Study Abroad Waves and China's Development

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Wanbo Li

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ABSTRACT

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Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
Brandeis University
Waltham, Massachusetts

By Wanbo Li

This thesis assesses the three types of social remittances that were being transferred to China by Western-educated Chinese students and scholars in the three study-abroad waves between 1872 and the present. It examines how Western-educated Chinese students and scholars used the accumulated social remittances upon their returns to promote China's social, political, and economic developments in different time periods.

The Three Study Abroad Waves had different historical backgrounds and served different historical purposes. My aim is to use theories from the field of transnational migration and development to investigate China's study-abroad phenomena, in order to illustrate how returned Chinese intellectuals have used the accumulated social remittances transferred from the West to help China become increasingly modernized.
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Chapter One

Introduction - Purpose and Significance

This thesis assesses the three types of social remittances that were being transferred to China by Western-educated Chinese students and scholars in the three study-abroad waves between 1872 and the present. It examines how Western-educated Chinese students and scholars used the accumulated social remittances upon their returns to promote China's social, political, and economic developments in different time periods. "Social remittance" is defined here as describing the ideas, practices, identities and social capital transferred by migrants and refugees from the receiving country to the sending country. According to sociologist Peggy Levitt, "There are at least three types of social remittances: normative structures, systems of practice, and social capital" (Levitt, 2005, p.2). These three varieties will be further discussed in the framework section of this chapter.

From the time when the first group of Chinese students were sent to the United States to be educated under the Qing government's strict supervision in 1872 to the post-1978 period, a time period when Chinese students and intellectuals could freely travel to the United States to study and do research, China went through three major study-abroad waves.

The first wave began in 1872 with the initiative of the Chinese Educational Mission by the Qing government with the purpose of studying Western technology to fight against Western military invasions. It ended when the Chinese Revolution of 1911 broke out, which encouraged overseas Chinese intellectuals to voluntarily return home to participate in the reconstruction of the newly-formed nation. During this time frame, Chinese intellectuals were
exposed to Western ways of learning and brought Western science and technology to their homeland, contributing to China's development in military power and social infrastructures. Examples of these include the formation of the modern Chinese navy, the establishment of new schools to teach foreign languages and modern sciences, and factories equipped with imported machines to produce steel and iron.

The second wave began in 1909 when the United States started offering scholarships to Chinese students. These bursaries were financed from repayment of the Boxer Rebellion Indemnity funds from the U.S. to China. The Boxer Rebellion was an anti-foreign movement in China led by a group of peasants between 1898 and 1900. During this period, five hundred Western missionaries and Christian converts were murdered, and the Qing government was forced to compensate the U.S. because of this. The second wave ended in 1978 when China became politically and economically stable following economic reform. Prior to this point, China underwent extreme socio-economic instability because of many significant historical events: the collapse of the Qing Dynasty, the emergence of the Chinese republicanism, the political unrest during the "Warlord Period," the brutal second Sino-Japanese war, the formation of the People's Republic of China, the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution led by Mao Zedong, among others. Returned Western-educated Chinese students and intellectuals in the second wave contributed to the establishment of a modern political and economic structure, which helped China end the previously most turbulent time period in its history.

The third wave began in 1978 after China started its economic reform led by Deng Xiaoping, a Western-educated Chinese communist party leader. Deng deeply believed that sending Chinese students and scholars overseas to study would help China grow stronger and
more prosperous. With Chinese society becoming more open to the West, the third wave continued into the present with a greater volume of students sent and with expanded choices in study abroad destinations. Returnees in this wave contributed mostly to China's economic development through the business and finance knowledge that they practice in the private sector of China's economy.

The evidence is clear that the three study-abroad waves have made tremendous impacts on China's social, political, and economic developments over time. Academic literature often studies these study-abroad waves from historical points of view; they focus on the historical influences, the outcomes of these events to Chinese society rather than using a transnational lens to analyze the underpinnings of the phenomena that led to these changes in Chinese society. This research study focuses instead on the Western-educated Chinese intellectuals who returned home, and analyzes how they use the accumulated social remittances transferred home to transform China into a modern and prosperous nation. This thesis aims to extend the purpose of "Patriots" or "Traitors"?: A History of American Educated Chinese Students. This book, published by American author Stacey Bieler, studies the returned Western-educated Chinese intellectuals of the study-abroad waves and their contributions to the modernization of China.

Bieler argues that although the returned Chinese students are sometimes labeled as "traitors" by the Chinese government during the time periods in which China rejected the West, in general these intellectuals have made tremendous contributions to the modernization of China out of their love for their country (Bieler, 2004). In her book, Bieler details many personal stories of those scholars who returned home and made positive changes for China. Bieler's work is more of a narrative collection of stories of these Chinese intellectuals without
using social science frameworks to analyze the study-abroad wave phenomena. This research will seek to reinforce her point of view by using theories from the field of transnational migration and development to reveal what was behind China’s study-abroad phenomenon. More specifically, it will discuss how returned Chinese intellectuals use the accumulated social remittances transferred from the West to help China become modernized over time.

**Methodology**

This thesis is a historical case study drawing on sociological theory related to transnational migration, social remittances, and development. My research was executed through consulting a wide array of documents found in the library and online. These documents are in the form of academic research papers, encyclopedias, scholarly journals, and books. Using these documents, I conducted extensive research on topics including Chinese and global economics, Chinese and global politics, Chinese education, international studies, sociology, and cultural practices.

Returned Chinese students during the three study-abroad waves have the characteristics of transnational migrants, as most of the returnees spend a long duration in one designated location. They not only became fully integrated into the local culture, but also do so while retaining strong ties with their home country. For example, Yung Wing, the first Western-educated Chinese scholar who studied at Yale University for his bachelor’s degree, had the opportunity to stay in the United States to start a career after graduation. However, because of his love for his home country, he chose to go back to China to promote the Western way of education (Bieler, 2004).

Because many of the Chinese students returning from overseas share characteristics of transnational migrants, this paper uses the social remittances and development framework
to analyze how returnees from the United States during the waves gradually transferred, adapted, and used these social remittances to transform China.

**Theoretical Framework**

*Defining Transnational Migrants*

According to Schiller, "transnational migrants are immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state" (Schiller, 1995, p.48). In other words, transnational migrants belong to two or more societies at the same time. They live in the host country but maintain strong ties with their homeland, and belong to religious and political movements spanning the globe (Levitt, 2004). Thus, they often have multiple cultural identities.

*Defining Social Remittance*

When an individual migrates to another country, whether to relocate permanently or, in this case, study abroad, their immersion in another culture brings upon a wide array of new attributes such as values, beliefs, and cultural practices, among many others. In turn, these individuals communicate their newly-discovered attributes to their home country. According to sociologist Peggy Levitt, "social remittance" is a term used by scholars of sociology to describe the ideas, practices, identities and social capital transferred by migrants and refugees from the receiving country to the sending country. Levitt also says that there are at least three types of social remittances: normative structures, systems of practice, and social capital (Levitt, 2005).
Defining the types of Social Remittance

Normative structures are, according to Levitt:

...ideas, values, and beliefs. They include norms for behavior, notions about family responsibility, principles of neighborliness and community participation, and aspirations for social mobility. They encompass ideas about gender, race, and class identity. They also include values about how organizations should work, incorporating ideas about good government and good churches and about how politicians and clergy should behave. (Levitt, 2005, p.2).

Systems of practice are, according to Levitt,

"the actions shaped by normative structures. These include how individuals delegate household tasks, the kinds of religious rituals they engage in, and how much they participate in political and civic groups. They also include organizational practices such as recruiting and socializing new members, goal setting and strategizing, establishing leadership roles, and forming interagency ties" (Levitt, 2005, p.3).

