knowledge acquisition than non-formal learning, which is, in turn, more influential than formal learning. The above classification of three learning styles will illumine the importance of the informal and non-formal social experiences, rather than formal educational experiences only, of migrant workers in relation to their survival ability and social mobility in urban areas as well as their aspirations.

3.8.2 Non-formal learning and its ambiguous status

I am also interested in the interpretive ability of non-formal learning, and what is to be counted in non-formal learning. As for non-formal learning, Rogers holds that it has clear objectives. This is somewhat different from Gross (2009)' statement, which suggests that non-formal learning "may not have specific learning objectives." (Gross, 2009 cited in Petnuchova, 2012: 616). The incongruence in deciding whether non-formal learning has specific targets or not indicates that non-formal learning, as a part of adult education, can be slippery in its targets. This strengthens Rogers' idea that informal and formal learning are a continuum. Gross places on-the-job training in the category of non-formal learning (Gross, 2009; Petnuchova, 2012: 616). Accordingly, Petnuchova thinks that non-formal learning includes "work experiences, non-for-profit workplace courses" (Petnuchova, 2012: 618).

The explanation of non-formal learning above will be helpful to my analysis chapters about migrant workers' on-the-job training, as their acquired knowledge and vocational skills were often gained in non-formal ways in many cases, as they would often say, "I just looked and learned it" when recounting their factory experiences in my fieldwork. The explanation of non-formal learning will inform how to position the education projects I investigated and the

migrant workers that I interviewed, as I both attempt to research formal education projects and non-formal on-the-job training.

3.8.3 The dominating formal education

I have discussed how non-formal and informal education can be related to my research analysis chapters. However, formal education stills occupies dominant status in education and mainstream ideology, as Rogers (2014) notes, generally, "formal learning is felt to be more important because it is visible"(ibid: 26). Rogers seems to suggest that the general public including both educators and learners would still hold that formal education stands for authority, although non-formal and informal learning are playing a more and more influential role in education, especially adult education.

The tendency to favour formal education over non-formal and informal learning, or the existence of hierarchies of different learnings, will help explain whether there existed any discrepancies between people's general understanding of formal learning, as stated above by Rogers, and actual experiences and survey results from my observations. The understanding of learning as a hierarchy will also help explain why such discrepancies should have existed. It will, for instance, shed light on why many well experienced workers would have to be registered with the formal education of the Yuanmeng plans. This will be further explored in my analysis chapters.

3.8.4 Summary: education as a continuum

The above discussion on education as a continuum comprising three interconnected and hierarchical areas of informal, non-formal and formal learning suggests that education is a process involving different interconnected learning styles. Rogers' emphasis on the "continuum" of learning styles also implies that there can be overlapping between formal education and non-formal education or between non-formal and informal learning, or between informal and formal learning.

The notion of "continuum" of three learning styles will inform why it is hard to match the educational projects I observed with either formal education or non-formal education, as they

were adult education, with some being distance learning programmes only, most being intentional and leading to certification. So I need to reconsider this issue and discuss it further in my analysis chapter.

3.9 Education and development: utilitarian or transformative

In looking at the nature of the Yuanmeng plans, especially in terms of their policy design, student recruitment, and teaching goals and contents, I will consider two contradictory perspectives: utilitarian and transformative, which “have never been satisfactorily reconciled and yet ironically have long been incorporated in educational policy discourse throughout the developing world" (Maclure et al, 2012: 399).

From the utilitarian perspective, the learning of knowledge and skills is closely connected with individual development and national economic and social development. Thus, education is "a social investment designed to ensure that succeeding generations are able to assume their place as productive citizens within an established socio-economic order" (ibid: 399). On the other hand, the transformative perspective "conceives the main purpose of education as addressing the inequalities and injustices embedded in the larger society,” thus learners will be able to “view the world critically” and become a force for “generating fundamental social change." (ibid: 400).

In the light of these different ideas of education, I will analyze the Yuanmeng plans in terms of their aims and stakeholders involved in an attempt to explore their understandings of the relationship between educational programmes and social development, and what perspective they adopted in their policy design and why.

3.10 Conclusion: Analysing educational intervention: its rationale and practicability

I have analyzed how I moved from Deleuze and Foucault through Escobar and Kabeer to curriculum study. This is a process from a macro level to a micro level. But I would not take it as a linear and one-direction process, but will take this process as constituting different

areas which are overlapping, interconnected and interpenetrating, as Deleuzian nomadic thought would convey.

Deleuzian transcendental empiricism lays down a foundation for my general philosophical outlook. I thus believe that there exist an "interworld" (Bogue, 1989), where bodies and discourses, ideas and things co-exist and interact, where virtual spaces and actual spaces are inseparable, and where desire, power and forces flow uninterruptedly. This pushes me to explore how power and desire are constructed in social and educational events and discourses in diverse contexts. On this basis, I find a line of thinkers and researchers who are concerned about power and discourse in order to address my research questions.

To address my first research question, "Who designed the migrant continuing education policies, from whose perspective, and in what way?" I will look to development as discourse and Kabeer's SRF. I intend to explore the multiple and changing ideological and social relationships in the projects of migrant workers' education. I notice the inadequacies of the approach of development as discourse in terms of its over-reliance on the power of discourses, thus I will turn to Kabeer's SRF to operationalize development as discourse. I find that Kabeer's SRF mainly addresses the changes in institutional practices, which is actually my research focus, as I explored educational projects in PRD in China and how they were implemented in certain institutions. So the combination of these two approaches will be a useful framework for me.

To resolve my second research question, "In what educational programmes are migrant workers engaged, and in what way?", I will need to start from a micro level analysis of curriculum and education processes but stick to my initial consideration on development as discourse as well as relevant social practices and texts. In other words, I will analyze educational relationships in these processes from curriculum design through it implementation to its assessment.

The third research question, "What is the contribution of continuing education of the migrant workers to their livelihood and aspirations?" is related to the outcome of migrant workers' education and their general urban experiences. I hold that subjectivities of migrant workers are results from a combination of various processes and experiences, involving rules and

knowledge, production and distribution of resources, activities engaged, and inclusion and exclusion of social actors. This understanding is a result of synthesizing discourse, power, desire, and the five dimensions in SRF. But its essence can be traced back to Deleuzian "interworld" where virtualities and actualities are interconnected.

In short, while planning to investigate educational programmes from their policy design, students' recruitment and teaching forces training to curriculum as planning, content, process and assessment, I will extend my discussion to other relevant areas such as working experiences, livelihoods and aspirations of migrant workers. Development as discourse, SRF in combination with the approach of subjectivity formulation and curriculum studies will inform my research framework, in which each of the theoretical areas are interconnected and interpenetrating, and where power prevails and flows.

Chapter 4 Research methodology

4.1 Introduction

The theoretical framework, as discussed in Chapter 3, aimed to help me to analyze the relationships between educational stakeholders and the implementation of educational programmes. It was expected to better investigate my overarching research question "To what extent did continuing education of rural migrant workers contribute to their aspirations and ideas of development?". This encouraged me to place education policy making, curriculum practice and research participants, and myself as a researcher and observer on the same plane. I believed that, to study the continuing education and development of migrant workers situated in the extremely mobile society engaging with various discourses, any isolated method could not portray a holistic picture of this migrating population and their perceptions. Thus, I decided to use ethnography as an approach.

However, employing ethnography also posed challenges and dilemmas to my research process, which has been suggested by McNess et al (2013), "for international students studying at Western universities but collecting data in their own national context, there can be complexities and challenges in trying to work within different cultural and academic conventions" (ibid: 310). This is applicable to my own research environment, where I had to tailor myself to changing situations, social actors and personal conditions. In this chapter, I will review reflexively my research process, the rationale of an ethnographic approach, research methods, and data analysis methods.

4.2 Adopting an ethnographic approach

I had decided from my initial research proposal stage that I would adopt an ethnographic approach for my research. This was in line with the theoretical framework which had by then

been partially established to analyze relationships. My determination to do so was strengthened when my theoretical framework had been established.

Street recommends "an extension of discourse analysis into an ethnographic approach" (1995: 174-175). Likewise, Escobar's (1995) elaboration on the relationship between discourses of development and ethnography makes me more confident in choosing my research methodology. He argues the ethnographic perspective acts as "a basis for interrogating current practices in terms of their potential role in articulating alternatives" (ibid: 223).

The inherent relationship between ethnography and development as discourse mentioned above spurred me on to explore what ethnography would unfold to me. Waquant (2003) defines the typical practice of an ethnographer as "social research based on the close-up, on-the-ground observation of people and institutions in real time and space, in which the investigator embeds herself near (or within) the phenomenon so as to detect how and why agents on the scene act, think and feel the way they do" (ibid: 5). This is what one would do in the practice of participant observation, the main tool in the ethnographic approach.

Therefore, I tried to do what Bryman suggests for ethnographers: being "immersed in a social setting for an extended period time," "observing behaviour, listening to what is said in conversations both between others and with the fieldworker, and asking questions" (Bryman, 2004: 292-293). This encouraged me to plan and conduct a yearlong ethnographic investigation by being fully immersed in the research context in China's Pearl River Delta from September 2012.

This understanding of ethnography pushed me to probe further the ontological and epistemological aspects of ethnography and its gradual historical evolution in order to inform my research project. Ethnography used to be concerned with the purely objective observation (e.g., Malinowski, 1922), but has been transferred to the current full utilization of subjectivities (e.g., Ellen, 1984), which is in line with Deleuze and Foucault' discussion on desire, power and discourse, as stated in the previous chapter. Thus researchers' reflexivity is stressed, as "we act in the social world and yet are able to reflect upon ourselves and our actions as objects in that world" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 18). The researcher is no

longer “objective, value-free and neutral but having a subjectivity and a positionality, that is, a social, cultural, political and economic location” (Jackson, 2006: 534). Accordingly, I was aware of the working of my reflexivity into the whole process of my research from data collection and analysis to writing up. In this process, I, as an ethnographer, departed from my prior knowledge, as “there is no escape from reliance on common-sense knowledge and methods of investigation” (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 18). As for how my reflexivity played out in the course of my fieldwork, I will further elaborate later in this chapter.

Along this line, I strove to explore how far my theoretical framework helped interrogate my data, and why, and, as Burgess contended, I attempted to utilize my observations and my “theoretical insights” to “make seemingly irrational or paradoxical behaviour comprehensible to those within and beyond the situation that is studied” (1984: 79). However, in the study of migrant workers as students, I did not base my reasoning process on theories only but combined practical experiences with theoretical discourses. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue, ethnography is generally concerned with “developing theories” rather than “testing existing hypothesis” (ibid: 21). So in this sense, I, as a link of a discourse web, also generated and expanded theories based on my fieldwork observations and my theoretical understanding and analysis.

4.3 Research process

My fieldwork site, as stated in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, is located in the Pearl River Delta (PRD) of Guangdong Province, China, which has been the pioneering area in economic development after the initiation of China’s open door policy in 1978. In this area from the end of September 2012 to July 2013, I conducted fieldwork in two cases, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan in Dongguan City and the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan in Shenzhen City. I believed these two cases would provide me with fieldwork data illuminating the relationship between continuing education for migrant workers and their aspirations and understandings of development. The Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan was sponsored by Guangdong Provincial authorities and scattered in major cities including

Shenzhen. The Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan was sponsored by Shenzhen General Trade Union and focused on migrant workers in Shenzhen only. The following table summarizes the types of data I have collected.

Educational programmes	Data type	Participants	Collection dates
The Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan	Classroom observation and fieldnotes	The Property Management Class	October 2012-January 2013
	participant observation (reflective fieldnotes)	The Economic Management Class & the Machinery Engineering Class	March 2013-July 2013
	Documents of policy, teaching and assessment	School website, hard copy and CD video	From October 2012 to July 2016
	Interviews (50) (including structured, semi-structure and informal ones, face-to-face or online)	school administrators, teachers, students (10 in Property management class, 28 Economic management class, and Machinery engineering class, and 12 staff members)	From October 2012 to July 2013

	Online QQ chat records	Shenzhen Yuanmeng Chatrooms	October 2012 to December 2015
The Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan	Online interview (20)	Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan participants	May 2012 to December 2015
	QQ conversations	Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan Chatrooms	Ibid
	Documents of policy, teaching and assessment	Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan official websites, hard copies and advertisements	Ibid
	Face-to-face Interview (15) (including structured, semi-structure and informal ones)	school administrators and teachers	From October 2012 to April 2013
	Interviews with migrant workers in Dongguan context (32)	Migrant workers (barbers, stall owners, computer technician and boss, factory workers, security guards)	October 2012 to July 2013

Table 4.1 Fieldwork data

4.3.1 Dongguan City as my starting point

In deciding in which city to base my fieldwork, I encountered the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan through its official website. I finally chose to stay in H Town, Dongguan City as my starting point, mainly for two reasons. Firstly, Dongguan was said to be the centre of the world's manufacturing industry, thus drawing a large number of migrant workers while H Town was clustered with small and medium sized plants making or processing industrial products like shoes, electronic products, computer accessories, leather products and machinery parts. This meant that I would encounter many migrant workers and have easy access to interviewing them. Secondly, the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan was implemented intensively and impressively in Dongguan, as was seen from its official website. For around half a year before the date of my fieldwork in September 2012, I had had access to the QQ online chat with students in this programme. To my surprise, in the first round of students, around one-third of them were based in Dongguan. So I decided to stay in Dongguan for my research fieldwork site. As a result, I would probably be able to identify a fieldwork site connected to this project. This consideration propelled me to choose H Town as my initial fieldwork base.

I had never been to this city before. This was a daring decision but I thought I could observe more from the perspective of an outsider. So near the end of September 2012, I arrived in H Town, Dongguan City directly. I changed my living places a few times and settled in an apartment building. There were a large number of small scale factories manufacturing leather, shoes, and other industrial things in the neighbourhood. There were also powerful real estate entrepreneurs around and industrial powers like Sum Sung.

In most of the towns of Dongguan City such as H Town, there was large amount of land from villages rented out or sold out for the purposes of real estate development or manufacturing sites. Take as an example of H Village, where I lived nearby. Actually, I could not see its boundary with other villages. I would say this was a cluster of villages, but nothing like villages, as there was hardly any land left for farming, but only buildings of high density. On the inner side of this area, the buildings were intended for local villagers to live in, which looked somewhat better planned while all the other parts seemed to have no much planning

except for some main roads. This seemed to suggest that the local residents wanted to live a relatively uninterrupted life while making money by renting their land easily.

On the land let to real estate developers or manufacturers, products of various kinds were made and then exported to places all over the world. With living, working, sales, authorities, locals and outsiders, and everything else integrated into one, then a community was established, where there were many industrial parks. Factories were established on the sites of the parks, and let to manufacturers, who made shoes, processed leather, produced paper, etc.

From October to November 2012, I became familiar with the research settings, kept updated on the implementation of the Guangdong Yuanmeng in Dongguan and interviewed migrant workers and governmental officials, and the data I collected included interview transcriptions, informal conversations, documents and fieldnotes of participant observation. By focusing on the events and social actors living and working around K Village, I intended to investigate how far continuing education of migrant workers was related to their living and working environment, and my activities in this area were concerned to explore how far and to whom educational programmes for migrant workers, especially the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, were reaching.

In the first few months after I began my fieldwork in PRD, I interviewed a lot of migrant workers in H Town, Dongguan City, including factory workers engaged in manufacturing, security guards for property management and migrant workers in the service industry like hairdressers and small stall owners. However, none of the interviewees had heard of Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan. In my analysis chapters, I will further describe my experiences with the migrant workers in this area and how they informed my research.

At the same time, I identified a few possible cases for future in-depth study. Finally, I decided to focus on the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan and the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan as my research focuses, as described in the following sections.

4.3.2 The Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan and its practice in Dongguan

The Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan was the first educational programme I observed. Different from the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, as will be introduced below, I did not manage to enter its teaching sites but followed up its developments virtually. But this project had been my first target. I had known of this project before the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan.

I had intended to observe how the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan was going on in Dongguan, an industrial centre, among the migrant workers. In my research proposal, I had also planned to visit the training on job sites, but found that this was impossible, as when I tentatively contacted people responsible in some enterprises, I never received any replies. Actually even before I started my fieldwork, I had contacted an acquaintance, a department leader in a private enterprise, to ask if I could observe their working and training and promised him there would be no harm and I would observe their enterprise rules and disciplines. He hesitated and later after I started my field work, he simply would not respond to my phone calls at all.

I also conducted a few interviews with different vocational training centres or institutions, where I went to visit without prior appointment, as well as telephone interviews in an attempt to discover the general information about what programmes were going on. I was surprised to find that some free development programmes for migrant workers under the title of "Yuanmeng" Plan or other titles existed only in name on the websites but did not offer actual courses. The commercial vocational courses, however, were many and comprehensive. Before I obtained this understanding, I visited around ten educational institutions I came across on the websites or in the streets. I even had the idea of doing a covert investigation of an accounting training school and had made initial contact, but gave up this idea for ethical reasons.

At the same time, I sent emails to provincial level officials in charge of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan and asked them if I could have access to their teaching sites or if they would recommend some to me so that I could visit myself. I did not receive definite replies. So I went to H Town Government directly, and interviewed the administrators in charge of this plan. However, I was referred to their official websites and also offered some advertisements introducing this plan. The information I thus obtained was not more than I had already

gathered. This plan was targeted at migrant workers who desired to pursue tertiary education across the whole of Guangdong Province.

I gained a glimpse of what was happening to the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan in Dongguan. After a couple of rounds of registration and recruitment of students, Dongguan municipal government decided to authorize D University as the only institution for the 2012 – 2013 academic year. This brought a lot of changes as many other places in Guangdong had started their 2012-2013 student recruitments. However, Dongguan delayed it again and again and changed their recruitment methods, which meant that candidates could not take the entrance exams until 2012 October, and it would be even later when they got admitted.

Later on, I also contacted some other institutions offering "Yuanmeng" courses in Dongguan, which had already started their programmes. This turned out to be a difficult process as their basic teaching was online with some offline guidance in some subjects like general knowledge subjects or ideological subjects. Then on March 9th, 2013, I happened to find, through the internet QQ chat with a student sponsored by the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, that there had been another institution engaged in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan in Dongguan which offered face-to-face teachings. This college was D Academy. The Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan courses in the charge of D Academy were those started earlier in 2011. The next day, I went to D Academy. From my QQ chat, I understood that in this school, there had been face-to-face teaching for the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan students, but not many teaching hours, because the specialty subjects were conducted on line with some ideology subjects conducted there in the real classroom. I decided to go there without appointment the next day. This sounded intrusive but my experiences told me that if I waited, nothing would happen.

D Academy was a privately owned educational institution. I spent two and half hours in finding where it was. I had imagined how shabby it could be in comparison with other state-owned colleges. When I got there, it was as or even worse than I had expected. It was located opposite D University. It had only one building as its teaching site. I entered the courtyard;

no security guards stopped me, unlike other institutions. It acted like an agent for all kinds of online teaching institutions both in Guangdong Province and outside, offering courses ranging from undergraduate to master' degree and providing all kinds of services for universities and learners.

I asked to see the person responsible and a young man showed me to a Mr. Chen. I told him my identity. He was undoubtedly not interested or rather did not want to get involved with an outsider. I tried to ask as many questions as I could, fearing there would be no second chance to talk with him. He gave me a detailed introduction and gave me a response typical of similar ones I encountered later. He looked very surprised when I asked to stay with them for a few more days. I has intended to ask for a longer stay than that but decided to be reserved. He had actually given me a detailed introduction about their educational practices and features and thought I would be happy and go. My request must have been out of his expectation. He smiled embarrassedly, suggesting that I go to the other institution just across the road, "They are now taking over this programme." By this, he meant D University, as I mentioned above. I said, "They have not started their teaching yet. That is why I am here."

As a result, the plan to conduct participant observation in Dongguan was not very successful as I found later that D University would not start its teaching for the 2012-2013 academic year until April 2013, as mentioned above. So I decided to follow them up online only and take this programme as a virtual study case. I then focused my attention on the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, as will be recounted below.

4.3.3 The Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan and its practice

I acquired access to the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan in the latter half of October 2012 and stayed there until July 2013. This was an unexpected discovery because I had targeted the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, and had not heard of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan until after I arrived in Dongguan, as described above. The educational institution in charge of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan was V College. In the weekdays, this college was used for full time vocational students whose ages ranged approximately from 16 to 19. At the weekend, it was used for workers' continuing education.

Sometime in the middle of October 2012, I happened to encounter a website of a "new" "Yuanmeng" sponsored by the Shenzhen General Trade Union. The serious tone in the introduction to this programme enabled me to realize that this "Yuanmeng" was actually a much older one, as it began to operate from 2008 on. And there were thousands of students registered at that time. They offered degree courses as well as diverse short vocational courses.

I contacted them by email immediately in the latter half of October 2012. To my surprise, I received feedback. The man in contact with me was Xiao Zhiyuan[2], who acted as my gatekeeper from then on. He warmly welcomed me to visit V College.

On October 21st, 2012, after some preparation, I began my fieldwork in V College. It was no easy job finding its location. There were a variety of businesses around such as printing, restaurants, clothes selling and processing.

V College was on the fourth and fifth floors of a building. Later, I realized that the whole building was the property of the Shenzhen Trade Union but the first three floors were rented to other companies. My gatekeeper, Xiao Zhiyuan, came out to meet me. He looked much younger than I had expected. He invited me to go into their teachers' office, brought me a glass of water and introduced me to his colleagues, all the present being women except him. They looked very busy as they would go to supervise resit exams soon.

During our lunch, Xiao Zhiyuan told me that their college began to launch *Yuanmeng* from 2008 on, supported by the Shenzhen Trade Union. It was several years later that Guangdong Government launched a similar campaign with different funding sources. Xiao Zhiyuan was interested in my project, as he held a MA degree in Law, and also his leaders "would like them to do some research and summary of their achievements in the education of migrant workers."

[2] All the research participants from this page on were given pseudonyms.

I seemed to sense Xiao Zhiyuan wanted to take me as an authority. I told him I was just a researcher. I did not come here to supervise but just to see how the education practices were going on. We discussed a lot of issues on education. Xiao Zhiyuan obviously was concerned about the general trends of adult education in the world. He told me that their college was closely connected with social communities in Shenzhen, and each year they sponsored 400 lectures by famous lecturers to the general public. Thus, I gained my access to this college for investigation, and stayed there for around nine months. Later on, starting with Xiao Zhiyuan, I came to know more and more informants by a snowballing approach within this fieldwork site.

Over the weekdays, the teaching site was occupied by full-time vocational teenager students. Only the weekends were intended for adult migrant workers as learners. The teaching staff in this school were divided into different departments and assigned to different roles. The department that I had most contact with was called "the Workers' Education Department", whose director was Xiao Zhiyuan. The staff members in this department were generally administrators, but some of them also were teachers of the weekend adult students, along with full-time teachers in other departments. Actually, the instructors of the weekend students seemed to be flexible, some of them from outside the school like me, which will be examined in Chapter 6 on teaching force.

In V College, I experienced two semesters. From the day I entered into the fieldwork site until the beginning of January 2013, there were two months left for the first semester of the 2012-2013 academic year. In this period, I observed a few classes on bachelors' degree courses and short term courses until a couple of weeks later when I became familiar with the settings. In this process, I was interested in all kinds of courses offered by this college so I went to observe a wide of range of classes. However, this familiarizing process helped me to locate what focus to have.

Finally, I decided to follow up one class only, and chose to focus on a short term course on property management and household service, as I found the students and the teacher were very friendly. There was a lot of laughter there. There were over 30 students in this class.

They took this course in preparation for an examination which would certify them as managers or directors of property management.

I stayed with them for over a month at the weekends. I conducted classroom observation, individual interviews, and extracurricular lunch where I could talk with them freely, and followed up their communication in QQ chat rooms. I also had a group discussion with the instructor and another four students. The observation of this class was the most impressive one for me, as it was the first observation site I had ever encountered.

Winter vacation came. The school was on holiday from the middle of January to February 2013, as was the general case with all educational institutions in China. During this time, I spent time examining more closely the village which was near to where I lived.

In the second term from March 2013 to July 2013, I went back to V College, and conducted participant observation, wrote fieldnotes, conducted individual interviews with administrators, teachers, and students, kept active in QQ chat rooms, and collected documents of all kinds concerning policy making and course and assessment design. I was particularly impressed with class open meetings, which were usually given either sometime during class breaks, and where mentors and students discussed subjects not only related to academic work but also to a variety of areas.

That term, I was invited to teach basic English to two classes, whose target was to receive an associate degree, and their courses would last three years. I had refused the invitation of this college to teach in the first term, as I was afraid I would influence the promotion and personal development of other younger and inexperienced teachers if I, a much more experienced instructor, joined their team. However, I realized that the mere observation could not give me "valid reasons" to know more of their working rules and gain insight into their educational practice. Acting as an observer only, I seemed to be a bit too nosy sometimes about something irrelevant to me. Besides, Xiao Zhiyuan, my gatekeeper in charge of continuing education, told me that they did need teachers and they would be happy to have someone

coming from abroad to teach students English. This seemed to fit Fetterman's suggestion of "reciprocity" as a way to strengthen the relationship between the researcher and the researched (1998: 143)

For this reason, I accepted their invitation, showed my qualifications, and was appointed as their associate tutor of English. In order for me to understand my obligations fully, I had a conference with the key administrators responsible for degree academic courses: Chen Yi, Zhou Li, Zhao Xiaoming, and Xiao Zhiyuan, offering me all sorts of suggestions and requirements as to what I should do and should not, ranging from class attendance through assignment giving and marking to assessment of students.

So I went back to the field which I had been familiar with, but in a completely new city, all these teaching sessions being at the weekends. When I did not teach, I would observe the same students in other subjects and in their class conferences, and participated in their extracurricular activities. So I found my positionality flowing and sliding both as a teacher and a researcher. Although I was an observer and a researcher, I had to abide by the rules as a college teacher.

As mentioned above, I taught two classes. One of them majored in economic management, and there were over 140 students in this class and the other majored in machinery engineering with over 60 students. This turned out to be an extremely helpful opportunity for me to understand the practices in this college. I had felt at a loss over what to observe in the classroom environment, with which I seemed to be familiar, as I had been a teacher in Chinese universities. Since I was invited to teach in this institution, I had more access to their resources. And I could be confident to raise my queries of any kind without feeling guilty as if I were wasting their time if I was simply an observer.

For this term, there were two subjects for the Economic Management Class and three subjects for the Machinery Engineering Class. English was one of their subjects. The course design was essentially a copy of formal higher education institutions in China. Their degree awarding body was a university in Beijing. There were also some other universities awarding degrees in this college, all of which were outside Guangdong Province.

The two classes I taught were different in many aspects. The first class was much bigger than the second one, as shown above, so its teaching methods were also different, as distance learning technology must be used. When teaching was given, there were three teaching sites, the major one where around 80 students and I were present and two other subsidiary sites, which were actually two powerful and influential companies and boasted many Yuanmeng students. I found I gradually had more understanding and contact with the bigger class. The students in this class were more dynamic and showed more initiative than those in the Machinery Engineering Class. They were eager to share their experiences with me and invited me to their different activities.

I thus stayed with these two classes until the end of July 2013 when I completed my fieldwork in V College.

4.4 Research methods and data analysis

4.4.1 Participant observation and writing fieldnotes

Participant observation was the most essential part of my research fieldwork. It provided me with chances to examine transformational processes and changing relationships between various social actors in the educational programmes and broader Chinese society. In the course of fieldnote writing, I tried, as suggested by Burgess (1984: 98), to describe my setting first, then made "a series of observations," and included in my writing space, actors, activities, objects, acts, events, time and goals, and also feelings and impressions (Burgess, 1984: 96).

As I observed different fieldwork sites, I adopted different strategies. For instance, in the autumn term of 2012 in V College, I conducted participant observation in a few classes, especially in the class of property management. Then I was able to write detailed fieldnotes immediately. Also, my fieldnote writing was not an obvious interruption of classroom practices.

However, in most cases, I was not able to write detailed notes on the spot. For instance, in the spring term in the first half of 2013 in V College, I started to teach English in V College. This meant that I could not write full fieldnotes on the teaching site, as I had to focus on teaching first. So, in case some interesting dialogues and vignettes happened, I "jotted notes" or "scratch[ed] notes" to record my experiences, as Bryman suggests (2004: 308), so that I was able to write up full fieldnotes later at my first convenience or "at least at the end of the day." (Bryman, 2004: 308).

Fieldnotes turned out to be a "main data source," in the words of Bryman (2004: 308), for my research analysis, as has been employed and analyzed in my empirical chapters.

4.4.2 Documents collection

To reflect on how educational programmes were designed and implemented, I tried to collect all kinds of documents including notices and plans, textbooks, reports, newspaper articles, speeches, curriculum syllabuses and photos. In this age of electronic information, it has become easier to collect documents through the Internet. However, some documents, especially informal documents, were hard to get online. However, these documents could provide some understanding of social and educational realities that formal documents could not. For instance, "Supplementary rules for teaching administration of the Yuanmeng Plan academic degree courses" in V College, as mentioned above, was actually informative for research purposes, as it made a list of the immediate concerns to be addressed by the relevant staff in this college.

In analysing documents, I took them as discourses constructing power rather than representing truth. In other words, I analyzed them as social phenomena, eliciting different understanding and explanation. Analysis of documents is intensively made in Chapter 5 on different perspectives on education policy making, but is also conducted in other empirical chapters.

4.4.3 In-depth interviews

After I got settled in Dongguan City and then gained access to V College in Shenzhen City, I started to consider whom to approach for in-depth interviews.

In Dongguan City, as mentioned above, I conducted interviews with the governmental officials in charge of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan and migrant workers engaged in different occupations. However, I was considering whom to approach for more in-depth interviews. So I observed a group of security guards for a property management for a prolonged period of time.

I especially established rapport with Zhang Xiaohu and his workmates. Zhang Xiaohu, 26 years old, was from Shaanxi Province, married with one child, who was left behind with his parents in his home village. I could not remember exactly how I approached Zhang Xiaohu for the first time, as I did not think he could be my research interviewee; until then I had been thinking of workers in factories or enterprises as my "typical" research participants. It was after a couple of weeks that I became aware that I had learned a lot from him and his colleagues. So I talked to them about my identity as a researcher interested in migrant workers, and asked them for their consent to be involved in my research. They were happy with that. However, they did not want to sign their names on a consent form. So, by a snowball sampling strategy, I came to understand a group of security guards, their experiences as migrant workers and their perceptions of Dongguan's development. My interviews with him and his colleagues, mostly in the form of informal spontaneous conversations, were usually conducted around late afternoon or evening time when they did not look so busy. This practice lingered from October 2012 and February 2013.

My in-depth interviews in V College were more formal. After acquiring informed consent from my gatekeeper, Xiao Zhiyuan, I began to think about key informants and interviewees, besides Xiao Zhiyuan himself. Among the most important interviewees, Wang Shaogang, vice president of V College was the one I will introduce here. This interview was very

informative, as Wang Shaogang was an interviewee "who ha[s] the knowledge desired and who may be willing to divulge it" to me (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 106). Wang Shaogang, a talkative and aspiring leader, was apparently a spokesman for the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan. He also understood my situation and purpose as a researcher, thus offering to provide me with much information that I might need. I was also eager to utilize this opportunity to know more. So, most of the time, I was "an active listener" (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007: 118), utilizing my full interactive ability and reflexivity to let the interview take its natural course. However, I remembered my research questions, so occasionally I put in questions such as those around funding and teaching force. The interview notes with him as well as with other interviewees have been analyzed in my empirical chapters.

After conducting in-depth interviews, I found that the transcription of interview notes was very time consuming. In some of the interviews, I was allowed to use an audio recorder. However, when participants were reluctant to do so, I would not insist on it but tried to jot down the key words and key ideas so that I could complete them soon after. This kind of notes then involved my reflections in it, as it was a reproduction. As most of my interviews were conducted in Chinese, I must put my interview notes into English. (I did conduct online interviews with Lao Nong, a student in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, in English, as he preferred to practice English with me.) This involved my own subjective understanding into this process, thus making the transcription more of a reproduction. So, in order to save time and make my transcription more efficient, in the process of transcribing the audio recordings, I sometimes transcribed "only what seems most essential" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 150), and indexed the audio recording for analysis later. In doing full transcription, I tried to make it detailed, including even "the basic features of speech – such as pauses, overlaps, and interruptions – as well as how words are pronounced, when the speaker speeds up or slows down, where emphasis is placed, and so on" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 150).

4.4.4 Life history interviews

Besides in-depth interviews, I also conducted interviews with some research participants to construct their life histories. Participant observation, my major research tool, helped enrich data for migrant workers' life stories and contributed to formulating their life histories.

Meanwhile, life history interview fitted in with my theoretical framework, and with my research, as I intended to discover the relations and subjectivities in the educational process of migrant workers.

To conduct life history interview was not easy, as it was time consuming. One in-depth interview was not enough. Moreover, not every interviewee was happy to sustain a prolonged period of interviews. Thus, this method involved friendship between me and my interviewees. As suggested by Goodson and Sikes, life history, showing the multiplicity and dynamism of subjectivity, is "a representation of the life" involving both life historians and their informants (2001: 39-40). I still maintain contact with some of the interviewees as students of the Yuanmeng plans, such as Meili and Lao Nong, as cited throughout my empirical chapters. This is easy in the age of the Internet. However, others such as Yin Fa, as cited in Chapter 9 and Zhang Xiaohu, as mentioned above, who were not good at telecommunication technology have gradually disappeared from contact.

Through this process, my reflexivity helped me conduct dialogues with them and co-produced their life histories with those who were in contact. Besides, life history method helped me to disclose "the patterns of social relations, interactions and constructions" (Goodson and Sikes, 2001: 87-88) involving the lives of my research participants. In the context of my research, the personal life histories of migrant workers reveal the complicated social relations of different social actors and the formulation of their subjectivities.

4.4.5 Discourse analysis

Having collected documents such as policy documents and textbooks, and completed fieldnotes and transcription of the interviews with my research participants, I started to conduct discourse analysis of all these texts in order to construct realities in PRD's migrant workers and their education. In my analysis, I used "text" in its broader sense by following Fairclough's (1995: 4) suggestion that text can be "written or spoken discourse," "any cultural artefact," and "other semiotic forms."

Fairclough's (1995) critical discourse analysis offered me a helpful approach to processing my data and doing discourse analysis. According to him, texts, as "social spaces," involve two social processes: "cognition and representation of the world, and social interaction" (1995: 6). His framework attempts to "establish connections between properties of texts, features of discourse practice (text production, consumption and distribution), and wider sociocultural practice" (ibid: 87).

Accordingly, I searched throughout my data in an attempt to find the most thought-provoking themes concerning my research questions. This was a dynamic and recurrent process, which integrated my own prior knowledge with the conceptual ideas in my theoretical framework. For instance, as shown in Chapter 9, in the process of examining data, I observed the subject matter of "knowledge" and "social connections" as resource, but I had not had any idea of exploring how to approach them. In the light of Deleuzian nomadism of heterogeneous connections and multiplicity (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988), and the dimension of "rules" in SRF as an inseparable side of "resources" (Kabeer, 1994), I realized that I should discuss by what rules resources were distributed and produced. Then I formulated the theme of "underlying rules" in Section 9.2 in Chapter 9.

Thus, I focused on the coded themes emerging from the educational projects I studied, especially two Yuanmeng plans, including their policy design, funding resources, teaching force and students' recruitment, and explored ideological implications and power relations embedded in the implementation of these projects. Analysing different social actors involved in these projects helped examine, in the words of Kabeer, the "institutional patterns of inclusion, exclusion, placement and progress" (Kabeer, 1994: 282). I took into consideration different discourses of research participants, social actors and educational stakeholders, including policy makers, educational practitioners and migrant workers as learners.

Thus, my critical discourse analysis was conducted to give a holistic picture of my research participants in terms of their social activities, attitudes, power relationships, and changing subjectivities.

4.5 Reflecting on research methodology: researcher as a dynamic subject

In applying an ethnographic approach, I aligned myself with my theoretical framework in an attempt to erase the boundaries of dualism and become engaged in or even create social and educational processes and events, where meaning and values are embedded.

Barriers created by dualisms such as outsider/insider, literate/illiterate, developer and developed in the process of exploring international education and comparative education have been noted by researchers (e.g., McNess et al, 2013; Robinson-Pant, 2016). Take the dualism of insider/outsider for an example. "We have moved into a new global intellectual context where research partnerships require insiders and outsiders to work together in new ways" (McNess, 2013: 308). Outsider and insider can be so shifting, fluid and slippery that they may go "to a point where such distinctions become meaningless" (McNess et al, 2013, p.310), and the insider/outsider distinction in ethnography "pushes us to categorise and polarise peoples' identities" (Robinson-Pant, 2016).

Researchers have reconsidered this issue in different ways. McNess et al (2013) suggest the use of "third space" on the basis of Bhabha's (1994) notion, encouraging "intercultural dialogue, beyond the concepts of the insider and the outsider, that we can produce new meaning" that "mut[u]ally enriches understanding" (ibid: 312). Robinson-Pant (2016) starts by analyzing the phenomenon of "essentialising culture" in intercultural communication and interprets how the etic-emic-etic dialectic works in this process: "the experience of constantly shifting between outsider and insider perspectives gave me greater understanding into the intersection of cultures within policy-focused and policy-shaped research." She then suggests that researchers turn away from the polarization of insider/outsider to "develop greater understanding of the processes of comparative analysis." This seems to highlight the necessity that that an ethnographic approach be focused on the events and processes bridging insider-outsider polarisations to search for the meaning embedded.