Aspects of social capital such as morals, beliefs and cultural practices as well as social capital itself also contribute to the creation of social remittances. This is illustrated in the writings of authors such as Coleman, Bourdieu, and Putnam, each of whom makes it clear that social capital is a way for members of a community to work together to achieve a specific goal. In this case, the specific goal is geared towards economic progression, nationwide democracy, and education of the community (Putnam, 1993). An example of an idea revolving around social capital is that of Putnam, who states that social capital is composed of social networks, and the cultural practices and what is deemed “normal” in a social network directly correlate to the level of productivity a community has (Putnam, 1993.).

Another stance on social capital involves the political and social surroundings that facilitate the development of cultural practices and societal norms to essentially mold a social structure. This particular stance on social capital is in regards to those that are institutional
and formal, such as the law and the government. This particular focus is drawn from Olson and North, who disputed the fact that these institutional figures directly correlate to the pattern and frequency of economic development (NSCCE, 2006).

Characteristics of Social Remittance Compared to Global Cultural Flows

According to Levitt, social remittances have several distinctive characteristics compared to global cultural flows. She states that that travel of social remittances are distinguishable because those who are introduced to them are aware of how they learned, for example, a new belief, as well as why they decided to follow it. Along with this, she also states that social remittances are transferred purposely, and with reason. For example, a social remittance occurs when a migrant speaks to a family member about a new type of holiday tradition and urges them to adopt it. In these situations, ideas are communicated intentionally to a specific recipient or group. The people involved are aware as to how and why they changed their mind about something or started acting in a different way.

A third distinguishing feature is that remittances most often transferred between those who already know each other, or who are somehow connected through a social network. The remittances are provided by an acquaintance, which personalizes the communication experience.

A fourth difference between social remittances and global culture is the timing with which they are communicated. Often, an effort is orchestrated in which large-scale global connections foreshadow the transmission of social remittance. An example of this type of global connection is the media. According to Levitt, “Since many non-migrants are eager to emulate the consumption patterns they observe in the media, they are more receptive to the
new political and religious styles migrants bring back” (Levitt, 2005, p.3). Social remittances are not random, and only increase as our exposure to other cultures increases.

**Social Remittances and Development**

Levitt has also pointed out that there are several factors that determine the nature and magnitude of social remittance impact. First, social remittances can be complex and difficult to communicate or theorize between cultures as one package. They are more easily transferred if they are broken down into smaller pieces to be exchanged. Second, social remittances transfer and communicate more easily through tightly connected, dense systems within more organized social networks or via newly founded organizations that are more open to the acceptance of new ideas. Third, individuals in the receiving country with more resources and power of control over their lives have more freedom to accept or reject remittances. Thus, remittance impact depends on the gender, class and life-cycle stage of the receiver. Furthermore, if the receiving country has similar value structures, cognitive models, social norms, and elements in social relations, it is more likely that social remittances will be transferred. Otherwise, they will face barriers to acceptance. Last, some social remittances have a stronger effect because they travel with other social remittances. When those introduced first are accepted, receptivity to those that follow is heightened (Levitt, 2005).

When transnational migrants regularly interact with their homeland by visiting, communicating with their relatives, or inviting their friends and family to visit, they transfer social remittances back to their home country (Levitt, 2005). Whether these social remittances are positive or negative, they play a key role in bringing changes to migrants’ homes. The positive changes that contribute to the development of the home country can be reflected in three ways: to improve socio-economic indicators like health, education, and class status; to
define social categories like race, class, and gender; and to use culture as an asset to help communities identify issues and problems, then come up with solutions (Levitt, 2005).

Structure

Chapter 2 will follow this introduction with an overview of the Chinese study-abroad history from 1861 to the present. It will give a brief description of a series of historical study-abroad events that happened in China during different time periods and their ties with the study-abroad waves. This chapter will reveal the historical causes of the study-abroad waves, examine the government's political control or influence on them, and describe each study-abroad wave's overall historical significances.

Chapter 3 will categorize the social remittances transferred to China during the three study-abroad waves under different historical backgrounds and organize them in a presentable way following the social remittances framework created by Peggy Levitt. By doing so, information in this chapter can be easily used for the path, adaptation, and transformation analysis in the final chapter of this thesis.

Chapter 4 will assess the social remittances of the returnees. It will discuss how each type of social remittance was transferred, adapted, and used to influence China's social, political, and economic developments during different time periods. Each type of social remittance will be investigated to reveal in which ways they were transferred, and how they were adapted in specific fields.
Chapter Two

Historical Background:

The history of Chinese students studying abroad holds its roots during 1860, when the concept of Chinese politics and culture marked the beginning of a need for cultural reform. This was the result of a couple major historical landmarks, starting with the Opium Wars from 1840-1842 as well as 1856-1860 (Fay, 1997). The Opium Wars were a major eye-opener for the Qing dynasty, as they proved that the scholars who had been advising the need for societal growth and development were indeed correct. The second historical landmark was the conquering of the present five Central Asian republics by the Soviet Union, which made Russia an immense colonial power (Pierce, 1960). Prior to this, the Chinese had a booming economy in this area. When this takeover occurred, the remains of what was the Qing dynasty (the “old,” traditional culture known to the Chinese) were left behind as infrastructure development such as railroads, mining and industrial businesses (Westernization) began to take light in Chinese culture.

In any civilization, adaptation and change are crucial in order to thrive over a long period of time. However, change is often resisted by those who are forced to be involved. In this case, the Chinese civilization was no different. While the influence of Western culture on their traditional ways of life became increasingly evident, the Chinese resisted the idea of “Westernization”, continuing to cling onto past beliefs and cultural practices, which no longer had an impact on the economic progression of the country.

In 1861, China’s first official office for the conduct of foreign affairs was created in
order to develop and maintain an ongoing communication with the Soviet Union and other foreign influences (Zhang, 2011). During this time, the Qing court also decided to create a school to train students in foreign languages and affairs in order to be able to effectively communicate with other cultures, as well as develop an understanding of them (Kefei & Fan, 1999). While the creations of these two resources were steps in the right direction, conservative Chinese officials continued to resist embracing them solely due to the threat of changing their current culture.

The First Wave (1872-1911)

The Chinese Educational Mission

In 1872, the Qing court organized the first fleet of government-sponsored students to be sent to the U.S. with the goal of immersing their developing minds in a different culture and expanding their knowledge in foreign affairs (Zhang, 2011). The students, in turn, would ideally return to their home country full of new Western culture-based knowledge that could be applied to their own culture. This first study abroad wave was specifically created in order to study Western technology and how to incorporate it into the social and economic development of China. This movement was known as the Chinese Educational Mission, otherwise known as the CEM. The CEM was spearheaded by Yung Wing, who was the first-ever Chinese person to graduate from Yale University in 1954. Thanks to the CEM and Wing, 120 students were approved by the Qing government to study in the U.S. from 1872 to 1875 (Rhoads, 2011).

There were two reasons why the U.S. was chosen to be the site for the CEM. The first is due to what is known as the “Burlingame Treaty,” which the Qing dynasty had signed with the U.S. in 1868 (Rhoads, 2011). The treaty was created to encourage and regulate the
migration of Chinese laborers to meet American labor demands after the American Civil War, in order to ensure efficiency during the rebuilding of American infrastructure. Since the treaty was the first “equal” treaty that China had signed with a foreign country after the Opium Wars, this gave the Qing government confidence in sending students to the U.S. to take advantage of the equal education opportunities that were available there (Rhoads, 2011). The second reason was due to Yung Wing’s personal familiarity with the U.S. (Rhoads, 2011). Giving Wing organizational duties overseas with the CEM meant reassurance for the Qing government that the students they were sending overseas would be safe and under a watchful eye.

Resistance of the CEM by the Chinese people was immense. They were afraid for the safety and well-being of their students in a country that the Chinese people were unfamiliar with in terms of culture. The Chinese were also apprehensive that the possibility of incorporating changes influenced from this unfamiliar culture into their own existed. In addition to resistance from the Chinese people, Wing was also faced with major challenges in recruiting students to participate in the CEM. During this time, the majority of the Chinese trusted and followed their country’s Civil Service Examination system, which was a method in ancient China, used for hiring civil officials based on their skills (Cheng, 2009). The CEM ended in 1881 because of the continuous disapproval and backlash it was receiving from the conservative members of the Qing Court. Upon returning to China, the students who had been educated overseas and who had actually received degrees were still forced to participate in the Civil Service Examination to “improve their intelligence” (Cheng, 2009). Most Chinese families also still preferred their children to study for the “Eight-Legged Essay,” which was the required eight-part response to the Civil Service Exam questions based on Confucian
beliefs (Cheng, 2009). This essay was taken in order to prepare students for the actual Civil Service Exams.

Furthermore, in the late 1800s, only the Chinese southern and coastal provinces were relatively familiar with foreign cultures, and only parents from those provinces were willing to send their children overseas for education. Parents from northern and inland provinces were not supportive (Litten, 2009), which resulted in the lack of diversity in geographic representation within the student groups. Among the 120 students sent overseas, 70% of them were from the Canton area, while 30% of them were from Yung Wing’s home district of Hsiang Shan (LaFargue, 1942).

In addition, the Qing government was concerned with the loyalty of the students they sent overseas. As the CEM’s commissioner, Woo Tsze Tun, wrote in a sarcastically-penned letter to the students involved, “You must know that the original design of sending you here was not that you should by any means forget the manners and customs of your country” (Woo, 1882, p1). Woo’s goal upon writing this letter was to stress the shame that students should feel should they begin to lose their Chinese identity while studying in the U.S. “If you deliberately neglect all the rules of politeness of your native country, on your return home, how can you live in sympathy with your fellow countrymen?” Woo wrote in his letter (Woo, 1882, p1).

Lastly, the Qing government was also faced with pressures from the conservatives within the Dynasty. In the eyes of the conservatives, practicing Western technology and culture with Chinese traditional cultures were antipathetic (Zhang, 2010). Cixi, the Empress Dowager and mother of the Tongzhi emperor who had complete control of the political power of the Qing dynasty, found herself continuously torn between having to choose sides between
the “Westernization” side of the dynasty and the “Die-Hard” side of the dynasty. To elaborate, for example, the “Die-Hard” side was opposed to the Schools of Combined Learning, which posed a threat on changing the traditional Chinese culture (Zhang, 2010). Cixi finally clarified her preference of the “Westernization” side by establishing the Schools of Combined Learning, which were schools in China that focused studies in Western subjects. Along with this, the fact that conservatives were opposed to sending students overseas for education was the final straw that caused the demise of the CEM (Rhoads, 2011).

In the eyes of the conservatives, the overseas Chinese students had become too “Americanized.” Many of them had begun to adopt Western mannerisms, such as ceasing to wear a traditional Chinese gown and instead choosing suits; cutting their long hair; converting to Christianity; and even dating American girls (Bevis & Lucas, 2006). Chen Lan-Pin, the first Commissioner of the CEM as well as a conservative Confucian with absolutely no knowledge of the English language, saw the educational process as the alienation of young students from Chinese tradition. Lan-Pin believed that alienating these students might create a new establishment of “westernized” scholars who could pose a threat to the Confucian elite. As a result of Lan-Pin’s beliefs, the Chinese students who returned to their home country when the CEM was abolished in 1881 were actually held as prisoners in Shanghai for a few days before being released back into Chinese society (Bevis & Lucas, 2006).

However, it should be noted that from the students who were sent to study abroad during this movement, many later ended up as notable professionals including Tang Shaoyi, the first Premier of the Republic of China, Zhan Tianyou, the “Father of China’s Railway” and the “Father of China’s Modern Engineering,” Tang Guoan, the first president of Tsinghua University, and Liang Cheng, who negotiated the refund of the Boxer Indemnity. In 1877, the
The Chinese government also decided to strengthen its navy and sent around one hundred students to England to learn modern naval and warfare techniques (Yang & Tan, 2006). Among the students who would return from England include famous admirals and naval commanders such as Liu Buchan, Lin Taizeng and Lin Yongsheng (Mun & Heng, p4). Other famous historical figures that came from the CEM were Chinese novelists Lu Xun and Guo Moruo, who ended up becoming major influencers in China’s left-wing literature movement in the 1930’s (Yang & Tan, 2006).

*Studying-abroad in Japan and the Establishment of Tongmenghui*

The year 1895 was a turning point for China, as this was the year that China was defeated in the Sino-Japanese War. Despite the fact that China had far more people involved in the war than Japan, the Japanese had the advantage of having had “modernized” their culture, which was reflected in their war equipment and tactics on the battlefield. This defeat served as a type of wake up call for China. The war was the beginning of a resistance against the “old ways” of the Chinese government as the demand for reform grew (Rhoads, 2011). For the first time, the Chinese were not confident in their traditional culture and actually experienced a type of identity crisis as they collectively sought out a new national identity. While the people had hoped for a “new China,” their thoughts had not considered any foreign influences in China’s cultural evolution. The mindset of modernization began to take on a new meaning to the Chinese, which for the first time meant the immersion of other cultures into theirs (Tsu, 2005). Chinese families and students began to embrace the inclusion of “Westernization” into their traditional culture, and the stigma that was attached to studying abroad was shed. However, this was also a time in which the Qing government had a great deal of foreign debt, so the vast majority of students who studied abroad during this time paid
for their expenses out of their own pockets. During this time, Chinese students migrated to Japan with the goal of learning from Japan’s Meiji restoration, which was essentially their time period of cultural reformation similar to what China was in need of. The number of Chinese students who ventured to Japan to study went from 600 to 20,000 from the year 1902 to 1910 (Beasley, 1981).

**The Second Wave (1909-1978)**

*The Boxer Rebellion Indemnity*

In the late 1890s, a secret group of Chinese (the “Boxers”) began launching attacks on the foreigners (Western and Japanese) who had taken control of their economy during events such as the Opium Wars and the Sino-Japanese War. These attacks also targeted Chinese Christians, who had adopted the religion from studying abroad, and were initiated to demonstrate their opposition of “Westernizing” China. Along with this, China also gave control of some of its territories to several European countries during this time. The Boxers, who were mainly peasants, blamed their poor ways of living on the foreigners who were given control over parts of their country (Preston, 2000).

In 1900, the Boxers spread their destruction to Beijing, where they proceeded to again target Chinese Christians and foreign Christian missionaries, and began to plot their attacks on foreign diplomats. This sparked the declaration of war on all foreign nations with diplomatic ties in China by the Qing Empress Dowager Tzu’u Hzi (Preston, 2000). Upon declaration of war, the Western powers and Japan combined forces to stop the Boxers from further destruction. In 1901, the Boxer Rebellion finally ended when the Boxer Protocol was signed (Wright, 1957).
In 1907, indemnity money from the Rebellion paid to the U.S. from China was “returned” to the Chinese when the U.S. government made the decision to use this money to create a scholarship program for Chinese students to study in the U.S. The official program (The Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Program) launched in 1909, and through 1929, about 1,800 Chinese students were able to study in the U.S. (Meng, 1931). This movement sparked the desire in other Chinese students to study in the U.S. as well, leading to a steady trickle of self-sponsored Chinese students to travel to the U.S. Among those included in this study abroad wave were Chinese philosopher Hu Shih, economist Ma Yinchu and meteorologist Coching Chu (Huang & Huang, 2010).