I have found that the emphasis on exploring processes was in line with my philosophical ontology, which enabled me to transcend dualism to examine reflexively changes, processes and tensions within social and educational practices, and to conduct dialogues and interact with multiple actors, as summarised below.

4.5.1 Ethical issues

As my ethnographic research was on continuing education and the aspirations and understandings of development of migrant workers, I had wide connections with social actors, including officials, educational practitioners and especially migrant workers. This meant that I would be very careful, when generating knowledge in social science, not to harm my research participants in any way. To achieve this wish, I, as a researcher, was always reminding myself to be conscious of the ethical practice codes in ethnography established for the researchers.

Firstly, I made an application to the University of East Anglia for relevant research ethics approval for my research proposal. My application was finally approved after a revision before I started my fieldwork.

Secondly, in doing research with human participants involved, I always asked for their consent in order to do so, such as when conducting individual interviews. In most of the cases, I was able to acquire only oral consent. General responses were, "you just interview us if you like. There is no need to sign a formal consent form." I even observed this rule when doing online interview. For instance, in gaining access to the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan for research purposes, I first of all engaged myself in virtual spaces set up by some teaching sites. Although it was a virtual forum, I let my identity and my purpose be known to the public. Through this channel, I came to understand what had been happening in this programme. People could misunderstand my intention. In one virtual forum, I was driven out, as the administrator said that I was doing advertisement for foreign educational institutions.

However, through the virtual communication, I learned of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan sometime in October 2012, which I contacted immediately and acquired their consent for fieldwork. When I explained to my gatekeeper, Xiao Zhiyuan, that I would need his

agreement by giving a signature on a consent form, as this was our academic requirement, he hesitated a moment and then laughed, saying it would be all right if he did not sign I, as we had had some emails, which indicated his agreement. As a Chinese person myself, I understood that people did not have strong sense of informed consent in interview. To sign one's name on a piece of paper such as consent form was often associative of unnecessary responsibility rather than a way of insurance. After entering the field of V College, I let my identity as a researcher be known to others. However, not every staff member knew me spontaneously. So I would ask for their oral consent before I started observing their teaching. I did not feel I was always welcomed by all the staff. I wandered from one class to another, occasionally with a sense of guilt as if I were a spy searching for secrets. So I finally chose some staff members for observation who felt comfortable with me.

Thirdly, I always ensured the privacy of research participants and research fieldwork sites. In my research writing I ensured the privacy of the fieldwork sites by not mentioning their names; nor did I use the real names of my research participants but their pseudonyms instead to guarantee the practice of anonymity. I, as an observer, might be more sensitive to certain points that would arouse conflicts between research participants. So, to protect my research participants, I had deleted some data, which could be controversial. Otherwise, as Fetterman (1998: 142) says, "The delicate web of interrelationships in a neighbourhood, a school or an office" "might be destroyed."

Finally, I followed Fetterman's (1998: 143) suggestion for "reciprocity" as a way to strengthen the relationship between the researcher and the researched. To carry out this idea, for example, I accepted the invitation by V College to teach students English, as described above. Also, I actively joined their virtual chat rooms to promote their learning enthusiasm. For another example, I did some assistance work for my interviewees. Yin Fa, as cited in Chapter 9, established friendship with me. As he ran a small stall business, I would do assistance work for him when he was busy. This could be a remedy for the time he lost for my interview.

4.5.2 Reflexivity and positionality

In my research, I maintained close contact with different social actors such as educators, migrant workers, ordinary citizens, and officials. In this process, my reflexivity influenced my respondents as well as my research trajectory. As Wright and Nelson (1995: 48) summarise, reflexivity establishes a relationship between researcher with his/her research objects so as to achieve "an understanding of how identities are negotiated, and how social categories, boundaries, hierarchies and processes of domination are experienced and maintained." As a researcher, I was no longer "objective, value-free and neutral but having a subjectivity and a positionality, that is, a social, cultural, political and economic location" (Jackson 2006: 534). My reflexivity in the process of fieldwork can be reflected in different relationships and different contexts, and my subjectivities assumed multiple and dynamic forms from different perspectives. The key point in the changes of my subjectivities related to the dichotomy between insider and outsider, and between me and my research participants.

In V College, I was aware that I had two identities: an instructor of English and a researcher. Being the former, I must obey the rules of this school as well as of the degree awarding university; being the latter, I must abide by the rules required of a researcher.

While in the case of Guangdong Yuanmeng, most of the time being a virtual case study, I found myself my identities fluid and unstable. At first, when I explained my purpose to research participants or interviewees, I used the word "student" as my identity, only to receive such a reply as, "A student? How old are you?" That hurt me, and also affected our further conversation. This was related to the issue of ageism to be discussed in Chapter 5, as in China's culture, students are supposed to be younger. So later I tried to use more flexible expressions to describe myself. This was reconciling process in which I ensured the clarity of my overt research while showing my purpose and identity.

As a changing subject, I decided I would share with readers "how much of what by whom." This meant that it would be hard for all the social actors to be treated equally in this case. As McNess et al (2013) suggest, "Power relationships within the research process also deserve greater acknowledgement, and in this respect we could do more to interrogate the nature of the power of the researcher" (310). Robinson-Pant (2016) also suggests that there exist "the

multiple and sometimes fragmented roles, relationships and identities performed by the various actors in an applied educational research study." So, researchers demonstrated dynamic roles in connecting the relevant actors and establishing theoretical framework. In integrating various theories in my theoretical framework, I acted as a dynamic subject, in negotiating between my prior knowledge and new knowledge, and between different co-functioning theories.

Thus, I developed a reflexive approach to my research. For instance, as mentioned above, I needed to translate large amounts of data such as interview scripts and documents from Chinese into English. This meant that I would employ my own subjectivities in constructing and representing the history of rural-urban migration in China, the learning of migrant workers and the changes in their life and aspirations.

Also, I realized that, as a researcher, I may have shown more sympathy with migrant workers as research participants and taken a more critical attitude towards educational providers and practitioners, as I had more contact with migrant workers. This would have been unfair for the educational providers and practitioners. As shown in Chapter 6, "interactive" teaching in V College had been prescribed in its curriculum, while its actual teaching was not always interactive with every teacher. However, I cited myself reflexively as a teacher, who was not being interactive enough, in this programme. So, I became one of the teaching staff criticized by myself as a researcher. This also relieved me of a sense of guilt.

In these recurrent and overlapping processes, my subjectivities shifted and slid between being a researcher and an instructor, or between a researcher and a translator.

4.5.3 Ethnographic dilemmas

Although I had been engaged in an attempt to observe ethnographic rules and ideas, I often found myself in dilemmas on how to implement this approach in the actual fieldwork. I did not feel it was any easier doing an ethnographic fieldwork in PRD, where language was not my problem.

The Yuanmeng plans were large-scale top-down educational programmes initiated by the government, but there seemed to be no adequate systematic measures or plans for the evaluation of these programmes conducted by independent research institutions or projects. In the case of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, relevant evaluation practices include: students' feedback required at the end of each term, reports and briefings on authorities' supervision, and, as mentioned in Chapter 8, an anthology of leaders' speeches, alumni students' reflections and staff' own reflections. In other words, V College, as an educational institution, was interested in immediate assessment results from such tools as questionnaires and quantitative research.

Xiao Zhiyuan, my gatekeeper, once said to me, "You seem to be interested in observing and recording what you see and what is happening." (QQ interview notes with Xiao Zhiyuan, 03/05/2013). What he implied was that I would not give a clear response or solution to migrant workers' problems. I believed that he was worried if my PhD project would be completed if I continued observing, so he suggested to me more than once, "You could give out some questionnaires to students. This would be easier for you." This showed that many people did not understand my research approach.

Interestingly, I was not the only one who conducted research in V College. Once I even met a researcher giving out questionnaires to my students and then collecting them in half an hour or so. Some of my students told me that they would be happy to answer my questionnaires if I had any. That encouraged me more than amused me. Very often, I was at a loss for where to go and what to do next, what to be of relevance. I accumulated much data, but I did not know which of them would be useful. So, towards the end of my fieldwork in V College, I designed a questionnaire for this project and distributed them to my students. They did it accordingly. Later, I found the responses did not fit in with the ethnographic approach, as I could not gain enough insight into the transformational processes in society and educational projects.

Apparently, questionnaires or other assessment measures that yielded results were popular with both the staff and the students in V College. It was not easy to put across to the staff or even the students the importance of ethnographic approach. Robinson-Pant (2000) has

explained the difficulties in making "ethnographic research findings" communicable "in a government programme where staff are used to more top-down administrative and planning structures" (ibid: 157).

Thus, my research approach was problematic in data collection. This was especially true in the initial stage, as stated above. As I could not have access to some fieldwork sites I had targeted, I looked to other resources such as new research participants, institutions and virtual spaces to produce events and processes and take forward the ethnographic approach. These events, different from rigid quantitative questionnaires, showed how migrant workers as students in V College as well as other migrant workers exhibited their thoughts and practices in a natural setting. So my research followed this strand to expose various tensions, events and processes, where research meaning resides and where an ethnographer exerts their changing and dynamic subjectivities.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described how I conducted my research in PRD, including why I adopted an ethnographic approach, how I conducted my fieldwork, what methods I employed in data collection and analysis, and what dilemmas I encountered and how I solved them. By engaging myself in diverse events and processes in my fieldwork, I was able to transcend the dualisms such as those between the researcher and the researched, between the outsider and the insider, and especially between virtual and actual spaces. Thus, I was able to explore the research meanings embedded with these events, spaces and processes. In the following empirical chapters, I will present my research findings and their analysis.

Chapter 5 Adult education policies in PRD: from perspectives of different social actors

As mentioned in Chapter 3, nomadic principles (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988), the conception of development as discourse (Escobar, 1995) and especially the social-relations framework (SRF) (Kabeer, 1994) offered me a theoretical lens through which to examine my first research question, the focus of the present chapter, "Who designed continuing education policies for migrant workers, from whose perspective, and in what way?" I will draw on the ideas in this framework and analyze how multiple and heterogeneous dimensions such as rules, activities, resources, people and power were interlinked and combined, and what results these combinations produced. The aim is to listen to multiple voices from policy makers, practitioners, and migrant workers as learners, and explore the tensions between them. Three subsidiary research questions will be addressed in the following sections:

1) What are policy makers' major concerns?
2) How do different social dimensions such as resources and rules interact in the educational processes?
3) What do migrant workers as learners think about adult education, especially the educational programmes focused on migrant workers?

5.1 The Yuanmeng plans: what policy makers said and did

The Yuanmeng plans were adult educational programmes mainly for migrant workers. They had different full names, but both were known to the general public as the Yuanmeng Plan. As government sponsored top-down educational projects, they shared many similarities as well as differences. To address "What are policy makers' major concerns?", this section will compare the two projects from the perspective of policy makers and educational sponsors, examine their policy discourses and the naming of educational projects, and see how educational policies transformed when encountering lower level institutions and individuals.

5.1.1 The Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan and its initial concerns

Of the two Yuanmeng plans, the more influential one is "Guangdong Province new generation industrial leading workers' training and development plan," (guangdongsheng xinshengdai chanye gongren gugan peiyang fazhan jihua), (known as the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan in this thesis) a public welfare programme shortened as the Yuanmeng Plan, initiated by Guangdong Communist Youth League in coordination with Guangdong Province Department of Education, Department of Finance, and Department of Human Resources and Social Security.

According to its official website, this plan aimed to "speed up the core task of industrial transformation and upgrading in Guangdong Province and targeted at the core appeal of new generation workers for comprehensive quality." Its goal was to develop "three projects and one passageway" by funding new generation industrial workers to participate in distance online higher education. The three projects were: "a project for developing a fundamental reliable force of the Communist Party of China among new generation industrial workers; an elite development project to realize social management innovation and propel 'self-management and self-service' among industrial workers; a quality workers' development project to elevate 'Guangdong production' to 'Guangdong creation' and accelerate industrial upgrading." The "passageway" referred to "the passageway of the new generation industrial workers' development and promotion" (Guangdong Communist Youth League, 2013).

When discussing the relationship between development as a discourse and educational planning and policy making, Robinson-Pant (2001) suggests that the focus should be on “the political agendas of various development players,” and “the ideological dimension” (ibid: 325). I have taken this to analyze the general design of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, which shows that the Guangdong government realized the inadequacy of labour-intensive manufacturing and the necessity to propel knowledge economy, thus proposing this educational programme. This programme prioritized the ideology of communism and socialism, but combined it with practical functions of education such as developing leadership among workers and qualified workers. This is similar to the practice of adult education during the Cultural Revolution before the adoption of the reform and opening-up

policy in 1978, as is mentioned in Chapter 2. However, the term "passageway" of promotion suggests the importance of individual development and freedom, which was not advocated before Deng Xiaoping's policy of "reform and opening-up."

With the educational themes above, the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan started its practice at the end of 2010 with P University as the only partnership institution and 100 students registered, and P University was intended to set a good example for the following institutions to copy and learn from. From then on, it has been developing rapidly year by year so that a large number of other educational institutions have joined in this programme. In the case of 2014 alone, it was planned to recruit 10,000 students.

I discussed, as shown above, in what context the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan was proposed and initiated. It seems that the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan attempted to help Guangdong elevate to a new level of manufacturing industry through an adult learning programme. To realize this aim, it focused on how to enhance the human quality of a mass of "elite" workers. What is remarkable is that it also suggested the importance of personal development of workers as students.

5.1.2 The Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan and its development

The other Yuanmeng plan, whose full title is "Shenzhen City General Trade Union Yuanmeng Plan educational assistance action for needy and migrant workers," also known to the general public as the Yuanmeng plan (shortened as the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan in this thesis), was actually started as early as 2008 by the Shenzhen General Trade Union, undertaken by V College. As a municipal level educational programme, the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan was not so influential as the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, a provincial educational programme.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, I had intended to study the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan in my initial research proposal. However, I had difficulties in accessing its teaching sites. Then I came across an online declaration about "Yuanmeng Plan," which was actually made by V

College, and from which I became aware that the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan was much earlier than the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan. ("Serious Declaration of Shenzhen General Trade Union "Yuanmeng Plan" educational assistance action for needy and migrant workers", 2012). This proclamation stated that until 2012 there had been five rounds of Yuanmeng students.

Different from the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan recruited not only academic degree students, but also vocational and technical training students. According to Kelly (2009), the total curriculum of an educational institution "must be accorded prior consideration, and a major task that currently faces teachers and curriculum planners is to work out a basis on which some total scheme can be built" (ibid: 9). This means that the total curriculum of an educational institution reflects its general ideology and priorities on its educational agenda. From this perspective, the total curriculum of V College included a few categories related to different aspects of life and professions: "thought and politics, law, urban life, professional development, comprehensive quality, health, art of life, safe production and lifelong learning." The first category of "thought and politics" was closely connected with the major strands of China's ideology, as the college aimed to "provide learners with the core values of socialism." This means that in "tizhi" (System), the ideology of Chinese socialism was consolidated and maintained in education. Besides teaching on ideology and mentality, the above framework addressed how migrant workers could be adapted to urban life, work and society. On the basis of this framework, a wide range of courses and subjects were offered for short-term vocational and technical training, long-term higher education academic courses and public lectures. This was different from the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, which offered only higher education courses.

Although having distinct names in full length, the two educational programmes with similar targets were gradually reduced to the same name "the Yuanmeng Plan." In the following section, I will further compare these two programmes, and track down the naming itself of these projects. On this basis, I will discuss how the Yuanmeng plans gradually became a part of the mainstream ideology in PRD.

5.1.3 Two Yuanmeng plans: why the same name?

My spontaneous curiosity was why two Yuanmeng plans, as different educational programmes, should have used the same name. As mentioned above, to clarify this general confusion over why two Yuanmeng plans for workers' education, V College issued a proclamation in June, 2012 on its official website, selected as below:

Serious Declaration of Shenzhen General Trade Union "Yuanmeng Plan" educational assistance action for needy and nongmingong (rural migrant workers)

Shenzhen General Trade Union "Yuanmeng Plan" educational assistance action for needy workers and nongmingong was started by Shenzhen General Trade Union and undertaken by V College. The action began from May, 2008 and has continued for five rounds..... "Yuanmeng Plan" education assistance action has become a well-known brand in Shenzhen City and even in the circle of all China Trade Union.

.....

Recently, we have found that there is proceeding a similar action given by other departments, which sounds the same as "Yuanmeng Plan" educational assistance action for needy workers and nongmingong undertaken by our college in terms of naming, format and content. This brought about confusion with our educational action among general workers and nongmingong workers as well as in all walks of life.

.....

V College's declaration suggests that they were not happy with the way the same name was used or claimed by another programme, which was actually the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan. This was further confirmed after I entered the fieldwork of V College, thus becoming more familiar with this college.

V College's response was understandable, as its educational practice had been in progress for over four years since it began its educational action in May 2008, and had won wide recognition. As the declaration claims, "the 'Yuanmeng Plan' is an original educational public welfare brand with a complete intellectual property right possessed by the Shenzhen General Trade Union." Its contribution was remarkable. In the first five years from May 2008, according to the declaration, "there are 150,000 *nongmingong* having received education and training of some sort" under the support of this educational action. Concretely speaking, this project, according to the declaration,

> *assisted 1094 students of model nongmingong in need of help to fulfill their university dreams, and supported 12,320 nongmingong in realizing their dreams of vocational skills and 1,012 nongmingong in graduating from part time technical secondary school. We also offered public welfare 1,200 lectures to nongmingong, and raised 26 million yuan over the five years. (Serious Declaration of Shenzhen General Trade Union "Yuanmeng Plan" educational assistance action for needy and nongmingong, 2012)*

The above selection shows the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan was a comprehensive programme. It not only offered academic degree courses like those in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, but also short-term vocational and technical training courses and public lectures. The number of students having received its training was enormous. The message embedded in the announcement also shows the college's sense of achievement.

Another interesting conclusion drawn from the above is that V College was deeply involved in a complicated social network both in Shenzhen City and outside Guangdong Province. For instance, to push their lectures to different enterprises or other social organizations, where migrant workers gathered, V College kept in close touch with them, thus having won wide recognition since the initiation of its Yuanmeng educational plan from media both central and local. Besides, leaders from both central and local authorities "showed their encouragement and support " "by attending activities, participating in opening ceremonies and delivering important speeches" (Serious Declaration of Shenzhen General Trade Union "Yuanmeng Plan" educational assistance action for needy *nongmingong*, 2012).

I noticed in this brief notice, "'Yuanmeng Plan' educational assistance action for needy workers and migrant workers" was mentioned eight times in its full title, which indicates the serious tone and determination of this declaration. The using of the same name enabled some students to feel at a loss where to complain and report, as the above declaration announces, this practice "*brought about confusion with our educational action among general workers and migrant workers as well as in all walks of life,"* as mentioned above. This can be evidenced by the following episode, which happened after I left the fieldwork in V College.

On October 17th, 2014, V College posted a reply to two students' query about their unhappiness in learning experiences. One of them said, *"I have graduated from the Yuanmeng Plan for over a year. I am registered with N University. All the necessary procedures have been completed. But why couldn't I get the graduation certificates. This happens to all my classmates with this university*…." The other raised her/his complaint about age limit, "*I have been in Shenzhen for three years. I want to pursue my university degree. I am 40 years old. I feel your age limit is really inhuman. So aren't those older than 35 years humans? Can't we make contributions to our country? … I suggest that the Yuanmeng Plan should be open to all the Chinese people under 60 years old*…."

Then followed by the official reply, "*based on the complaint content, these two students are not students of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan sponsored by the Shenzhen General Trade Union. We have never made age limits, as we offer a lifelong educational programme…. We have never had partnerships with N university*," and then warned the public against the "fake brand Yuanmeng Plan": "our partnership universities are not allowed to cooperate with other fake brand Yuanmeng plans."

Therefore, although both the Yuanmeng plans were distinctive in their full titles, they were known to the general public as the Yuanmeng Plan. It was hard to say why the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan was so named at the turn of 2011 when it came into being, as the Shenzhen Yuanmeng had been in operation for three years or so. Strangely, the full title of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan had nothing of "Yuanmeng" in it. Subsequently, both of the

Yuanmeng plans then had been developing side by side. This might have caused some confusion within the city of Shenzhen, where two Yuanmeng plans were in operation, as claimed in V College's declaration. With the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan being a municipal programme within Guangdong while the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan a provincial one, the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan organizers had to be reconciled to the result that the Guangdong Yuanmeng claimed the same title, as was admitted later in my interview with one of the staff in V College.

The other potential reason why the Guangdong Yuanmeng adopted this same name was that Yuanmeng (dream fulfilment) had been a very prevalent discourse in all walks of China, and was embodied in diverse contexts. This seems to help justify this educational programme designers might not have any intention to plagiarize the Shenzhen Yuanmeng in its naming, as will be discussed in Section 5.1.5

5.1.4 Students' recruitment rules in the Yuanmeng plans

As mentioned above, some rules were stipulated in the Yuanmeng plans as to who were entitled to these action plans. Kabeer (1994) points out the ideological power of rules, as discourse, as stated in Chapter 2, and believes, when fully integrated with an institutions, rules could make them sound "natural or immutable" (ibid: 282). While the Guangdong Yuanmeng focused on "elite" workers, the Shenzhen Yuanmeng focused on "needy" workers. This section will address what ideologies were embedded within the conditions and terms for recruiting students, which, as rules and institutionalized discourses, constructed the power and reflected the ideology of governmental authorities and policy designers. The rules particularly interesting to me include age limits, "hukou" (household) register, and good or poor students to be selected. There existed some subtle differences in the discourse of entrance conditions between the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan and the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, which reflected their different ideological considerations in the design of the educational projects.

The first specific aspect was age limit in the academic programmes in both the Yuanmeng plans. For instance, the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan for 2012 required that students to be admitted be "above 18 years old and below 35 (born between July 1st, 1977 and July 1st,

1994)" (Dongguan Municipal Government, 2012). This was queried by some students, such as the 40 years old person, just cited above from, “So aren’t those older than 35 years human beings?” The implied that discourse on age limits affected people’s mentality by acting as a reminder of this migrant worker as learner of his aging process. Ageism was actually an important factor on many occasions in the Chinese society and culture. Just take a look at the following advertisement I observed during my fieldwork in Dongguan.

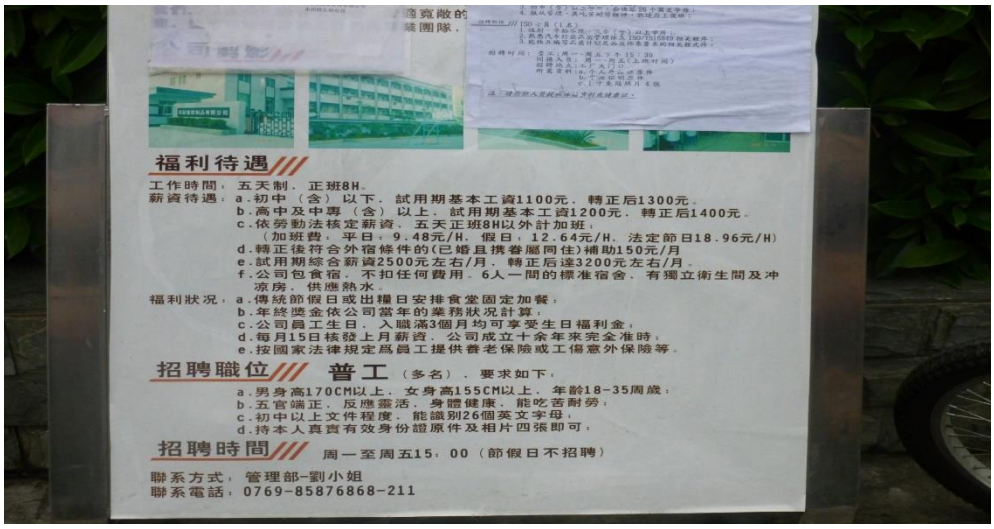

Figure 5-1 A job advertisement of an electronic factory (For full translation of this advertisement, see Appendix.)

During my fieldwork there, I examined job advertisements as a kind of discourse, which represented the ideals and requirements of enterprises and could be distant from social realities and workers' actual qualifications. I attempt to analyze the advertisement I came across on the noticeboard of an electronic enterprise on 15/11/2012. This advertisement was intended to recruit general workers, and transmits the values and the ideals of the advertising enterprise and its expectations of its employees. It required that “*males to be no less than 170 cm and females no less than 155cm with ages between 18 and 35 years old.”* Regardless of the specific body height requirements for general workers, the age limits were also specific. Both the requirements in job advertisement and in other social contexts show the strong

tendency in Chinese society and culture that the older people were, the less worthy they were of being taught or employed.

This discursive strategy assisted in ideological control of migrant workers, especially of the older ones, as shown below in my interview with Jun, one of the security guards I closely observed and established rapport with in Dongguan City. Jun was an aspiring, industrious and practical man. He was concerned about current affairs political, economic and social. He more than once mentioned that he was from the same place as Xi Jinping, current Chinese president, and felt confident about the further development of his home province. Now, Jun was ready to leave this property management company. When I expressed my sincere wishes,

> *"You are young, so you have many choices."*
>
> *Jun laughed, "I am not young. I am over 32 now. You see in many factories like Foxconn Company employ only people from 18 to 24 years old. When you are older than that, you will not be employed. So we are simply machines. We will be discarded when you are older and cannot work as fast as younger ones."* (Fieldwork notes, 03/12/2012)

Although only 32 years old, Jun no longer thought of himself as young. The internal anxiety of becoming old when being immersed in the rapidly developing industrialized society can be perceived in his tone. The influence of workers' recruitment and students' recruitment, as shown above, upon Chinese migrant workers and the general Chinese people was obvious and far reaching.

The other revealing specification in both the Yuanmeng plans was that of "hukou" (household) register. The Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan required that only non-Shenzhen rural household register holders be allowed to take the Yuanmeng academic courses. Those who were of Shenzhen household register but wanted to take these courses should be confirmed as grassroots Trade Union cadres. Consequently, there appeared another prejudice. For instance, Yong, a student of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, once mentioned this point in his QQ chat room, "I could not join this programme if I should apply for it now, as I have now a

Shenzhen household register." (QQ chat record, 03/05/2013). But to have a Shenzhen household register was a dream for many migrant workers.

While the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan insisted on this condition to assist the "real" migrant workers, it simultaneously posed prejudice against local workers who were equally in need of help. Actually, the way that V College addressed its students was thought provoking. As shown just above, V College insisted on using “nongmingong” for “rural migrant workers” all throughout its various documents and even in the title of their college name. As mentioned in Chapter 1, “nongmingong,” which literally means "peasant workers" was the earliest saying in China for migrant workers. Not every student in this college liked this label, as evidenced by my interview with Fang Xu, a student in V College, whom I taught English.

Fang Xu was a dynamic volunteer for an amateur drama club, now an administrator with a company for a living. Over many weekends, there would be drama shows demonstrating urban lives, especially migrant workers’ life. This offered her opportunities, as a form of informal learning, an aspect to be examined in Chapter 9, to become aspiring and confident in her life and networking skills. Gradually, I gained more understanding of her as an enthusiastic and ambitious lady. I had the good fortune to attend a drama show at Fang Xu’s invitation and arrangement. Once she told me, “I hate being labelled with nongmingong. I have hardly lived in the countryside. I came to Shenzhen with my parents when I was just a few years old. I have not got Shenzhen household register, so I am entitled nongmingong and learning in V College.” (interview notes with Fang Xu, 18/05/2013). This shows the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan was slow in changing its attitudes towards migrant workers, who were changing along with the times and social development.

By contrast, the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan did not impose restrictions on its student recruitment according to the household register being rural or urban. Actually, many other places in Guangdong, such as Dongguan City, as well as in other places in China, referred to migrant workers as "wailaigong," which meant workers from outside, or as similar sayings such as “xinguanren,” which meant new Dongguan people in Dongguan City. This tendency

in word choices was also reflected in the titling of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, which stressed "new generation leading workers" as the target of its working plan. This implies that the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan not only included local but also outside workers; also it did not differentiate between rural or urban migrant workers. This seemed to suggest the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan was more open and inclusive in terms of household register types.

The third aspect for conditions and rules for the Yuanmeng plans was students' learning abilities assessment, in other words, how good students had to be in order to be admitted to these plans. The Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan was concerned about "the needy workers." It seemed to be more comprehensive in its educational courses, including not only academic programmes for elite workers but also short term courses such as a property management course, tea making art, and flower arrangement. In this aspect, the criterion for "elite" workers in Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan seemed to be more complex, as it indicated that the majority of migrant workers were excluded from this educational plan, as a large number of migrant workers were not well educated enough to be admitted to academic degree programmes, which required that student candidates possessed senior middle school qualifications. This meant that none of the migrant workers such as Zhang Xiaohu and his workmates in the property management company, as mentioned in Chapter 4 and cited below, would be suitable for this programme.

One of the first revealing interviews with Zhang Xiaohu was conducted one evening around seven o'clock. It was still bright at this time of the year in southern China with the setting sun glowing. Zhang Xiaohu invited me to go into their stand, actually their office where I could sit leisurely with air conditioning on. It was hot and humid outside. There were two guards, one watching the gate for half an hour and the other staying inside the stand. He said sighing:

> *"I did not do well at school. I only finished the first year of my junior middle school and then quitted. Most of the time when I was a student, I was absent-minded in class time. I could not help it. I was naughty. Then I came to Dongguan over ten years ago, around 2002."* (interview notes on 18/10/2012)

Zhang Xiaohu was not an exception in this company in terms of poor educational background. This was actually true with many other enterprises in H Town, Dongguan City. I interviewed a lot of migrant factory workers in all walks of life in the first few months after I started my fieldwork in this town, but none of the interviewees seemed to have learned of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, let alone getting admitted to this programme. This posed a sharp contrast with the bustling scene I noticed on teaching sites or portrayed in their educational publicities. So it seemed that the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan was not intended to take Zhang Xiaohu and his like into consideration, as they were not “good” enough to be “elite” students.

The restrictive conditions and rules above indicated the Yuanmeng plans held a certain prejudice against some migrant workers through imposing certain conditions. As discussed in Chapter 3, I am taking two perspectives for educational purposes: utilitarian and transformative. From the utilitarian perspective, education is seen as a “social investment” designed to develop educatees into “productive citizens” (Maclure et al, 2012: 399). Then it seemed that the Yuanmeng plans were mainly orientated by ideas around utilitarian education for the development of the general society rather than by transformative education. Although the goal of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, was to develop "three projects and one passageway" in the introduction of Section 5.1.1, the so-called passageway was for "younger" people only, within certain age groups. Likewise, though the goal of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan was focused on “the needy” workers, it excluded the workers with Shenzhen local household registers who could be more “needy” for educational training but focused on outside workers. This created new prejudice and conflicts. The rules and criteria stipulated for recruiting students or employees exerted power on the mentality of student candidates for the Yuanmeng plans. For instance, the age limits increased the anxiety of students or employees. This seems to suggest that rules when being fully integrated with surroundings could make them sound “natural or immutable" (Kabeer, 1994: 282).

However, as enlightened by discourses of different sources, workers could show rebellious spirits, as discussed above. For instance, one student protested about the Yuanmeng plans' age limits: "aren't the migrant workers older than 35 human beings?" For another instance, Fang Xu, as mentioned above, complained about her being labelled with "nongmingong" (peasant worker), as she had left the countryside when being a child. This suggests that rules could not always sound convincing and natural. When workers accumulated enough dissatisfaction and anger, they would challenge the discourses that had been taken for granted. This suggests that some workers had awakened from their old state of being and experienced new subjectivities, which will be further discussed in Chapter 9.

Rules and conditions for who to be admitted and selected would be further used by some authorities to control workers both practically and ideologically, as will be discussed in Section 5.3 of this chapter, "how workers responded to educational programmes?"

5.1.5 "Yuanmeng" as a part of China's mainstream discourse

In this section, I aim to examine how the Yuanmeng plans became integrated with mainstream Chinese discourse and the implications of this process.

"Dream," or "meng" (梦) in Chinese, as one of the key words that had motivated my research interest, suddenly became a catch phrase around 2012 on. It has been one of the prevailing national development discourses. People in all walks of life began to talk about and interpret dreams in various ways. As a central discourse, "Chinese Dream" was well elaborated more than once by China's president, Xi Jinping. For instance, in his speech on March 18th, 2013, Xi Jiping devoted a large space to its conception in words of grand narrative, like "full union", "national", "common dream", and "times." Understandably, there was no ready-made definition of 'Chinese Dream'. Just take a short excerpt from Xi's speech. "To realize Chinese dream, we must integrate all the forces in China. Chinese dream is a national dream, and also a dream for every Chinese person." (Xi, 2013a).

Soon afterwards, Xi Jinping also stressed the importance of labour in his speech themed as "Beautiful dream can be realized only through honest labour" before the International Labour

day of 2013. According to him, "all kinds of difficulties in the process of development can be resolved only through honest labour." (Xi, 2013b), thus proposing the key words such as "beautiful," "dream" and "labour."

The general introduction discussed above in relation to the goals of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan such as "develop an elite working force that the Communist Party of China can rely on" suggests that “Yuanmeng” remains a part of the mainstream Chinese discourse. The Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, as a similar programme but with a longer history, was more responsive to the grand narrative of Chinese discourse. So, Chinese Dream and the key words, after Xi Jinping's speech, laid the foundation for the theme of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan in 2013. Therefore, the dream in Yuanmeng in V College had been following the trend of the general discourse of Chinese Dream, as the student recruitment advertisement of 2013 Yuanmeng indicates:

> *The sixth round of the Yuanmeng Plan, themed as “Chinese Dream and beautiful labour,” will be aimed at workers and migrant workers in meager family financial conditions as the objectives of assistance, and offer free learning places of vocational training courses to 1000 workers and migrant workers, and fund 1000 workers and migrant workers to fulfill their “university dreams,” meanwhile offering 500 public lectures themed as “Chinese Dream” to enterprises intending to enhance the workers’ quality.* (Fieldwork data, 06/06/2013)

Therefore, the dream in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan gained new legitimacy and meaning from “Chinese Dream,” and it encouraged workers to be well reconciled to the daily labour in their profession. In this process, as the fundamental idea of dream in this programme, “university dream” remained stable all throughout. For instance, I noticed the motto of the Economic Management Class, who were admitted in the autumn of 2012, supervised by B University in Beijing, “yin mengxiang erlai, yin qiji erju” (Coming for dreams and gathered because of miracle). When I asked some students in the classroom about their dreams in the Yuanmeng Plan, some told me in a formal way, and some simply smiled and offered no

answers. The answers I received in whatever way all suggest, “It is a university dream that we have not realized.”

This indicated that the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan had been aligning with the central government's ideology while its students were also influenced by the mainstream campus and national discourse. “Yuanmeng” as a discourse thus had been connected with the national discourse promoting a national dream while continuously developing into further new directions such as the dream discourse of the slogan of the Economic Management Class. So discourses involving the dream seemed to have developed in diverse ways, such as “splitting,” “melding,” and transforming constantly (Gee, 1999: 21-22), as has been discussed in Chapter 3. Accordingly, “dream” evolved into multiple forms. It would be hard to reduce all dreams to one form. So the university dream of the students in V College was transformed into different forms, including undesirable forms of malpractice. This will be further corroborated by the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan's curriculum practice in the next chapter on teaching practice.

5.1.6 Summary

I have discussed the general policies of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan and the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan. The Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan focused on “elite” workers by providing them with academic degree programmes in an attempt to transform and upgrade the industry of Guangdong Province, which was based on labour intensive manufacturing patterns. It purpose was to bring in more creative vigour into its industrial sector. The Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan focused on “needy” workers and pushed programmes both academic and technical and vocational, thus being more inclusive of different learners.

However, the rules for recruiting students suggest that the Yuanmeng plans excluded some groups of students in terms of age limits and household register types, as these rules tended to conceal certain prejudice against certain groups of people under the guise of discourse such as “needy” and “elite.” Consequently, the power of discourse on people was actualized, as the rules established enabled people to mistake them as “immutable” or “natural,” (Kabeer, 1994), giving rise to people’s anxiety and reconciliation with their state of being. What is equally noteworthy, there also happened queries about the validity and legality of these rules,

which showed workers' awakening and formulations of new subjectivities. This will be discussed in Chapter 9.

So, the stipulation of these rules above seemed to have overlooked some migrant workers in inadequate economic and literacy conditions. Both the programmes used the same name, although the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan was preceded by the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan. On the other hand, the analysis seems to point to the tendency that both the Yuanmeng plans were integrated with "Chinese dream," the mainstream Chinese discourse for the past few years.

In short, power and discourses in the field of the Yuanmeng plans seemed to have merged and diverged in the process of their policy designing, their naming, and students' recruitment rules and their implementation. On this basis, there existed a high degree of consistency in the selection of the word "dream" in the discourses from top authorities all through down to the grassroots responses. Meanwhile, "dream" underwent changes in the educational discourses when meeting different levels of institutions and individuals.