*Studying-abroad in Europe and the Introduction of Marxism*

In 1915, Chinese educators and scholars organized a work-study program for Chinese students and laborers to study abroad in France while simultaneously working in a factory. The idea behind this program was to help participants better understand the European culture, with an emphasis on areas such as advanced technology and science and how they applied to the workplace. Before 1919, the number of Chinese students studying in France was around 200. A year later, there were 1,600 (Bailey, 1988). This particular study abroad wave also focused on developing the skills of labor as well as time and money management. In turn, this wave produced a large number of Marxists and political leaders.

Along with this, China was divided among military cliques from 1916 to 1928, which was a period called the “Warlord Period.” This period prompted Chinese intellectuals to seek solutions overseas as to how they could help their country finally become a peaceful nation. In addition, the Beiyang government (unlike the Qing government) did not have
control over any study-abroad programs, which allowed for more freedom among the Chinese people to travel overseas pursuing their educations (Zhang, 2008).

Starting at around 1917, Chinese scholars and intellectuals began to collaborate their beliefs in areas such as Chinese culture, philosophy and history and debating the contributions they could provide their country with in order to help China emerge from its weak state (Bary & Lufrano, 2000).

The May 4th Movement

Fast forward to May 4, 1919, otherwise known as the "May Fourth Movement.” During World War One, China had taken control of the Shandong Peninsula (previously held by Germany), which was the birthplace of Confucius. In 1915, the Japanese had issued a list of 21 demands that included the recognition of Japanese control over certain areas, which had previously been held by the Germans. When the Chinese fought with the allied side against Germany in 1917 during the war, they did so under the terms that China would be able to claim the Shandong Peninsula as their own once again. However, when the war finally ended in 1918, the Chinese were forced to follow the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, which followed the Japanese original 21 demands and therefore also stated that it was the Japanese who were the rightful owners of the Shandong Peninsula (Elleman, 2002). This infuriated the Chinese, who felt they had been severely wronged by the Treaty of Versailles.

On May 4, 1919, after waiting eagerly on the adjustment of the treaty to include China (and no action being taken), thousands of college students in Beijing decided to express their unjust and irate feelings, and held a demonstration in Tiananmen Square. The demonstration soon went from peaceful to chaotic when students approached the three officials of the Chinese cabinet who were said to have participated in the Treaty’s
composition. Numerous attacks such as assaults and arson took place, and arrests of some of the students were made. It should also be noted that the famous “Tiananmen Square Massacre” occurred in June of this same year, as Chinese military followed orders to use marshall law on unarmed Chinese citizens protesting the release of the students, killing an estimated several hundred to thousands (Cheng).

Upon hearing of this incident, similar demonstrations began to unfold throughout major cities in China, which were protesting the release of the arrested students. This led to labor strikes across the country along with harassment of Japanese residents and refusal to acknowledge anything produced in Japan. These acts eventually led to the students being released and the members of the Chinese cabinet who were involved in the Treaty resigning from their positions (Cheng, 1991).

Despite the lengthy period of time it took for results from these protesting actions to take place; May 4, 1919 was a turning point for Chinese culture. Because of the bold actions of these students (who created a domino effect that spread through intellectuals across the country), the Chinese were again exposed to new ways of thinking that introduced new cultural values into traditional Chinese culture. Specifically, students who had previously studied abroad in not just the U.S. but in Japan as well, had taken back new cultural practices that they introduced in the traditional Chinese culture. These practices included embracing self-expression and individualism, deterring from the strong sense of respecting one’s family values and beliefs (Schwarcz, 1990). For example, prior to students being sent to other countries to study, public protests such as these would have been rare because of the strong sense of maintaining the pride of their families’ names. Even though these protests were created with maintaining peace in mind, to create such a public movement still meant running
the risk of factors such as unwanted media attention on an entire family name. During that
period of time, communication to the masses was limited to writing. From these protests arose
endless numbers of written articles from intellectuals across the country, most of who had
previously studied abroad. These articles illustrated new cultural practices to the general
public, gradually exposing more and more of the Chinese to embracing and introducing ideas
and practices from other cultures into their own. Among these ideas and practices included
communism, anarchism, and world revolution (Goldman, 1977).

This particular period of time is classified under the “New Culture Movement,”
which emerged between 1915 and 1919. The movement was headed by Chen Duxiu, who
founded the New Youth magazine in addition to holding the position of Dean of Letters at
Beijing University. Duxiu was yet another product of a successful study-abroad trip, having
studied in Japan after the abolishment of the CEM. Duxiu’s mission with the New Culture
Movement was to focus educational efforts on China’s youth (Glosser, 2003). He thought that
by starting to incorporate foreign cultural influences into students’ curriculum at a young age,
they would be more open-minded to introducing ideas from outside cultures into their own
culture, which would ensure the long-term growth and development of China.

*Studying Abroad in the Soviet Union and the Formation of the PRC*

In 1921, inspired by the Russian Revolution, the Chinese Communist Party (the
"CCP") was born. The CCP was started by many of the same intellectuals who participated in
the May 4th Movement, and began by organizing labor unions in cities across China (Van de
Ven, 1992). In 1922, the Soviet Union was formed, which was the world’s first socialist
country. This inspired the desire for Chinese students to study abroad in the Soviet Union and
learn about the USSR’s evolution from communism to socialism. The events circling this time
period, such as the May 4th Movement and the formation of the CCP, gave a major boost to the number of Chinese students to study abroad in the Soviet Union to learn areas such as revolutionary theory (Johnson, 1962). This study abroad wave would eventually translate to over 2,000 Chinese students having studied in the Soviet Union by 1930, many of whom would later go on to become writers and activists and who would help shape the success of China’s revolution (Guo, 2003).

In 1924, the CCP joined forces in an alliance with the Nationalist Party (KMT), another revolutionary group with the goal of overthrowing the Chinese Monarchy and “modernizing” China. The alliance between the two revolutionary groups proved strong for several years, with both groups wanting to provide their country with a more modern and progressive form of government (Yin, 1981). However, in 1927, war between the groups broke out in what we now know as the Chinese Civil War. This was due to a large number of disagreements between the two groups based on different ways of thinking, even though they were both receiving help from the Soviet Union toward their initial shared goal (Wang, 2011).

In 1927, the Chinese and Taiwanese political party known as the Kuomintang (which followed the practices of parliamentary democracy and modern socialism) set up its capital in the city of Nanjing. This brought on a wave of sending government-sponsored students to study abroad in the U.S. and Europe, which fluctuated between 100 and 1,000 per year until 1937. This was the year that this particular study-abroad wave fizzled due to the breakout of the Anti-Japanese war (Yao, 2004). Many of the Chinese students who left during this time period ended up becoming scientists and engineers who made immense contributions to China’s industrial and scientific development.
The civil war continued to last until 1937, when it was interrupted by the invasion by the Japanese in China in what was the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War, which lasted until 1945. This was a time in which studying abroad was virtually non-existent (Coble, 2007). However, in 1943, the Chinese government put together a new study-abroad program with the goal of sending 1,000 students to the U.S. and the UK every year for five years. By this time, there was a heightened awareness among the Chinese in terms of their country’s lack of modern technology, thanks to the years spent at war with more developed countries. This meant that the Chinese people were showing an increased support in the industrialization of their country. In 1945, a new study-abroad wave commenced, and through 1949, thousands of Chinese students traveled to the U.S. to study (Yao, 2004).