This section unfolded mainly from the perspective of policy makers, although some other social actors were also involved in varying degrees for the sake of analysis. In the following sections, I will analyze other aspects of the Yuanmeng plans from the perspectives of educational practitioners and students.

5.2 The Yuanmeng plans: what educational practitioners were concerned about

I have discussed the Yuanmeng plans from the perspective of policy makers. However, the concerns of policy makers were not necessarily those of educational practitioners, even less of students. This section addresses how different social dimensions such as resources and rules interacted in the educational processes. In other words, I will study what the educational practitioners were thinking, speaking and doing, especially how they gained access to tangible resources such as funding resources and intangible resources such as social contacts and networks in order to survive in a competitive educational market. I aim to address how

far the multiple dimensions in Kabeer's SRF, such as resources, educational activities and power were mutually related. Again, in the light of Deleuzian nomadic principles, I am concerned to explore how far the heterogeneous connections between dimensions such as power and resources were made and produced other dimensions such as new resources like social contact and educational activities.

5.2.1 Funding resources and disbursement

Both the Yuanmeng plans had sufficient funding resources to support their educational design and implement their educational activities, but they had different funding sources. The Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan relied on the Shenzhen General Trade Union while the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan relied on governmental departments of different levels as its major funders while involving some other social organizations and enterprises, thus reflecting more complicated social relations.

In V College of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, as mentioned in the declaration cited above, "26 million yuan over the five years" was disbursed since the start of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan in 2008 till 2012. As the funding amount varied from year to year, I was curious about who funded this programme. Wang Shaogang, vice president of V College, replied clearly and succinctly, "It is the Shenzhen General Trade Union, as they have collected membership fees, of course they should support workers' education." (interview notes with Wang Shaogang, 21/10/2012).

I was also interested in some details of the funding, such as the amount of funding and the number of the students recruited, as well as any concrete requirements for the evaluation of students' vocational training courses. Xiao Zhiyuan, my gatekeeper shared with me his knowledge about it:

> *"We have no competitors in the Yuanmeng Plan funding and actually we perform the roles of the Shenzhen General Trade Union, as our college is its subordinate and the only designated institution for the implementation of the Yuanmeng Plan. Every year in March, we would make application to the Shenzhen General Trade Union for this programme, and report relevant working and budgeting plans. Then the General*

> *Trade Union allots half of the fund and the rest of it will be disbursed by the end of year according as how much we have completed our work. Generally we can fulfill our task. Over the past few years, the General Trade Union have audited our work carefully, and examined especially the progress of the training courses, but it would be hard to assess how effective our training programmes are. On the whole, our funding has been on the increase from 2008 on."* (QQ interview 05/03/2013 with Xiao Zhiyuan).

Based on the above, I understood there had been sufficient funding for the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, and the General Trade Union offered full support for this programme. This ensured the consistency and sustainability of this educational project over a considerable period. Besides, different from other educational institutions in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, V College acted for the Shenzhen Trade Union, as it was the only authorized educational institution. This guaranteed its great power and advantages in policy design and explanation, partnership establishment and educational practice.

By contrast, the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan proceeded under the support of rather complicated funding sources. Targeted at the whole province of Guangdong including Shenzhen City, Guangdong provincial government mobilized different levels of authorities and enterprises in raising funds. Just take Dongguan City as an example. The following is a selection of the 2012 action plan of the Guangdong Yuanmeng in the case of Dongguan City when D University was nominated as the only educational partner for that year, as stated in Chapter 4:

> *After negotiating between the Yuanmeng Office of Dongguan City and D University, the latter agrees to deduct 500 yuan on the basis of the 5000 yuan stipulated by Guangdong Province, that is to say, the tuition fee for every student is now 4,500 yuan, among which each student pays 1000 yuan, with 2000 yuan financed by Guangdong provincial authorities, and 1500 yuan financed by Dongguan municipal and township authorities.* (Dongguan Municipal Government, 2012)

This shows there were complex social relations and negotiation among multiple stakeholders. Funding sources mainly came from different levels of authorities. However, D University, as a contractor of this programme, was willing to offer further concessions as it won an important opportunity to expand its educational spaces against other competitive rivals. Thus, there happened a discontinuity in the educational practice of the Guangdong Yuanmeng in Dongguan. This could be considered as "asignifying rupture" in the term of Deleuze and Guattari (1988: 9), as it no longer cooperated with P University in 2012 academic year. There was a compromise and transaction between the local municipal government and D University, as a local institution, in their joint effort to resist the outside educational institutions such as P University in Beijing, which was the pioneering one in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, and D Academy, as mentioned in Chapter 4, which was actually a commercial agent mainly for different educational institutions.

The changes in the combinations of educational partnerships in Dongguan reflect corresponding changing power relations, spawning rather limited choices for students in education access. Relevant student candidates considering this programme were not happy with this situation and arrangement, as will be discussed in Section 5.3 of this chapter from the perspective of students.

It appeared that sufficient funding ensured a constant flux of students and smooth progress of educational courses each year. Funding as a dynamic force propelled the educational projects within interconnected and interpenetrating webs of relationships. The allocation of resources in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan and the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, both supported by government, take on distinct patterns and show that different governmental and social departments were involved.

The funding in these two intervention plans appealed to educational institutions and educational agents. Correspondingly, diverse activities, such as students' recruitment and students' admission, were launched to acquire funding. This will be further evidenced in the following sections.

5.2.2 Recruiting students as a campaign

It had been a consistent task for educational institutions and agencies to recruit enough eligible students in the Yuanmeng plans. Recruiting students was generally reliant on social networks and collaboration.

In the case of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan as a provincial programme, recruiting students was a large scale campaign involving many institutions, agencies and social actors. For instance, D Academy in Dongguan City, as introduced in Chapter 4 and mentioned above, was involved in the implementation of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan in Dongguan City in 2011. As an educational agency, it coordinated a few educational institutions offering Yuanmeng distance courses in terms of their general teaching affairs and students' recruitment.

Another example is how P University changed its strategies in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan. As the only pioneering institution for the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan and one of the top universities in China, P University set an example in early 2011 by offering academic courses to 100 students as the first round of the Guangdong Yuanmeng students. From then on, the discourse landmark of "Yuanmeng 100" was created. However, after the prosperity of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan with many more educational institutions having joined this programme, P University seemed to have realized it was losing power to other rivals. So in the 2014 Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, it became all the more enthusiastic with its student recruitment campaign. Thus, its recruitment advertisement was particularly attractive and employed agencies across Guangdong Province to recruit students. One of its agents even called on the students in one of my QQ chat rooms to forward their advertisement to new student candidates.

Likewise, in V College in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, recruiting enough students was also a task for the staff to complete each year. At the beginning, it only admitted students once a year but later they did it twice a year. Besides, student candidates were allowed to sit

entrance exams an unlimited number of times until they passed them, but just paid once for the successful attempt. In order to encourage current registered students to advertise and promote its Yuanmeng courses, V College put forward an incentive plan in 2013: anyone who successfully recommends a student to be admitted to a Yuanmeng academic degree course would be offered a second chance to take a higher degree Yuanmeng academic course. This was like some kind of promotional strategy in a commercial sense.

Besides, according to the college report in May 2013, the staff from college head to general clerks "went down to over 100 enterprises" to disseminate the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan and encourage migrant workers to be engaged. They also publicized this educational programme by "various means such as newspapers, banners, pamphlets, TV media and internet." The report ends by saying, "We believe that, with our joint effort, we will fulfill the task of student recruitment this year." (V College report, 2013). The importance of student recruitment for educational institutions was clearly seen.

Even Zhao Xiaoming, the tutor of the Economic Management Class, as introduced in Chapter 4, called on his students in his class QQ chat room, "The recruitment task for Yuanmeng 2013 is approaching the final stage. Hope everyone here will be a volunteering promoter, letting known this good news to your friends around." (QQ chat record, 30/05/2013). Clearly, recruiting students was taken as an important assignment by the college, which was closely connected with how much funding would be allocated from authorities, thus securing the development of the college.

I have discussed how much enthusiasm was shown by educational institutions, agencies and actors devoted to recruiting students, one of whose motivations was related to funding purposes. Ways of student recruitment were diverse, involving complex relations at different levels.

Along with the student recruitment campaigns, students' admissions assumed various and flexible forms, distinct from traditional full time higher educational entrance examinations. This will be discussed as follows.

5.2.3 Diverse and changing ways to admit students

The large scale campaigns for recruitment of students were followed by entrance exams in diverse ways. This enabled admission procedures to be flexible.

The Shenzhen Yuanmeng with V College as the only teaching centre had relatively stable and consistent methods of entrance exams, as mentioned just above, which were multiply offered all throughout the year. However, in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, different sets of entrance exams were adopted, as there were many educational institutions in a seemingly sprawling and "nomadic" pattern, in the word of Deleuze and Guattari (1988). Generally, each distance learning educational institution administered its own entrance exams. However, in Dongguan' practice in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan in 2012, things changed. As the only Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan contractor and a local university in Dongguan City, D University did not have the right to offer distance learning courses; it could not offer entrance exams to student candidates on its own. As a result, it had to recruit students through China national adult higher education exams (Dongguan Municipal Government, 2012)

The diversity of entrance exams meant that most of the student candidates could easily access the Yuanmeng plans except for those involved in such cases as D University. This would mean disparate standards were adopted, and entrance quality could be hard to supervise and assess.

5.2.4 Summary

I have discussed the concerns and practices of educational practitioners in terms of funding resources and allocation, and educational activities of students' recruitment and admission. There emerged a clear combination between governmental power and commercial forces that ran through the implementation of the Yuanmeng plans.

Analysis suggests that there exist complex relations in funding resources and relevant activities. This can be supported by concepts from Kabeer (1994) and Deleuze and Guattari (1988). As mentioned in Chapter 3, Kabeer (1994: 280) emphasizes the importance of social relations as intangible resources, as they further produce intangible resources. Also, activities can be completed through various social relations (Kabeer, 1994: 280). In the light of the Deleuzian nomadic principles (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988), heterogeneous dimensions are able to be connected. This suggests that dimensions such as rules, activities and resources can be mutually connected, which will produce new dimensions such as recruitment of students and closer educational partnerships.

Educational institutions and commercial agencies in the Yuanmeng plans were involved in a complicated competition for acquiring financial support. In this process, the government appeared to have set up this competition between educational institutions and commercial agencies. To reach this aim, activities such as students' recruitment campaigns and flexible admissions were launched based on relevant rules and conditions and by means of social relationships such as government, social networks and media.

The Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan designated V College as the only contractor of the programme, thus playing the roles of administrator and educator. But it also had a wide network of educational partnership institutions, offering courses both academic and vocational, long term and short term.

In the case of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan in 2012, some educational institutions like P University in Beijing and D Academy in Dongguan gave in to D University in the case of Dongguan City, as Dongguan Municipal Government decided to allocate its share of funding to D University as the sole educational contractor for the 2012 Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan. This also meant that a change had happened in social relations, offering a development opportunity for local institutions such as D University.

What was equally noteworthy, however, the changed decision seemed to have ignored students' needs but have been made between institutions and authorities. In this process, students remained the absent "other." As the students were a part of the educational process, they could have exerted their influence and let their voices be heard, especially in the age of

information technology. This will be illustrated in the following section from the perspective of students.

5.3 The Yuanmeng plans: how students responded

I have discussed what policy makers and educational practitioners considered and did with regard to the Yuanmeng plans. This section will address what migrant workers as learners thought about adult education, especially the educational programmes focused on migrant workers.

5.3.1 Funding acquisition in adult learning

As mentioned above, the Yuanmeng plans disbursed funding for student migrants from the authorities of different levels with the coordination between different governmental departments in Guangdong Province. The process of funding collection and allocation involved cooperation and negotiation between different institutions and social actors. As for migrant workers, to obtain funding support was also an essential requirement for the realization of their adult education.

Before analyzing the migrant workers engaged in the Yuanmeng plans, I will start by describing a general picture of income and livelihoods of migrant workers in PRD by focusing on two pieces of data cited earlier. The first is an excerpt from my observation of Zhang Xiaohu and his workmates. The other piece of data is from the job advertisement.

> *In the middle of my observation and talking with Zhang Xiaohu and his workmates, a middle aged man came to the gate, and asked, "“Are you still recruiting security guards?” Zhang Xiaohu and his partner said warm heartedly, "Yes, we are." The middle aged man asked how much money he could make here. Zhang Xiaohu: "2000 yuan a month for the first month and then 2100 yuan from the second month on, 300 yuan subsidiary offered for meals, accommodation given and three days' break each month. Each day working 12 hours.”* (Fieldwork notes on 18/10/2012)

This middle aged man was known as Lao Yang, and became one of my key informants later. The way Zhang Xiaohu quoted the working time and monthly income was revealing and uninterrupted, as if he were the manager of human resources. This suggested that he had been familiar with the general practice in this company. Their wages remained rather low and their life was monotonous and secluded. There was a break of only three days each month. This was against the labour law. Chinese authorities understood this issue, and formulated relevant labour laws to stipulate minimum income, the amount of which could vary from one place to another.

However, there could be countermeasures from some enterprises to deal with the workers' requirement for income promotion. As Lao Yang, mentioned above, who joined the property management team after inquiring of Zhang Xiaohu, complained when I asked about the practice of minimum income in his experiences,

> *The team leader was rather undemocratic. Some of us said that they should have their monthly salary promoted according to the government announcement. He said, "OK", and then he cut off the original bonus and allowance, and put it in the salary package, saying "this is the minimum salary." Then there remained the same without any changes. Two old colleagues wanted to resign after their probation period, which was actually a threat, as they did not really want to leave. The team leader said, 'OK, but you just have the salary at 2,000 yuan designated before the probation. If you want to go, I will sign for your resignation.' You know they are old. Hard to find a new job. Actually, the team leader did not want to keep them. He saved 100 yuan from each person, but he should have paid them 2.100 yuan instead.* (Interview notes with Lao Yang, 06/05/2013)

Lao Yang's remark shows that there existed some inconsistent practice in deciding the exact components of the monthly salary. By "undemocratic," Lao Yang was actually trying to say "not willing to compromise." The use of this formal political term indicates that Lao Yang had certain sense of his own right as an employee and a citizen. At the same time, government's salary policies and workers' right encouraged the security guards to fight for

their own welfare by negotiating with the management. But the ambiguity of salary terms put them at a disadvantage, and they had to accept the decisions by the management.

Lao Yang, Zhang Xiaohu and their workmates appeared to be struggling in their negotiation with their management. To avoid this kind of ambiguity and unnecessary conflicts in payment, some companies put forward clear items and the amount of payment, as indicated in the job advertisement cited in Section 5.1.4. It states:

> *Working time: five days per week, eight hours each day;*
>
> *Salary and allowances:*
>
> *a. those who have had junior middle school education or below have monthly salary as 1,100 Yuan on probation while 1,300 Yuan afterwards;*
>
> *b. those who have had senior middle school or technical vocational school education or above will be paid 1.200 on probation and 1,400 when formally employed;*
>
> *c. Salary to be calculated according to labour law: aside from eight hours per day five days per week workload, 9.48 yuan per hour is paid for weekdays, 12.64 per hour for holidays, and 18.96 yuan per hour for legal festivals;*
>
> *d. for those who are formally employed and qualified to be accommodated outside (married with dependent families), 150 yuan per month is provided;*
>
> *e. for those on probation, the total income per month is 2500 yuan while 3200 yuan for those formally employed.*

As mentioned above, there was a tension between the normal working time stipulated and the time workers actually spent on the assembly line. The advertisement claimed "five days per week, eight hours each day" as a normally accepted working schedule so as to let the public know they were a good enterprise. However, the monthly income from this schedule was at most 1,400 yuan (140 pounds equivalent) for those with senior middle school education

qualifications while for some others with lower qualifications it could be even lower. Neither the factory nor its workers expected to make that amount of money only. Not surprisingly, the advertisement then listed how to be paid when doing extra shifts. Also, workers would be expected to do so of their own free will. Otherwise, their monthly income would be so low that their stay in PRD would be meaningless; they might as well have worked somewhere near their home villages.

It followed that for the factories in the neighborhoods, working night time for extra hours was such a common phenomenon that I would see lights here and there from the factories. Therefore, behind the seeming willingness lay the unfair treatment of the workers in that employers took advantage of workers' immediate needs for money and kept their businesses going on. Clearly, the government attempted to support workers by putting forward such measures as minimum wages. But they did not seem to enforce the rules by offering appropriate supervision. So, enterprises such as the property management where Zhang Xiaohu worked could take countermeasures to ignore these rules such as minimum wages. Rules such as minimum wages were subject to random interpretation.

The material conditions discussed above were about general workers, none of whom I interviewed had heard of the Yuanmeng plans. After analyzing their material conditions, I will focus on the Yuanmeng plans to discuss what the funding of the Yuanmeng plans meant for individual learners. I will cite Lao Nong’s experiences. Lao Nong, a student of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan and a technician with a Japanese invested electronic product company stationed in Shenzhen, was one of the key informants for the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan. He told me more than once, "If there had not been funding for taking this degree course, I might not have taken it." Lao Nong never told me how much money he made each month. When I tried to guess an amount at a 4000 yuan, he told me "more than that." This was understandable as Lao Nong was a student towards a bachelor degree, definitely better educated than those students who took short term vocational training courses or associate degree courses. Then tuition fees of around 5000 yuan or so for the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, as discussed in a previous section, apparently would not be a big problem for him even if he had to pay on his own.

However, things were not that seemingly simple. If Lao Nong had not been registered as a student in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, but as one who joined a specific educational institution all by himself, then he would have paid double this amount, which would mean over 10,000 yuan. That would be a considerable sum.

Therefore, there seemed to be a transaction between the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan and participating educational institutions: as the Yuanmeng recruited a large bulk of students, so educational institutions and agencies would charge students half the original price. Thus, learners in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan received a special offer from a promotion activity, similar to any commercial promotion.

From the perspective of funding as a tangible resource, the above discussion shows the importance of funding for individual learners in the Yuanmeng plans. Learners acquiring funding support derived from the negotiation between authorities, enterprises and educational institutions. The importance of funding support for migrant workers for their continuing education is also substantiated by some relevant research studies on China's migrant workers' education, which conclude that inadequate funding is an important reason that migrant workers lack motivation for continuing education (e.g., Wang, J. & Wang, C. 2005; Lei & Jiang 2004; Zeng et al, 2009).

In this subsection, I first analyzed the general working and income situations of some migrant workers, who had no access to formal educational programmes such as the Yuanmeng plans. Their experiences served as a contrast with the Yuanmeng students, helping me reflect comprehensively and in depth on how important funding resources were for migrant workers as students.

With Lao Nong's personal experiences and other factual data, I realized that it was a complicated process involving diverse department and social actors for migrant workers to join the Yuanmeng plans. Migrant workers underwent different procedures covering relevant

departments such as the government, relevant enterprises they worked with, and educational institutions before acquiring learning opportunities offered by the Yuanmeng plans.

Therefore, this subsection mainly discussed the material pressure on migrant workers in relation to educational opportunities. The next section will explore how resources such as funding and learning opportunities might be connected with power control.

5.3.2 "Only excellent staff members to be recommended for Yuanmeng": why such a rule?

While becoming aware that education participating partners launched campaigns to recruit students by various means in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, as discussed above, I was interested in how students were admitted to their courses, and found that on the grassroots level of adult education, there existed a close relationship between workers and branches of the Shenzhen General Trade Union in the case of the distribution of limited educational resources.

After an English session for the Economic Management Class in V College in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, I had an interesting discussion with a few female students from a bus company, where they acted as ticket conductors. When I asked who could be Yuanmeng students in their company, Ling Ling, the most active girl replied immediately without any hesitation, "In our company, only the excellent staff members are recommended. When we are graduated, we can get 1000 yuan as bonus" (interview notes, 17/03/2013). I could see Ling Ling's eyes sparkling with sense of pride when she said this, and she truly felt proud that she had been recommended and successfully admitted to the current course. Her determined response suggests that such discourse "excellent staff members" was a public selection criterion for the Yuanmeng students from their bus company, which all of those from the same company were familiar with. When I further asked about the meaning of the so called "excellent staff," Meili, one of my key informants in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, and also from this company, replied succinctly, "abiding by company rules, without record of breaking company disciplines" (interview notes, 17/03/2013).

Ling Ling and Meili did not appear to frown on the standard for being recommended, as they had probably taken it as “natural or immutable” (Kabeer, 1994: 282), when this standard as a discourse had been implemented among them.

But there could exist deep structures of power relationships in the students’ recommendation when considered in SRF (Kabeer, 1994). According to her, power over people can be constructed “through its norms, its distribution of resources and responsibilities and its practice"(Kabeer, 1994: 282). This inspired me to analyze how to explain the power relations in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan in terms of the interrelationship between its educational rules, resources and activities. So, in terms of the recruitment process of the bus company above, there could have been unfair treatment for those who were in need of this educational resource if they did not get on with their leaders. Thereby, the company management learned to control its employees more effectively when they needed its support and reference to share limited social resources such as educational opportunities.

Also, it seemed that the discourse in policy design seemed to have experienced some transformations in the stage of educational practice. This could be seen as “adaptation, subversions and resistance” and “the alternative strategies” (Escobar 2007: 21) when developmental interventions came down to local enterprises. Thus, I argue that the practice of the management of the bus company as mentioned above suggests that its starting point was not to consider how "needy" their employees were, as implied in the very title of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, whose original intention was to assist the needy workers, but to strengthen compliance by its own staff. As it could not find a better expression to conceal its desire to control its staff, it used an ambiguous word like "excellent." This word roughly meant "obedient" in practice, which was expressed through resource allocation.

However, some migrant workers as students were not necessarily always “obedient.” They used “alternative strategies” (Escobar, 2007: 21) similar to those of the local enterprise, just mentioned above, in an attempt to change the route towards educational projects co-designed

by policy makers and educational practitioners. This will be the focus of the following subsection.

5.3.3 "Only a local institution is nominated as an educational partner"

D University was nominated as the only Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan practitioner in 2012 to 2013 academic year. As mentioned in Section 5.2.1 above, there was some controversy but only in the virtual QQ chat room. Official reports about this incident merely described what was happening without specifying what such a decision had been made.

As stated in Chapter 4, Dongguan's practice of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan in 2012 was different from other areas of Guangdong Province, as it delayed its student admission again and again until April, 2013. Besides, prospective students in Dongguan would have to take national entrance exams for adult higher education, as D University was not qualified to offer online distance learning courses but only correspondence courses with regular face-to-face instruction throughout the academic year.

Some students were not happy with D University as the only choice of learning institution in Dongguan. There arose a heated discussion on this issue in a Guangdong Yuanmeng QQ chat room. Lao Nong, also an active member in this room, offered his opinions, receiving replies from different members, described as follows:

Lao Nong: It is not good that Guangdong is doing local protectionism.

Mingming: Agree.

Lao Nong: There used to be P University, but later some institutions a bit worse joined in. But now, only the local ones.

Fei Xiang: This is so called the pattern of trial, copy and then promotion. (QQ chat record 30/05/2013)

In the above citation, Fei Xiang's "trial, copy and then promotion" was from the initial slogan of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, which intended P University to set a good example for its followers to copy and learn from. Obviously Fei Xiang used a sarcastic tone to show his

disapproval of the decline of the Guangdong Yuanmeng design. Lao Nong thought that it was not rational that D University was nominated as the sole educational partner for 2012 Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan in Dongguan City.

As QQ chatrooms, a popular internet tool, were established and used in the implementation of the Yuanmeng plans, they connected with policy makers and educational practitioners either directly or indirectly. It was hard to determine whether students' discussions made a difference to the policy changing. But the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan in Dongguan changed its practice one year later. In other words, D University as the only institution for the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan lasted for just one year. In the latter half of 2013, when the new round of students were ready to be admitted, Dongguan made some adjustments to the partnership of educational institutions: it added two more partners: now D University plus DV College, also a local college and Z University from Zhejiang Province.

The process of constant adjustments in partnership educational institutions suggests that there had been a negotiation between different parties. The main consideration seemed to be to retain D University, and later DV College, which were two local institutions, in order to strengthen local relationships. In the latter half of 2013, statistics show that D University recruited 1400 students and DV College 400 students, but Z University, a key university in China recruited only 200. However, Dongguan did make some changes in its inclusion of more educational partners for its practice in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan.

The cooperation between Dongguan local authorities and D University, as mentioned above, could be compared with the research study of Lebeau & Bennion (2014) contextualized in UK. They analyze how two universities showed their engagement in local economic development and contributed to social justice, and argue that "the nature and returns of universities' local engagement approaches are determined by their position on the higher education market as much as by their embeddedness in the local economy, culture and polity" (ibid: 278). Using the ideas from Lebeau & Bennion (2014) as a lens, I thus explain why D University, though not very influential nationally or provincially, was able to be designated

as the only partnership for 2012 – 2013 academic year and remained the most dominating one afterwards. This was because D University, fully financed by local authorities, experienced more embeddedness in the local social-economic development.

Thus, behind students' queries lay some negotiation between different organizations in distributing resources such as funding and educational opportunities. As everybody is "caught in relations of power" (Gordon 1994, p. xvi), the students were located in the relationship involving students, the government, enterprises and educational institutions. Along with their increasing power, they played a part in changing the layout of the Yuanmeng education and its development patterns. This was all the more clear when modern technological communication devices such as QQ messengers helped establish a platform for migrant workers as students, where their voices were instantaneously spread and then heard by other social actors and institutions. In the words of Ronald Bogue, as stated in Chapter 2, this platform was an "interworld" where "bodies, and words, things and ideas interpenetrate" (Ronald Bogue, 1989: 54).

5.3.4 Social relations as important means to accessing learning opportunities

As discussed in Chapter 3, Kabeer proposes that social relations as intangible resources play important roles in producing further intangible resources, strengthening material foundations, and implementing activities. Kabeer's idea can be applied to analyzing students' responses and experiences in learning access to the Yuanmeng plans. In this subsection, I will not only draw on learners in Yuanmeng plans but also, as a contrast, those who did not have access to these educational projects.

There were various forms of social connections for migrant workers in my study, which were mainly governmental organizations including the Shenzhen General Trade Union and the Guangdong Communism Youth League, schools and universities, enterprises, social associations, and virtual space associations. In the case of V College of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan I noticed an increasing influence of the Shenzhen General Trade Union, as it appeared on many occasions and public media such as websites and promotion brochures. Likewise, Guangdong Communism Youth League was also influential because of its Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, and spread to the whole province.

Social connections made accessible various learning opportunities to migrant workers if they were connected with branches of governmental organizations or worked with enterprises of considerable influence and reputation. In Shenzhen City, for instance, the General Trade Union played a significant role in pushing its Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan to migrant workers. Without proper connections with the Trade Union or its sub-branches, there would be no crucial information or recommendations for adult training opportunities.

The interview notes with Meili, one of my key informants and a coordinator from a bus company in Shenzhen, as cited above, show that there were various channels through which to acquire information for the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan and also certain criteria by which to be admitted to this programme. According to Meili, she got Shenzhen Yuanmeng information from websites but quite a few of her classmates from the same company saw this programme from its advertisement in their own company (interview notes with Meili 10/04/2013). This means that well informed migrant workers on good terms with their employers were provided with more chances for personal promotion and further education.

What is more, migrant workers as students in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan tended to concentrate in some powerful companies such as the bus company cited above, where the Trade Union was active and dynamic, with its sub-branches stationed. So not surprisingly, there were more students registered with the Yuanmeng plans from some enterprises than from others because in the former there existed a well-organized system of information and contact such as the active branches of the Trade Union. Also, those with close contact with relevant departments in charge had more opportunities to access educational interventions. This relates to the value of social relations as intangible resources, through which the "most productive activities" can be “carried out” (Kabeer, 1994: 280).

However, those well informed were generally employees of a large company while those who worked with a small enterprise or a factory seldom knew of further educational opportunities sponsored by governments or social organizations. This will be shown from my observation

of the group of security guards from the property management company, where Zhang Xiaohu and Jun, as cited above, worked.

As I was interested in education and development, I asked Zhang Xiaohu once:

> *"Did you take any training?"*
>
> *"No," he said, "it is too expensive, and also needs a lot of time. I want to do some business. If only I could learn skills of management. But I think this sort of thing can be learned well in practice rather than in school. A few years ago, when insurance business was popular, I had wanted to take some courses about it. But it was time consuming and costly."*
>
> *His partner, a young man in his early twenties, a new face, replied, "Sometimes, you do not have to pay always. Sometimes, they train you." He occasionally joined our conversation while watching the gate in case cars driving in or out so that he would lift the bar or put it down and let cars leave or come in.*
>
> *I asked them if they knew of Yuanmeng plans, both of them replied, "No, I have never heard of this."* (Fieldwork notes 04/11/2012)

This new young man just joined this company a couple of days before and used to work with a hotel, as a security guard as well, in Shenzhen City. The observation and conversation between Zhang Xiaohu and his new partner shows that Zhang Xiaohu had remained in a secluded circle as security guard while his partner had working experiences in a big hotel, which widened his knowledge, and had received a proper training in etiquette and daily greetings.

Zhang Xiaohu and his workmates appeared to be connected with the outside world, but they could not gain a deep understanding of it. In a way, they were very much isolated. While acknowledging the impact of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan in this case (as the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan was restricted to Shenzhen City only), I will say that not every migrant worker was fortunate enough to be informed about this programme.

The stories of Zhang Xiaohu and of his colleagues could be considered in the light of Kabeer's (1994: 280) contention on the significance of intangible resources such as contacts and information, as expanded in the theoretical framework. Zhang Xiaohu and his colleagues worked twelve hours each day with only three days' break each month; moreover, they did not possess efficient social relations as intangible resources. Not surprisingly, they had no access to productive activities such as educational programmes focused on migrant workers. Therefore, such places as those where Zhang Xiaohu worked needed more educational interventions, as Kabeer pointed out, "Access to such resources is likely to be particularly critical in situations where market or state provision of social security is missing or where access to these institutions is imperfectly distributed" (1994: 280).

I have discussed how social relations contributed to learning opportunities above. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, Kabeer emphasizes the importance of social relations both as means and ends. So how social relations produced activities and intangible resources and strengthen material conditions further will be discussed in Chapter 9, where I will explore how far social relations affected the livelihoods and the aspirations of migrant workers as students.

5.3.5 Summary

From the perspective of migrant workers as students, Section 5.3 above discussed some events and themes related to the migrant workers.

Studies show that funding remained an important tangible resource for migrant workers as prospective students. But most of the migrant workers in PRD were not able to access the Yuanmeng plans. One of the reasons was the lack of financing support.

Secondly, general education policy underwent transformations in the top-bottom process of implementation. For instance, recommending students from the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan in the case of a bus company, as discussed above, changed its focus from "needy" workers, as suggested in its general guidelines, to "excellent" workers. This shows that education

participating partners such as enterprises and schools could use their power to their own advantage in distributing educational resources.

Thirdly, I discussed how migrant workers as students in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan looked at the change of educational participating partners, and I observed that migrant workers had clear understanding of the underlying motives of the institutions involved. This propelled government and educational institutions to improve their working plans for the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan.

Finally, I discussed the importance of social connections in helping migrant workers secure educational resources. There existed a vast disparity between those with good social connections and those without them. This showed that it was not enough for government to simply allocate resources to education but there was a need to ensure that the resources would be fairly distributed and utilized.

5.4 Conclusion

In Chapter 5, I examined, by adopting multiple perspectives, various issues concerning the Yuanmeng plans, and attempted to explore what different social actors thought, said and did, including policy makers, education participating partners, enterprises, and migrant workers. I addressed how Yuanmeng plans were proceeding and what multiple power relationships were involved.

Firstly, complex social relationships were involved in the Yuanmeng plans. It seems that the Yuanmeng plans offered development opportunities to different agencies and institutions while revealing changing power relationships such as changing educational partners. The investment from the government empowered a large number of social and educational organizations and networked them. This could be related to Foucault's statement that power operates in the manner of "multiplicities, flows, arrangements, and connections" (Foucault 1994, p. 107), which has been elaborated in Section 3.4.2, Chapter 3.

Secondly, rules as institutionalized discourse clearly influenced people. It seems that migrant workers as learners in my research were not fully aware that some regulations from authorities, such as exclusive recruitment conditions in the Yuanmeng plans, were unfairly

stipulated, but they took them as acceptable and natural, and even felt proud of their admission, as in Ling Ling's case above. Xiao Zhiyuan, my key gatekeeper of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, more than once commented, "students lacked rebellious spirit." This means when being fully immersed in institutionalized discourses and knowledges, people would take them for granted.

Consequently, most of the workers that I met did not have the idea that necessary changes should be made to cope with educational inequalities around students' learning abilities assessment, age and household register. However, different voices were raised by some students, as mentioned in their queries towards the vice president of V College. This meant that discourses and power were not fixed or static but flowing and transforming. Although voices were mainly uttered through virtual spaces rather than face-to-face, they were very likely to have affected the changing of educational policy and practice. To illustrate the power of the students' opinions, I will draw on Kabeer's idea (1994), as mentioned in Chapter 3, suggesting that there could be "a bottom-up back flow of evaluative information into the planning process" (ibid: 302), and expecting those "whose voices have been suppressed for so long" (ibid: 304) to play major roles in policy and practice changing in development programmes. I was able to see that migrant workers as students had not played a major role yet, but the power of their voices, especially through the Internet, was easily accessible to authorities and policy makers, who could not simply ignore such voices but had to make adjustments. Therefore, some migrant workers as students experienced constant changes in their attitudes and subjectivities as they were gaining more awareness of their own value and rights.

Thirdly, the allocation of resources and related activities in the Yuanmeng plans for recruiting students showed multiple and dynamic power relations embedded within. The analysis suggested the power of funding in modern educational projects like the Yuanmeng plans. Even some top universities in China such as P University fully exhibited its interest in acquiring a share of the funding for Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan. On the other hand, the

voices of the students in Yuanmeng plans were easily heard and exerted influence upon policy makers through various channels, especially the “interworld” (Ronald Bogue, 1994: 54), where virtual spaces and actual spaces were naturally interpenetrating and interconnected. This pushed authorities to adjust their policies, as has been demonstrated in the case of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan in Dongguan. Local government chose to invite some outside educational institutions in this project in 2014 after it designated D University as the only education provider in 2012. This can be seen in relation to the idea of Escobar that, when confronted with development interventions, local people will make corresponding changes and adjustments and “alternative strategies” (Escobar 2007: 21), as discussed in Chapter 3. This also shows that D University, as a local educational institution, had close embeddedness in the local social and economic development, as has been explained above with the ideas of Lebeau & Bennion (2014).

Fourthly, there seem to be changes in the relationship between individual development and national needs. In analyzing the relationship between individuals and development projects, Escobar proposes similar argument: “Development was – and continues to be for the most part – a top down, ethnocentric, and technocratic approach, which treated people and cultures as abstract concept, statistical figures to be moved up and down in charts of 'progress' "(Escobar,1995: 44). With the above ideas as lenses, I examined the Yuanmeng plans, and found that these programmes reflected mainly the intentions of the funders and organizers, rather than being based on what students needed or requested.

It is true that individual development was clearly proposed as the so called "passageway" in the Guangdong Yuanmeng policy. This has been supported by the research findings of Zeng et al (2009), based in PRD, as mentioned in Chapter 1. Their research suggests that nearly half of their interviewees (48.72%) chose individual development as the major motive for training and continuing education followed by less than 1/4 (23.86%) going with increased income (Zeng et al 2009). However, individual development seemed to have been swamped in the grand discourses emphasizing social and economic development. What is interesting, major courses in both the Yuanmeng plans were moving towards academic degree. This contradicted the findings of Zeng et al (2009), mentioned in Chapter 1, whose research studies based in PRD show that over 80% of their interviewees of migrant workers would

prefer vocational training while only 16.7% would choose degree courses. This seemed to suggest that the Yuanmeng plans would need to consider how to customize their teachings to specific needs. On the other hand, some rules and practices were not inclusive of certain migrant workers in need of continuing education and training such as Zhang Xiaohu and his teammates with lower literacy skills. This could further make them more marginalized than other migrant workers engaged in educational opportunities such as Yuanmeng plans. As discussed in Chapter 3, Bourdieu and Passeron point out that the educational system can be "legitimating the reproduction of the social hierarchies by transmuting them into academic hierarchies" (1977; 1990: 152-153). Thus education could contribute to further social inequality. This can be related to the international trend noted in Global Monitoring Report of UNESCO (2015), which reveals that "adult education opportunities tend [to] be taken up by adults who have already benefited from formal schooling." (ibid: 128).

In conclusion, Chapter 5 has elaborated on the policy making process of the Yuanmeng educational plans by adopting multiple perspectives in an attempt to address "Who designed the migrant continuing education policies, from whose perspective, and in what way?". Ideology and practice have been changing in educational governance and educational practice. Collective and national interests were emphasized by policy makers and education practitioners. In this sense, the Yuanmeng plans seem to be similar to the practice of the large scale illiteracy elimination education for workers and peasants in China in 1950s, as introduced in Chapter 2, which was "endowed with a politico-symbolic and even spiritual significance" (Peterson, 2001: 221). What is different between them, however, is that personal development and strong commercialism were clearly detected in the educational practice in the Yuanmeng plans, as can be seen in some stages of educational practice, like campaigns for student recruitment and looking for educational partners. In the following empirical chapters, I will analyze educational processes and outcomes of education.

Chapter 6 Educational practice of migrant workers in PRD: the teaching force

To address my second research question "What educational programmes are migrant workers engaged in the Pearl River Delta (PRD)?" I will explore the teaching force involved in the educational programmes for migrant workers in this chapter. To investigate the teaching force, I will take as my research lens Kabeer's (1994) social-relations framework (SRF), as I did in the previous chapter.

6.1 Why study teaching force

After I entered the fieldwork site of V College under the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, one of my first queries was who were teaching, since a great variety of courses were offered ranging from short-term vocational training courses to long-term degree courses, as introduced in Chapter 5. Likewise, I was interested in how the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan implemented its teaching as a provincial-scale campaign, which would need a large number of teachers.

The other internal motive that spurred me to probe who were qualified to teach in these educational projects was that I used to teach in China's universities but now felt puzzled with some new tendencies in running educational institutions, especially when more and more private and commercial educational institutions had sprung up. Walking in the street in H Town centre of Dongguan City, I often saw various kinds of stalls recruiting students for adult and online education, promising such and such certificates to be conferred upon or boasting of wide social networks in running education. Descriptions of their teaching force were set out to be appealing to the audience.

I was especially attracted by a new term for trainers, "peixun jiangshi" (literally training lecturers), appearing in all kinds of media. This teaching post did not exist in formal educational institutions, as the trainers usually referred to those who taught in commercial

institutions, and they were able to make a lot more money than ordinary teachers in state-run schools and universities. Thus their teaching contents and methods were vastly different from traditional teaching methods, as will be further discussed in a QQ chat analysis later in this chapter.

This realization made me feel anxious about myself, who had been most of my life time a professional teacher, and drove me to explore who were teaching in the Yuanmeng plans. Thus I focus on the following significant aspects about the teaching force in the Yuanmeng plans. The selection and employment of teachers, as the category of "people," one of the five dimensions in SRF, can be seen as the "institutions patterns of inclusion, exclusion, placement and progress," as mentioned in Chapter 3 (Kabeer, 1994: 282). It shows the social patterns and relations embedded within.

6.2 Compromise between "our staff" and outside teachers

As mentioned before, V College under the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan provided a variety of levels of courses, ranging from short-term vocational training and public lectures to long-term degree courses, whose degrees were awarded by relevant supervising institutions outside Guangdong Province, as V College had established partnerships with many degree awarding universities. Along with the comprehensive courses it offered, V College employed teaching staff from diverse sources.

The exact number of universities involved in recruiting students was slightly different from year to year. In 2014 spring term, for instance, there were five partnership educational institutions from different provinces while there were four institutions engaged in 2013 spring term. On the one hand, V College needed to take into consideration that it had partnership institutions, which would send teachers for quality assurance; on the other hand, the provided courses were of such different levels that V College, as an independent educational institution, needed to consider how to guarantee its teaching staff would be qualified and responsible.

The teachers responsible for such courses as short-term vocational training and degree awarding courses were mainly "our own staff" in the words of Wang Shaogang, vice

president of this college, as will be further illustrated in the following part. Those from outside the college mainly delivered public lectures to audience from society and enterprises, although some of them taught short-term vocational training courses. However, as the academic education and degree courses were supervised by corresponding institutions outside Guangdong, there were also online teachers, offering course design, online teaching and supervision over the whole course.

In explaining how "our own staff" and the external teaching force were combined, Wang Shaogang introduced:

> *"Wang Shaogang: We offer a diversity of short term vocational training. We also give 400 lectures to the enterprises and factories annually. That means, every day we are giving more than a lecture somewhere in Shenzhen City, at enterprises or some other communities.*
>
> *Me: How could you connect with that many enterprises?*
>
> *Wang Shaogang: We contact them or they contact us for arranging lectures. The lecturers could be our own staff members or some well- known scholars. This maximizes the utilization of educational resources.* ..... (Interview notes with Wang Shaogang, 21/10/2012)"

By "maximizing the utilization of educational resources," as suggested by Wang Shaogang, V College established a wide network of teachers. For instance, I happened to encounter Li Ning in my first period of fieldwork in V College, who was teaching "Property Management" to a short-term vocational training course. Li Ning was actually holding a permanent teaching position in some other college, which he was reluctant to speak about when I asked him. He seemed to be offering this course to learners in some other teaching sites scattered over Shenzhen City, and had been teaching this course in V College for a few years successively, which was indicated from college documents and brochures.

The extensive teaching network enabled V College to be socially influential and win public reputation. Thereby, this college was activated and was able to act as a social platform where exchange of knowledge and information was conducted.

The way that V College coordinated the relationship between "our own staff" and external teaching staff shows their cooperative relationship. This was mainly reflected in its academic degree programmes. I had thought there existed a complex relationship between teachers from different institutions, or there would be a lot of intervention with V College from its degree awarding institutions. However, as I was invited to teach for a term, I realized that local teachers had sufficient authority to conduct the whole teaching process including teaching and assessment. It is true that teaching contents were prescribed by supervising institutions; however, as assessment was conducted by V College, supervised and censured by its supervising bodies, the local teaching force had enough power to administer students' affairs of teaching.

V College insisted on using its own instructors as its main teaching force in its degree courses, even though it had to be monitored by degree awarding institutions. This could be shown in my interview with vice president of this college, Wang Shaogang, when I asked how they solved the issues of teaching force:

> "*.....All the teaching staff are from our own college. That is our condition for the degree programmes. Otherwise, we would not collaborate with them. This ensures the sense of responsibility of the teaching staff. We believe education is to cultivate talents. The outsiders teaching temporarily cannot ensure the teaching quality as they cannot stay here always.* (Interview notes with Wang Shaogang, 21/10/2012)

Wang Shaogang spoke very quickly and would have been uninterrupted if I had not stopped him for further questions, as he could have jumped to another idea continuously. Wang's use of "condition," "collaborate," "our," and "outsiders" indicates that there had been a negotiation and power struggle between V College and partnership universities in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan. The use of the local teaching force seemed to be the result of a compromise between V College and its supervising universities, otherwise their students would receive only online instructions provided by degree courses providing universities. In

this case, the value of this college could not have been fully demonstrated. In this negotiation process, the supervising institutions acceded to V College' educational plans, as V College was their provider of the considerable and steady resources of students and funding. They thus established firm educational partnerships.

By emphasizing the appointment of its own teachers in the degree courses for pedagogical practice as well as assessment, V College asserted the value of its existence and highlighted its vital roles in the collaborative educational projects. Meanwhile, its students received online teaching instructions from their respective degree awarding universities and submitted online coursework. V College taught its students and guided them until graduation. They were, however, not labeled with V College, but with other institutions. Therefore, it seemed that they acted like processing plants: they made products, only to be labelled with the brands of other enterprises. Their students liked this result. For instance, the students I taught from the Economic Management Class and the Machinery Engineering Class preferred to refer to themselves as the students of B University, which would confer certificates on them.

The cooperation between V College's own instructors and those from its partnership universities shows that there existed a compromise between different educational institutions in selecting teachers in order to survive in the educational market. V College, as a lower rank educational college, in the educational co-project, successfully included its own teaching force while excluding to a certain measure the direct interventions from its supervising institutions. As a result, it restricted the external intervention with its teaching to a number of online pedagogical activities, which its students were supposed to attend. This demonstrates that V College won over some power from its supervising bodies, which, in turn, won economic and social benefits, thus completing power distribution.

6.3 Ideological control over the teaching force in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan

Different from the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan assumed more complex configurations in its teaching force. As a provincial level higher education

programme for adult academic education contracted by different educational institutions, its teaching force varied from one place to another. I will focus on the teaching practice in Dongguan city, which is reflected in Dongguan City 2012 Working Proposal for the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan. According to this plan, D University was designated as the only contractor of the Guangdong Yuanmeng education for Dongguan City.

As this programme was funded by a few departments of Guangdong Provincial Government and headed by Guangdong Communist Youth League, its teaching force was consolidated mainly in the aspects of ideology and spiritual cultivation. This is shown in the following specifications of this programme designed and practised in D University:

> *Dongguan Municipal Office of the Yuanmeng Plan appoints a mentor for human life for each class. This post is taken by an elite representative selected from all walks of social life, and is intended to guide students to determine their ideals and beliefs, formulate correct attitudes towards life and sense of values, and encourage them to aspire higher. At the same time, D University appoints one mentor for each class, five tutors for academic learning and thirty learning assistants. The tutors for academic learning should be excellent teachers with strong sense of responsibility and good expertise. They are to help learners set up learning plans, and cultivate good learning habits and scientific spirit. The learning assistants will be selected from distinguished undergraduates, post graduates who are either in the middle of their courses or have graduated. They are, as assistants of academic tutors, to help learners with their academic courses. Besides, Dongguan Municipal Communist League Committee appoints four to five assistants for the class mentor [designated by D University]. These assistants will be selected from the cadres of the Communist Youth League stationed in townships. They will help Dongguan Municipal Office of the Yuanmeng Plan and class mentors with routine administration affairs, organize regular class activities, discover and cultivate model students, and guide them to become the backbones of the Party and Youth League."* (Dongguan Municipal Government, 2012)

The above extract shows that educational human resources such as “mentors” and “tutors” ranging from municipal and township departments to university organization were allocated

to deepen the character cultivation of students by imparting the knowledge of the Communist Party and Communist Youth League and consolidate the ideological leadership. As the major leader of this programme, the Communist Youth League raised funding and coordinated different social resources, and stressed the necessity of teaching relevant knowledge to the students,

Comparatively, V College had in their courses' framework moral cultivation and character development, which included subjects on Marxism and communism, required subjects in all government-run Chinese universities, as was mentioned in Chapter 5. Government-administered departments, different from commercial and private institutions or enterprises, were in the framework of what was so called *tizhi* or System, a vogue word. As Xiao Zhiyuan, my gatekeeper, said to me more than once, "We are doing what we can within the scope of *tizhi*."

Both being the Yuanmeng plans sponsored by the government or by the System, emphasis on teaching socialism and Marxism appeared to be a natural result. However, this aspect of teaching in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan in Dongguan was particularly stressed, as stated above, as it assigned plenty of teaching force to this aspect. D University also summoned up its own university human resources, including some full time students. All involved planned to work together in order to help the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan students “to become the backbones of the Party and Youth League,” as shown in the above selection.

Dongguan City’s prioritization of ideological education in 2013 might be related to the fact that the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan was a new and special task for them; meanwhile, the implementation of this plan was delayed until April 2013 while it should have been conducted in the latter half of 2012, as mentioned in Chapter 4. Dongguan Government, therefore, wanted to make this project a different one, and stressed all the more the status of ideology and political training in its curriculum, thus allocating to this programme teaching force from different governmental levels.

The selection of teaching force to consolidate education on ideology in both the Yuanmeng plans resulted from the “System.” In this System, government funding was secured yet more restrictions on “who to teach what” were imposed. There appeared to exist a certain degree of ideological control on the teaching force. Some people such as Zhao Xiaoming, as will be mentioned below, who used to be in the “System,” chose to find “a line of flight” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988: 9) and be freed from this field, and entered a commercial institution.

6.4 When “working hard" as a job principle did not work well

In V College, many teachers assumed more than one role and their working schedules were made in the way that there seemed to be no clear boundary between weekdays and weekends. Take for an example my gatekeeper, Xiao Zhiyuan. He was the director of the Department of Adult Education, in charge of the general administration affairs concerning part-time education while acting as the instructor of "Rudiments of Management Science" in the 2013 Spring term. Even Wang Shaogang, vice president of this college, offered two subjects at the same time: Principles of Economics and Studies of Organizational Behaviour.

All this work only referred to what they did over the weekends. So I was wondering how they distributed their time over the whole seven days. Later I realized that the major staff force was actually devoted to vocational education of full-time teenage students. This body of students were the focus of this college. When needed for the weekend adult courses, some staff members would be assigned to support weekend teaching and administration.

Although only two days were arranged each week for adult education, this part of the work was extremely important in a sense. The registered part time students outnumbered the full time ones, and financially speaking, the education in this area brought more benefits to this college than the full time education. This meant that this college would mobilize all its staff to complete this cause in terms of students’ recruitment, teaching and coordination with outside educational institutions and enterprises. Then it is no wonder many of the staff members shouldered multiple roles, and their identities could be indefinite and fluid. This is especially true of the staff in the Department of Adult Education. They still worked into the middle of July 2013 when most staff members in other departments had already begun their summer vacation.

It seemed that Wang Shaogang as well as the college authorities advocated that the staff should have sense of self-sacrifice for the collective benefit of the whole college, as shown in the following remark of Wang Shaogang when introducing staff composition:

> *"Our staff work intensively and carefully. We have strong sense of teamwork spirit." I interrupted, and asked "what if they have to work over the weekend? I mean they could sometimes work over the weekend. But what if they work habitually over the weekend? Will they complain?" Wang Shaogang replied, "I often say to my colleagues, 'you would not lose a lot even if you work here, as you may waste a few hours at home doing nothing.' Sometimes they can make extra cash for their work. However, it is nothing to be worthy of being mentioned. You see 50 yuan for one exam invigilation. That is nothing.....* (Interview notes with Wang Shaogang, 21/10/2012)"

Wang Shaogang obviously made this point about their staff's general attitude towards work representing the college authorities. He used the word "nothing" three times in this brief extract, which showed his confidence in his own judgement. He seemed to take it for granted that the staff should not complain even if they were asked to work over the weekend in order to take forward the college enterprise in the name of "teamwork spirit." Apparently, Wang Shaogang's *'you would not lose a lot, even if you work here as you may waste a few hours at home doing nothing'* was from his own perspective rather than from that of the staff member involved, who could have thought about doing something more personal.

I did not have any intention to gather complaints from the staff, as this would exert potential harm to their relationship. However, Zhao Xiaoming's case serves to prove something. Zhao Xiaoming transferred to another institution around the end of 2013, six months after I completed my fieldwork. I was not able to conduct a further interview about what Zhao Xiaoming thought of the college administration. However, Zhao Xiaoming's QQ virtual chat on "training lecturers" appears to show why he had decided to leave V College, as illustrated below:

"*Zhao Xiaoming: Yesterday, I talked with a training lecturer (peixun jiangshi), who makes as much as a few hundred thousand Yuan a month. He talked about some profound ideas. Now I would like to share with you what I just learned from him.*

...(some signs of virtual hands clapping to show encouragement. Then Zhao Xiaoming goes on)

Zhao Xiaoming: A case study here. When someone says that you are stubborn, what would you think and do? Please answer.

..... (Then different answers and discussions follow.)---------- QQ chat record with Zhao Xiaoming as the chatroom founder and administrator. 27/02/2014)

Before I analyze Zhao Xiaoming's speech, I need to explain his changes in identity. As stated in Chapter 5, Zhao Xiaoming used to be the mentor of the Class of Economic Management in V College. But he had transferred to a new educational institution in Shenzhen when he made this remark above on sharing educational training information in an online chatroom, which I asked to be allowed in. I had asked him where he was now but he did not reply clearly. I just knew he was working in a new training institution. I could not be sure if he was advertising for his new training programmes in the above online speech, but there was a great degree of certainty that he was acting as a training lecturer or at least, he was planning to be one.

The shocking figure of "a few hundred thousand Yuan a month" mentioned above was a far-fetched figure for an ordinary educational worker engaged in the formal educational system, such as V College. But not every teacher could be a training lecturer, who seemed to be someone who was able to appeal to their audience in a commercial sense and teach them how to make a successful person in competitive society, especially in terms of accumulating wealth, learning knowledge rapidly and acquiring expertise in a specific profession. This seemed to suggest that training lecturers were away from the formal educational system.

It seemed that there existed tension in working attitudes between college authorities and the staff in V College. To explain this tension, I will draw on Foucault's notion of power with two opposing tendencies, as mentioned in Chapter 3. Foucault proposes two opposing tendencies of power: inertia and dynamism. The former refers to the normalizing and

suppressing side of power (Gordon 1994, p. xvi). The latter refers to its liberating and productive side (Sarup 1993, p.73). College authorities tended to take “teamwork spirit” for granted, so everybody should be reconciled to it. So they attempted to normalize their staff. However, some staff showed the dynamism of their own power. They were not involved in a face-to-face combat but utilized their capacity to escape and entered into a new field. So staff members such as Zhao Xiaoming transferred to new places as a way to escape from being controlled. Actually, Xiao Zhiyuan, my gatekeeper, also transferred to a governmental sector from V College one year later after I left my fieldwork in July 2013. This suggested that sacrificing one’s personal benefits for the general welfare of the whole unit was problematic, as it was not taken as legitimate by all the individuals. This also indicated that changes in the subjectivities of the staff had happened as a result of the combined forces such as institutional discourses and social actors, which will be further discussed in Chapter 9.

At this stage of China's social development, when people had more mobility in the age of liberal marketing, such as Zhao Xiaoming, and Xiao Zhiyuan, who were dreaming of making big money or developing fully one’s personal career, it was not easy to make them work by simply advocating "teamwork spirit." They could find "a line of flight" to make “rupture” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988: 9), to transgress the traditional boundary of the educational system exerted by the State, and enter a new field, where the power of the State system might be lessened.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter investigated who taught in the Yuanmeng plans, especially in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan. It explored how far the teaching force for the Yuanmeng plans was socially constituted and ideologically shaped.

My analysis of the teaching force in V College suggested that there existed a complex configuration in its teaching force. The major feature was the close interconnection with external society while excluding excessive intervention from other partnership institutions.

This helped maintain the independence of its own staff, and ensured its own value while retaining its vigor, thus gaining sense of identity and material benefits.

While both the Yuanmeng plans highly aligned in ideology with the Communist Party of China by offering courses such as Marxism, socialism and Deng Xiaoping theories, the practice in D University under the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan attempted to place extra emphasis on the Party and Youth League knowledge by appointing human resources in this project.

The attitudes of the leadership and its staff in V College towards the discourse of collective "teamwork spirit" pointed to the fact that the young generation of the staff would not be bound by this ideology. To realize their own ideals and aspiration, such as Zhao Xiaoming's "a few hundred thousand Yuan a month," as mentioned above, they chose to take a different path, propelled by their own will and assisted with external social resources. This way, they escaped from the traditional boundary of the "System."

The study of the teaching force in the Yuanmeng plans has shown that adult education projects involved multiple and various human resources. Authorities attempted to align them to dominating social and educational ideology such as collective welfare and selfless devotion. However, ordinary teaching staff began to change their mindset with the influence of liberal marketing and commercialism. Thus a dynamic relation between educational and governmental authorities and the teaching force seemed to be shaped.

Chapter 7 Educational practice of migrant workers in PRD: pedagogical practice

To address my second research question "In what educational programmes are migrant workers engaged in the Pearl River Delta (PRD)?" I analyzed the teaching force in these educational projects in my last chapter. This chapter continues addressing this research question, but will examine how the teaching and administration of various courses were conducted in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan and the embedded implications. Also, I will elicit data from the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan to make a comparative analysis.

I will adopt the concept of "hidden curriculum" as a lens, as discussed in Chapter 3, to explore the tension between the "didactic curriculum" as "an explicit, conscious, formally planned course" and "an unwritten curriculum" "described by informality and lack of conscious planning" (Kentli, 2009). In other words, I wish to examine the hidden ideology embedded between these educational plans and their actual practice, and explore how far the reproduction of educational ideology was related to the development of social norms and values. To reach this aim, I will focus on "an evaluation of the environment and the unexpected, unintentional interactions between teachers and students"(Kentli, 2009), especially the aspects of "hegemony" and "resistances" embedded in the practice of the hidden curriculum (ibid).

7.1 Introduction: from teaching rules to pedagogical practice

I started teaching English to degree courses sponsored by the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan in V College in March 2013, as mentioned in Chapter 4, until the end of July 2013. Xiao Zhiyuan, my gatekeeper, asked me to review the handbook for teaching staff, which introduced the background to the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan and general requirements and guidance for students and staff for this educational programme. I had acquired a copy of this book after I entered the fieldwork site in October 2012, as a research data source then. Now it served as a guide for teaching.

To guarantee my teaching, major administrators in charge of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan organized a meeting with me, introducing how I should teach and assess students. Those present were Xiao Zhiyuan, my gatekeeper, Chen Yi, director of the general affairs of adult education in V College, Zhou Li, coordinator of online and distant learning, and Zhao Xiaoming, class tutor of the Economic Management Class, as mentioned in Chapter 6. Every one of them was intent on imparting to me the major points that I should address, especially the importance of interactive teaching, assessment methods and strict attendance registration.

The meeting was quite informative yet a bit fragmented for me. Sometimes, there appeared to be disagreements between them, as there were some new rules made, with which not everybody was familiar. Soon afterwards, I received a written notice from Chen Yi on "Supplementary rules for teaching administration of the Yuanmeng Plan academic degree courses." This notice, in comparison with the teaching handbook from Xiao Zhiyuan, was more practically orientated, as it focused on specific points. These rules mapped out the whole teaching process: students' assignments, students' drafting test papers, attendance registration, marking methods, teaching methods, and teaching assessment.

These "supplementary" rules lend support to understanding what key points were emphasized in the educational administration, teaching and assessment. "Supplementary" itself indicates that rules were added on the basis of the formal Yuanmeng handbook. As will be played out, the teaching documents and the pedagogical practices constituted significant tension, that is, a gap between policy and its implementation. In the rest of this chapter, I will explore the implications of this tension.

7.2 Distance learning and teaching

Distance learning was the major and sprawling form of adult education in PRD. Every so often, I would be greeted by recruiters for adult education agencies or institutions in the streets. If I appeared to be curious, I would encounter their eager persuasion to join their programmes. Quite a percentage of them employed distance education.

In some educational institutions or agencies, all the teaching procedures could be conducted online. This can be supported by Lao Nong's case. As cited in Chapter 5, Lao Nong was one of the distance learning students funded by the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan. As he was registered with H University in Wuhan City, Hubei Province, all the teaching and learning was implemented online except formal examinations when face-to-face examination invigilating and supervision from relevant authorities and administrations were given. He told me even an adventurous story via a QQ interview about his online viva for his graduation and degree:

> *Me: How did you do your viva?*
>
> *Lao Nong: through Internet interview*
>
> *Me: It seems that everything is being internetized now.*
>
> *Lao Nong: Yea, our education programme is also high-tech supported. That is to say, we used web viva on the platform of internet. Actually, I was lucky as I almost failed to be allowed to participate in this viva. I missed the deadline for getting registered for this year and had to wait for next year. But I adopted "viva of violence".*
>
> *Me: What do you mean?*
>
> *Lao Nong: I was present at the viva meeting where judges and students were interviewing. At the end of the session, the judges asked if there were any questions. I used the opportunity to report my problem, and entreated them to give me a chance. So I got it. That was just incredible. So I passed viva and is going to receive my bachelor degree soon. .....* (QQ interview with Lao Nong 16/06/2013)

Lao Nong's story showed that the Internet in adult education of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan was an important procedure in adult academic education. It was not only a channel through which instructors delivered lectures and students listened to them, but also a platform where interactions involving students, instructors and administrators took place. So Lao Nong, by his initiative spirit, managed to reverse the situation in which he almost failed to participate in his viva. This illustrates that online practice was genuinely a part of adult academic education in PRD.

However, educational agencies and institutions mainly engaged in online education usually included some amount of face-to-face teaching. This helped establish a social and educational network, which acted as a platform integrating virtual with actual spaces. Interviewing an administrator on a teaching site in Dongguan under the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, I noticed that this teaching site provided only a very limited number of subjects on ideology and character training while all the other specialty subjects were conducted online. However, as mentioned in Chapter 4, in April 2013, the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan designated D University as its only contractor in Dongguan City, which offered face-to-face teaching for this programme.

In the case of V College under the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, although it insisted on providing face-to-face pedagogical practice to its students, it left online teaching to its partnership and supervising institutions such as B University in Beijing. This rendered its students more learning opportunities. However, online practice had become an indispensable channel for information sharing, not only reflected in its teaching but also in its administration process.

I will cite, as has been mentioned above, a typical day, to illustrate the tension between online and face-to-face teaching.

> *The first two sessions were given to the Class of Economic Management. Zhou Li, in charge of the general affairs of distance learning, introduced me warmly to the students and said they should treasure this chance to learn from me. There are over 140 students in this class, scattered over four teaching sites. Through a screen, I saw students on the other three sites. These three sites were actually located in large scale enterprises. As quite a percentage of the students in this class from these enterprises, they cooperated with V College in establishing teaching sites for the convenience of the students. There were around 80 students on the major site, where I was lecturing, while students on the other three sites attended the sessions through telecommunication. I felt rather nervous at the beginning, for I did feel a loss at how*

> *to interact with the other three sites. I became completely confused when reaching the stage of roll calling, as it was time consuming for 140 students over four sites* (Fieldwork notes 03/03/2013)

While V College stressed the importance of face-to-face educational practice for the online teaching programmes supervised by its partnership educational institutions, it again turned to telecommunication technology for its pedagogical practice. The teaching of English to the Economic Management Class, on its campus, as described above, was televised live and transmitted to another three teaching sites in the same city. Thus, there appeared an integration of distance and face-to-face education, or blended learning, as a dominating practice in the degree programmes in this college.

That afternoon on the same day as I have described above, I delivered another few sessions to the Class of Machinery Manufacturing. Then I came to understand further the complicated relationship between V College and its supervising institutions. Ninety per cent of the students in this class were male.

> *They were very talkative, unlike those in the morning who were just listening. In the break of the afternoon sessions, Huang Yan, the class tutor, came in and called up a class meeting. She told me that they would like to have a class meeting during the break. Huang Yan introduced to her students the platform of Open, which was the only official website for students to log in for distance learning. "It is a supermarket like Tesco. Many businesses there. The centre of our college is just one of their clients. We are controlled by them or working together with them."* (03/03/2013 fieldwork notes)

Huang Yan's vivid explanation to her students employing words, such as "Tesco" and "client" exposes a commercial attribute in its educational programme, which involved several parties, co-linked by virtual and actual spaces and with a common aim to make profits.

All the events and scenarios, pasted together, present a picture where there were interwoven and interconnected virtual spaces and physical spaces via both traditional and advanced technology. However, what I knew about the students was still fragmented, as the class on the

first day was most of the time quiet, monotonous and eventless. By the end of the day, a student from the Machinery Engineering Class from Anhui Province, east China, who seemed to be concerned about my mission as a researcher, told me to join their online chatroom, “You will know everything about us from there, if you want to study us" (03/03/2013 fieldwork notes).

Surprisingly and interestingly, after the first day sessions, in the class virtual chatrooms, in which students and relevant staff members joined, including the vice president of V College, Wang Shaogang, chatroom members were engaged in heated discussions. Some even used English especially for the first few days after this semester started, practising English while sharing information. This was most likely inspired by their first day English sessions and also with me being present. Some students did not like it, saying that they should use Chinese as most were not good at English. It seemed that, therefore, Internet resources played multiple roles. They provided an important platform where curriculum design was implemented, and acted as a social network, where students shared information and consolidated friendship that had started in the day time. Also, they acted as an important channel through which to receive the notices of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan from the educational administration and instructors.

Apparently, Internet technology brought great benefits and conveniences to students and educators in the educational practice of both the Yuanmeng plans. As a consequence, online education became a dominant form in these programmes. However, there existed a resistance against this trend, as shown in the case of V College. As stated in Chapter 6, V College stressed utilizing its own teaching force in its degree programmes, which were monitored by its supervising partnership institutions. Likewise, to assert its relative autonomy, V College conducted face-to-face pedagogical practice among its students. Paradoxically, V College applied online teaching to other sites, which enabled V College to utilize fully the resources of its teaching and facilities to more students. This seemed to be somewhat away from the prominent feature of its original curriculum idea stressing the value of face-to-face teaching.

The configuration of V College engaged in both face-to-face and distance teaching, described above, embodied a Deleuzian ontological world, as defined by DeLanda, where "actual individual entities" and "virtual multiplicities" (2006) were integrated. In the whole web where virtual and actual spaces were interconnected and interpenetrating, V College adopted this flexible means by which to show the value of its existence, assert its identity and maintain its prosperity on the competitive educational market, thus displaying its power as an educational institution. This will be further illustrated in the following section on how attendance registration was conducted and why I was "nervous" when calling the roll, as mentioned on my first day teaching.

7.3 When strict attendance registration in V College was not always observed

As discussed just above, there was a strict requirement for attendance registration and roll call in V College. This seemed to be an inevitable procedure for face-to-face education administration. I often observed there would be a name list circulating in classrooms for signing or there would be a roll call. As it was such a routine scenario, I will analyze how attendance register was stipulated in the curriculum plan and how it was actually implemented.

Attendance registration was prescribed in "Yuanmeng Plan academic education manual":

> *Instructors should be responsible for students' attendance registration and require students to sign on registration sheets. Student cannot ask others to sign for them or put late entry. ……As for the students on distance learning, instructors need to call the roll at irregular intervals and ensure attendance registration* (Yuanmeng Plan academic education manual, 2012).

On this basis, "Supplementary rules for teaching administration of the Yuanmeng Plan academic degree courses," (Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan documents, 2013) as mentioned in Section 7.1 above, put forward a concrete rule, "*The attendance rate will be taken as a part accounting for 30% of the total mark."* This measure directly linked students' attendance rates with their final scoring.

Concrete requirement for students' attendance registration was directly related to the strict administration for adult education in V College. This can be clearly seen from vice president, Wang Shaogang's article, published on their official website, and it shows why this college would place strict rules on students' administration:

> *It is an effective measure to implement strict teaching administration and stress exam disciplines. This will pass on negative messages to those poor quality applicants. .....the Yuanmeng Plan, unlike some other educational institutions, is strict with teaching administration. Its essence is to take responsibility for students and Trade Union. From the very day when the students get admitted, normative education and disciplines are exerted so that the students will have their behaviour normalized in an attempt to attain the goal of Trade Union: developing migrant workers into "new workers and new citizens of Shenzhen" and helping the hard working people realize their Chinese dreams.* (*Wang Shaogang's speech, accessed* 09/12/2012*)*

Wang Shaogang linked the strict rules and severe administration for the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan with the goal set by the Shenzhen Trade Union, the sponsor of this programme. He particularly pointed out "some other educational institutions" as a contrast to V College. This alluded to other rapidly developing adult education programmes and institutions in PRD. To say no to the "poor quality applicants" for the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, Wang used a line of discourse: strict, discipline, responsibility, normative, develop, etc, as a line of measures to achieve the goals represented by a line of discourse such as Chinese dreams, new workers and new citizens. This reflected his strict guidelines in running the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan by arousing students' sense of aspiration, integrating patriotism and individual goals. It followed that rigid attendance registration was introduced as a most effective means by which to monitor teaching and students' affairs.

The idea of being strict with students' administration was deeply rooted in the staff's mind. In the group meeting with the key figures in V College, as mentioned above, the importance of

observing rigidly attendance registration and roll call was reiterated, as Chen Yi, in charge of general affairs in adult education in V College, warned me, "It would be least desirable if one teacher is strict with attendance registration while another one is not, if they teach the same class."

However, while addressing attendance registration on my first teaching day, I encountered embarrassing moments:

> *At the end of the two sessions to the Class of Economic Management, when I was ready to call the roll, I found that things were not that easy. There were over 140 students over four sites. The students in the major teaching site signed their names, as a rule. But as for the other three teaching sites, I would need to call the roll one by one. The names on the sheet did not show which site the students were on. I asked Zhao Xiaoming, who had already come in when I announced a break, to help me. He said, "You just do it. That is all right. Try more. As you will do it next time as well." I felt a bit awkward when hearing that. To call the roll was truly time consuming, but I had to; but students having done their roll call started to stand up and move about while some others were waiting to be called. (03/03/2013 Fieldwork reflective notes)*

After this experience, I came to learn how to call the roll, and when: never do this at the end of my sessions but do it at the beginning or in the middle of them. Otherwise, there would be a rush to do it. As I gained more experiences in this college as a temporary teacher, something unexpected gradually grabbed my attention when I was conducting attendance registration. When I shouted the names of some students, I was told that they would not have to come. As they were self-funded students rather than sponsored by the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, they were allowed to be absent and teach themselves on condition that they signed an agreement with the college, promising they would conduct learning online but take the same tests as other students. But in case one did not sign the agreement, they had to ensure regular attendance. This was clarified by my online interview with the class monitor, Hua Rong, as shown below:

Hua Rong: Some students have signed an agreement with the college saying they would teach themselves rather than attend classes. They are self-funded students, so they are allowed to be absent from class.

Me: Then many students could choose to teach themselves via online teaching rather than attend weekend classes. This means they would be out of the control of college disciplines.

Hua Rong: Yes, as some students were not happy with the decision that class attendance be required.

……..

Hua Rong: It would be hard to comment on this. We have different purposes here. Some people do want to learn something while some others simply want a certificate. So there are no strict requirements for self-funded students, but the Yuanmeng funded students are required to register their attendances and accumulate phased assessment over the whole study period. ... (QQ interview with Hua Rong 05/05/2013)

The realization that there existed different rules for students' attendance was further deepened when I attempted to confirm it with Chen Yi, in charge of the general affairs of adult education in V College. As I was attending to strict attendance registration, I asked her if she should pass on to me the information of those who were allowed to be absent from class. Chen Yi was apparently not interested in my request, saying that it would be all right if I did not have this name list and I just did my work well. This meant that I should be very careful with the attendance registration, as it would be a failure of duty if someone absent was documented as present or vice versa. This involved a lot of work and energy, especially in the case of the Class of Economic Management with over 140 students.

As I mentioned above, "some students were not happy" with the class attendance. They took alternative paths to deal with this rule. More than once, quite a few students on the major teaching site had left earlier before they were dismissed, as roll call had been done. The other

teaching sites were even harder to control. Although required to stay on the web camera all throughout the sessions, they were not easy to supervise. Sometimes, I would call the roll more than once to guarantee students' presence, as I found quite a percentage of the students were absent. Absenteeism became a serious problem, which proved why V College emphasized the importance of strict college rules and attendance registration. This phenomenon will be picked up again later in this chapter on students' extracurricular activities.

Therefore, V College utilized rigid attendance registration as the most immediate way to exert discipline over its students. This could be an effective measure for teaching and learning administration in the age of overwhelming online education. However, there existed two tendencies of "hegemony" and "resistances" (Kentli: 2009): the college administration and its students. It was inconsistent that the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan funded students would have to attend but self-funded ones would not. This implied that one had to obey college disciplines if they received the financial support while they would not have to if not receiving it. The key to this compromise rested with the difference whether funding supply was given or not, that is to say, commercial priorities.

The inconsistent administration attendance control measure indicated that in V College, which was dominated by the discourse of socialism such as "new workers," "new citizens" and "Chinese dreams," as stated in Wang Shaogang's article, the power of traditional socialist ideology rivalled that of liberal marketing. In the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, high profile discourses were used to inspire migrant workers as students to be committed to their learning and observe college rules; meanwhile, funding as a way of material incentive was also adopted to bind them. Apparently, the latter was playing a more decisive role.

7.4 "Interactive" teaching: its practice and dilemma

In V College, students' participation was stressed as an important part of curricular implementation process. Various measures were taken to put this idea to practice. This was reflected in such aspects as educational policies, teaching process and teaching strategies.

As mentioned above, in "Supplementary rules for teaching administration of the Yuanmeng Plan academic degree courses," several measures were blueprinted to encourage students' involvement in teaching and learning. The most direct one was the use of "*teaching method of exploration, and increase students and teachers' interaction, and teachers are also encouraged to go down to the sub-branch teaching sites to provide guidance for students' queries"*.

The idea of "students and teachers interaction" was actually put forward on many occasions. Interaction as a pedagogical method appeared to have been entrenched in both the teachers and the learners. The impact of interactive education as a discourse on educators was reflected in the inconsistency between the curriculum requirement and their actual teaching in V College. More than once, I noted that teachers mentioned "interaction" about their pedagogical practice. The following episodes concerned three teachers: Li Ning, Liang Meijing and Wang Shaogang from different subjects, and aim to illustrate how much the idea of interactive teaching affected their mindset.

Li Ning, as mentioned in Section 6.1 of Chapter 6 on the teaching force, had been acting as an instructor of property management in V College for over three years. This course was allocated over ten days across a period of two months. Those who passed qualifying tests would be certified with the qualifications for conservators of property management. I had observed Li Ning's class for three whole days, which usually lasted from 9:30 am until 5 pm on Sundays. On the first day when I observed his class activities, he did not expect me to be there until the afternoon, as I noticed his surprised look, when he realized I was still in the classroom after lunch break. He explained by the end of my first observation:

> *"You see the course material is very professional and can be boring. So I tried to remember the name of each student and encouraged them to be engaged in class discussion, thus strengthening class interaction."* (Interview notes with Li Ning 25/11/2012)

Li Ning apparently knew almost everyone by their names. I noticed Liang Dazhi, an aspiring student, then working with a property management company, always sat in the first row, responding and questioning. Sometimes, Li Ning made a harmless joke on him, as he was an agreeable man and never got offended. Li Ning's emphasis on "class interaction" indicated when he spoke to me that, as a researcher, I should be most concerned about his teaching method, and also was intended to show, as a teacher, he had attempted to observe the teaching focus of V College.