While the CPC and the KMT united to fight for their country during the Second Sino-Japanese War, they broke out into their own battle again in 1946 in the “second half” of their civil war, known as the “War of Liberation.” During this time, the CPC sent out a group of students to study abroad in the Soviet Union in order to educate them as means of being able to develop and maintain a “new China.” (Fortin & Pagliarini, 2010) This was also the year that Jiang Zemin joined the CCP after graduating from university in China with his degree in electric engineering. Zemin went on to work in several factories before venturing to the Soviet Union to receive further training in electrical engineering in 1955. Upon his return to China after training, Zemin went on to head several technology research establishments, before becoming a member of the Central Committee of the CCP in 1982 and the mayor of Shanghai in 1985 (EB, 2015). After the May Fourth Movement in 1989, Zemin took over Zhao Ziyang’s position as general secretary of the CCP, as well as took over Deng Xiaoping’s position as chairman of the CCP’s Military Commission. In 1993, he became the president of
China (EB, 2015), and in 1997 became the new leader of the Chinese Communist Party after Deng’s passing.

Mao’s Period

The War of Liberation lasted until October 1, 1949, when China’s Communist leader, Mao Zedong, announced the founding of the People’s Republic of China, which was essentially the establishment of a “New” China. When this occurred, the Chinese government made the decision to send students, as well as scholars, to the Soviet Union as well as other countries that followed socialism. The Chinese government felt it was important for its students to study areas such as management and technology, which they considered skills that were crucial for the progression of their country to help construct its new socialist society (Meisner, 1999). This new study abroad wave began in 1950, and through the 1960s, a total of 10,000 Chinese nationals were sent out. These students would all end up coming back to their home country and become the driving force for the industrial development of China (Mathur, 2007). Among the students who studied abroad during this time included former Chinese President Jiang Zemin, former Vice Premier Zou Jiaha and former Vice Premier and Minister Qian Qichen.

With the formation of the People’s Republic of China, one of Zedong’s major goals was to transform China’s economy from rural to industrial. Under his rule, farms were forced to follow strict regulations of the government, such as what to grow and how much. Zedong also redirected the use of China’s resources to be devoted entirely to industry, which left China in poverty and seclusion from the rest of the world (Bachman, 2006).

In 1966, Zedong created the Chinese Cultural Revolution, which was his way of displaying his power over the Chinese government. Zedong felt that the country’s current
Communist leaders were not effective, and decided to target China’s youth population to help him get rid of the aspects of Chinese society that were not in line with his beliefs. Zedong’s goal was to bring back the rebellious attitude that brought on the creation of the People’s Republic of China in 1949 (Bachman, 2006). During this time, students across China formed military groups called the Red Guards. The Red Guards were known for malicious behavior such as taunting and attacking members of the Chinese population who were elderly and/or deemed as intellectuals. This behavior was not in line with the social progression that China had been steadily chipping away at. This time period in China was one that consisted of 1.5 million people killed, with millions of other Chinese citizens being imprisoned, tortured, stripped of their homes and belongings, and harassed tirelessly (Walder & Su, 2003). This was also a time in which studying abroad became, again, virtually nonexistent among Chinese students. Zedong (who was killed in 1976, ending the period of violence), launched the Cultural Revolution with the progression and prosperity of his country in mind, the movement backfired, leading China’s citizens to lose all faith and trust in their own government.

**The Third Wave (1978-present)**

*The Economic Reform and the Current Trend*

In 1978, the Chinese Communist Party, under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, launched economic reforms across the country to increase the rates of investment and involvement in foreign markets, as well as general economic growth. Under Xiaoping’s rule, Zedong’s movement of “collective farming” was demolished, and farmers were given the rights to grow whichever crops they wanted as well as to sell any surplus in these crops for their own profit. He advocated for foreign trade and investment through the means of joint ventures. Xiaoping also created zones in the southern parts of China, which gave investors tax
concessions in exchange for revenue and technical knowledge. All of these reforms led to rapid growth of the Chinese economy, and also transformed it to one that was market-based. Along with these actions, Xiaoping also created another study abroad wave, which ended up being the largest in China’s history (and still is to this day). From 1978 to 2010, the total number of Chinese students to study abroad was at 1.9 million, in comparison with the total number between 1872 and 1978, which was at 130,000. Since 1978, more than 632,000 have returned to their home country to further assist China in what is now its continuous development (Zeng & Chang & Bain, 2012).

However, one flaw in Xiaoping’s system was that it was not able to control large-scale corruption or inflation, which skyrocketed to 18.5% in 1988. Because of this, Xiaoping took direct measures (such as limiting foreign joint ventures) to slow the country’s economic growth. This was followed by a few years of conservative monetary policy until 1992, when Xiaoping propositioned economic freedom and fast-paced development once again. This proposition gave the Chinese economy the boost it needed, bringing in new foreign investments that the country had never witnessed.

Furthermore, when Jiang became the leader of the Communist Party after Deng Xiaoping, he was dedicated into bringing China economic stability by continuing to implement substantial economic reforms under Deng Xiaoping’s steps. Under Zemin’s leadership, most of the state-owned companies, except large monopolies, were privatized or liquidated. In turn, this expanded the role of the private sector in the economy at the cost of leaving millions unemployed. During this time, along with Premier Zhu Rongji, Zemin also reduced trade barriers, ended state planning, introduced the idea of competition as well as deregulation and new taxes, reformed and bailed out the banking system and drove the
military stratum out of the economy. In 2001, Zemin helped China join the World Trade Organization, which also contributed to the growth of the country’s trade (Focus Economic, 2015). China became economically open to the rest of the world which created massive opportunities for Chinese students traveling abroad to study.

When Zemin left his position as General Secretary of the Communist Party, his position was taken over by President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao. The Hu-Wen administration worked diligently to reduce the income gap between the coastal cities and the countryside due to the fact that China’s immense growth was not benefitting the country’s entire population. The two men increased subsidies, got rid of agricultural taxes, slowed privatization of state assets and promoted social welfare. Despite the Chinese government’s efforts to keep the country’s economy from growing too much and spiraling out of control, by the mid-2000s the economy experienced an unforeseen growth due to booming exports, resilient private consumption, and high levels of manufacturing and massive investment. In 2008, the global financial crisis forced the Chinese officials to create an aggressive stimulus package and adopt a loose monetary policy (Focus Economics, 2015).

In 2012, President Xi Jinping and Premier Li Keqiang came into power. With the Xi-Li administration came a hefty reform agenda with the goal of changing China’s economic fundamentals and ensuring a sustainable growth model. Because of this, authorities expressed their willingness to tolerate lower growth rates as a necessary condition to push forward economic reforms. Xi created the term “Chinese Dream” in reference to his contribution to the guiding ideology of the Communist Party of China. According to Xi, this term was to emphasize people’s happiness and the idea of a strong China (Focus Economics, 2015).

Under Xiaoping and his successors’ leadership, China went on the fast track to
economic growth and development, joining the World Trade Organization in 2001. Since 2002, the immense development of China’s economy has been a direct reflection on its returning students, who have spearheaded the country’s rapid economic growth. These notable students include Robin Li, a founder of China’s most popular search engine Baidu, Charles Zhang, chairman and CEO of Sohu.com, and Zhou Yunfan, co-founder of China’s largest online alumni club, ChinaRen.

Summary

As of 2011, China makes up 25.4 percent (157,558 students) of the total number of international student enrollments, therefore making China the leading country in the world to send students abroad (IIE, 2011). In addition, since the U.S. economic crisis of 2008, the number of Chinese international students studying in the U.S. specifically has increased an average of 23.5 percent annually (IIE, 2012).

In this current wave, the motivation for each Chinese student to come to the U.S. for educational purposes varies. In most cases, Chinese students venture to the U.S. to study due to the learning environments, as well as the wide array of potential career-related opportunities after their studies are complete. Many Chinese students believe that the U.S. provides the best education in the world, therefore view the time and costs involved are investments for their future. As a fellow Chinese student studying abroad in the U.S., it is apparent that the styles of teaching and learning that are offered in educational institutions in the U.S. are more appealing to Chinese students than the traditional styles of teaching and learning in China. Furthermore, in many cases, language and cultural barriers are among the most challenging of factors that Chinese international students have to face upon studying abroad. These factors act as barriers to the education a Chinese international student receives
while studying in the U.S. Adopting sufficient English skills as well as cultural knowledge would alleviate these barriers, helping Chinese international students become more successful in school as well as more adaptive to American culture.

One controversial issue in the current study-abroad wave is the theories of brain drain and reverse brain drain. Chinese society is shocked when official reports show that there has been a decrease of three million in the number of students who participated in the National College Entrance Exam within the past four years. When an increased number of students seek study abroad opportunities overseas, there is a high chance that the most talented of these students will not return to their home country. On the contrary, view of the U.S. in regards to this is that Chinese students flock into American universities to become educated using the schools’ resources, and then returning to their home country, failing to contribute anything to American society.

A major personal concern here is whether the current study-abroad trend has created education-related issues. This concern goes both ways. To elaborate, in China, study-abroad related industries emerged ten years ago. The so-called role of a “study-abroad agent” is to assist Chinese students in designing an appealing application package that will enable them entrance into a prominent American school. “About 80 percent of these students use agents…one of China’s biggest agencies, Guangzhou-based EIC Group, charges $4,000 to $6,000 – depending on the ranking of the colleges – for a maximum of six applications, plus $150 to $300 for each additional application, according to a contract reviewed by Bloomberg News” (Golden, 2011). These agents not only would help young Chinese students to prepare their application forms, but would also write English essays for them with possible
commission paid by students’ parents if their child receives scholarships or financial packages from American schools (Golden, 2011).

Furthermore, to American colleges and universities, it is somehow difficult to identify the truly outstanding Chinese applicants solely based on their official transcripts and test scores. Often, when Chinese high school students would inform their high school teachers that they planned to apply for American colleges or universities, the teachers would revise their low grades to reflect a B or A-average (Schmitz, 2011). If this is the case, it is imperative that American institutions rethink their student recruitment processes in order to make sure they are selecting the most honest and outstanding Chinese students, rather than those who “cheat” the application process.

Over 800,000 Chinese students studied abroad in 2012 and 2013, (Yusuf & Nabeshima, 2010) and according to the Ministry of Education, there were over a million Chinese students studying abroad in 2013. Ten years earlier, this number was not even at 300,000. Based on these statistics alone, it is clear that the Chinese deem studying abroad as a crucial aspect of being able to effectively learn and therefore contribute to the progression of Chinese society. To further illustrate this, the number of Chinese students currently studying abroad in the U.S. is at nearly 300,000. Around seven years ago, this number was around 70,000 (The Economist, 2015). In addition, since 2009, China has provided the most foreign students to not only the U.S. but to France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Finland, Japan and South Korea (The Economist, 2015).

Reasons for the tremendous growth of Chinese students studying abroad in the U.S. can be attributed to two specifically, the first being that there is a growing demand for higher education in China, and the second being that the middle class citizens in China are
continuously receiving higher incomes due to the country’s booming economy. This means that an increasing number of Chinese citizens can now afford to send their children to study abroad.

In turn, the Chinese government is embracing the idea of its students becoming educated in modern technology and Western ways of doing business, and is therefore encouraging students to study abroad in the U.S. The number of Chinese students coming back is steadily growing as well, thanks to China’s booming economy, which provides attractive job prospects. In 2013, more than 350,000 Chinese students returned from overseas study, an increase from just 20,000 ten years earlier. This is almost one-quarter of the 1.4 million students who had returned in total since 1978. As reported by the ICEF Monitor, China is in a period of time in which an economical transition is necessary, moving from a heavy manufacturing emphasis to one more in line with a “knowledge-economy” model (ICEF Monitor, 2013). This transition would therefore create more “white-collar” jobs for educated Chinese students returning from study abroad; potentially further increasing the number of students to return to China (Wang, 2014).

Although the growth rate of Chinese students going abroad appears high, it has actually been shrinking since 2008, and will continue to do so until 2021, when there will be about 20 million fewer people aged between 18 and 22 than now (The Economist, 2015). This is due to President Xi’s current anti-corruption campaign, which has taken aim at Communist Party officials who send money and family members overseas. However, it should also be noted that China’s current booming economy is projected to double the disposable incomes in urban areas by 2020.
To be accepted into a university in China, students must first take the “gaokao,” which is China’s version of a college entrance exam. Studies show that 60% of the best-performing gaokao students in China end up going abroad to pursue overseas masters and PhDs instead of working or starting a business in China (ICEF Monitor, 2013). Furthermore, Australian universities have begun accepting the gaokao as an application credential (The University of Sydney, 2011). One could theorize that this may spark a global movement among universities to recognize the gaokao as an application credential and therefore stimulate growth of Chinese students studying abroad.

Each year, the U.S. immigration program sets aside 10,000 green cards specifically for those in other countries who wish to move to the U.S. They can be given these cards if they invest at least $500,000 as well as create at least ten jobs in the U.S. In 2014 and now 2015, this set of green cards (the EB-5 immigrant investor visa) has been used entirely, largely due to immense waves of Chinese investors seeking the visa. This year, 90% of the visas were issued to Chinese immigrants. In 2004, that percentage was 13. The interest in migration to the U.S. is provoked by several major factors; the appeal of the educational system in the U.S., the poor air and water quality in China due to mass production, and President Jinping’s anti-corruption campaign (Chilea & Kassai, 2015).

**Summary:**

Throughout these events in Chinese history, social remittances were being transferred to Chinese culture alongside them, a practice executed by Western-educated Chinese students and scholars. These social remittances varied in the impact they had on the Chinese culture, but each ultimately contributed to the growth and development of China, leading the country from a state of disarray and poor economic conditions to the largest
economy in the world over the course of less than 200 years. Since its inception through the present, the number of study-abroad waves throughout China was ample. Although these study-abroad waves are illustrated in this chapter, they will ultimately be further categorized into three major study-abroad waves in Chapter three. This is because these three waves are organized into the most prolific events in China’s study-abroad history. In Chapter 3, we will take a look at specific remittances transferred back to China during each wave within different historical backgrounds categorized into three major types defined by Levitt, which are the normative structures, systems of practice, and social capital (Levitt, 2005).
Chapter 3

Social Remittances of the Three Waves

Among the returning students who left their home country of China to study abroad in foreign nations, there were a wide array of social remittances that accompanied each set of students with their return to China after their studies in other countries were complete. The term “Haigui” (overseas returnees) describes overseas graduates, scholars and professionals who returned to their home country of China to work. Collectively, they are coined “Haigui-pai” (Yang & Tan, 2006).

The social remittances that the Haigui-pai brought back with them to China varied depending on which study-abroad wave they participated in. While there was an abundance of study-abroad waves in China beginning in 1872, each of these movements has been categorized into one out of three of the most prominent waves that China witnessed since their inception. Furthermore, the types of social remittances that the Chinese students brought back to their country post-study are categorized into three types, as defined in Chapter one; Normative structures, systems of practice, and social capital (Levitt, 2005).