Likewise, Liang Meijing showed her anxiety with the idea of "interaction." Liang Meijing, around 30 years old, was a teacher of English for a class majoring in electronic engineering supervised by T University in Tianjin City. I observed twice Liang Meijing's English teaching. The following was focused on the second observation. It was 1 pm. After the whole morning sessions, students looked tired. I perceived that she was balancing the relationship between teaching, student current levels in English, and the management from the supervisory university and the higher educational authorities.

> ……. *The whole class is examination-centred. Most of the time, she explained multiple choices practice, and announced answers like "A, boy, C and dog." I soon realized that "boy" stands for "B" and "dog" for "D". Obviously, students and the teacher had reached mutual understanding and much cooperation in tests practice and analysis. Today there are about 75 students. English is to be tested and English a condition for their graduation. The students and the teacher negotiated over teaching material and exam content, as they will have an exam of English administered by T University, their supervisory institution in Tianjin City. Liang Meijing seemed to be confident about what to be tested, as she ensured her students that most of them would get marks over 75 if they worked hard enough so that they could have the chance to sit English degree exam given by the provincial level authority.* (Fieldwork notes, 16/12/2012)

Liang Meijing's class apparently adopted exam and text focused approach. English would be tested if one wanted to apply for bachelor's degree, but the qualifying test would be given by a provincial level general test committee. So, the teaching of English was targeted at two

goals. The first goal was a primary one, for graduation, and the second one, which was harder, was only for those intending to apply for a bachelor's degree. This meant that both the teacher of English and her students had the same goal to work towards. Thus anxiety was reflected in their educational practice. The teaching contents in this class were more controlled by test practice and analysis.

In course of teaching, I was able to perceive the internal anxiety in Liang Meijing's speech. One of her catchphrases was "Do you understand what I mean?" This seemed to convey her sense of inward uncertainty about her teaching efficiency. Also, she said a couple of times, "Ren doushi zheyang, bubibixing (人都是这样，不逼不行) (Everybody is like this. We cannot achieve anything if we are not forced to work hard). By this, Liang Meijing encouraged her students to work hard under pressure.

In addition, although Liang Meijing could be the age of her students or even younger than many of them, she acted and showed her loving care to them and persuaded them as if they were much younger pupils. She warned, "No cheating in exams. You will be failed automatically." This seems to suggest that teachers like Liang Meijing had an internal ideology that students needed to be passively taught and strictly controlled in order to achieve academic success. Thus, Liang Meijing lectured throughout while her students listened and took notes, as her teaching contents were on test papers for graduation. For this, she even explained to me by the end of the class which lasted until 6:00 pm:

> *"Today, teaching them test contents and testing methods, so maybe not much for you to see."*
>
> *I said, "You did very well. But actually I am not here to make judgment about your teaching effectiveness. I am just interested in students' situations, education and life. Hope you did not mind my presence."*
>
> *"You are an experienced teacher. I should learn from you."*

"Oh, no. you did do very well. OK, let's learn from each other."

We both laughed as a way to stop this mutual flattering. (Fieldwork notes 16/12/2012)

Liang Meijing's explanation attempted to clarify why her teaching was not "interactive." She seemed to feel guilty as I had not observed "interactive" performance that she had thought I should like to see or that she should have conducted. It seemed that teachers were encouraged to be interactive with their students. This had become a deeply rooted idea against which to judge one's teaching.

The third scenario is from Wang Shaogang, vice president of V College.

"The afternoon sessions began at 1 pm o'clock, and I arrived there a bit earlier. .....I was surprised that Wang Shaogang could give such inspiring and attractive lectures on this subject as I know he majored in mechanics or relevant subject. Today's topic was on "encouragement and masses". He encouraged his students to reflect by raising a question:

"Can money solve every problem?"

Students responded: "no."

Wang Shaogang: But nobody would be happy if you are owed a cent.

Then Wang Shaogang told us a story having happened in his college……

Apparently, Wang Shaogang started his lecture with a thought provoking question to grab his students' attention. But the long lecture could be hard to attend to throughout. The classroom was filled with his voice. He then discussed various theories of management, and very often he connected his theories with the cases in Shenzhen manufacturing.

Wang Shaogang then continued to introduce other schools of management theories……. It was stuffy and hot in the classroom. Some students were dozing off. This could be understood as they have been here from 9:30 am. Some had to leave from home as early as 6:00 am in order not to be late. Wang Shaogang then walked

> *down from the platform and says, "Let's have some interaction." He walked up to a male student and asked, "Can you please say something about Maslow's theory on demand?" The student answered embarrassedly: "Sorry. I don't know." "Then go back to read for it and learn something."* (Fieldwork notes 09/12/2012)

Wang was very concerned about the appropriate employment of students' interaction. He started his lecture with a question. In the middle of his lecture, he went down from the platform to interact with his students. "Let's have some interaction" was very revealing as if particularly speaking to me. This seemed to let it be known to everyone present, especially outsiders such as me as an observer that interactive and explorative methods were employed in their pedagogical practice. However, "go back to read for it and learning something" was more of a warning and penalization for the ignorant student who had already felt "sorry" but not an invitation for interaction, as he immediately went back to his lecture.

The above described how "interactive" teaching as discourse held sway over the teachers in V College. To develop the idea of interactive method in my own pedagogical practice, on my first day teaching with the Class of Economic Management, I asked students to introduce themselves, as a way of "interaction." They apparently were expecting the real traditional university life, consisting of classmates, fun, activities, books, discussion, etc. rather than the boring videos and static signs typical of distance education, as described below:

> *In the stage of students' self- introduction, students recommended one young man, named Yong, to represent the whole class and said something.*
>
> *He started in English, "How do you do?" Some people laughed. Yong used Chinese immediately, "Maybe I am not a good image for Wall Street." Some laughed understandingly, but I was puzzled, "What is Wall Street?" Yong continued, "It is an institution for training English in Shenzhen. I am not doing ad for them either."*
>
> *One asked, "How much is the tuition fee?"*
>
> *"Twenty thousand Yuan."* (two thousand pounds)

"You are rich," exclaimed someone jokingly. (03/03/2013 Fieldwork reflective notes)

Yong, as he himself admitted, was not a good image for "Wall Street," as the only English expression "How do you do" he used as a symbolical act for the English class, was actually out of date. While I did not have sufficient knowledge of "Wall Street" as an English training institution, Yong's classmates obviously knew about it, as they were quickly responsive to his speech. I would understand Yong's remark was not purposefully put, but to fill up the gap that he was asked to "say something" as a class representative. However, in his subtext, English could be important for their career, and "Wall Street" English could be more helpful than what we were doing here. This made me guilty as their teacher of English, as the commercially run courses were more influential on these students. Actually, Yong was an adventurous and aspiring young man, who would establish an electronic company in early 2015, as he announced this news in the virtual chatroom and invited his classmates of the Yuanmeng Plan to an opening ceremony.

As the class mentioned "Wall Street," we then discussed the methods that many commercial training schools were employing.

> *Meili, a lady student in her thirties, answered immediately: "passionate and interactive." I was surprised she should be so familiar with the saying and discourses in this sort of institutions, as indeed this was a catchphrase I had heard of. .....*
> (Fieldwork notes 03/03/2013)

As stated at the beginning of Section 6.1 of Chapter 6, "training lecturers" were appealing to learners on courses provided by commercially run institutions. So Meili and Yong seemed to offer examples to the influence of such institutions on students and general public, whose emblem was "passionate" and "interactive." Their response also indicated that what we were doing was not interactive. If so, I did not fulfill the "supplementary rules" on interactive teaching as prescribed by V College.

Passionate or interactive, for V College, seemed to imply "updated and advanced." If there was no passion or interaction involved in teaching, the assumption was that it was an inappropriate teaching and learning experience. However, a query seemed to remain: how

interactive would a pedagogical practice have to be before it was thought of as interactive enough? Therefore, whether it was interactive or not was not the essence, but how it was viewed by the educators. As Kelly (2009: 13) suggests, “The focus of evaluation has moved from a concern with the value of what is being offered to a concentration on the effectiveness of its ‘delivery.’”

Meanwhile, migrant workers as students such as Yong and Meili were also taught this educational doctrine. Thus, interaction as an educational method seemed to be influencing not only the field of education but also, as a mode of thought inspiring individual initiative and adventurous spirit, impacting the traditional Chinese society, which used to advocate respecting authorities and concealing one’s own talent.

On the other hand, this tendency, although promoted by teaching principles at V College, seemed to be constrained by educational practices such as its ways of inviting for interaction yet teachers being still centred. So, although encouraging students to be interactive and explorative, as prescribed by the teacher manual and “supplementary rules” mentioned above, instructors’ ways of encouragement could function more as warning and discouragement.

7.5 An “outward development” project: its design and practice

During my fieldwork in V College, I was particularly intrigued by one of its extracurricular practices: "tuozhan xunlian" (拓展训练 outward development). This practice was a coherent part of the total curriculum of this college. In the light of the concept of hidden curriculum, I will examine what had been designed and what actually happened in an attempt to explore some implications. Thus I will especially address the aspects of “hegemony” and “resistances” embedded in the practice of hidden curriculum (Kentli, 2009) in an attempt to analyze the dynamic relationship between college authorities and students. Meanwhile, Escobar highlights how local knowledge can be produced in relation to development interventions either adopting the way of “the adaptation, subversions and resistance” or taking “the alternative strategies” (Escobar 2007: 21). By taking this insight as a lens, I

analyze how students responded to the development discourses from school administration, enterprise management and student representatives.

7.5.1 Introduction

In V College, collective extracurricular activities were advocated. "Outward development" (tuozhan xunlian 拓展训练) was one of them. As shown in a report below, illustrated with a picture:

Figure 7-1 Outward development

> *Through this outward development, three aims have been realized: firstly, this training programme helped all the 73 students in Yuanmeng Plan understand themselves, stimulate personal potential, objectively orientate themselves, promote their confidence, and confront the challenges of work and life. Secondly, through the communication between different degree awarding institutions and classes, the students have learned to improve interrelationships, and care for, encourage and trust in their peers, and to cooperate with others harmoniously. Thirdly, the training system of the Yuanmeng Plan has been further improved. On the basis of the specialty teaching and studying, the outward development integrating different classes helped cultivate the students' personal comprehensive competencies, broaden their communicative channels, promote their ability to discover, understand and solve problems. ----- Successful implementation of the first outward development among*

different degree awarding institutions under "Yuanmeng" Plan by Shenzhen General Trade Union (Data collected from V College official website 28/11/2012)

As shown above, the "outward development" aimed to combine one's personal development with collective interests, and one's cooperative ability was more stressed. This was reflected in the collective game in the picture above, which called for close cooperation, and in which participants in each team had to walk in locked step conducted by one waving a flag, otherwise they could not move on easily.

As was mentioned in Chapter 4, in V College, I was invited to teach English to the Class of Economic Management and the Class of Machinery Engineering. Thus I was able to observe how the students discussed, planned and implemented extracurricular activities, especially their outward development projects. The Machinery Engineering Class had been discussing this issue for exactly one semester from March 2013 until the end of July 2013 when I was ready to complete my fieldwork there, but no results came out. Later I learned that they managed to organize an outdoor activity after I left my fieldwork. However, I participated in one activity held by the Class of Economic Management, as analyzed below.

7.5.2 An outward development activity: how it was conducted

At the beginning of that semester in March 2013, I noticed the students in the Class of Economic Management discussing their extracurricular plans. They finally decided to pay a tourism company for an "outward development," which was, as would be explained by the trainer from this company on the day when the activity finally took place, "to use outdoor activities to develop people's potential and promote people's cooperative ability" (Fieldnotes 12/05/2013).

Their discussion went on and off for nearly two months. To put the ideas into practice, both student representatives and the class mentor, Zhao Xiaoming, called on all to be engaged. Many students joined the discussion in the QQ virtual chat but not many were determined to join this activity. I was greatly interested as I thought it was a rare opportunity to have more

talk with students and gain a dynamic understanding of them when they were outside the classroom.

This event finally became a reality on May 12th, 2013, after nearly two months' negotiation. Around 7:30 that morning, we were ready to set off. Only 20 participants, including Zhao Xiaoming, the mentor of this class, 14 students, and four friends or children of some students, far less than I had expected, as there were over 140 students in this class. Most of us present were class representatives. Half were employees of a bus company including Meili, Jiangang and Lingling, as mentioned in Chapter 5 as well as from other places. This suggests that only a small number of people were enthusiastic about this activity.

Soon, the trainer, known to us as Mr. Huang, turned up. He brought along two mini buses, one of which was driven by the trainer himself, so he played multiple roles: a trainer, a driver and a tour guide. The other bus was driven by a professional driver, supposedly hired by Mr. Huang. We each paid 160 Yuan and collected it and hand it over to the trainer. The trainer gave a formal introduction to the definition of "outward development" as well as today's general plan. Then we took a group picture in the foyer of V College with the class flag before us, which bore the class slogan: "Coming for dreams and gathered because of miracle", as cited in Chapter 5.

> *When arriving at P village, the first destination, Mr. Huang told us general instructions about how to complete game tasks and divided us into three groups, blue, red and yellow, according to the colours of the uniforms we had been assigned. Briefly speaking, we would complete some tasks, through which a clear understanding of this village would be achieved. Mr. Huang directed us to do some warming up exercises like stretching legs and arms, saying this would protect us from getting hurt. I happened to be in the same yellow group with five students and three children of some students. We selected Weijian as group leader, who was a chef from the bus company. He was obviously a bit hesitative and shy as to how to perform his duty. He had asked me to be the group leader but I thought I should not be the hero today. I asked him to do it. He seemed to be too serious about this role.*
>
> ……

Nearly 12: 30 pm, at the planned gathering point, we group members all went to the scheduled place, but no other groups had turned up there except the trainer himself. So we went scattered again to see more of the scenic spots, which had been neglected as we had been focused on the assigned tasks. Actually the other two groups did not take this task very seriously and had fun. Besides, the trainer did not mark the papers we submitted.

The lunch was done in a restaurant, where food was enough for one's stomach. "We cannot expect more as the total price is 160 for the whole day." One student explained to me as if it were his fault. After the lunch, seaside riding was arranged and then we were divided into groups again and played soldiers…….. (From fieldnotes on 12/05/2013)

In the rest of this section, I will analyze what implications can be drawn from this activity.

7.5.3 Does university life mean collective community?

There seemed to exist a tension between what adult learning for university education should be and what it actually was. Both the students and the staff suggested that the university education they were engaged in was not the same as full-time university education, as mentioned in Section 7.4 of this present chapter. To create a university atmosphere, collective activities such as outward development were thus introduced, as mentioned in the college report above.

As indicated above, in the middle of preparing for this outward development project, the students in the Class of Economic Management did not show enough interest in it. To encourage more people to participate, Zhao Xiaoming, the class mentor, put forward the following notice, in their QQ chatroom:

Dear students,

> *It will be a rare chance for our class to have a collective activity, and I hope all of us will participate in it. As many of us are not familiar with each other, and our friendship is not deep enough, we thus need a platform for more communication. To read books here is more than work for a diploma but to make this process as colourful and diverse as university life. This would give us a feeling for university. This will be real 'Yuanmeng' ……..* (Class Mentor's notice in QQ chatroom, 05/05/2013).

As a response to the mentor's notice, Hua Rong, class monitor, also called on her classmates in the QQ chatroom: "This is a rare new journey and a good opportunity to be acquainted with new classmates and make new friends. Do not miss it!" (QQ chatroom notes 05/05/2013). Hua Rong's remark is understandable, as she was supposed to coordinate between the college administration and the students.

Zhao Xiaoming used "as colourful and diverse as university life" and "a feeling for university," as shown above. This indicates that he felt where they were studying was not "real" university. Students like Hua Rong believed collective activity was a fundamental aspect of "real" university life. The fluttering class flag and the class slogan on it, described above, suggest that some students, especially class leaders and representatives, cherished their common university dream and called for class cohesion. Subsequently, they attempted to make the process of learning and teaching in the form of "real university." To reach this aim, one of the key measures was to adopt collective study and activity, as the "outward development" herein discussed.

The requirement for collective activities in V College can be further demonstrated in my interview with Wang Shaogang, vice president of V College:

> *The positionality of our college is the combination of individual interests and the collective interests. The driving force of the city propels the development of the state. To realize this, changes are the fundamental force. To be established, migrant workers must be disciplined and trained to enter a civilian society.* (Interview notes 21/10/2012)

According to Wang Shaogang, the practice of "outward development" was seen as a coherent part of its curriculum and it seems to suggest that university life meant collective community. Delivering lectures in the classroom to students was one of the measures to achieve this effect, again as Wang Shaogang said:

> *Different from some other correspondence school, our college provides weekends teaching for students, as they need environment, a place where they can learn to be sociable and cooperate in a teamwork with their classmates. This is something that ordinary correspondence schools such as online teaching cannot achieve."* (Interview notes 21/10/2013)

Here, Wang Shaogang explained the advantages and features of V College in running its adult educational programmes in that collective environment and face-to-face teaching were provided.

However, to have a collective extracurricular activity with high attendance rate was not easy to realize as the students were scattered in different enterprises and living quarters. This was shown in the low attendance in this outward development.

So it appeared that there existed a tension between what adult university education was like and what it should be like. Here I will draw on the concept of the hidden curriculum and its two aspects of “hegemony” and “resistances” (Kentli, 2009). Accordingly, college administration as well as some students such as class representatives and leaders, seemed to hold that collective activity such as extracurricular work was an important part of their university life. Therefore, college authorities and the students’ mentor encouraged their students to participate in collective activities like the outward development project. Class representatives, as student leaders, also assisted in promoting this activity. However, other students did not seem to support the idea that collective activity was necessary for their university education. So they took an “alternative strategy” (Escobar 2007, p. 21), thus avoiding these activities as a way.

Then there appeared the tendencies to control and escape from being controlled in education management. "Collective" means social, which incurred interaction and mutual influence. College administration needed more opportunities to exert their existence. This could be achieved particularly in a collective environment. However, this sense of authority was being challenged by the fact that some students, due to various reasons, had difficulties or unwillingness to participate in collective activities. In the case of this outward development activity, most of them did not appear at all. I will analyze different discourses on why this happened, as shown below.

7.5.4 How was absenteeism viewed by different social actors

The low attendance rate in the “outward development” had already been anticipated even before this activity. This was apparently disappointing to some student representatives. One of them spoke in the class QQ chatroom, “As some of us do not cherish friendship, we will anyway go ahead with this programme” (08/05/2013 QQ chat). In this remark, the word "friendship" was used. This suggested that one would be labelled with “not cherishing friendship” if not showing up. However, there were different voices for why they would be absent. Here, I will link Escobar’s idea on how local people would respond to development interventions. They could use “adaptation, subversions and resistance" or take “alternative strategies” (Escobar's, 2007: 21) when encountering relevant intervention projects.

Sometime after this activity, I gained a different understanding why not many students had participated in this activity. Xiao Zhiyuan, my gatekeeper, told me that, when class activities such as outward development were held, class mentors were supposed to attend them, but without extra payment from the college. This meant they would have an extra burden, as extracurricular entertainments might not be a pleasure for them if they had to do so repeatedly. On the other hand, when students had experienced similar activities, the outward development programme was no longer appealing to them. Some of them would rather “have a day off work and learning” than join this programme, as a student, one of the youngest in the Class of Economic Management, admitted in the class QQ chatroom.

Consequently, uninformed absenteeism was employed as an “alternative strategy” (Escobar, 2007: 21) to escape from social activity and social power, but they had not informed whether

they would attend the event but simply not turned up. If they could not evade it they would delay making the decision, as in the case of the Class of Machinery Engineering. So, the students were free to choose to be absent, as it was not a required part of the curriculum.

This activity then served as a social platform which brought the students together and strengthened their relationship, as Zhao Xiaoming, the class mentor, emphasized above, "*our friendship is not deep enough, we thus need a platform for more communication."*

The students offered diverse responses to the design and implementation of this activity. There existed a tension between those who promoted the outward development project and those who passively resisted it. This indicates that traditional collective activities strengthening friendship or collectivism, if not a required part of the college curriculum, appeared to give way to other individual considerations like jobs, rest and hobbies.

7.5.5 Commercialism and its power

It appeared that money played a vital role in putting the design of this outward development to reality, as the students paid for it and a trainer was paid to organize it. Thus throughout the practice ran a power struggle between commercialism and collectivism.

This training of development was fundamentally a commercial activity, as it was undertaken by a tourism company. So it would be likely to lead to similar results coming from any other commercial activity. There was naturally a negotiation process between a tourism company and class representatives. Later during the training, as described above, some of the trainer's course designs became a symbolical act, such as doing warming up exercises and offering test papers, which created a serious and formal atmosphere. Besides, some of his promises and pre-arrangements were not fulfilled. For instance, he finally did not announce the answers to the questions in the test or make any comments.

In this sense, Weijian, our group leader, need not have been that "serious" and "shy" about his role, as mentioned above. This meant that the development programme was lacking in

enough challenge for adult learners, thus it seemed to me no more than a child's play. Jiangang, the oldest student and a bus driver, who was over forty, commented partially jokingly at the end of this whole day, "Today's development programme was indeed 'shui' (水 watery or diluted)'." By this, he meant the programmes were not so rich as expected. Also, the students were not satisfied with the food, "which was enough for one's stomach only," as mentioned in the fieldnotes above, because the trainer needed to take every care not to exceed his budget while he was not genuinely controlling the participants, who had paid him. It was related to the commercialization that dominated this relationship involving relevant people. The practice of the trainer reflects the permeation of commercialism in the Yuanmeng plans, such as their student recruitment campaigns, as introduced in Chapter 5, and Section 7.3 of the present chapter.

In the light of "hegemony" and "resistances," the two aspects of hidden curriculum (Kentli, 2009), the following idea is drawn out. While college curriculum showed its hegemony by promoting collective extracurricular activities like the outward development, it did not stipulate it as a part of assessment or provide financial support for it. Thus commercialization of this activity was unavoidable. In other words, the resistance of commercialization gradually gained power over the promotion for collective activities prescribed in the college curriculum.

College authorities intended to exert more influence on their students by encouraging collective extracurricular activities, but they did not provide funding for this plan. The students had the right to pay or not to pay, or to join or to evade it. It appears that, in this negotiating process, it was the commercialism that loosened the students from traditional ideology of collectivism.

7.5.6 Summary

Within the competing development discourses such as outward development, personal development, and collective interests existed the relationship between normalizing authorities and escaping individuals. Some students did not resist openly the development programme, but adopted an "alternative strategy (Escobar 2007: 21)" of keeping silent, as in the case of

the Economic Management Class herein discussed or delaying their decision as in the case of the Machinery Engineering Class mentioned above. The ideology of collectivism was being challenged by commercialization and individualism, as has been revealed in such educational procedures as student recruitment and “interactive teaching” in the present chapter, and will be further discussed in the next chapter.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter explored the curriculum practice of migrant workers' education in academic degree programmes in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan. Firstly, I discussed how Internet technology influenced distance education in this programme. Then I examined how attendance register was conducted and the implications of this. Thirdly, I analyzed why and how the practice of "interaction" between teachers and students was implemented. Finally I examined the students’ extracurricular activities with a focus on an outward development case. My study started with the tension between written and formal curriculum and unwritten and hidden curriculum in an attempt to delve into the ideology existing between what was promoted and what was actually implemented.

Firstly, the insistence on face-to-face education by V College sponsored by the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan indicated their will to show their value and power in the educational field. Without active engagement in the process of teaching, which could have been fulfilled online by other institutions, they could not have demonstrated their existence, let alone their capacity and value. So V College was faced with the dilemma that it had to compete with the Internet technology while making use of it.

Secondly, emphasis on strict attendance register, even at the "sacrifice" of teaching time, as analyzed above, showed that the educational institution intended to administer students rigidly. However, the inconsistency in treating students of different funding sources reflected the effect of commercialization, as the college had to be reconciled with the self-funded ones and allow them to sign agreements not to attend face-to-face sessions, while the Yuanmeng-

funded students needed to show up in class and their general performance like attendance rates and assignments would be documented as part of their final score. This means that one would have to observe the college's rules on attendance when accepting the government's funding. While discourses such as Chinese dreams, new citizens and new workers were used to encourage students, self-funded students were relieved of these rules on class attendance. This result shows that the college was bent to the influence of commercialization in this educational practice. Then the tension between the power of traditional socialist ideology, as that in the first three decades before 1978, and that of liberal marketing was formulated.

Thirdly, the inconsistency between written curriculum and hidden curriculum in practice in terms of interactive teaching in V College showed there existed "hegemony" and "resistances" (Kentli, 2009). While V College admitted the importance of interaction in teaching and prioritized it in their written curriculum, the teaching was teacher-dominated, as shown in its strict disciplines and classroom practice, while students' autonomy and intervention was more of a symbolical act. On the other hand, the obsession with interactive teaching from both educators and teaching official documents was obvious. Meanwhile, students' resistance was obvious, such as Yong and Meili's remark, as they were expecting educational opportunities where passion could be fully displayed. This dilemma could be related to the educational trend since the start of the 21st century, as EFA Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2015) observed:

> "*The past decade has seen a move away from teacher-dominated instructional practices to learner-centred pedagogy. But implementation can be difficult. Challenges include a lack of supportive environments, teacher training and preparation, textbooks and teaching materials, and too-large class sizes*" (UNESCO, 2015: 42).

This report pointed out a pedagogical practice which was similar to what was happening in V College: an increasing tendency towards students-centred teaching from teacher-centred teaching, which, however, was hindered by various factors, especially large-sized class in my research study. Then the point was not whether the interactive methods were truly employed but why people were so concerned about it. Although the surface discourse was focused on

interaction and passion, what actually happened in the actual pedagogical practice was more orientated by a traditional exam-focused approach. This suggests that there existed a tension between traditional values and the new pedagogical practice advocating interaction and passions.

Finally, I discussed extracurricular activities with a focus on an outward development programme in V College. The tension between collectivism and commercialism provided opportunities for personal development, which was encouraged to be combined with collective interests. So, V College was interested in organizing activities so as to unite their members. As the outward development activity was an optional part of curriculum and financed by participants themselves, it was hard to make a rigid requirement that all join this programme. College authorities would not give up their ideals for the norms of university life and practice. Student representatives and the class mentor encouraged them to be engaged in the name of collectivism and friendship, but this strategy did not work well.

In short, as the investigation of the pedagogical practice in V College suggests, although this college attempted to bring in new educational ideas and practices, traditional values and practices were still lingering and impacting the new practices. So there existed tensions between traditional face-to-face teaching and virtual and online teaching, between traditional socialist ideology and modern commercialization, between collectivism and individualism, and between interactive teaching and traditional exam and text focused teaching. Out of interactions, merging, and splitting among various discourses and sources of power, new subjectivities of migrant workers as learners were being shaped. This will be elaborated in Chapter 9.

These tensions will be further analyzed in the next chapter on how assessment of students played out, where I will continue addressing my second research question, “In what educational programmes are migrant workers engaged in the Pearl River Delta (PRD)?" I will investigate how assessment of students, as an important link in pedagogical practice, was conducted and what implications were embedded within this process.

Chapter 8 Educational practice of migrant workers in PRD: Assessment of students

To address my second research question "In what educational programmes are migrant workers engaged in the Pearl River Delta (PRD)?" I discussed the teaching force in Chapter 6 and pedagogical practice in Chapter 7. In this chapter, I will continue exploring this research question but focus on how assessment of students in the educational programmes was conducted.

8.1 Introduction: When assessment is a central concern

In exploring assessment of students in the education of migrant workers in PRD, especially in combination with my experiences as a temporary teacher of English in V College, I came to realize that assessment could be even more interactive than the phase of teaching and learning, which has been discussed in the previous section.

Bourdieu describes how examinations triggered worries and motivations for students:

“Commentators have often enough described the anxiety engendered by the total, harsh and partly unpredictable verdicts of the traditional tests, or the dislocated rhythm inherent in a system of organizing school work which, in its most anomic forms, tends to acknowledge no other incentive than the imminence of an absolute deadline” (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977/1990: 142).

Similar responses and atmosphere could be observed in V College. The word that I heard most frequently since I entered V College as a researcher and a teacher of English was "examination.” This indicates that assessment, although seemingly the final stage of teaching and learning, had been a consistent concern of both the teachers and the students, as illustrated by the teaching practice of Liang Meijing in the previous chapter.

In this chapter, I will further explore the teaching and administration in the migrant workers' education in PRD, but will focus on how assessment in this field was conducted. I will examine the assessment as a dynamic process to see how assessment principles and contents

were stipulated and completed, and what complex relations were involved within this process, and how.

The previous chapter drew mainly on the data from my class observations. I will, in this chapter, build on ideas mainly from my own teaching experiences in V College in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan. I will make an occasional comparison with the assessment practice in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan. My experiences as a teacher in V College helped me gain in-depth understanding of how assessment was completed.

While investigating the assessment of students, I will, as I did in the previous chapter, mainly take the concept of hidden curriculum as a lens through which to explore the tension between what had been planned in curriculum and what was actually implemented. Besides, I will bring in the idea of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977; 1990) on the relationship between examinations and social reproduction, as discussed in Chapter 3, in an attempt to gain in-depth understanding of the examinations in the Yuanmeng plans.

8.2 Handwritten references for open-book examinations as a strategy against copy and paste

As mentioned in the previous chapter, I had a group meeting with a few key figures of administration and teaching to guarantee my teaching quality in V College. I also received a written notice entitled "Supplementary rules for teaching administration of Yuanmeng Plan academic degree courses," which was intended to help the teaching staff focus on the immediate points besides the general working manual. One of the rules stressed the importance of handwritten assignments, as prescribed in its “Supplementary rules for teaching administration of Yuanmeng Plan academic degree courses,” “*for every subject, students should give hand written assignments, which should be submitted to class leaders before the next class sessions*”; in other words, printed assignments and the e-copies would not be accepted This way, as Zhou Li, who was in charge of online teaching affairs, suggested, was "just intended to let them learn a bit more."

Likewise, for most of the subjects, "open-book exams" were offered as a way of assessment. Students were required to carry handwritten references when sitting tests, as they were allowed to refer to any handwritten material as well as their textbooks, which were the only printed material. Actually, Wang Shaogang, vice president of V College, at my very first interview, elaborated on his understanding of "open-book exams" with handwritten references:

> *Of knowledge and bebaviour norm, I think the latter is more important. It is important to promote their quality. To realize this, we have flexible examination and assessment. It is designed to combine with general studies and work in their spare time.....Examinees are not supposed to take printed and photocopied materials with them, but take handwritten materials with them. Firstly, the preparing process is itself a process of writing, memorizing and reviewing. Secondly, even if the examinees take it with themselves, they will have no time to use this material if they are not well prepared* (interview notes 21/10/2012).

Apparently, Wang Shaogang believed that by preparing handwritten material for examinations the students would be able to devote more time and energy to their learning process, and this served as a method ensuring the students appropriate engagement in their learning. He took assessment as a way to discipline students. He thought it was more important to cultivate students' behaviour than to evaluate how much they had learned by means of assessment.

However, the college administration's insistence on handwritten materials was so strong that controversy was triggered over what was to be handwritten, and what material to be printed or photocopied among the students I taught in the Economic Management Class and the Machinery Engineering Class. The argument was concerned with their textbooks of English uploaded by B University, their degree awarding institution. These books each consisted of four units, with each unit having lists of words and phrases, dialogues, passages and exercises, and all the units being related to either economy or technology, depending on their majors. However, the textbooks were of e-copy form in their virtual classrooms on their online learning website instead of ready-made ones. Then there arose a disagreement on what

was a textbook and what were printed references. After negotiating for a couple of months, there came down a notice of reconciliation with the college announced by Class Representative Hua Rong in their virtual chatroom:

> *The printed texts as well as words and phrases lists can be brought into testing rooms, but the texts should not contain their Chinese translations. The printed exercises after the texts cannot be brought into testing rooms. In a word, all handwritten materials can be carried. All the above notice is subject to college explanation* --- (Class virtual chatroom record 04/06/2013)

The insistence on the practice of handwriting from the college indicates that V College administration and teaching staff were actively engaging students in some practical ways for learning. However, they were obviously at a loss for how to conduct the rule on "handwritten materials" in the face of Internet prevalence. If ready printed textbooks were allowed to be brought into test rooms as legitimate, it would seem to be paradoxical that not all learning materials used in students' English textbooks downloaded were taken as legitimate parts of the textbooks. As a result, some students copied down more than what was needed, just in case what they would bring into testing rooms was unacceptable. So, as one of their daily greetings, the students often exchanged information with each other in their virtual chatrooms about how much they had copied for the examinations.

The controversy described, as well as the negotiations involved, suggests the tension between curriculum rules on examinations and how they would be implemented. At face value, the arguments were focused on what had to be handwritten and what to be photocopied; however, the point is that the college authorities were afraid to lose control over their students, who had easy access to Internet and virtual resources. This showed their instinctive anxiety of losing their power and influence as an educational assessor and provider when virtual spaces seemed to be interlinked with overwhelming actual spaces, as discussed in the previous chapter on the practice of strict attendance registration. On the other hand, the final agreement announced by Hua Rong suggests that, although the assessment of students

generally involved experiences of “anxiety” and “incentive” (Bourdieu, 1970/1990: 142), as mentioned at the start of this chapter, assessment could be negotiable or “flexible”, as was cited above from Wang Shaogang’s interview. Actually, the examination of students participating in adult education was a dynamic process, as it had to take into consideration examinees’ situations and partnership institutions. This educational process induced social relationships and ideological conflicts, which will be discussed in Section 8.3 of this chapter.

8.3 Students designing a mock test: its original intention and outcome

Besides the measure discussed above, the other rule concerning the assessment of students for this semester in the "Supplementary rules" was Rule 2, "students' drafting test papers" as a way further to be more involved in teaching and learning process, and this assignment could be completed in collaboration with a few other fellow students. They could do this task either by handwriting or on a computer.

This new measure introduced by the college, according to Zhou Li, the coordinator of online administration and teaching from degree awarding institutions with the Yuanmeng Plan teaching, was "to let students have more practice in their subjects" such as English, which I was teaching, "and strengthen their teamwork spirit." Also, Chen Yi, in charge of general affairs of adult education in this college, stressed “It is a new strategy that students are required to make up a test paper. We try to propel students to learn something, to participate and be engaged in teaching and learning. In a word, they can learn something both after class and in class." Chen Yi admitted also, "We are still exploring with a good intention for the students so that they can learn better." (Group meeting notes 26/02/2013)

I took this measure as an ordinary trial for teaching so that students could be more involved and take the initiative in their learning. I had thought it was no more than a new form of assignment and students would accept it readily if not wholeheartedly. To encourage students to be fully engaged in this work, I promised that I would select test questions from the collection of student designed papers and use them in their formal final tests. On April 14th, 2013, morning sessions were given to the Class of Economic Management and afternoon sessions transferred to the Class of Machinery Engineering. The teaching process was just

like any other day of teaching. However, when it came to the assignment of drafting up test papers as a new measure, there arose some noise and even arguments:

> *Meili, one of the oldest students in Class of Economic Management, remarked, "So we are just testing objects or material." I said, "Each student just will do a bit of test designing. You can work together. Every few students form a group, and you together design a set of test paper. This will not be much, just a bit, so you will not use a lot of time. Anyway, this is the decision from the administration from our college or from B University of Post and Communication, which I am not so sure. Why not try it?" The students did not give any further responses.* --- (Fieldwork reflective notes,14/04/2013)

I believed that they had agreed to the general ideas, and would act on them accordingly. Thus they were supposed to submit this assignment sometime around the middle of May 2013, before the final exam dates (the end of June) in this semester, as no one raised any further questions. But the queries raised by Meili show that adult students had their own independent minds, and would rather ask why if something usual was brought into their assessment.

The afternoon sessions for the Class of Machinery Engineering were more eventful than the morning sessions, due to one student, as shown in the following fieldwork notes:

> *Liu Qiang, a student from Sichuan Province, was as impulsive as ever. He said, "You should not let us students draft test papers, as this will definitely give more burden to us." I tried to explain the meaning of this assignment, but he would not stop his anger. So finally I added, "I am simply announcing the decision from our college." He said, "You are now working for this college, and will certainly defend for them." I laughed embarrassedly, at a loss for what to say. He added, "I cannot bear it." (*14/04/2013, Fieldwork notes)

Liu Qiang seemed to go against the college in many aspects. As one of the key informants, Liu Qiang was a distinctive character, strong-willed and fiery tempered. I think he was one

of those who had already begun to show their dissatisfaction before fully understanding what they were required to do. Conflicts between the teacher and students could exist, as Liu Qiang differentiated "you" from "us," as in "*You should not let us students draft test papers, as this will definitely give more burden to us."* I was surprised at first that he should put me on the same side with the college authorities. But I realized that this was my own problem: I had not fully identified myself with being a teacher, and insider but situated myself more as an outsider and as a researcher. But what the students were concerned about was not whether I was an outside researcher or not but who taught them and how they would be assessed

The students' general silence in listening for the assignment of drafting a test paper in collaborative group form did not mean they would act fully according to the requirement as suggested. This could be anticipated in the spontaneous remarks and responses of Meili and Liu Qiang mentioned above. But what happened subsequently was still beyond my expectation.

I had intended the students to submit their test papers sometime around the middle of May, as had been scheduled. Some of them did it even earlier than that. One of the most impressive groups was from a sub-teaching site, so I have never met them in person. They posted to me their tests papers with each of them designing a complete set of test paper by handwriting rather than each contributing a part towards a complete set of test paper. That must have involved a large amount of work. But some others delayed this task again and again so that I had to push them a few more times, and generally speaking, most of the test questions designed by students were not closely connected with their textbooks but more randomly chosen.

Also surprisingly, some unexpected incidents happened. The first was that, as a group, some students did not do any work but put their names on the list prepared by a group member. Yong, a student who appeared in the previous chapter, was one of these. This kind of behaviour was supposedly hard to detect. But Yong was automatically tracked down, as his name appeared twice on the name lists of two different groups. I asked the group leaders, and received a reply from one of them, saying that she did not know why Yong's name appeared twice on different group lists but he was indeed in her group. It was impossible to

clarify what on earth had happened but Yong could not have done anything for this assignment or at least either of the groups had intended to smooth it over for Yong as if he had neglected his assignment, even though he had done his part.

Also, I had told the students that this was a group assignment, and it was not intended to be assumed by only one student. However, one student from the Class of Machinery Engineering, named Zhonghou, even publicly announced in his class virtual chatroom, "Hello Brothers, I have finished our group's test paper, and am ready to submit it soon. I will email one copy to each of you." (22/05/2013 chatroom record). His tone was rather public, open and even a bit showy, having nothing to conceal as if he had done a great job and invited praise and gratefulness from his group members.

Other students took advantage of Internet resources and did this assignment promptly. One student from the Class of Machinery Engineering emailed me his group assignment. His work was so good but had nothing to do with the textbook learning that I simply googled some key words from it and was able to find that he had copied a whole set of paper from the Internet for his group assignment.

The above section revealed the pedagogical intentions around requiring students to draft a test paper, and what had ended up happening. Diverse responses from students to this paper were not as what the curriculum designer had intended. The responses from the students in the process of the mock test assignment implementation showed competing values and practices embedded within, especially the tension between traditional Chinese values concerned about interpersonal relationship or “guanxi” and new ideas stressing individualism. Also, this process itself involved changing practices between educational authorities, teachers and migrant workers as students, as will be analyzed below.

Firstly, handwriting was required strictly in most of the other kinds of assignment, as stated in Section 8.3 above. Undoubtedly, the age of the Internet offered students easy access to

this assignment. So it was actually a concession and compromise from the administration by allowing its students to draft a test paper in e-copy,

Secondly, adverse and immediate responses from such students as Liu Qiang and Meili suggested that there existed misunderstanding or even a relationship of conflict between teachers and students, as the students thought that designing assessment was an extra burden that was supposed to be assumed by teachers and the teachers attempted to exploit the students for their labour. For them designing tests papers was not a form of practice and learning but a responsibility and task which should be taken by the teaching staff. This showed the students began to bring into the educational field their sense of their own right and obligations, which were mainly formulated in the commercial society and enterprise culture.

Thirdly, the fact that designing test papers was now required of students indicated the internal anxiety of the college administration about examinations. This might, in turn, have increased students' anxiety about their examinations. This further demonstrated that the central position that assessment occupied in the college activities, as has been discussed in Chapter 7 on the teaching process.

Finally, “guanxi,” which loosely means social connections, seemed to remain a prominent practice in students’ relationships. As stated in Chapter 3, Gold et al (2002) argued for the importance of "the study of guanxi,” as it can help “unearth many of the most interesting and challenging questions for understanding Chinese society" (Gold et al, 2002: 17). Most of the students submitted their work, and in some cases some delayed their submissions. In certain cases, some had their names put on the paper with the permission of their group members, who cherished friendship and good relationship, though they actually had not made contribution to the group work. I accidentally found out this practice but it seemed to be a common case. This was obviously against “Supplementary Rules” prescribed by V College, as the relevant rule and the administrators encouraged students to do collective work so as to consolidate teamwork spirit, though the result did not end up collectively. Some argue that “the role of guanxi is declining in the era of economic reforms” (Gold et al, 2002: 4). The students’ group work suggests that the nurturing of personal relationship or “guanxi” in

Chinese society, which might become loosened, under the influence of the discourse of liberal marketing, yet remained an important interpersonal element in maintaining social life. This could be especially important for migrant workers, as Castles et al (2009: 23) suggest, migrants who would compensate for their "lack of power in the face of employers and governments" by developing cultural and social capital." So, group work such as test paper drafting was taken by students such as Zhonghou, as mentioned above, as a social activity, and employed to strengthen "guanxi" or personal connections. This will be further discussed in Chapter 9.

In short, the task of drafting test papers reflected that V College had examination as its focus. Meanwhile, diverse methods that the students employed in implementing this assignment demonstrated the psyche of nurturing personal relationships typical of the traditional Chinese society. The college administration reduced the difficulty of this assignment when allowing for an e-copy of test papers, thus making compromises with its students.

8.4 Assessment as an interactive social process

Assessment in my experience in V College was a lengthy process involving supervising universities, college's administration, teaching and students' responses. As I was new and not familiar with the general practice of this college, I needed to make constant adjustments to the demands of the college, its needs and the specific conditions of the students. In this section, I will use "nomadic principles" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988: 9), as introduced in Chapter 3, to interpret the multiple relationships involved in the process of examinations from their design through the students' responses and participation to their marking. I will particularly address the "hegemony" and "resistances," (Kentli, 2009) as might be concealed in the implementation of the hidden curriculum.

From my entrance into V College, I learned from my interview with Wang Shaogang, vice president of this college, that assessment involved multiple parties.

Me: Will the relevant authorities or the relevant universities allow you to administer assessment to students?

Wang Shaogang: That is our condition. If they do not give us the permission, we would not cooperate with them. (Interview notes with Wang Shaogang, 21/10/2012)

I realized that V College had gained the power to assess its students, which served as the pre-condition to cooperate with relevant course supervisors and degree awarders. V College did not give the implementation of its students' assessment over to its degree-awarding institutions, but insisted on this condition for their educational cooperation. This seemed to suggest that there existed a certain degree of negotiation between V College and its partnership institutions. Later, after starting to work as a temporary teacher of English, I came to gain more insight into how the configuration involving multiple parties would play out.

Firstly, I was supervised by a degree-awarding institution, B University, which played a central role in the policy design and implementation of assessment of students. Meanwhile, B University stipulated that the students of the Economic Management Class and the Machinery Engineering Class have an adequate record of their online learning time and complete some online assignments and quizzes before they were qualified to take the tests given by V College.

In face-to-face communication, most of the students, especially the younger ones, were silent about what I should do with the final test designing and strategies. Some older or talkative students like Meili, a coordinator in a bus company, and Jiangang, a bus driver in the same company and in his mid-forties, would exchange some greetings with me or had a chat with me occasionally. We even had a day out for "the outward development," as discussed in Chapter 7. This deepened our mutual understanding and friendship. This was also an occasion on which students could express their suggestions or lobby me "informally" on how and what was to be tested. As Meili said of Jiangang, "Sir, he is old and pathetic. He does not have a command of much English. Let him pass the test. We are no longer young here. The younger ones have no such difficulties as us." While Jiangang also admitted, "I have not learned much of English. You see my son is going to take university entrance exams this year, but I am still here learning." This exerted some subtle pressure on my assessment plans,

as students like Jiangang were hard-working and they would stay in the classroom without one minute less than prescribed and keep notes very carefully.

By contrast, students' online chat was much more challenging than face-to-face communication. The students in their QQ chatrooms, as usual, would have a heated discussion about anything including exams. Sometimes, I was involved in the discussion. They expressed their concerns and put forward some suggestions. As the following QQ chat indicated,

A: Sir, can you just focus your exam contents on the textbook and be sure not to exceed the textbook?

B: Then give more multiple choices (for the exam paper).

Me: We would stick to our textbook.

.....

C: I just feel at a loss for where to start for the review.

D: Sir, try to make test questions simpler.

B: Then we just recite and write down 26 alphabetical letters? (Emblem of laughter)

C: Yea, Yea, all of us agree that the test questions should be simpler.

E: Yes, absolutely.

A: Be sure not to make test questions flexible and changeable. The contents in textbook are more than we can digest.

F: I think the difficulty level in our entrance exams is just good.

G: Yea, Yea. Make it simple one, sir.

H: Design more multiple choices.

I: Yes, otherwise, all of us will fail.

E: Please, sir, let us pass. We will be well impressed with you and be grateful to you.

.....

D: Teacher of Management Studies, will you also have pity on us? We students have difficulties. We lead a hard life as migrant workers, and the students are located at the lowest level of society. … (the Economic Management Class QQ chat record 08/05/2013)

I realized there were joking tones in the discussion and "complaint" such as "have pity on us" and "Let us pass. We will be well impressed with you and be grateful to you," which found free expression in virtual spaces than face-to-face communication where people felt reluctant to articulate their opinions. However, students' suggestions were clear. They had difficulties in learning English as well as other subjects like Management Studies in their case, and they wanted to have easier tests. This had been mentioned by Wang Shaogang in his online article. In commenting upon students' university entrance exams, while acknowledging that "the majority of students" treated exams in a positive attitude, he wrote:

The minority of migrant workers had not done any preparatory work before taking exams; as a result, they became a Mr. Zero by submitting a blank paper. Some others even went farther than that. They simply ignored invigilator's requirements and testing room disciplines. When their misbehavior was found out, some tore apart test papers, some were grudging and others complained about the difficulties of exam questions. (V College report, collected on 03/12/2012)

Thus, it could be a consistent trend that students expected tests to be easier. They seemed to assume that they were being reasonable in doing so. However, college authorities like Wang Shaogang pointed out that students needed to work harder in the same article as cited above:

Some migrant workers do not have hard working attitude towards their learning or real senior middle school literacy foundation. .....68% of the new generation migrant workers take as their first choice for their spare time rest, surfing online, shopping, watching TV or working for extra money. This means that some new

> *generation migrant workers have not established awareness of capital investment. Although they have development goals, they have not devoted time, energy and money to overcome their difficulties, thus abandoning opportunities for further development. ...* (V College report, collected on 03/12/2012)

Wang Shaogang, from the perspective of authorities, argued that nearly two thirds of migrant workers chose something other than learning as their first spare time activity, thus they needed to work harder. Somewhat different from Wang Shaogang's resilient tones, I found myself facing pressure from the college administration, as it contacted constantly either by QQ online messenger or phone call about my progress of teaching and assessing. The group meeting, as mentioned above, designated the general guidelines to observe in the assessment implementation. Therein, I was told to consider how to assess students in the way that a proper percentage of them passing final examinations, or as Xiao Zhiyuan, my gatekeeper, said around 70 to 80 percent of them. This meant that I should take into consideration students' learning abilities and progress before I designed test papers and testing standards; actually, as Zhou Li said in our group meeting, "Some students are poor in English. They may be like senior middle school students or even junior middle school students."

Under the influence of different requirements and the general atmosphere in this college, I began to consider how to ensure around 80 percent of the students pass the tests while ensuring the fairness of assessment. In this process, sometimes I tended to forget my role as a researcher and why I came to join in this educational programme. There were a lot of concerns. For instance, some students were older like Jiangang mentioned above, and they needed more effort to pass English. Others lived far away from the teaching site. They could spend three or four hours on the way to school and back home for weekend sessions.

Even if I had been cautious with the test design, things were not satisfactory for V College administrators. After I submitted my designed test papers, Chen Yi contacted me more often than other administrators when assessment were drawing nearer and discussed with me any assessment difficulties and test paper contents in relation to students' learning levels. She

thought the test papers were "a bit too much in question numbers and too hard for the students at this level. Of course, this would be rather easy for you, but for students it could be hard," as Chen Yi told me in a very roundabout way over a phone call. The request of the students that their tests be “easier,” as a discourse, apparently impacted Chen Yi and other administrators. Accordingly, I made a lot of changes about the test papers, including three sets of papers for each class at the same time. Chen Yi was right, as quite a number of them still failed in the test, which sounded like a reasonable result. Otherwise, there would be too many failing cases if they had used the test papers I had designed for the first time.

Analyzing reactions from different social actors in the case of V College showed that the assessment process of adult education involved constant negotiation among multiple parties such as administrators from degree awarding institutions, course providing college, teaching staff and students. To understand examinations better, I will draw on the idea of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977; 1990: 141), as introduced in Chapter 3. They point out the “the illusion of the neutrality and independence of the school system with respect to the structure of class relations.” This suggests that examinations, as a social practice, constructed power. To balance power and benefit distribution among different stakeholders, social actors relevant to examinations negotiated and interacted with each other in completing the procedure of the assessment of students. In this process, the strategies that were typically employed in commercial bargaining were adopted.

Also, official discourses such as documents, rules and leaders’ speeches displayed the resilient aspects in running the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan. However, practical concerns from students, teachers and administrators exhibited flexible discourses. This exerted influences on how assessment polices should be changed and adjusted to the levels of the students. The contradiction between hegemony of official discourses and the resistances from the lower levels such as the students’ voices was reflected in the process of assessment of students from their policy making, test papers’ design, test paper approval and changes and test paper marking.

Finally, in the process of assessment, the teachers’ role seemed to have been reduced. This could be linked to the remark of Kelly (2009) on assessment. According to her, assessment,

contextualized in British school system, has been used in “direct political control,” “combating that centrality of the teacher,” and “imposing a narrow and bureaucratic form of teacher accountability” (Kelly, 2009: 18). As in my case mentioned above, I had to modify test papers a few times in order to be adapted to the requirements and situations involving a few parties. Besides, even as a teacher and an assessor, I even did not know exactly the final results of the students’ assessment, as my marking would be integrated with other factors such as students’ attendance rates, online learning results and online test results. As a result, the role of the teacher had been reduced to simply one of the links in the assessment process.

Some authorities such as Wang Shaogang believed, as cited above, nearly two thirds of the migrant workers chose anything other than learning as their first spare time activity, thus the students needed to work harder. Students complained they needed more help as their abilities were inadequate for learning. I was not able to judge who was telling more of the truth, but I was interested in discovering why such a controversy arose. If students had low learning capacities, they did not ask how to learn better but only considered how to pass examinations with more ease by lowering the criteria for examinations. This could be linked to what students as well as general society thought about the value of adult degree education, as illustrated below.

8.5 “Don’t expect the same of us as full time students”: how adult education students viewed their own learning

As discussed above, educational administrators, instructors and students were all involved in the final implementation of examinations. In this process, some students asked the instructors to design easier test questions. Their inward motivation to raise this request could be linked to what they thought about the educational programme they were engaged in. So, in designing examination questions, I found myself often in a constant state of adjustment. For each class, teaching for a few days was allocated across a semester. This meant that I should consider how to combine teaching with the evaluation of the students from the very beginning.

In the second meeting with the students, I told them of my proposed plan for final tests, which would include translation of words and phrases between English and Chinese, paragraph translations, writing sentences and paragraphs, as well as the most used form of multiple choices, for I was told the exams would be in the "open-book exams," that is to say, the students could bring any references, all of which, except their printed textbooks, should be handwritten. This had been informed even at the very first meeting when I interviewed Wang Shaogang, vice head of V College. When the Class of Machinery Engineering heard this, Liu Qiang shouted immediately, "That is too difficult for us. You cannot expect too highly of us. As we are not full time students. The requirements of them do not apply to us." (14/04/2013 Classroom observation notes)

Likewise, in the Economic Management Class sometime later on the same day, a female student complained when she heard my explanation about my proposal for final test, and said,

> *"You cannot require of us the same as you do full time university students." I asked, "Why not? We should keep up our image. The Yuanmeng Plan has been in existence for many years." This lady immediately stopped, but I did not think she was convinced.* (14/04/2013 Classroom observation notes).

When I said this, I found myself acting as an insider of V College, a staff member, as I attempted to use the social influence of "Yuanmeng Plan" as evidence in order to inspire them. My remark was imposing in the discourse of college authorities that this student felt lost for how to reply. Interestingly, the students insisted that they were different from full time university students, thus they felt they had reason to be treated differently and assessed by different criteria. Actually, the general opinion about adult education students and full-time students who were recruited through rigid general university entrance exams was indeed that the former was inferior to the latter. As Wang Shaogang also admitted:

> *One's academic certificate may show one has improved in ability, anyway. Those who have obtained the certificates from us, which may not be the first class ones, but are recognized by state, have the chances to be promoted. But I don't think certificate is the most important*. (Interview notes 21/10/2012)

Wang Shaogang, as a representative of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, had attempted to speak for the importance of migrant workers' educational programme. He mentioned "academic certificate," "ability," "recognized by state," and "not most important." The quick switches in his narration betrayed contradictions in his attitudes towards education and development. The key in this quotation was actually "recognized by state," which was, however, not an expression for high commendation, as it showed the actual situation that adult education certificates were merely recognized by state, providing chances for people's promotion. To distract from the focus on the inferiority of the adult educational certification, Wang added that certificate was not "the most important."

Relevant point-based regulations on joining Shenzhen household register were also telling. The students I taught would be able to claim 60 points after they acquired the certificate while full-time counterparts would be able to claim another ten more points.

While general society tended to take adult education certificates as merely "acknowledged by state," it was still surprising and saddening to see that adult students themselves like those in V College felt the same. Bourdieu and Passeron (1970/1990: 162) comments on the vital function of examination in stratifying people in an appearance of justice: "Nothing is better designed than the examination to inspire universal recognition of the legitimacy of academic verdicts and of the social hierarchies they legitimate" (ibid: 162). For Bourdieu and Passeron, examinations help consolidate and validate the existence of social ranks of people, thus playing a filtering function. However, what the students, as mentioned above, had expected was to simplify examinations and let them pass. They apparently did not expect their examinations to "inspire universal recognition" of their "legitimacy" in Bourdieu's terms.

Students' pessimistic expectation of their examinations reflected their sense of low self-esteem and identity crisis, as they were uncertain if they were "real" university students. This could be one of the reasons why they did not want to work hard to obtain the graduation certificate. This sense of uncertainty has actually been reflected and discussed in Section 7.5

of Chapter 7 when the students' "outward development" activity was examined. It will be further discussed in Chapter 9.

8.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined the practice of the assessment in V College and explored the tension between what had been planned and what was finally practised, using the concept of the hidden curriculum as a lens. Meanwhile, I addressed how multiple social actors uttered their voices and interacted with each other.

With respect to exams, quite a percentage of students expected easier exams and low requirements. They would use their external difficulties like old age, busy work schedule, and poor educational basis as excuses for poor performance. They thought they were a different kind of university students and could not be expected to perform as well as other full time university students. The reluctance to commit more time and effort to examinations but placing reliance on the easy questions indicated their pessimism about their educational value. This affected their motivation to study hard.

However, top college leaders like Wang Shaogang did not give in to these complaints. Somewhat differently, college administrators seemed to be more flexible in the process of education practice. This shows that no matter how determined the college leaders were, they had to accept the fact that they did need to adjust to the conditions of their students. To reach this goal, as education providers, V College strove to adopt different and strict measures like students making up mock test papers and open-book exams, and they insisted that only handwritten materials be brought into testing rooms, and through the process of handwriting, they expected the students to learn more and devote more time to learning.

Interestingly, some students treated group assignment in making up a mock exam paper as an occasion or social activity on which to strengthen personal relationship or "guanxi." They would enter the names of those who had not made any contributions. For them this was not a malpractice but an emblem of friendship. This shows "guanxi," as a traditional Chinese cultural and social phenomenon was still influential in the age of liberal marketing.

In the light of Bourdieu and Passeron's idea on examination (1977; 1990: 141), as discussed above, social relations were embedded in the college system I studied, there would no absolute neutrality or justice. In the process of the assessment of the students in V College, all the social actors involved started with their own perspectives and pushed examinations forward. Examinations as a part of pedagogical practice constituted a plane, where multiple parties, such as authorities, educational practitioners and migrant workers as students, negotiated and competed for power, and where diverse ideas and practices encountered, combined and diverged. Thus, Deleuzian nomadic principles of "heterogeneity, connections and flat multiplicities" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988: 9) were used as a lens through which to discuss how multiple parties were involved and connected.

In the process of power negotiation and distribution in assessment implementation, a certain degree of commercialization was revealed. As mentioned above in Section 8.4, test designing and assessment of students engaged different educational stakeholders. This can be linked with research studies on the influence of examinations. For instance, Lowe (2012) provides an illuminating analysis of how international examination systems have become a part of a commercialization process while "serving global capitalism through the certification of human resources for a global market" (ibid: 329). Based on the analysis of some major international curricula and qualifications, Lowe (2012) argues that the qualifications are both "a product and a form of currency in other parts of the market." The qualifications producers play an important role "in the commodification of education, in its incorporation into global capitalism." (ibid: 329). This suggests that testing services can construct power and contribute to the economic and cultural development. As shown in the assessment practices in V College, negotiations, which were usually employed in the activities of commercial bargaining, had been adopted in designing and implementing assessment of students.

To conclude, in this chapter, I looked at assessment of students as a process in which power was constructed. On this basis, I explored multiple and dynamic relationships involving supervising institutions, college authorities, teachers, and students in the assessment policy

and practice in V College. The assessment process was one which was embedded with commercialization and ideology control. Adult academic education such as the Yuanmeng plans seemed to be viewed as second class both by general society and both students themselves in comparison with full-time university education. This did harm to the learning motivation of the students. In the next chapter, I will further investigate in detail how adult learning affected the aspirations and livelihoods of migrant workers as learners.

Chapter 9 Adult learning practices and changing subjectivities

This chapter addresses my third research question "What is the contribution of continuing education of migrant workers to their aspirations and livelihoods?" I will focus on how migrant workers' learning was related to their changing identities and livelihoods. I do not restrict my study to the effect of their formal learning but extend it to their informal and non-formal learning as well as their general urban experiences.

In the light of the Deleuzian nomadic principles of "connection, heterogeneity and multiplicities, and asignifying rupture," especially "rupture," (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988: 9), I will discuss how the dimensions, including rules, resources, events and social actors, in the social-relations frame (SRF) (Kabeer, 1994), interacted to change the aspirations and the livelihoods of migrant workers as learners, and contributed to the formulation of their subjectivities.

Secondly, in analyzing major discourses concerning knowledge and fate, workers' learning attitudes, and non-formal and informal learning, I mainly draw on ideas of Foucauldian power and discourse. My starting point is not discourse being a representation of truth but power that is multiple and dynamic.

Thirdly, as I see discourse as multiple, so there is "a significant distance between the ideas and practices of development agencies and those of 'local' people." (Grillo, 1997: 25). This understanding will enable me to explore what differences existed between the perceptions of migrant workers as learners and those of educational institutions in some issues such as workers' learning purposes and attitudes.

Regarding the relationship between migrant workers as learners and the implementation of educational programmes, I will link it to the "liberating and productive side" of power (Sarup 1993: 73). There exist inertia and dynamism as two opposite tendencies within power, as discussed in Chapter 3. This will provide me with a lens through which to understand how

migrant workers showed their dynamism and changed the trajectory of educational programmes and their personal careers.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will analyze multiple implications of "knowledge" as a discourse in relation to the "fate" of migrant workers, as "knowledge changes fate" was a thematic slogan in V College. Then I discuss the functions of social connections in the urban experiences of migrant workers. I will also examine and revalue the learning attitudes of migrant workers and explore the multiple modes of their learning.

9.1 Rethinking "knowledge changes fate"

This section aims to explore how learning affected migrant workers, and what related social actors thought of this process. A thematic slogan had been recurring to me: "Knowledge changes fate while Trade Union helps me sparkle," which was posted in the main conference room of V College in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan. I will discuss how far knowledge influenced migrant workers from the perspectives of different social actors.

9.1.1 "Knowledge" as ideology

In order to demonstrate "knowledge changes fate," V College, as a part of its promotion campaign for the Yuanmeng educational programme, utilized various sources to publicize the achievements and aspirations of its migrant workers as students. In the college building were showcased reports and photos about distinguished alumni. Also, Xiao Zhiyuan, my gatekeeper, was kind to share with me a collection of alumni' reflective pieces sometime at the beginning of 2013, which would be included in a book that this college was editing as a report on the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan and its development since its initiation in 2008. These narratives were mainly about their learning processes, life stories of happiness and sadness after they left their home villages, and changes after the experiences of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan.

Most of these writings apparently shared similar themes, describing how alumni changed, after they took the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, from the uneducated to the educated, from lower to higher social positions, or from lower to higher aspiration. The following is selected from a reflective piece by an alumnus named Huang Hong from Sichuan Province, southwest China, who started her course of finance management in 2008, sponsored by the first year Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, with its degree awarded by T University:

> ..... *I worked in the day time while reading books in the night time. Life was hard but full. Now I have become an expert in finance management but I used to be totally ignorant of this field..... I am engaged in a trading industry. From my learning experiences, I got to know the similarities and differences between virtual sales and actual sales. A lot of knowledge I learned from my education in Yuanmeng Plan has been utilized in my work and acknowledged by my company leaders. It was knowledge that equipped me with wisdom and power, and enhanced my self-confidence. I used to be restrained and cautious, not at all self-confident. But now I am fully enthusiastic with my job, and ready to challenge some work that I had never had courage to think of.* .....Extracted and translated into English from Huang Hong's self-reflective piece

The above extract shows how Huang Hong, boosted by her educational experiences, had become an aspiring worker. Huang Hong was awarded with the title of "image representative" of Workers' Quality Enhancement Project of the Shenzhen General Trade Union, as she was promoted to vice general manager of a logistics company. Huang Hong attributed her success and aspiration for life to Yuanmeng educational experiences, as she said, "It was knowledge that equipped me with wisdom and power, and enhanced my self-confidence." This reflection apparently appeared to connect with the general discourse about the positive relationship between knowledge and changes in one's fate.

Actually, "knowledge changes fate," as an institutionalized ruling discourse, had been widely accepted. As a form of power, discourse such as knowledge and fate, in the words of Hodgson and Standish, "requires and produces particular truths and thereby a particular form of subject." (Hodgson and Standish (2009: 316). This meant that people under its influence

were reluctant to challenge its authority, let alone overthrow it but identified themselves with the dominant discourse.

As shown above, Huang Hong had been invited to write a thematic reflection by V College, so she focused on the contribution of her adult education towards her life. Thus, I had no access to how diverse factors co-worked in her career. This overshadowed the fact that multiple dimensions, such as social connections, social practices and events, other than knowledge, were involved in changing migrant workers' trajectory of life and profession. This will be further discussed in Section 9.2.

9.1.2 "Knowledge" in multiple forms

I discussed how dominant discourses about migrant workers' education influenced migrant workers like Huang Hong, as shown above. Now I will draw on my ethnographic data to look at how far migrant workers' experiences contributed to their knowledge and fate. Knowledge, as discourses, "split," "meld," (Gee 1999: 21-22) and change constantly, producing new knowledge. It is ambiguous to say "knowledge changes fate" without differentiating what knowledge was demanded by whom for what purposes.

Liu Qiang's complaint provides an explanation. Liu Qiang, a student in the Class of Machinery Engineering, cited in Chapter 8, and a technician of a manufacturing company in Shenzhen, complained about his frustration with the conflict between social needs and his own learning qualifications:

> *I have been working as a technician in Shenzhen for fifteen years, but you see I have to study for a certificate. Or promotion opportunities will be given over to those with better academic qualifications. Salaries are also different according to academic qualifications. What an abnormal society*! (Interview notes, 14/04/2013)

Liu Qiang's narrative shows that his professional knowledge as an experienced engineer was not fully acknowledged. This sort of knowledge was gained mainly through non-formal and

informal learning on the working site rather than in classrooms. Liu Qiang attributed the excessive social emphasis on formal learning acquired knowledge to the influence of "abnormal society." Therefore, in his view, what knowledge would be useful enough to change "fate" was not decided by learners but chosen by external forces.

Liu Qiang was not alone in perceiving that knowledge through non-formal and informal learning would not be appropriately acknowledged. To illustrate the relationship between knowledge and its impact on Chinese society, Li Ning, the tutor of Property Management put it this way:

> *"If you do not have qualifications, it is hard to be promoted. For example, if your boss wants to promote you, but you have only primary schooling, how can s/he promote you? Would your boss have to bear the stress and pressure from others? They would ask 'why you promote her/him rather than someone else?"* (Fieldwork notes, 25/11/2012).

Li Ning used "primary schooling" and outside "pressure" as examples, so he mainly meant certifications for knowledge. So, though Li Ning did value experienced knowledge, he believed that knowledge from formal learning was more valued than from non-formal or informal learning for promotion. Liu Qiang and Li Ning's remarks indicate that different criteria were employed to evaluate knowledge in PRD, which differentiated into multiple forms acquired through various channels. There existed a dilemma: while formal learning was more valued, informal and non-formal learning was playing a practically vital role in modern enterprises.

9.1.3 Knowledge as a human resource

Similar to Huang Hong, Lisa was also a distinguished alumnus of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan. I was able to interview Lisa in person, which was different from Huang Hong's case. This section aims to discuss how Lisa viewed her knowledge as related to her career development.

She was the vice-general manager of a large property management company, whose headquarters were based in Shenzhen and which had a lot of branches over a number of

provinces in China. This enabled Lisa to travel around regularly on business. As I said in Chapter 4, I observed a short term vocational training course on property management. Students in this class worked towards a certificate of property management qualification. Lisa was one of the students in a previous class on this course a couple of years before. Even before I met Lisa, her name and her stories had been repeatedly mentioned by Li Ning the instructor of this course as an example of a successful migrant worker student after taking his course.

One day after a whole day's sessions on Li Ning's course, I finally met Lisa, who happened to be consulting Yuanmeng bachelor's degree courses at the receptionist's. So a few students along with me and Li Ning had a chat in the foyer. From our talk, I understood Lisa more, and I learned that she came to Shenzhen from an inland Jiangxi Province in 2001 with simply senior middle school education qualifications:

> *"In the first few years, I had no pressure. Later, when I saw many of my friends or acquaintances having developed themselves somewhat, I felt some pressure. So I read for property management certificates, and then took a course leading to an associate degree in human resources management. I felt that if I did not work hard when being young, then there would be no opportunities when getting old"* (02/12/2012 Interview notes with Lisa).

Apparently, Lisa focused on her educational experiences on both academic courses and vocational training courses. However, many other migrant workers as students in V College had similar experiences, as my investigations showed. I noticed that Lisa was distinctive in her personality. Being restrained, she showed dignity and great care in her presentation and communications. She was friendly yet remained cautious and distanced. She presented herself as the image of typical management.

To understand her better, I asked her later in our QQ chat, "What about your personality? Do you think it played any role in your promotion?" Lisa answered,

> *"Property management is a service industry. I personally feel that I have natural quality of affinity. This helped me do better in the process of communication with agents and service users. Of course the point is that we should do our best to be committed to whatever we do. This makes me more confident. In the first year after I joined Yuanda Property Management, I worked hard and won recognition of higher rank authorities, so I was promoted quicker. Now I feel that there were many opportunities for promotion. But knowledge is also important*." (QQ interview with Lisa 10/12/2012)

In a sense, for a company offering service industry, where Lisa was engaged, proper working attitudes and good communication skills could be more important than strong academic knowledge. But Lisa concluded by emphasizing the vital role of knowledge for her career development. This suggested that she aligned with the dominant discourse that "knowledge changes fate," as discussed in Section 9.1 above.

However, Lisa admitted the equal importance of other factors such as her "natural quality of affinity," "working hard," "recognition of higher rank authorities," "opportunities" and "knowledge," as a line of conditions for her success, including both her personal elements and external conditions. Kabeer (1994) includes in the category of human resources "the labour power, health and skills of individuals," (ibid: 280). This shows that knowledge was one of her personal human resources, along with her sociable character and hardworking attitudes, which Lisa attempted to separate out as different categories. However, no independent knowledge existed within Lisa without inherent combination with other traits: her character and attitudes, or even external opportunities. The over-emphasis on the power of knowledge without recognizing outside or other relevant factors could be an excuse by which to dodge one's responsibility. Likewise, it will be an over-simplification as shown in many discourses that suggest improved literacy would guarantee jobs.

"Opportunities" and "recognition of higher rank authorities" indicated that Lisa's networking, as an intangible resource, had been well-developed. Lisa did not elaborate on what roles intangible resources such as networking played in her promotion, which, however, seemed indispensable for her to become more aspiring and upgraded. As discussed in Chapter 3,

power is embedded in the daily social practice, so Lisa, like everybody else, was "caught in relations of power" (Gordon, 1994: xvi). Without the assemblage of power relations coming from outside, it seems unlikely that her knowledge could have been put into practice and become actualized. This will be a focus in Section 9.2 below.

9.1.4 Summary

This section started with a discourse popular in V College, "Knowledge changes fate," and analyzed how it impacted migrant workers as students and educational practitioners. Apparently, some migrant workers like Lisa and Huang Hong and educational workers such as Li Ning aligned themselves with this popular discourse. This corroborated that individuals were influenced by surrounding discourses and social practices, which influenced social actors involved and shaped their subjectivities.

Secondly, by taking discourse as multiple and dynamic, I examined different understandings of knowledge and found that there were nuanced approaches to knowledge. This informed that there would be a need to identify what knowledge meant for social actors: knowledge acquired through formal learning, knowledge acquired through non-formal and informal learning, or knowledge certification. This showed that employers generally did not pay enough attention and respect to the knowledge acquired through non-formal and informal learning, which, however, had contributed to modern industrialization in China.

Thirdly, the interview with Lisa suggested that knowledge could become a human resource when it had been actualized. As a kind of power, knowledge did not function in isolation but in the patterns of "multiplicities, flows, arrangements, and connections" (Foucault, 1994: 107). Also, knowledge did not work within its own category but connect with heterogeneous dimensions, in the light of the principles of "connection and heterogeneity" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988: 7), such as knowledge of different kinds, as well as "resources, people and events," as suggested in Kabeer's SRF. This encouraged me to consider how knowledge and

other dimensions interacted: such as the resources migrant workers possessed, college authorities and employers, and social and educational events.

So, whether knowledge had been fully engaged in empowering migrant workers not only depended on learners themselves but also on many other factors such as opportunities and external demands, as Lisa and Huang Hong's narratives show. External conditions and opportunities from society, enterprises and authorities needed to be introduced to transform into reality the knowledge of migrant workers.

Therefore, migrant workers such as Huang Hong and Lisa, as beneficiaries of adult education, carried forward the belief that knowledge was the key to personal development, thus overshadowing the fact that not everybody would be lucky enough to be "image representatives," who were actually a minority of elite people. It seemed that the use of "image representatives," such as Huang Hong and Lisa, to illustrate the relationship between knowledge and life change concealed the likely issues that existed with the majority of migrant workers. Over-emphasis on this internal relationship could also become an excuse by relevant authorities to dodge their own responsibility to ensure social justice, which involved an efficient network of social relations rather than relying solely on education and knowledge, as will be discussed in Section 9.2 below.

9.2 Social connections, underlying rules and adult learning

Kabeer, in her SRF, asserts that resources act as the "other side of the coin to the 'rules' of an institution" (1994: 282). It will be interesting to discuss social connections, as an intangible resource, along with their relevant guiding rules.

The roles that social connections played in the implementation of the educational programmes of migrant workers have been elaborated in Section 3, Chapter 5, where I analyzed how social connections and organization contributed to learning opportunities. Similarly, as discussed in Chapter 8, "guanxi," as a social phenomenon in the Chinese culture, remained an interpersonal element among students in their curricular and extracurricular activities. This section aims to examine how far social connections, especially

"guanxi," as mentioned in Chapter 3, in comparison with knowledge, were related to the livelihoods and aspirations of migrant workers in learning.

In offering advice to migrant workers as students on how to take an appropriate attitude towards knowledge, Li Ning cited a prevalent saying, "academic qualifications, practical ability, social connections, and powerful network are respectively bronze medals, silver medals, gold medals and trump card medals." (Fieldnotes, 25/11/2012)

By this, Li Ning attempted to explain what social factors by what underlying rules affected personal promotion. By underlying rules, I mean they were not legally stipulated but socially observed. The most overwhelming one was a powerful network, seconded by "guanxi," or social connections and followed by practical ability. One's knowledge and educational background was the least important of the four factors, as identified by Li Ning. As the powerful network was restricted to a privileged few and inaccessible to the ordinary citizens, Li Ning stressed the vital roles of "guanxi" in social practices and personal development. Although academic learning was cited as the least of the four, it was still an important remedy for the powerless such as migrant workers. Paradoxically, Li Ning cited the saying as popular opinion, which means that it acted as an ideology itself and could constrain migrant workers' initiative.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Gold likens "guanxi" to Bourdieu's concept of social capital, but suggests that this term had more "negative" than "positive" connotations, as it was "an obstacle to China's becoming a modern society based on the rule of law" (Gold et al, 2002, 3). As Liu Qiang, just cited above, complained, "'Guanxi' is everywhere. If you are closer to leaders, you will get more opportunities……." (Interview notes, 14/04/2013) Liu Qiang showed his frustration in nurturing "guanxi," so he chose to be educated to change his fate. Apparently, Liu Qiang articulated more of the negative connotations of "guanxi."

So, Liu Qiang and Li Ning brought our attention to the underlying rules, which dictated the complicated and hierarchical society in which education and certificates could be regarded as secondary to one's practical abilities and social relations in certain contexts.