The First Wave (1872-1911)

The first study-abroad wave in China is characterized by the wide array of new technologies and sciences that were introduced by its participating students. The Chinese Educational Mission (the "CEM") was the starting point for the first study-abroad wave, beginning in 1872. When the Chinese students first arrived in the U.S. in 1872, they had arrived during a time in which the U.S. was undergoing its own transformation in terms of
nation building. Specifically, the U.S. was in the process of moving from the period of a struggle for independence to a period of post civil war reconstruction. In other words, the Chinese students arrived at a time that was ideal in terms of witnessing firsthand how a nation makes the progression from war to stability. This was at a time in which the core values of the U.S. were being self-defined, which includes civilian rule and a constitutional form of government (Dow, 1971). During this time, China’s own current state was one that mirrored the U.S. previous state of war. Therefore, the arrival of the students during this particular time was ideal in terms of being immersed in a country that displayed the ability to effectively evolve and progress despite a period of turmoil.

In 1881 when the CEM was put to a halt, many of the students who were abruptly sent back to their home country had not even finished their studies in the U.S. However, the immersion into a culture that differentiated extremely from the students’ own had already permanently shaped aspects of their lives such as ideas, values and beliefs, and also instilled new knowledge in areas such as technology and education methods.

Upon returning to China, the students in the first study-abroad wave brought back with them social remittances that are either categorized into normative structures, systems of practice, or social capital, where applicable. The normative structures the returning students contributed were in the form of new ideas introduced to China in the fields of western technology, such as the use of firearms, the establishment of a modern navy and the use of a steam-powered machine. Along with this, the practice of western education was also introduced in the form of teaching sciences and western subjects. The systems of practice the returning students contributed were the introduction of the western education system as well
as the establishment of the modern school system in China, which replaced the traditional methods of Chinese education.

**Normative Structures**

The new ideas introduced to China in the fields of western technology were initiated with the Self-Strengthening Movement, which lasted from 1861 to 1894. The Self-Strengthening Movement was spearheaded by scholar-administrators (and former generals) like Li Hongzhang and Zuo Zongtang. These individuals were responsible for establishing modern institutions, developing basic industries, communications, transportation, and modernizing the military. Although the leaders of this movement put forth tremendous effort, the Self-Strengthening Movement also failed to recognize the significance of the political institutions and social theories that had fostered Western advances and innovations. Because of this, the movement failed. Despite the deterioration of the movement’s efforts, the scholar-administrators behind the efforts succeeded in developing their introductory assertions on the fact that modernization was crucial for the longevity and prosperity of their country.

Also among these new ideas were the integration of western-based military techniques and technologies into China’s, which can be accredited to Li Hongzhang, who was the grand secretary and superintendent of trade for the North. In 1876, Hongzhang made the arrangements for seven Chinese officers to be admitted to a military academy in Germany. These officers would be the first Chinese to study in Germany (Jeans, 1997). In the 1880’s, Hongzhang and the governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi, Zhang Zhidong, created military academies in China and hired German instructors. Going forward, in 1895, Zhidong set up a three-thousand man Self-Strengthening Army in Nanjing, which was created based on the Germany military model (Jeans, 1997). Along with this, in 1895, Yuan Shikai was chosen
by the Qing to train a new imperial army using German instructors. This army grew to seven thousand men, and was otherwise known as the Beiyang Army (Jeans, 1997). In addition, Chinese arms purchases from major European and American manufacturers beginning in the 1860's gradually introduced modern infantry weapons to Chinese military personnel (Chau & Kane, 2014). During this same decade, two major arsenals and production centers were launched and operated along with several smaller ones as part of the Self-Strengthening Movement (Chau & Kane, 2014).

**Systems of Practice**

*Factories and Arsenals*

The creation of an actual Chinese munitions and arms factory was launched by Zeng Guofan in 1862, which was able to (in short order) produce the traditional firearms that had been used in China for decades. It was not until 1864, when Guofan hired Yung Wing to travel to the U.S. to purchase modern machine tools and send them back to China, that the factory began to create more advanced weaponry (Chau & Kane, 2014). Guofan and Hongzhang went on to launch several arsenal sites further north in Shanghai at Jiangnan in 1865, using Chinese workers to manufacture the weaponry with the imported machinery and tools (Chau & Kane, 2014). However, since the machinery and tools were much different from those that the Chinese had used previously, the workers had a difficult time in mastering them. Because of this, the Jiangnan arsenal’s products were not widely trusted, and Li’s own regional Anhwei Army refused to accept them (Chau & Kane, 2014).

The Jiangnan Arsenal was the first manufacturer that was built by the Qing government in 1865 that aimed to manufacture machines (mainly firearms) as well as to create a new institutional category of engineers, and most importantly to study and translate
Western scientific and technical literature (Elman, 2004). In 1866, shortly after the establishment of Jiangnan Arsenal, the Fuzhou Dockyard was built to construct warships, and to train Chinese soldiers so that they would be able to construct and navigate them. In 1874, the Shanghai Polytechnic Institution and Reading Room was founded to promote the sciences, arts, and manufactures of the West through means of exhibitions, lectures and classes, and a Chinese library and reading room (Elman 2004). In 1875, the Qing government started to send graduates from the Fuzhou Dockyard to Europe, mainly in England and France, for advanced training to keep up with the ever-changing sector of technological developments (Elman 2004).

**Chinese Modern Navy**

Furthermore, the Self-Strengthening Movement offered first attempts to address the numerous issues of the Chinese navy, which were the fact that it had a decentralized administration, outdated equipment and manufacturing methods, and no sense of strategy or tactics. This was accentuated by the rapid rise of Japanese naval power in the years following the 1868 Meiji Restoration, which made the prospect of fixing the Chinese navy’s issues an urgent one. In 1867, Hongzhang had proposed that the Imperial Chour appoint three admirals to command northern, central, and southern naval squadrons. Two years later, the Imperial Chinese Navy was created and organized according to Hongzhang’s proposal. Hongzhang was also China’s driving force behind the modernization of his country’s naval power, as well as the reassessment of its naval objectives. Hongzhang was the leader behind the new methods of construction of ships that were built at the Jiangnan Arsenal, which were deemed better than their Japanese counterparts. Hongzhang would continue his naval program by purchasing 10 torpedo boats from Germany in 1881, with training provided by British and
German captains. In recognition of the importance of training naval personnel at every level, he also retained foreigners, and sent large numbers of Chinese to Europe for training prior to their return to China with vessels purchased. In addition, he sent 35 cadets to naval school in the U.S. Seeing Hongzhang’s positive progress, in 1884, the Imperial Court officer Chang P’ei-lun persuaded the Qing government to further consolidate Chinese naval forces. P’ei-lun stated, “if we wish to seek a method to control our enemies, we cannot do it unless we create a navy with steam warships for the outer seas, we cannot do it unless we establish an Office of the Navy” (Chau & Kane, 2014). Although the Chinese would ultimately lose the naval assets they had created through the fusion of western influence, the Self-Strengthening Movement still provided the foundation for advancement in technology, military organization and modern military planning in China. This period was a “stepping stone” towards the full-on modernization of the Chinese military and foreign policy (Chau & Kane, 2014).

Li Hongzhang, along with Chinese customs officer Ding Richang, also holds responsibility for the development of factories that were equipped with modern machines that produced steel and iron. In 1865, the two men rented a machine shop in Shanghai from Thomas Hunt and Company, an American firm in the Shanghai Foreign Settlement that was the largest foreign machine shop in China (Elman, 2004). In addition, Hongzhang approved the purchase of the machine shop and the shipyard of Hunt and Company for use by the Suzhou “Foreign Arms Office.” Additional machinery was imported, and the Jiangnan Machine Manufacturing General Bureau (otherwise known as the Jiangnan Arsenal) was created to administer the industrial works and educational offices. The Arsenal relocated to just outside Shanghai in 1867. According to Mary Wright, by 1870 the Arsenal had become the greatest manufacturing center of modern arms in East Asia and “one of the greatest
arsenals of the world” (Wright, 1957, p. 211-212). According to author Meng Yue, Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang and their advisors established the manufacture of machines as the fundamental building block for industry in China. In the views of these individuals, the three basic ingredients for constructing new industry were manufacturing machines, creating a new institutional category of engineers who would specialize in machines, and translating foreign scientific and technical texts so they could be used and understood by the Chinese (Meng, 1999).