The inter-dependence of different social and personal factors above could be illustrated by Kabeer's (1994) SRF, especially the role of intangible resources such as "informal networks and association," through which other intangible resources to be produced; in turn, the newly produced intangible resources help people "defend or improve their material resource base"(ibid: 280). Then, in the light of this, Lisa's status being upgraded cannot have been attributed only to her certificates or educational background. As she admitted above, "*I worked hard and won recognition of the higher rank authorities, so I was promoted quicker."* In other words, Lisa established favourable connections with higher levels of authorities, which laid a good foundation for her upward mobility and enabled her to lead a better life.

Migrant workers were exposed to the influence of various dimensions, especially, social connections of various levels. However, when there were difficulties in gaining access to efficient "guanxi" network, another option was to enhance educational qualifications, as Li Ning suggested, thus becoming empowered.

However, adult learning, as a part of their life, did not always have direct goals, but they were engaged in it for diverse motivations. So it is necessary to explore how migrant workers as students treated learning and why, and analyze the social implications existing in the interface between migrant workers and educational practitioners, as will be the focus of the next section.

9.3 Demystifying the learning attitudes of migrant workers

In this section, I will interpret discourses around the learning attitudes of migrant workers as students, as I found contradictory data about their attitudes. I observed that some students were extremely hard working and others could find whatever chances to be absent from

classes or dodge their duties as students. So I chose not to investigate whether they were truly lazy or not but to deconstruct the discourses around “laziness.” In other words, I will explore what implications were embedded in the tension in my observations from different perspectives.

9.3.1 Learning “just in case”

As mentioned in Chapter 5, large companies tended to offer migrant workers as employees more chances to be educated. This helped them become more confident and knowledgeable, which in turn enabled them to have more aspirations. Meili, again, will be cited here. Having senior middle school qualifications, she entered the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan. After one year’s study in a three-year programme leading to an associate degree in economic management initiated at the autumn of 2012 she was more confident and aspiring.

Besides, her experiences as a coordinator of a bus company enabled her to be more sociable and considerate of others. Whether in class time or in a work context, she was welcome and showed a strong initiative spirit. In my QQ chat with her in June 2014, I learned that she had obtained her certificate to be a nutrition expert and was taking a course leading her to a status of psychological counselor, which would cost her 4500 yuan (450 pounds equivalent).

When I asked her why she was learning something totally irrelevant to her job or degree course, she replied," I am planning to learn as much as I can of what I am interested in and within my capacity. You see society is developing. So I will not be out of date. I am learning just in case" (QQ chat record 06/06/2014). Having had enough information in society or organizations was a premise for migrant workers to enter schooling again. In the rapidly developing society, Meili adopted an “alterative strategy” (Escobar, 1995: 21) by opening up more choices for her future career.

Similar stories happened to the short term vocational training courses such as the Property Management Class tutored by Li Ning, just mentioned above. More than one student told me when I asked why they took this course that they learned it "just in case" they might need it

later, although some of them took it because they were required to produce it as a necessary qualification to be employed. This will be mentioned again in the Section 9.3.2

Seemingly, migrant workers such as Meili who learned "just in case" were aspiring for knowledge. However, this reflected their sense of job fragility. Behind this hard working attitude lay their uncertainty towards the future, as "society is progressing" and "I will be out of date" indicates Meili's internal anxiety and sense of loss yet she had no clear intention to transform her newly learned knowledge into other resources. This suggested that knowledge could be powerless without connections with other social dimensions. Thus, Meili was learning for the sake of learning itself, taking forward the momentum of learning brought back from the Yuanmeng Plan and carrying on the belief "knowledge changes fate." What Meili learned as a Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan student enhanced her self-confidence and aspirations.

As mentioned in Section 5.1.4 of Chapter 5, I argued that the Yuanmeng plans were mainly utilitarian education-orientated rather than working towards transformative education in terms of their policy design and implementation. However, in terms of individual learners, I found they had diverging and different purposes than that anticipated by the educational policy. As mentioned above, some students in the Property Management Class took this course as they were required to acquire a certification for job promotion. Concerned about their specific job requirements, they could be seen as utilitarian-orientated. However, learning "just in case" was apparently directed by transformative learning, as the learners viewed their learning as a way to improve job prospects.

Not everyone would succumb to the power of knowledge, or to the influence of powerful networks and social connections, as conveyed in Li Ning' quotation above. They thus took an "alternative strategy" (Escobar, 1995: 21), and became "lazy," as some teachers remarked. This will be the focus of my next section.

9.3.2 "Some students are lazier"

When continuing education did not bring about desirable results, migrant workers would take negative attitudes towards their learning. As discussed in Section 8.4, Chapter 8, Wang

Shaogang, vice president of V College thought that over two thirds of migrant workers as students did not devote enough “time, energy and money to overcome their difficulties” in their learning process (Wang Shaogang’s online college report, accessed on 03/12/2012). This section will focus on the class of Property Management, where Li Ning, mentioned above, acted as the instructor. As introduced in Chapter 4, students of this class aimed to work towards a certificate for property management.

Li Ning, a man of around 50 years old, treated his students like a father, and was concerned about their coming qualifying examination. He imparted relevant professional knowledge and also moral lessons such as treasuring time and studying hard. More than once, he told his students in a light-toned way, “Spend less time playing cards, smoking, or with lovers, but spend more time in your learning.” As mentioned in Chapter 7, Li Ning, was so close to his students that they would not get offended by his remark or harmless jokes.

In my interview with Li Ning, he said, "some students here are lazier than the students in the classes of the same course stationed on other teaching sites, as they do not pay at their own expense. Otherwise, they would have to pay 800 yuan (80 pounds equivalent)" (Interview notes with Li Ning 25/11/2012). Li Ning suggested that they had not studied hard enough. He had rich experiences in teaching this course on different sites and was thus an influential instructor on property management in this area. Later, I did observe some “lazy” students. A student with whom I happened to share a desk had his textbooks clean and unmarked. He admitted shyly that he was too busy to read them, and also seldom attended class activities.

Students took different attitudes in studying for this course, thus displaying corresponding learning motivations and commitment, as not everybody needed the certificate of property management at this moment, though it would be good to have one “just in case” for the future, as mentioned in Section 9.3.1. This was shown in the narratives and experiences from the four students described below.

Liang Dazhi, Zhou Yu, Lu Yang, and Yin Meng all came from Henan Province, central China. Liang Dazhi, an estate administrator of a property management company, did not have any intention to change his job. He seemed to be the most hard-working student among them. But Zhou Yu was considering starting or at least being engaged in a company on express delivery, which was "much needed in society" according to his own understanding. Lu Yang was a truck driver for a company. Yin Meng, in his early twenties, the youngest of the four, was employed in the same company as Liang Dazhi. He apparently received special care and consideration from the other three. Here is the description of our first lunch break together:

> *Yin Meng showed a lot of respect to me, maybe because I was much older than him while he was the youngest. He said, "I have no way out. Can you please offer me some suggestions?" This question made me feel guilty as he placed so much trust in me. Liang Dazhi, over 30 years old with the experiences of being a soldier, looked more cautious when talking with me. Hardly had I offered a response when he took over this topic. He told me the advantages of taking Yuanmeng course of property management. "It helps me clarify some issues I did not truly understand. It is a helpful process." He would tell me this without my questioning first as he must have thought this was what I wanted from interviewing. (Fieldnotes 18/11/2012)*

The above extract from fieldwork notes suggested that, as students, migrants were confronted with different situations. Most of the time, Liang Dazhi was like the spokesman for the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan. On the other hand, Yin Meng felt frustrated by his uncertain future. He spent some years in military service but did not receive enough academic training. Besides, his current job as an administrator in a property management company paid him a monthly income of around 2500 yuan (around 250 pounds equivalent), but they had never told me the exact amount.

Yin Meng must have taken me as an expert as if I could do everything, when he asked me for "some suggestions." Yin Meng's anxiety was merely a case among the whole generation of migrant workers in PRD or even other places in China but it reflected the general sentiments of quite a percentage of them: to search for a way out for their future.

I analyzed “laziness” from different perspectives in an attempt to show any hidden implications or alternative interpretations. Migrant workers as students like Liang Dazhi were satisfied with their learning opportunities. But some others such as Yin Meng were uncertain of their future. They did not seem to count on the educational course they were engaged in, but on other alternatives such as switching to another job or starting a business of their own. “Laziness” was merely a superficial phenomenon, behind which was that the migrant workers, lost for their future, were seeking a way out through their social and educational practices.

9.3.3 “You see many students are thinking of quitting”

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan, an influential and free educational programme for migrant workers, had “become a well-known brand in Shenzhen City and even in the circle of all China Trade Union.” I had never thought that quitting the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan could have been an issue. As Robinson-Pant suggests in her study of Nepali women’s literacy education, "‘drop out’ is a social phenomenon to explore” (2000: 161). This section aims to explore why quitting educational programmes happened and what different ideas existed on this issue.

The first time I heard of this news, I was discussing examination content and methods with the students of the Machinery Engineering Class. Liu Qiang, as mentioned in Section 9.1, tried to let me understand the necessity of designing appropriate exam papers. He told me some students were considering giving up this course. I had seen this in their QQ chatroom but did not take it seriously. As described in the extract from my fieldwork notes:

> *Liu Qiang said, "You see many students are thinking of quitting. If you could give me back tuition fees, I will quit." I said, "If you are ready, I will sign for you." I said jokingly, as I did not have any right to sign. I reassured him that their tests they were practicing would be useful for the final one, he became quiet. Actually he was so focused today that he would read aloud in an awkward way, sometimes in funny loud*

> *voice. Some mentioned they paid over 2000 yuan themselves on the basis of the Yuanmeng Plan funding. That is much more than the other dream programme. (Fieldwork notes 31/03/2013)*

The discussion of the students on quitting the programme was mixed up with their anxiety about assessments, deposits and fees. So I took Liu Qiang's remark as a signal of warning that I should make tests easier, but the so-called "many" was an overstatement. I had not expected quitting to be a noticeable phenomenon. Later on the same day, Wang Yan, the class mentor, came to the classroom for a class meeting, which was usually given during break time. I then sat down and observed:

> *Wang Yan said, "Some students were thinking of quitting. This really surprised me." Seeing nearly half were absent today, she continued, "If you do not come, how can you pass exams? You are no genius. You should work hard. Remember last semester, nearly half of you failed the maths test. Group leaders should inform students to come. You should play model roles. Just work hard for two years, and you will get the graduation certificate. ..... If you do not want to quit, you should concentrate on your study. You should change your personality." Wang Yan wanted to appoint some groups leaders to replace others, who were absent, but got declined by some nominated ones. She had to readjust her decisions.* (Fieldwork notes 28/04/2013)

Wang Yan did not concentrate on the problem of quitting the educational programme, but encouraged her students to study hard when realizing half of the students were absent. This aligned with Li Ning's class mentioned just above, which seemed to suggest students' becoming "lazy." I later talked with a man thinking of quitting, staying around the door and waiting for Wang Yan to sign as if shyly and guiltily. He said, "I am just too busy to attend classes." He was doing business in real estate. Usually he was working at the weekends.

Wang Yan's comments and her students' responses showed that there could be difficulties in asking adult students to play model roles and sacrifice time and energy to collective class activities in today's commercialized society just because they were group leaders. Besides, students chose to be "lazy," as half of them were absent, or even considered quitting their education by excuse of being busy and their jobs and normal life being affected. Therefore,

formal adult education subsequently gave way to their jobs and physical survival first. It could not achieve everything that it had been intended to. This reflected the lower status of adult higher education than full time higher education. This had been anticipated in Section 8.3 of Chapter 8, where students claimed “Don’t expect the same of us as other full time students.”

Thus receiving an academic certificate seemed to be the major motive for some migrant workers, as admitted by Hua Rong, a class representative, "some are indeed eager to learn something but others just want to get a graduation certificate." (QQ interview record, 05/05/2013).

When certificates for adult education were not as appealing to students as were their current jobs, they would choose to quit.

9.3.4 Summary

This section analyzed positive and negative reactions of the students to the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan in terms of their learning attitudes. Findings showed that migrant workers as students were uncertain what benefits adult education would bring them. While some students were eager to learn new knowledge, quite a large percentage of them had acquiring certificates as their major motivation. This partly helps explain why students became passive in their learning.

Secondly, formal education was challenged by social realities. In comparing informal and formal learning, Rogers (2014: 26) states, formal learning “is felt to be more important because it is visible.” However, some students gave up their formal learning programme to pursue other occupations. This, in a sense, suggested that formal adult education would need to reconsider how to revalue its roles, as will be discussed in the next section.

9.4 Multiple modes of learning

The section above focused on diverse responses to educational programmes for migrant workers. As adults, migrant workers encountered multiple social channels of informal and non-formal learning for further development and promotion. This section will examine how these learning resources were distributed and how migrant workers reacted to their distribution.

9.4.1 Enterprise culture: dominating or liberating individuals

I had been concerned about the effect of organized training in China's enterprise training. The general atmosphere in an enterprise could be unique of its own, while being influenced by the whole society, pushing its own doctrines and calling for cohesion. The following picture about the training of an enterprise revealed some of its intentions： to control people by its unique means and arouse a special feeling inside.

Figure 9-1 Employees training

http://money.163.com/photoview/251H0025/8877.html#p=8TT3J5CL251H0025

accessed on 02/05/2013

This picture showed how a training programme was conducted. It was contextualized in Chongqing, southwest China and designed to "develop the endurance of its employees." Trainees lowered their sense of dignity and suffered from severe humiliation in the public. There they were being watched and videotaped. However, they chose to do so, or rather, they agreed to so with the instructions from their trainers. Their target was the customers in an imagined and materialized form. To attain this aim, they anticipated the greatest challenge

they could imagine: kneeling down and crawling. By excuse of endurance development, the training was designed to cultivate submissiveness in employees.

In this section, I will discuss the on-the-job training for employees in the bus company that I researched, and what ideologies were embedded. As mentioned in Chapter 5, they were students in the Class of Economic Management of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan. In their virtual class space, photos were posted on students' collective activities. What attracted me most were these students in their working uniforms, like air stewardesses, with their hands held around their waists, showing good manners. They later told me that they had received appropriate training in etiquette, including gestures and language use. I talked with a female student named Ling Ling about the way of working in the bus, as she was a bus ticket conductor. Ling Ling, as cited in Chapter 5, was always so warm-hearted as to share with me some of her lunch. I told her some of my unpleasant experiences in taking a bus:

> *Me*: *"Bus ticket conductors always say, "be quick! Be quick!" What would you do in this case?"*
>
> *Ling Ling: We were taught to use proper languages like "Please would you go inside a bit further? Thank you for your cooperation."* (Fieldnotes 31/03/2013)

As stated in Chapter 5, this bus company recommended for the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan course only "model workers" who had no record of breaking disciplines. Its strict rules and control helped assimilate their employees more. The following observation enabled me to gain deeper understanding of these students on the day of their class outward development, as discussed in Chapter 7:

> *The students from the bus company seemed to be very familiar with each other, and they were also most active, sharing food with each other. I was very surprised to find that they had one common feature, that is, their broad smile. Later on that day, I knew that they had actually received proper training on how to smile, like showing "eight teeth," as one training item in their company. (Fieldwork notes 12/05/2013)*

Migrant workers' showing the same type of smile and gestures, as if made out of the same mould, suggests that the on-the-job learning enabled them to be assimilated to the rules and culture of their company. Meanwhile, they were optimistic about their public images.

In the process of assimilation, a sense of pride and belonging was aroused and instilled, as Meili, just mentioned above, often used "our company" as her catch phrase rather than "the bus company." However, by suggesting that some attribute, such as "showing eight teeth", was a better virtue, the enterprise united while dominating ideologically its workers more effectively. In turn, the employees lost their unrestrained rural spirit, and became uniformed in character, thought and behaviour.

This section discussed how enterprise training influenced migrant workers in terms of communication skills and urban cultures. There seemed to be similar practices in technical training in manufacturing industries: uniformed training for the sake of assembly lines, which will be analyzed in the following section.

9.4.2 Changing relationships in enterprises

In this section, I will analyze the social implications of on-the-job training for migrant workers in PRD. A comparison will show that there have been drastic changes in on-the-job training after the reform and open policy initiated around 1980.

As mentioned in Section 2.2.2 of Chapter 2, in the initial years after the foundation of P.R. China, national scale adult education and on-the-job training and apprenticeship were emphasized China's government (Li, 1960: 40; Ascher, 1976: 19.) The practice of apprenticeship was, "Master workers not only imparted to their apprentices professional knowledge and vocational skills, but also moral lessons on how to conduct themselves. Apprentices were not only assistants of their master workers, but also supposed to look after their master workers' life." (Liaoning Daily, 2015). In other words, master workers and their apprentices were very close in this relationship, very much like that of parent and child, and developed personal relationship or "guanxi," as stated in Section 9.2 above, for which "there is no time limit for repayments." (Gold et al, 2002: 7). To this working relationship, "an element of humanity" (ibid: 3) was added.

Around the 1980s, China adopted an open policy. As enterprises were mostly state-owned, comprehensive and strict regulations were made to ensure the training of apprenticeships on different levels. In describing how the apprenticeships in China's enterprises were conducted three decades ago, Warner (1986) writes, "Apprenticeships are normally geared to specialized training. Newcomers are trained for one task, but after several years they can learn other skills. The 'production' apprentices are not allowed at first to do repairs, but might do so when qualified" (1986: 361). This meant that enterprises were mainly concerned about how to develop apprentices into well rounded workers with solid skills, thus strengthening the relationship between the management and the staff.

However, my observations and interviews of migrant workers in Dongguan City in PRD from 2012 to 2013 portrayed a totally different picture of how migrant workers learned their technology and vocational skills. Most of them were employed by medium and small scale privately owned enterprises majoring in labour intensive manufacturing industry, where larger numbers of migrant workers were needed to do mechanically repeated jobs.

Enterprises imposed strict rules and conditions for what kind of workers they needed, such as age limits, educational backgrounds, physical conditions, as indicated in the job advertisement quoted in Sections 5.1.4 and 5.3.1, Chapter 5 (for full content of this advertisement, see the appendix).

With these points in mind, I interviewed some workers outside the factory site. It was around six evening time. Workers were enjoying their break for around one hour after their supper before resuming their work for an extra few hours. I asked a woman worker about this advertisement. She must have mistaken me for a job hunter, as she looked at me with sympathy, saying:

> *"Workers were still needed in this factory." I said, "But there seem to be limits for workers' ages." She then gave a grin, "That doesn't matter. They just said that, but they hire people older than that. I am older than that."* (Fieldwork notes 20/11/2012).

Working conditions and specifications could not be fulfilled by the real situations on the job market. So the discourse of the conditions represents the images of the workers idealized by employers.

Factories in Dongguan City needed general workers urgently, but often had difficulties in recruiting enough, especially after the Spring Festival of 2013 when migrant workers came back from their home villages. Various measures were taken to keep them to their original posts. To do so, some factories would not give them the end of year bonus until they were back from this holiday.

My observation of H Town was telling. On 24th February, 2013, Chinese Lantern Festival, suddenly many stalls appeared for the purpose of recruiting workers everywhere in the streets, as factories knew workers were coming back from Spring Festival holidays. Job fairs were frequently held in H Town centre with job agents recruiting workers for some companies:

> *I noticed a man was very initiative, persuading people to join a company. He looked very cautious when I asked for details. He finally told me he was in charge of recruitment for many firms and factories. One young man was discussing with this agent. He wanted to find a job only one month long. The agent answered "OK. If you want to leave, let them know three days before the end of the month. Then you can get wages. Otherwise, there would be some trouble." Many more were looking at various job ads put up everywhere.* (Fieldnotes, 08/03/2013)

As shown above, the young man simply wanted to do one month. This would mean that his prospective employers would be unwilling to invest a lot in training him. In this case, job training could be short-term, target-specific and simplified. As the woman worker, cited just above, said, "There are many kinds of jobs. I am just sorting out wires to products. They will tell you how to do. Very easy." (Fieldwork notes 20/11/2012). Likewise, Wei Jie, 18 years old, from Guizhou Province, southwest China, offered me similar ideas on how he learned the trade of shoe making with a shoe making enterprise, "I learned it on the working site. Watched and learned it. It is not difficult."

Liansheng, a shop owner of electronic products, provided similar stories. I initially approached him to fix my computer, but later we came to understood each other. Like Wei Jie, Liansheng had factory experiences for ten years. Then in 2008, he started to run his own business, dealing in electronic goods in 2008, especially computers and relevant accessories. He was the only staff member, acting as boss, manager, technician, and shop assistant. When I asked him how he learned computer expertise, he told me, "I just played it and learned it." "Education is useless and expensive," (Fieldwork notes 26/09/2012). Liansheng could resolve some technical problems. But he seemed to take a trial and error method. Quite a few times, I saw him googling for solutions and downloading some software.

"Watched and learned it" or "played it and learned it" seems to be a typical training way for migrant workers with low skills employed by manufacturing enterprises. This was different from the complete and well planned training system among state-owned enterprises in the 1980s as described above. So it seemed impossible to develop deep social connections between employees and employers or between employees themselves. The so-called traditional "guanxi," as displayed with the workers in the early 1950s above, was hard to establish and maintain with migrant workers and employers, as there was no much opportunity to invest affective elements into their relationships.

Some critics were optimistic that "guanxi" would bring "an element of humanity to otherwise cold transactions, and comes to the rescue in the absence of consistent regulations or guidelines for social conduct" (Gold et al, 2002: 3). To my understanding, "humanity" refers to interpersonal feelings. However, relationships involving migrant workers in on-the-job training did not appear to possess strong humanity. The new relationships were connections of "heterogeneity" and "multiplicity," (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988: 7), interconnecting with any dimension on the same plane constituting heterogeneous parts, such as machines, products, commodities, markets, discourses, virtual spaces, and human beings. As employers were concerned about making profits, the impact of the material dimensions, such as machines, products, markets, and commodities, would be as important as, if not more, that of

the human factors on the development of human relationship, or "guanxi," between employers and employees or between employees. This would be more so in private enterprises employing temporary workers.

9.4.3 Learning of migrant workers and their social mobility

As mentioned above, employers and migrant workers as employees did not invest affectivity into their relationship. One of the reasons was the high fluidity of migrant workers. When I was ready to leave Dongguan in August, 2013, I found that, around 20 security guards of the property management company I met at the start of my fieldwork, only a few stayed. So many new faces joined this company. For instance, Jun, an ambitious security guard, as stated in Section 5.1.4, Chapter 5, left this company and went back to a German invested company, where he used to work. This section will explore how and what knowledge affected the social and spatial mobility of migrant workers.

My interview described below was conducted around evening time. Amid the moisture of the air, I seemed to detect the smell of sweat. Workers relaxed: playing badminton, playing with their mobiles or simply chatting in twos or threes. I walked up to a group of three people, worried if they would be happy to talk with me. But they were very cooperative after I explained my purpose.

Shu Li, 29 years old, from Shandong Province, eastern China, Wei Jie, 18 years, just cited above, and the third young man remaining silent throughout. Shu Li and Wei Jie used to work in the same factory, but Shu Li transferred to another bigger one for more income. Shu Li was very expressive while concise, with strong communication ability. This was quite different from many other migrant workers I interviewed, but he merely had junior middle school education. I was surprised at his fluency in language ability. He grinned shyly,

> *It was due to my social experiences outside. I just learned from others. I did not study well when I was a student and had to be outside young. … Actually I am not doing so good in comparison with my fellow villagers as they work in Beijing, Shanghai and the Changjiang River Delta. Money is better there.….* (25/11/2012 interview notes with Shu Li)

Shu Li's informal learning from his social experiences strengthened his communication skills. He apparently was the spokesman of the three. Meanwhile, he had wider horizons and was considering reflexively what to improve for his future, as he mentioned his "fellow villagers" and other places in China.

When I asked if there were any educational programmes in the factories, Shu Li replied,

> "*I did not have any training experiences. Just learned on the working site. There are no education courses in factories.* (25/11/2012 interview notes with Shu Li)

Shu Li's rich experiences in different factories since he came to Dongguan in 2001 were a help with his social and spatial mobility. With junior middle school education and no further formal education, he could transfer from one factory to another for more income, after he strengthened his working skills. As Wei Jie agreed, "You know many people became experienced and then moved to a new place to make more money." (Interview notes with Wei Jie, 25/11/2012).

The upward mobility of the migrant workers, such as Shu Li and Liansheng, as mentioned above, were enhanced through their informal learning opportunities. Similar evidence has been provided by research studies such as Rao and Hossain's (2012) research on migrant workers from rural Bangladesh who worked overseas. Their studies show that, in constructing a new identity "that is socially respected and recognized as successful," these migrant workers benefited from their social experiences which were "quite distinct from formal schooling, such as their experience of new places and participation in new cultures" (Rao & Hossain, 2012: 426).

Kabeer states that resources and rules are two sides of one coin (1994: 282), as the two dimensions need to be considered simultaneously. Shu Li strengthened his capacity from his working experiences, thus increasing his human resources. Luckily, with relevant social rules, he was able to utilize his resources by transferring freely to another factory, as migrant workers were guaranteed with more power such as minimum wages and labour law, as

mentioned in Chapter 5 about Lao Wang' complaint, which, however, means power of employers over their employees was reduced.

My analysis so far has been on how informal and non-formal learning, together with relevant social rules, contributed to the development of migrant workers. While migrant workers such as Shu Li, Wei Jie and Liansheng, acknowledged that social experiences and flexible forms of learning strengthened their social and spatial mobility, Shu Li also admitted his inadequacy of formal learning:

> *Of course, it would be better if I had had better education experiences. A lot of people with poorer educational experiences are not so quick to learn as those with better qualifications. Also, now there are many young people who just graduated from vocational schools and then joined the working force. They are undoubtedly challenging to the workers with lower education.* (Interview notes with Shu Li, 25/11/2012).

Shu Li perceived the challenges coming from the younger people with formal vocational qualifications, as he was "not so quick to learn". This meant that formal learning experiences, with systematic and intensive training, provided learners with solid foundation and lasting influence.

Like Shu Li, Yin Fa also offered similar narrative. Yin Fa, in his late 30s, from Shaanxi Province, northwest China, ran a stall selling grilled snacks in H Town, Dongguan City, and his business was welcome to many young customers. Unlike some stall owners offering food with hands, he put his food carefully and decently in a brown bag with tongs. As my interview proceeded on his working site, sometimes I would be an assistant when he was busy.

After a few interviews, we came to understand each other more. Once he told me, "I respect people like you, as you are better educated, but I had only had junior middle school education. This posed a barrier for my understanding and further promotion in factories." (Interview notes with Yin Fa, 09/12/2012)

In 2007, Yin Fa came to Dongguan as a migrant worker. He first got employed in a factory making computer accessories. Usually, he worked in the day time and used one hour in the evening time learning relevant theories and practical operation. To remedy for his lack of working skills, he did not care about the dirt or hard work. This way, he won trust from his boss. He sometimes would be assigned to over 10 machines, which would bring several hundred yuan more monthly income than others.

However, as mentioned above, he was not well educated. So when he was likely to be promoted to a director post in the office, he lost the chance, as there were well-educated younger people with formal vocational certificates flooding into the job market. So he left this plant after working there for 3 years, and transferred to another factory. However, as described by Yin Fa,

> *Work remained as tiring as ever. I did not like that feeling with machines humming and banging around. Even today, I seem to be hearing that around me. I resigned again one year later in 2011 and began to do my own small business like this.* (14/12/2012)

Yin Fa was very disappointed yet relieved. Remaining loyal and devoted to his enterprise, he had not been able to gain the promotion within his arm's reach, which was, instead, given over to younger people with formal learning qualifications. Inadequate formal learning put him at a disadvantage in comparison with newly joined employees. This made him give up hope in working further in the manufacturing industry, which did not prioritize older workers in employment, as also mentioned by Jun, in Chapter 5.

This illustrates the idea that, in comparison with informal and non-formal learning, formal learning was still dominating in the mainstream ideology, as concluded in Chapter 3 by Rogers (2014: 26). This point is also substantiated by the job advertisement, (See appendix), as quoted in Section 5.3.1 Chapter 5, which promised different levels of income to workers

according to their educational qualifications, as well as by Liu Qiang's stories, in Section 9.1.2 of this present chapter.

Then there seemed to exist a paradox: on the one hand, employers wanted to hire better-educated staff meanwhile utilizing the human resources of the lower educated ones such as Yin Fa and Shu Li. In this sense, formal educational qualifications were deployed as a discourse by the employers to control their employees ideologically.

Yin Fa, unlike Liansheng, mentioned above, did not claim "education is useless." However, he made up his mind to escape from his past and become a new self. Factory experiences, a painful memory, enriched his knowledge about urban society and built up capacity for survival through non-formal and informal learning. This enabled him to realize that he had been working for others. He needed to be independent, as Liansheng, had already done. He was running a small stall. But he was more aspiring than this, as his next plan, when next spring returned, was to run a restaurant in Dongguan or at least, go back to his home county.

This section shows that informal and non-formal learning gained from social practices contributed to the social and spatial mobility of migrant workers. The mobility process was facilitated by relevant rules and a favourable social atmosphere. Meanwhile, findings suggested that lower formal learning could hinder the further development of migrant workers. However, the so-called lack of formal learning could serve as an ideological control on migrant workers.

As discussed in Chapter 3, formal, non-formal and informal learning each play important roles in adult knowledge learning; however, they are inseparable from each other. As Rogers writes well, "informal and formal learning may be seen as lying on a continuum" (Rogers, 2014: 26). Formal learning is "related to a formal educational institution" with clear learning objectives (ibid: 26). This makes it sound "more important because it is visible"(ibid: 26).

Educational programmes in the Yuanmeng plans were this kind of formal learning programme, as it would lead migrant workers as learners to obtain university certification. However, "Measures of adult competencies…support the idea that learning takes place over the life course and not only during childhood or within schools." (UNESCO, 2015: 131). So,

for migrant workers, such as Wei Jie and Shu Li above, non-formal learning on-the-job site, as an intentional practice, offered them opportunities to learn transferrable job skills so that they were able to transfer to different working places. Likewise, the informal learning of migrant workers, such as Liansheng, who "played it and learned it," and Fang Xu, as cited in Chapter 5, who worked as an active volunteer for a drama club speaking for migrant workers in Shenzhen City, was immersed in urban daily life, experiences and routine work. This enabled them to be updated with the rapid development of society and industrialization. All three forms of learning constituted a dynamic and inseparable process for the learning of migrant workers in PRD.

9.4.4 Summary

This section has analyzed how non-formal and informal learning was conducted in enterprises, and what influence it exerted on migrant workers. Studies show that modern enterprises utilized subtle ways to influence their employees. This not only achieved desired effects but also strengthened the sense of belonging of their employees. Essentially, the enterprises intended to dominate ideologically.

Secondly, traditional "guanxi" nurtured in the working relationships a few decades ago was diminishing with the relationships involving migrant workers. As "guanxi" involved human feelings, the working relationship on the site of the enterprises in PRD were transforming into other types, where human feelings were replaced with other dimensions such as commodification and rigid rules.

Finally, seeing informal, non-formal and formal learning as "on a continuum" (Rogers, 2014: 26), I argue that these three forms of learning were inseparable, each contributing to the development of migrant workers. While non-formal and informal learning enhanced their social and spatial mobility, they could not replace the systematic and intensive formal learning, which was stressed by both workers and their employers.

9.5 Relationships of migrant workers as students and educational institutions

This section revisits the ideas appearing in Chapter 5 on the relationship between educational institutions and migrant workers as students. While acknowledging the contribution made by educational programmes like the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan and the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan in influencing students' aspirations and enriching their means of livelihood, I noticed meanwhile how far students in these programmes helped other stakeholders such as the Shenzhen Trade Union and the Communist Youth League as well as the educational institutions in strengthening their social influence and reputation.

Official discourses reminded people of the achievements from the educational programmes. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, a slogan posted on the back wall of the major classroom in V College stated, "Knowledge changes fate while the Trade Union helps me sparkle." This was apparently from the perspective of students, as there was a word "me" in it. By this, V College assumed sliding subjectivity, acting as an inter-bridge between its students and its sponsor. However, siding with the Shenzhen Trade Union, it reminded students that they owed their education to the Shenzhen Trade Union.

Likewise, an announcement made by the office of the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan in 2012 noted its achievements for migrant workers:

> *As an educational brand of charity activity, intended to help migrant workers initiated by Shenzhen Trade Union, this programme set an example of funding migrant workers engaged in higher education. We hope that this "net welfare" helping distinguished migrant workers can keep developing steadily, continue being copied and grow so as to do some good and practical deeds for the marginalized people and migrant workers, and continue forging our branded programme aiding learning and helping the needy* (College report collected on its official website, accessed 10/12/2012).

The general tone of this announcement showed the sense of pride of the educational sponsor and practicing institution. The term "net welfare" indicated that migrant students seemed not to invest anything in this programme, which should be taken with certain precaution, as students, as discussed in Section 9.3 of this chapter, could quit schooling due to hard work

and time schedule pressure as well as a small amount of fees for certain purposes, which meant there was no such a thing as net welfare.

Large scale campaigns for student recruitment made by educational providers was a noticeable and telling phenomenon. Different from commercial schools, Yuanmeng educational institutions sponsored by both the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan and the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan as well as other government-supported educational programmes such as the Sunshine Project, as mentioned in Chapter 2, would get more funding allocated, the more students they recruited, as discussed in the general introduction to the Yuanmeng plans. Behind the bustling and hustling recruitment activities, as discussed in Chapter 4, there had been a thread of commercial drive: to have the funding allotted. Without students as participants, the funding could not be allocated.

The drive towards funding was further proven by an incident happening in early 2014. The first round of the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan students admitted by P University in early 2011 were ready to graduate. However, as shown in a QQ chat room based in Dongguan City, a teaching affairs centre based in Guangzhou for the Further Education College of P University withheld the graduation certificates from students, even though these certificates had been with the centre for quite a time. This was because government funding had not been allocated to the teaching sector yet. The affected students expressed their anxiety at not receiving their certificates promptly, as a student, named Haisheng, complained,

> *The online education is merely to make money. They should not keep our certificates just because funding has not been allotted to them. This is not our fault..... The Guangzhou teaching centre said that we were Yuanmeng students, not those who paid over 10,000 yuan on their own. I have reported it to P University.* (10/04/2014 QQ chat record).

After some negotiation, the issue was appeased and resolved. This was merely a matter of delay. But the interesting point from this process was how a shortage of money could have

hindered the ongoing of education. The victims in this event were the students. Educational agencies and institutions used students as a bargaining tool in case that money could not be paid to them. It was hard to identify which link or links in this educational process were not paid promptly. Haisheng's remark also revealed that the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan seemed to have made an agreement that students in this project would pay less fee (5000 yuan in general but P University, as an exception, paid 6000 yuan) while non-Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan students would pay over 10,000 yuan. As the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan recruited a large block of students for educational institutions, it received a great concession in tuition fee. This was essentially a business transaction acceptable for both parties.

In the whole process from choosing educational partners to final graduation, there existed an invisible power: the drive towards money and the active functioning of commercialism. To attain this goal, various measures were taken by educational agencies and institutions. There was also a tendency that educational providers and agencies reminded students of the favour bestowed by authorities: they were different from other online learning students in that they were supported by the government.

However, some students were not totally reconciled to this situation. They clearly knew that different parties had their respective concerns, as Lao Nong replied in my QQ interview in respect of educational purposes, "We simply want to learn something, the government wants to make some governance achievements, and universities want to promote their academic achievements. So this is a win-win event." (QQ interview with Guangdong Yuanmeng student, 06/05/2013). This implied that each stakeholder in educational programmes had different starting points and concerns.

Therefore, some students, such as Haisheng, in the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan fought for their own rights and benefits in their aim to shake off the fetters of a traditional mindset and become new selves and formulate new subjectivities, rather than remaining docile to educational providers and agencies.

In the earlier stages of power formulation between migrant workers as students and educational providers and practitioners, students were taught to accept limited choices of partner educational institutions as if this was their only option (see Chapter 5). This, however,

could be the outcome of the negotiation of different powers such as departments of local authorities and competing educational institutions. Theoretical support for this phenomenon can be found in Kabeer's (1994) explanation about the formulation of power, which

> "prevents conflicts between dominant and subordinate groups from becoming manifest by shaping wants, needs and preferences in such a way that both accept their role in the existing order either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial" (ibid: 227).

Thus, as the relationship between students and educational institutions continued, students were reminded to align with their educational funders, as shown in the slogan mentioned at the beginning of this section. Then they tended to be oblivious of the fact that they had made contributions to the local economy and paid taxes, and that education was a way for them to enjoy the harvest from the local economic development, of which they were a part. Instead, what lingered in their mind was what they gained from the educational process: a sense of gratitude and being favoured.

However, there was a limit of endurance for some migrant workers. When migrant workers such as Haisheng and Lao Nong cited above, could not stand it, they would show their disapproval or the "liberating and productive side" of power within them (Sarup, 1993, p.73) and affect the educational programmes they were involved in. This means that some migrant workers as students had independent and reflexive attitude towards the education project they were undertaking. Thus, they took initiatives in thinking and actions and gained ever-changing subjectivities.

9.6 Conclusion: Ever-changing and nomadic subjectivities

This chapter studied how adult learning and urban experiences impacted the livelihoods and aspiration of migrant workers. It explored how migrant workers changed their subjectivities from the interactions between different dimensions such as rules, resources, events and social actors.

First of all, I addressed the diverse implications of “knowledge” and learning for migrant workers, and found that “knowledge” should be approached in combination with other dimensions such as social connections and underlying rules. This helps understand why “knowledge changes fate” could be partial and ideological, as knowledge, to be actualized in the realistic world, needed to be combined with social or material dimensions. However, there existed a tendency to over-emphasize the knowledge acquired through formal education in enterprises and general society. This was employed as a means of ideological domination over migrant workers, which increased their sense of anxiety.

Secondly, I analyzed what lay behind the learning attitudes of migrant workers as students. I argued that students' “laziness” or attempts to quit schooling could be used as a convenient label, which concealed the complicated reasons that damaged their motivation to study hard, such as uncertainty about their future and busy work schedule.

Thirdly, I examined how migrant workers looked at their social and factory experiences as informal and non-formal learning. I contended that the traditional “guanxi” that was able to be nurtured between workers was being radically transformed, as the element of human feelings was diminishing. The traditional apprenticeship aimed to develop workers into well rounded professionals, but the current training practice in the private enterprises in the PRD did not have long term goals for migrant workers, as they might transfer when had acquired certain skills. On the other hand, enterprises managed to employ artful techniques in their enterprise culture to manage their employees. Non-formal and informal learning contributed to their social and spatial mobility. However, non-formal, informal and formal learning actually can be seen as “lying on a continuum" (Rogers, 1994: 26), as they were in a dynamic relationship and inseparable from each other.

Finally, I examined how the “liberating and productive side” of power (Sarup 1993: 73) operated within the relationship between migrant workers as students and educational agencies and educational providers, and suggested that some migrant workers as students started to take initiatives in changing the development of these programmes meanwhile experiencing dynamic subjectivities in advancing this relationship.

Migrant workers had learned to be social persons and better for survival in urban society through their social experiences. However, biased support for formal learning could harm the aspirations of migrant workers with lower educational qualifications but strong practical capacity, such as Shu Li and Yin Fa, thus deteriorating social inequity and increasing a sense of job insecurity. This was revealed in Section 9.3 in this chapter, where Meili spoke of the purpose of her taking a psychology course as "just in case." This could be linked to the idea of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977; 1990), who asserted that "credentials contribute to ensuring the reproduction of social inequality by safeguarding the preservation of the structure of the distribution of powers through a constant re-distribution of people and titles characterized" (ibid: xi).

However, in the rapidly changing society in China, formal education for adults should be regarded as only one of the dimensions contributing to social, personal and economic development. As stated above, the subjectivities of migrant workers as learners as well as their aspirations and achievements were formulated out of diverse dimensions and their interactions.

So it seems understandable that Liansheng claimed "education is useless and expensive," as he had his own choices. Migrant workers had to make constant decisions as to when to break with the past and where to head for. In this process, they assumed flowing identities: workers, peasants and business owners, in the case of Yin Fa, or workers, peasants, security guards and business owners, in the case of Jun, but they had "no fixed identity", in the words of Deleuze and Guattari (1988: 17).

Every event provided them with a process, out of which new subjectivities were constructed. To conclude this chapter, let me invite Yin Fa back. With the approach of 2013 Spring Festival, Yin Fa decided to go back to Shaanxi Province, where he had been away for four years. He might come back to Dongguan or simply stay at his home county. He told me, "The development of China's west is ongoing. So, Shaanxi Province, where Xi Jinping's ancestors came from, will be better developed soon." Pain and ecstasy merged within him, as a new

self was being formulated. This mental state was all the more perceivable, as it was, as Deleuze and Guattari note in Chapter 3, “a celibate misery and glory experienced to the fullest” (1988: 18). So personal dreams of ordinary citizens such as Yin Fa and national Chinese Dream of Xi Jinpin, as discussed in Chapter 5, re-echoed each other.

In short, in exploring the relationship between education and its outcome, I did not focus on the linear cause and effect relationship between them, but tried to explore their multiple and dynamic connections. This was different from the economist approach adopted in research studies conducted by researchers such as Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2004) and Montenegro and Patrinos (2013). Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (2004), “based on the fix provided by the newer quasi-experimental research on the economics of education,” argued that “investment in education behaves in a more or less similar manner as investment in physical capital.” (ibid: 118) Accordingly, Montenegro and Patrinos (2013) concluded in their report for the World Bank that “the returns to schooling continue to be healthy, at about 10 percent a year globally” (2013: 10). Thus, the causal relationship between returns and investment in schooling was reduced to a percentage. However, in investigating the relationship between education and migrant workers, I was concerned how a multiplicity of dimensions such as rules, resources, events and people interconnected and interacted in these educational processes. Thus, I explored how multiple forms and implications of knowledge interacted with other dimensions such as social connections and social rules, which contributed to the changing of the subjectivities of migrant workers as learners.

Chapter 10 Conclusion

To address my overarching research question "To what extent did continuing education of rural migrant workers contribute to their aspirations and ideas of development," I focused on two government-sponsored Yuanmeng educational programmes in the Pearl River Delta (PRD) of China: their planning, implementation and impact. I was concerned about the tension between what had been planned and what had been conducted in these programmes. I attempted to discover implications both social and educational embedded within them.

I observed multiple, dynamic and interactive power relationships among educational stakeholders such as education providers, agencies and practitioners, and migrant workers as students. I also explored how intangible and tangible resources such as funding, social connections and teaching force were distributed among social actors in these programmes, their curriculum plans and implementations, and how migrant workers changed their subjectivities and assumed new identities.

My research was contextualized in a wider social context than the educational programmes in the age of rapidly developing globalization, so findings could be expanded to educational and learning planning for adults in China as well as in the international context. In the rest of this chapter, I aim to set out major findings, theoretical and methodological contributions, and tentative suggestions for policy making.

10.1 Major findings

To explore the relationship between continuing education of the migrant workers and their aspirations and perceptions of development, I developed three subsidiary research questions, covering education policy making, education practice and outcomes of education. These three overlapping questions were aimed to address this relationship from different perspectives.

10.1.1 Education polices

In exploring "Who designed continuing education policies for migrant workers, from whose perspective, and in what way?" I have been able to bring together multiple voices and perspectives of policy makers, education practitioners, and migrant workers as learners.

Findings suggest that the government combined administrative control with commercialization, as it designated and allocated funding to educational institutions responsible for implementing the programmes. To secure funding, these institutions recruited students through various channels such as media, social connections and even commercial agencies. As large-scale top-down government-sponsored educational programmes, both the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan and the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan offered important learning opportunities for migrant workers. Mainly offering academic degree courses, the programmes, however, focused on elite migrants. So they could not guarantee absolute equity and fairness, as rules excluded certain groups of migrant workers as prospective students in terms of ages, household registers and literacy levels. These educational programmes, which focused on elite workers to support the development project of the industrialization and the urbanization, were different from the large scale literacy campaigns held in the early 1950s, as stated in Chapter 2, which focused on the masses of workers and peasants. These current programmes assisted migrant workers as students in promoting their aspirations, but could also stratify migrant workers, thus increasing the gap among them in social status and professional development.

Besides, the education policy designers and practitioners took forward the traditional ideology of collectivism and the concern about national interests, but individual interests were encouraged to be developed. Strong commercialization was clearly noted in relation to student recruitment, educational partnership selection, and curriculum practice.

10.1.2 Curriculum practice

In investigating my second research question “What educational programmes are migrant workers engaged in, and in what way?”, I focused on the teaching force, pedagogical practice and assessment of students as three major areas. I have found that in the practice of the

educational programmes in PRD, ideologies in teacher administration, teaching practice and assessment of students were contradictory and changing. Analyzing curriculum practices like virtual teaching, "strict" attendance registration, so-called "interactive" teaching and assessments of students indicated that the educators' dominating role in educational practice were challenged by the Internet, educational discourses such as "interactive" and "passionate," and students' low expectations of adult education.

Firstly, teachers engaged in these programmes were more fluid and diversified. Teaching staff were in ideological conflict between selfless devotion to collective welfare and the external influence from commercialization.

Secondly, pedagogical ideas were sliding and uncertain. This was mainly revealed in the tension between the advocacy for interactive and passionate teaching and the actual teacher-centred and text-orientated classroom practice. On the one hand, educational authorities, practitioners and students all believed in the importance of interactive teaching. However, the actual teaching practice was different from what had been planned, due to various reasons, such as large sized classes and curriculum requirements such as exam regulations. The excessive concern about interactive teaching suggests that educational authorities, practitioners and students were lacking in confidence in the educational programmes or an appropriate understanding of the status of the adult education programmes.

Thirdly, the implementation of assessment of students as an important link in curriculum practice in the Shenzhen Yuanmeng Plan suggests that assessment constituted a plane where supervising institutions, college authorities, teachers, and students interconnected and interacted. In this process, teachers' traditional central role was reduced. There was no single party that held absolute decisive power over this process. Assessment of students continued the traditional practice focused on scores and marks, although combined with their attendance rates and online learning time. This seemed to suggest that conventional assessment stressing grades and scores, rather than practical capacities, were still dominating. This posed a sharp contrast with the teaching area, where interaction was at least encouraged.

10.1.3 Outcomes of education

In addressing my third research question, "What is the contribution of continuing education of migrant workers to their livelihood and aspirations?", I examined the multiple meanings of "knowledge," deconstructed discourses around the learning attitudes of migrant workers, analyzed the informal and non-formal learning of migrant workers, and the relationship between educational institutions and migrant workers as students.

It seems that the Yuanmeng plans, especially the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan which offered only university level academic courses, were not practically based or targeted at workers' immediate needs. That could be of the reasons why Meili, a student majoring in economic management, as mentioned in Chapter 9, was taking courses on psychology and nutritious knowledge "just in case' for her learning purpose. This education design could be related to the entrenched idea that academic courses were superior to the technical and vocational training courses. This can be related to the international tendency, as King (1993:209) observed over two decades ago, "the vocational school recruits at an allegedly lower level of ability than the technical, and both the vocational and technical at lower levels than the academic or general secondary schools." Thus the Yuanmeng plans needed to consider how to combine learners' aspiration for university education with the promotion of their practical working skills.

I found that in PRD, some employers took formal learning qualifications as a standard to employ or grade their employees, who would be paid according to their different levels of educational qualifications. However, in actual practice, informal and non-formal learning experiences played an important role in enhancing the transferrable skills of migrant workers and also contributing to the development of enterprises. Thus, the dimensions that enhanced the aspirations and sense of achievements of migrant workers were multiple: their informal, non-formal and formal learning as inseparable parts and their general urban experiences, especially their social connections. All these dimensions in urban areas provided learning opportunities for them and contributed to their personal development. This aspect can be compared with the research studies by Rao and Hossain (2012: 422), who argue that migration itself is a learning for migrant workers. From the experience of migration and

urban living, migrant workers such as Liansheng and Yin Fa were no longer restricted to the working and living conditions of factories, but were able to realize their own potential by starting their own businesses and aspire for a better life than before.

In short, the implementation of the Yuanmeng educational programmes presents radical transformations within and across the field of migrant workers' education since the policy of the reform and opening up in 1978. There seemed to be tensions between the traditional ideology stressing collectivism, selfless devotion and teacher-centred teaching, and the new social practices and ideas promoting commercialization, personal development and interactive teaching.

10. 2 Theoretical contributions

As stated in Chapter 3, I integrated Deleuzian nomadic thought and transcendentalism, Foucaultian power and discourse, Escobar's development theories and Kabeer's social-relations framework (SRF) into my analysis. On a micro level of educational practice, I incorporated concepts such as hidden curriculum to explore curriculum practice. I aimed to provide a holistic yet nuanced picture of my research project on the learning of migrant workers.

I had been considering how to mobilize relevant conceptual ideas for my theoretical framework. I thus looked to a series of concepts of flow and becoming rather than of static beings in an attempt to explore an "interworld" (Ronald Bogue, 1989), where corporeal and incorporeal dimensions, virtual and actual spaces, or tangible and intangible dimensions, interpenetrate and interconnect rather than polarize at two ends. I was thus able to transcend dualism to examine changes, processes and tensions within and across educational practices, and to conduct dialogues and interact with multiple actors. This understanding ran through my theoretical synthesis. My main theoretical contributions lie in two aspects: how I employed conceptual ideas in my research context, and how I contributed new understandings to the research area of migration and education.

10.2.1 Deleuze, Kabeer and education studies

I adapted Kabeer's (1994) social-relations framework (SRF) to my research. Although this theoretical framework focused on the study of gender relations and the evaluation of development interventions in the developing world, I found that its fundamental dimensions for analysis inspired me to examine my research on educational intervention programmes for migrant workers in China's urbanization. My research practice thus adapted it to the field of education.

Thus, I was able to examine the multiple dimensions of the educational programnes for migrant workers such as their teaching force, educational resources, educational events and educational rules. To attain this aim, I adapted the nomadic principles of Deleuze and Guattari (1988) to my research. Deleuzian nomadic principles such as "heterogeneity, multiplicity and connections" helped me to explore the complicated relationships between distinct social dimensions. Kabeer's SRF sharpened my focus on "resources, rules, events, people and power" for social and educational analysis. By integrating nomadic principles and SRF into my analysis process, I tried to focus on the five dimensions in my own research project while realizing their heterogeneity and analyzing their potential interconnections, such as the exploration of how knowledge and rules, as heterogeneous dimensions, were interconnected in the context of Chinese culture (see Chapter 9). From this perspective, I was able to explore how knowledge played its role when encountering the underlying rules in China.

Exploring and analyzing various combinations, such as the combination between resources and rules, and the combination between rules and people, has contributed to a different perspective in the area of educational research.

10.2.2 Education as a dynamic process

As discussed in the conclusion of Chapter 9, my research starting point was not to investigate a linear causal relationship between education and its outcome. I have thus taken an approach different from the economistic approach adopted by researchers such as Psacharopous and Patrinos (2004) and Montenegro and Patrinos (2013), and tried to explore the dynamic

relationship embedded in educational processes. Deleuzian transcendentalism and nomadic principles (See Chapter 3) helped me construct an "interworld" (Bogue, 1989), where virtual and actual spaces were interconnected and interpenetrating. I have adopted an ethnographic approach to gain a holistic picture in investigating the relationship between education and the development of migrant workers. On this basis, I have analyzed the discourses embedded within policies and their practices from central government through local government down to partnership institutions. I see both education policy design and implementation as a dynamic process. My research practice can thus contribute to a nuanced understanding of adult education and migration at a micro level.

10.2.3 Knowledge in multiple forms

I have explored multiple forms and implications of knowledge and learning, as shown in Chapter 9. I have noted that the knowledge in higher education has been challenged by the knowledge and skills acquired through the informal and non-formal learning from on-the-job experiences, as well as migration experiences as a learning process. For instance, some migrant workers as learners, such as Liu Qiang, as shown in Chapter 9, had to take formal education for a certificate, although they were competent in their professions. So they questioned the necessity of taking academic courses. This suggested that the knowledge learned through the higher education system had become only one of the multiple forms of knowledge along with other forms of practical skills and knowledge.

In analyzing knowledge crises in UK higher education, Barnett (1997) points out there are two categories of knowledge: "the propositional knowledge produced internally in the academy" and "knowledge-in-use in the wider world" (ibid: 168). This can be linked to my study: the knowledge that the Yuanmeng students were learning in their classrooms and the knowledge they were using in their work places. So it seemed that the popular discourse "knowledge changes fate," as discussed in Chapter 9, has become dubious and will need to be reconsidered and redefined. I argue that one's knowledge alone cannot decide the future of migrant workers as learners. It should be combined with other dimensions, such as "guanxi"

or social connections, and traditional discourse and ideology prioritizing formal education and credentials, as revealed in the job advertisement I analyzed in Chapter 5.

Thus, it would be up to multiple dimensions, such as resources and rules, to decide what knowledge would be useful in what context for whom.

10.2.4 Commercialization of education

I have observed that commercialization affected the implementation of the educational programmes for migrant workers. Practices revealed in the processes of commercialization, as discussed in Chapter 5 to Chapter 8, have been evidenced through their educational policies and implementation, especially in terms of student recruitment, selection of educational partners, assessment of students, students' attendance register and students' extracurricular activities. However, the commercialization in the educational programmes in my research was combined with administrative control, as funding was allocated to educational institutions based on student recruitment. Thus, marketization was not fully played out in the educational process.

The commercialization trend in my research studies can be linked with similar developments in higher education internationally over the past decades. As Barnett (1997) notes, higher education in UK "has been subject to the marketization of the welfare state," as "students become customers for courses now marked as products" (ibid: 168). As for vocational education, the trend of commercialization seems not to be a current trend but to have been lasting for a number of decades. Similarly, Lowe (2012), as cited in Chapter 8 on assessment of students, argues that the producers of some international curricula and qualifications have made contribution "in the commodification of education, in its incorporation into global capitalism." (ibid: 329). He believes that these educational services will "benefit from future expansions of this market that might be attendant on further economic and cultural globalization." (ibid: 329). Lebeau and Bennion (2014) also point out the economic difficulties of universities in the most peripheral regions of the UK, which need to "compete for students on both local and global markets" (ibid: 290). Therefore, education, together with other economic and cultural sectors, has joined the commercialization process on a

global scale. The commercialization in adult education provision for migrant workers in PRD is not an isolated phenomenon but has become a part of an international market of education.

10.2.5 The contribution of a holistic approach to studying migrant workers' education

In adopting an integrated approach to studying the relationship between continuing education and rural-urban migration, I was able to place the issue of education and learning in a wider social and geographical context and examine holistically and critically this field of education policies and practices, especially the Yuanmeng educational plans, my thesis thus has contributed to the understanding of adult learning and migration in the following two aspects.

Firstly, I have found that, as top-down programmes, the educational programmes I examined were more based on policy designers' understandings and intentions of what these programmes should be like and how they should be implemented, as they did not seem to present strongly marked features typical of the education for migrant workers. Except for some short-term vocational and functional courses, the Yuanmeng plans were mainly featured with their academic programmes. Their teaching contents seemed to copy full-time courses provided by degree awarding universities and implemented over a large number of migrant learners by the modern distance learning technology. This practice neglected the individual needs of migrant workers as learners but saw them as abstract numbers engaged in an education process, as the Yuanmeng plans mainly served to urbanize migrant workers for the utilitarian purpose of urban social development rather than for their personal development.

Secondly, I have found, as shown in Section 10.1 above, the Yuanmeng education programmes for migrant workers had empowered some migrant workers and enhanced their aspirations. However, they also led to stratifying migrant workers. As concluded in Section 9.6, Chapter 9, in shaping their subjectivities and aspirations, migrant workers as learners in PRD were influenced by diverse dimensions such as social connections, informal, non-formal and formal learning. Biased emphasis on formal learning such as the Yuanmeng plans

affected the aspirations of some migrant workers with lower academic qualifications yet strong professional competency. This trend could cause unfair re-distribution of resources and opportunities for social mobility, thus creating further social stratification within migrant workers. This finding can be linked to a research conclusion that "education continues to play a crucial role in social stratification in contemporary China" (Du, 2016:173). Du's research is on the general education in China while my study is on adult education. Similar to Du's idea, my study on migrant workers' education suggests that adult education in China, such as the Yuanmeng plans, could contribute to stratifying migrant workers and increase the inequalities among themselves.

What is more, my research suggests that education qualifications have served as a way of exerting ideological control over migrant workers. Some migrant workers, such as Liansheng (See Section 9.4.2, Chapter 9), dismissed adult education as "useless." There were, however, more migrant workers, such as Lisa, who stressed the vital role of knowledge in her career development, (see Section 9.1.3, Chapter 9), and Zhang Xiaohu, who ascribed his poor working conditions mainly to his low academic qualifications (see Section 4.4.3, Chapter 4, and Section 5.1.4, Chapter 5). They related the changes in their life and career to their educational experiences. This understanding suggests that academic qualifications could be "legitimating the reproduction of the social hierarchies" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; 1990: 152-153) among migrant workers. In such a context where discourse such as "the power of knowledge" was prevailing, academic qualifications could not only mean knowledge but could also be utilized by any sector or enterprise as a dominating ideology or a management discourse.

10.3 Revisiting my research questions

As foreshadowed in Section 1.3, Chapter 1, I reshaped my original research questions in the empirical chapters in the process of research writing. I mainly modified the subsidiary research questions while the three main research questions on education policy, practice and outcomes remained the same. In this section, I will discuss why my research questions were modified, and in what way.

Although these research questions orientated my fieldwork as well as my practice of coding themes, some of the conceptions, especially "development as discourse," intended as a key lens through which to examine the collected data were not able to find full expression in the context of the educational programmes for migrant workers in PRD. The concept of development as discourse had been influential in studies on global development policy and practice, particularly in the case of Colombia (Escobar, 1994). However, data analysis showed this concept did not present so much research significance in China's adult education for migrant workers. I did not find strong tensions in the understandings of development between educational developers and migrant workers as learners. But different understandings between them existed in micro-level forms in terms of educational events and discourses such as "absenteeism" and assessment of students, as discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

Consequently, while I had planned to explore the gap between adult learning for migrant workers and their aspirations and ideas of development, I was not in the end able to examine in depth their ideas of development. To explore the educational processes and social relationships embedded within, I decided to take a holistic approach to my research data and analysis, and added some conceptions to my theoretical framework after I had conducted my fieldwork. This included subjectivity and multiplicity (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988), social-relations framework (SRF) (Kabeer, 1994), and hidden curriculum. By means of this approach, I was able to find more implications than simply by focusing on education and learners' ideas of development and their livelihoods.

Thus, I shifted my research focus onto investigation of the pedagogical process, as discussed in Chapters 6 to 8, and the exploration of different understandings of "knowledge" in relation to other factors, such as social connections, as well as the relationship between adult learning and the aspirations of migrant workers as learners, as elaborated in Chapter 9.

In the remainder of this section, I will explain how my research questions came to be reshaped by taking my first research question as an example "Who designs continuing education policies for migrant workers, from whose perspective, and in what way?" (see Chapter 5).

The original subsidiary research questions (as shown in Section 1.3, Chapter 1) were:

What factors are involved in the process of shaping and reshaping policies? Why are migrant workers targeted? Are there sufficient resources for educational projects? How are educational resources employed and distributed? Are there restrictions on students' recruitment? What are the ideological and socioeconomic implications in the interaction process of policy making? What responses are encountered to educational programmes and policy design?

In conducting empirical data analysis, I decided to divide the above research questions into three categories concerning respectively policy makers, educational practitioners and migrant workers as learners. This decision was mainly influenced by the nomadic principle of multiplicity (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988), and the dimensions in Kabeer's SRF (1994) such as rules, resources, events, people and power. Thus, my reshaped research questions, as shown below, differed significantly from the original ones:

RQ 1: What are policy makers' major concerns? (See Chapter 5, Section 5.1, which focuses on this research question)

RQ2: How do different institutional dimensions such as resources and rules interact in the educational processes? (as explored in Chapter 5, Section 5.2)

RQ 3: What do migrant workers as learners think about adult education, especially the educational programmes focused on migrant workers? (as explored in Chapter 5, Section 5.3)

The revised research questions as shown in the example above became more condensed and clearly targeted while still consistent with my theoretical framework. Adapting research questions was closely related to my changing understandings of theoretical

concepts. Informed by the nomadic principles of Deleuze and Guattari (1988), I condensed the research questions to the above three from the perspectives of policy makers, as shown in RQ1, educational practitioners (see RQ2), and migrant workers as learners (see RQ3). Thus, I was able to bring into dialogue policy makers, educational practitioners and migrant workers as learners and investigate their different understandings of the education policies and programmes. On this basis, Kabeer's SRF (1994) helped me focus on five institutional dimensions and explore how they interacted with each other in educational practice. This was mainly shown in addressing RQ2 above. While in addressing RQ3, I mainly looked to Escobar's (1994) development as discourse, and examined how migrant workers viewed and responded to top-down education policy.

Overall, by adapting my original subsidiary research questions, I was able to take a holistic approach to investigating the education policy, pedagogical practice and education outcome of migrant workers and their learning on both a macro and a micro level.

10.4 Methodological contribution: searching for research meaning in processes and events

I have adopted and developed an ethnographic approach. As described in Chapter 4, employing ethnography posed challenges and dilemmas within my research process. I aligned this approach with my theoretical framework, which enabled me to examine multiple relationships and social transformations in a dynamic and holistic way.

Firstly, I was able to obtain and analyze the data I gained through both virtual and actual spaces. As mentioned in Chapter 4, I did not have substantial access to the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan, so I started with its virtual forums and websites. I mainly utilized the events and processes constituted by virtual spaces and actual spaces, and meanwhile watched for any chances to make real connections with the outside world. Through this entry point, I came to gain actual access to Shenzhen Trade Union. Thus, I had been located at an "interworld," (Bogue, 1989: 54), where virtual spaces and actual spaces interconnected and interpenetrated.

In my research, I employed a large amount of data through virtual interaction with my research participants. This enabled me to be actively engaged in certain educational and social processes and events, and even to plan and create events engaging research participants and bringing together more narrative voices.

Secondly, in examining social and educational processes, I saw the dualisms existing in these processes as both entry points and offering an analytical approach. I argue that the so-called dualism can be said to be a connection of any polarization, whether homogeneous or heterogeneous, which combine and produce multiple fluxes, becomings and events. I have attributed this understanding mainly to the influence of Deleuze and Guattari (1988), among many conceptual ideas synthesized. Some of these dualisms were easily identified such as insider/outsider, developer /developed, and researcher/researched. Others could have been embedded so that they would have to be extracted, such as ideological control and marketing operation in running the Yuanmeng plans (see Chapter 5), collective welfare and personal development (see Chapter 6), and especially the dualism between virtual and actual spaces.

Thus, I have tried to expose various tensions, events and processes, where research meaning resided and where I, as an ethnographer, showed my changing and dynamic subjectivities. I thus argue that the most important factor for judging the success of an ethnographic research study should not be determined by how well it has fulfilled its pre-designed research plans. Rather it can be judged by what processes and events it generates, as these processes and events can transcend the dualisms, especially those between virtual and actual spaces, and develop further multiple processes, events and spaces.

Finally, as analyzed in Chapter 2, there seemed to be a lack of qualitative research in the field of migrant workers' education in China. Thus, by employing an ethnographic approach, I have been able to bring together multiple social actors and educational stakeholders on the same plane, which interconnects virtual with actual spaces. Meanwhile, I have been able to analyze how educational programmes for migrant workers were implemented in the tension between traditional collectivism and modern commercialization. To attain this aim, I made an analysis of the whole process ranging from policy making through pedagogic practice to the

changing subjectivities of migrant workers as learners. My research approach has thus helped me explore the dynamics of power relations within and across educational institutions

10.5 Policy implications of my thesis

I have researched policy making, educational practice and outcomes of education of the Yuanmeng plans that were focused on migrant workers in PRD of China. I have provided an analysis of the multiple relationships involving educational stakeholders and the transforming ideologies and social practices within and across the education of migrant workers. In this section, I will attempt to draw out implications for education providers in China or even more generally.

Firstly, the Yuanmeng plans, as large scale government-sponsored educational programmes, have become more and more influential year by year. But there was apparently a lack of academic research conducted on the implementation of these intervention programmes. As mentioned in Chapter 4, I did meet by chance a researcher who gave out questionnaires to the students I was teaching, and then left soon after collecting them. So, educational practitioners appeared to be, as shown in the case of V College, interested in writing reports and presenting students' positive testimonials to win publicity.

Likewise, policy makers and officials seemed to feel suspicious of the outside researcher, as revealed in Chapter 4 describing how I searched for fieldwork sites for the Guangdong Yuanmeng Plan. This can be related to similar research studies. For instance, McGrath and Lugg (2012) have investigated the gap between policy and academic accounts of the area of vocational education and training in international and comparative education. They argue that policy makers and educators are faced with a possibility of "the inevitable incommensurability of academic and policy knowledge" (ibid: 705), as educators are likely to be "theory-based critics of policies" while "policymakers and officials will tend to take an understandable counter view that this research is neither rigorous nor relevant" (ibid: 705). Although contextualized in vocational education and training, the ideas of

McGrath and Lugg suggest the importance of how to bridge the gap between policy makers and academics in adult education.

Thus, there is a necessity and potential for policy makers and officials, education providers and researchers to work more closely in assessing policy making, education practice and research so as to further improve their teaching and research.

Secondly, authorities within and across the education field of migrant workers took a leading role in funding collection and allocation, policy making and design, and deciding educational partnerships. Therefore, they will need to consider implementing educational projects by coordinating stakeholders. However, excessive intervention such as random designation of partnership educational institutions could damage educational processes, as shown in Chapter 5. In this process, the local government, as education policy makers and donors, could be faced with a dilemma, either encouraging the development of local educational institutions or giving the development opportunity over to more competitive outside institutions. It has to make feasible plans to balance the development of the local institutions and the impact of the outside institutions. What is more, the government will need to consider how to make educational plans that will be truly fair and inclusive of every eligible citizen, regardless of their age and household register, and also which are able to satisfy learners' both practical and symbolic needs.

Thirdly, I have noted the difficulties that commercial educational institutions face as well as agencies engaged in adult education such as D Academy (see Chapter 4). Although they were not the focus of my research, they played a vital role in the commercial society connecting students with educational institutions by making important investment in education. But they still need government support and development opportunities.

Fourthly, both educational providers such as V College and migrant workers as students thought they were not receiving "real" university education and felt diffident about what job opportunities their education would bring to them. This shows their identity crisis as university students. As the Yuanmeng plans were mainly focused on academic programmes, which were essentially a simplified version of the full time education curriculum, they will need to consider how to establish its own features as university educational programmes in

terms of teaching force, teaching content and pedagogical practice, and how to win recognition from the public. As shown in the analysis of pedagogical practice in V College, different discourses and perceptions existed about curriculum practice. This suggests that educational practitioners will need to consider how to manage educational processes in the age of commercial society such as adapting traditional teaching ideas to the commercialized society, reconciling virtual learning with face-to-face learning, diversifying assessment methods rather than employing grades and scores only, and encouraging creativity by combining collectivism and individualism

Finally, as shown in my empirical chapters, especially Chapter 9, the informal and non-formal learning helped migrant workers and enterprises in many ways, such as learning transferrable skills and guaranteeing substantial working force. However, their importance were not fully recognized by society, enterprises or even migrant workers themselves. Traditional apprenticeship, as mentioned in Chapter 2 and Chapter 9, which involved strong "guanxi" and feelings between experienced and new workers, seemed to be disappearing, especially in the private medium and small enterprises. These enterprises did not have strong motivation to make well-rounded workers of their employees but merely to enable them to complete certain parts of work required on the production line.

Therefore, it is necessary to consider how to resolve the discrepancies in terms of development aims between employers and employees, especially migrant workers as employees. When recommending training systems as those used in Germany, King suggests that a good training system should involve "a complex negotiation about the roles of the state, the employers and the unions" (King, 1993: 214). Accordingly, all parties involved in the migrant workers' training will need to work together and make contributions to social development as well as to the personal development of migrant workers. Government will need to consider how to coordinate informal and formal learning, and formulate relevant policies to protect workers' aspirations by recognizing the status of informal and non-formal learning. It also needs to consider what incentives to provide for enterprises so that they will

be motivated to be more dynamic in the training of their employees. Enterprises should consolidate their sense of responsibility for society and their employees, and become actively engaged in enhancing social development and the wellbeing of migrant workers as employees.

10.6 Conclusion

My research journey started from my personal understanding and feelings for migrant workers in my ancestors' home village in a remote mountainous area in northern China. This pushed me to consider migration in a general sense. Then I moved on to continuing education for migrant workers in PRD in southern China.

There are two research issues I had planned but have not addressed in my thesis. Firstly, I had planned to explore gender issues in my research proposal. But I gradually gave up this plan, as I found that my PhD research project would not have the scope to address this issue. The influence of migrant women on the industrialization in PRD cannot be over-emphasized. In some factories making clothes and electronic products, female workers far outnumbered male workers. Also, I found that, from my fieldwork experiences in V College, female students showed greater organizational ability and more enthusiasm, as revealed in their extracurricular activities, described in Chapter 7. Thus, the study of migrant women remains a worthwhile research topic, which I may focus on in future.

Likewise, I decided to give up the idea of exploring sending areas of migrant workers, as I had not spent enough time in the fieldwork. However, I noted how urbanization had affected the development of rural areas, causing social problems such as left-behind children and parents, serious environmental damage and inadequate investment in rural education. As a next step, a comparative study concerning migrant workers' education and learning could be conducted on how far migrant workers as learners have contributed to what aspect of development in their home areas.

Therefore, I have mainly explored the working of power that resided in the design and implementation of educational programmes and the learning of migrant workers. I have attempted to explore the relationship between education for migrant workers and their

aspirations and ideas of educational development. I found that there was no linear cause and effect relationship between these two polarizations. In the research process, I have tried to go beyond quantitative statistical analysis by focusing on the events in the implementation of educational programmes and on the learning processes of migrant workers as learners.

I argue that the educational programmes such as the Yuanmeng plans and the learning of migrant workers involved a multiplicity of dimensions such as rules, resources and events, which interacted and interconnected. These dimensions worked together and constructed power. They propelled the implementation of the educational programmes, and contributed to the transformations of policy makers, practitioners and migrant workers as learners in their ideology, their educational practice and their ever-changing subjectivities.

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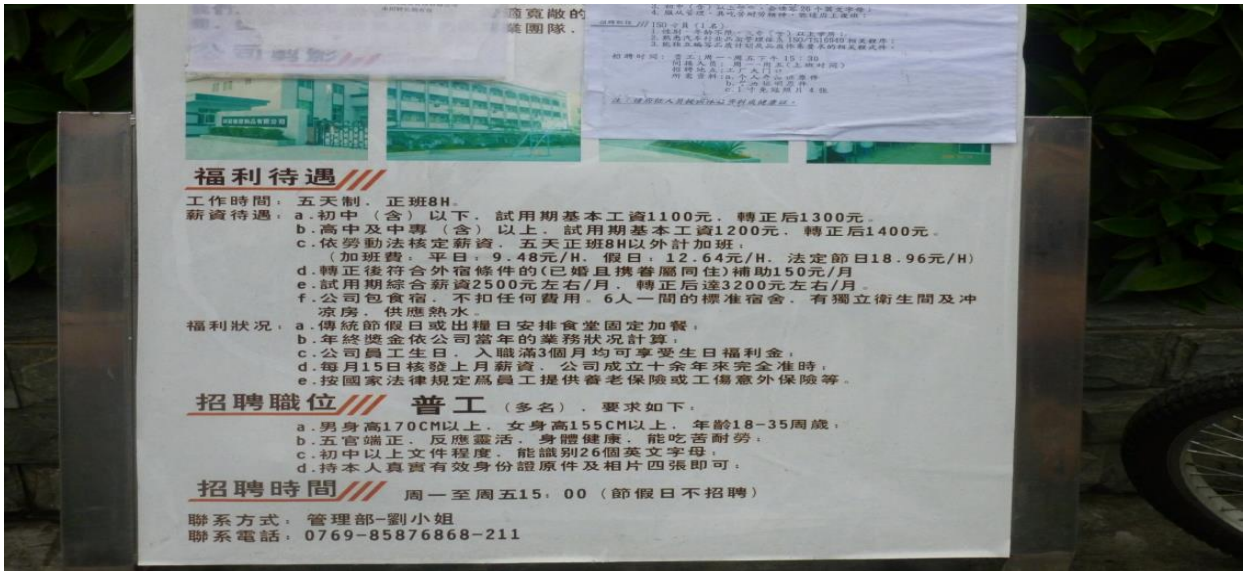
Appendix

A job advertisement of an electronic factory for recruiting workers

(Taken on 15/11/2012. The name of the factory has been deleted to ensure anonymity.)



Main information of the above advertisement is translated into English as shown below:

Working time: five days per week, eight hours each day;

Salary and allowances:

a. Those who have had junior middle school education or below have monthly salary as 1,100 Yuan on probation while 1,300 Yuan afterwards;

b. Those who have had senior middle school or technical vocational school education or above will be paid 1.200 on probation and 1,400 when formally employed;

c. Salary to be calculated according to labour law: aside from eight hours per day five days per week workload, 9.48 yuan per hour is paid for weekdays, 12.64 per hour for holidays, and 18.96 yuan per hour for legal festivals;

d. For those who are formally employed and qualified to be accommodated outside (married with dependent families), 150 yuan per month is provided;

e. For those on probation, the total income per month is 2500 yuan while 3200 yuan for those formally employed.

f. Free accommodation and meal provided. Bedroom for six person provided with a toilet and a shower room. Hot water provided.

Welfare benefits:

a. Extra meals offered on traditional festivals and pay days
b. The end of year bonus to be decided according to the yearly business situations
c. Birthday allowance offered after working three months
d. Payment made on 15th each month. This has been guaranteed for ten years in succession after the foundation of the company
e. The company buys old age insurance or disability insurance according to relevant laws

Post to be filled in

General workers (multiple)

a. Male workers should be taller than 170cm while female workers taller than 155cm, ages ranging between 18 and 35;
b. Smart looking, quickly responsive, healthy and hard-working;
c. Having had junior middle school education qualifications, knowing 26 alphabetical letters;

d. Offering original identity cards and four recent photos