China’s First Railway

The completion of the Peking-Chang Chia-ko Railway by Chinese engineer Chan Tien-yu was also a notable achievement during this wave. Tien-yu was one of the students who was sent abroad to the U.S. during the CEM, and returned to China after 1881 finishing his studies at Yale University. In 1905, he was given the job of building this railway. The Peking-Chang Chia-ko Railway was known to be more difficult to construct than any other line in China as all the others were under foreign construction. Chan actually finished the railway, which stretched 250 kilometers and had a branch line, four months ahead of schedule and at a lower cost than the other lines (Dow, 1971).

In fact, the Minister of Post and Communications, Hsu Shih-ch’ang, said that “when construction of this line was to begin, foreign observers all forecast a failure because they thought that Chinese engineers were inferior to Western engineers. This opinion was so prevalent that it was accepted as a fact” (Dow, 1971, p23).

Chinese Modern Education

The industrial age in China was marked by the emergence of education as central to modernity. By establishing modern schools, the state penetrated local society. In China,
education was traditionally left to religion, family, and job-related organizations. With the creation of schools, education became a public phenomenon. During this time, a “dynamic Western system displaced a status Chinese system, thus assigning the birth of modern Chinese education to the period during which Western-style schools were introduced” (Cong, 2007, p5). According to Ruth Hayhoe, “the Western ideals of academic freedom and autonomy were transformed into a quintessentially Chinese tradition that emphasized the political responsibility of intellectuals” (Cong, 2007, p6). The introduction of Western-style schools in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth was a part of a long period of experimentation, innovation, and reform. Before 1895, the impact of Western learning on the daily lives of most Chinese that were undergoing these studies was questionable, as were their feelings of need for reform. As Western learning mechanisms became more abundant and Chinese academies began full-on curriculum reform, it was apparent that students involved in these studies were immersed in environments that were committed to innovation, and that they would support more dramatic reforms to come (Cong, 2007). After 1895, with the rise of new nationalism, modern academies opened in the wealthy and progressive Jiangnan area at a rapid pace, and the addition of Western curriculum into these academies became more abundant (Cong, 2007). During this same period, many officials associated with the Self-Strengthening Movement created modern professional schools that were also infused with Western curriculum. These professional schools produced professionals such as engineers, linguists and military officials who were needed for the government’s self-strengthening projects. In addition, progressive provincial governors in cities across China took leading roles in founding, funding, and staffing more of these schools during the 1890's. These schools as a whole produced a generation of people who were highly
skilled in areas such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology and foreign language teachers for future schools, continuing the cycle of the transformation of Chinese education (Cong, 2007).

**The Second Wave (1909-1978)**

The second study-abroad wave in China is classified as a period of time in which returning students brought back new political ideas from their time spent immersed in other countries. These introductions would ultimately lead to political revolutions, distinguishing this particular wave. The normative structures the returning students contributed were in the form of new political ideas and democracy, largely credited to Sun Yat-sen. The systems of practice the returning students contributed were the introduction of western political ideas and structures, the establishment of political parties to liberate China from the old Qing dynasty, and financial institutions. The social capital the returning students contributed to were the student-based organizations which aimed to change China politically, such as the Tongmenghui.

**Normative Structures**

The initiation of the Boxer Rebellion Indemnity Scholarship in 1909 sparked the second major study-abroad wave. Among the nearly 2,000 students to partake in studies through 1929 was Hu Shih, who studied agriculture at Cornell University, followed by philosophy at Columbia University. Upon his return to China, Hu Shih promoted and taught a simplified method of Chinese writing, becoming a trailblazer in the movement to writing Chinese in a simplified (yet still classical) manner. Shih’s teachings were the driving force behind what would be China’s literary reform. In fact, Hu Shih stated that “Literature changes with time. Each period from Zhou and Qin to Song, Yuan, and Ming has its own literature.
This is not my private opinion but the universal law of the advancement of civilization…Each period has changed in accordance with its situation and circumstance, each with its own characteristic merits. From the point of view of historical evolution, we cannot say that the writings of the ancients are all superior to those of modern writers (Bary & Lufrano, 2000).

China’s defeat in the Sino-Japanese war was an inspiration to Chinese students after seeing a fellow Eastern country successfully adopting Western technologies into their military. This helped shine a light on the fact that it was indeed possible for China to advance its own military powers, which was a doubt the Chinese people had been having. One major individual who studied in United States during this time was Sun Yat-sen, who started the Tongmenghui (United League) in Tokyo in 1905. Yat-sen was the Chinese democratic revolution forerunner, spearheading the efforts of the Tongmenghui members, who all shared the belief that getting rid of the entire Manchu monarchy was the best way to progress China. The group, including Yat-sen, saw the monarchy as stuck in the past as well as run by a select few privileged individuals who were not effectively leading their country. The Tongmenghui members wanted China to become a world power strong enough to resist future foreign attacks, and thanks to their studies in Japan, were adamant in doing so. The Tongmenghui would eventually overthrow the feudal system during the Xinhai Revolution in 1911 (GWU Libraries). The Xinhai Revolution overthrew two thousand years of the Chinese feudal autocratic monarchy, and the concept of the nationality of the Republic and the Three Principles of People went deep inside the Chinese’ minds.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen dedicated himself to spreading the knowledge of the importance of western political ideas and structures across China, in hopes that one day China would eventually adopt these ideologies. In his doctrine, “Three Principles of the People,” Yat-sen
states that creating nationalism in China will provide the Chinese people with a strong sense of cultural identity, as well as a place among the rest of the progressive countries. Yat-sen also stresses the fact that as citizens of China, it is everyone's responsibility to help incorporate nationalism into their country, and that it would be able to be done thanks to China's immense population as well as a diverse cultural background. Along with this, Yat-sen also points out that these attributes do not matter if China doesn't not adopt a sense of national unity, and that not embracing nationalism would guarantee China as an inferior nation (Sun, 1924).

**Systems of Practices**

*China’s Literary Reform*

Along with Shih’s essential creation of China’s literary reform, he also played a major role in leading cultural debates. In fact, Shih would later become one of the leading May Fourth Movement intellectuals. Among the cultural debates he presented to the Chinese people, one in particular showcases his emphasis on the importance of westernization: Shih states that one of the worst practices one can undergo is accusing Western cultures as being materialistic and deeming Eastern cultures as spiritual. Shih said that the modernized cultures of the west were built around society members’ core human needs of happiness, and that there is nothing wrong with this because although it allows the people of Western cultures to make room for materialism in their lives, it also allows them to fulfill their spiritual, human needs (Bary & Lufrano, 2000). Here, Shih demonstrates the fact that it is possible for a civilization to find a happy medium of fulfilling its own needs while simultaneously enjoying the rewards from the fruits of their labor. Shih continues to point out the fact that a civilization that consists of people who are severely controlled by a product-based environment is a
civilization that is full of people who have no desire to progress their country and therefore will forever be complacent. Shih believed that the key to the progression of any country was held in the ability of its society to embrace creativity and change by encouraging free-thinking and keeping an open mind to other cultures. According to Shih, "Such a civilization can only obstruct but cannot satisfy the spiritual demands of mankind" (Bary & Lufrano, 2000).

As a leader behind the May Fourth Movement, Shih’s strong belief in the urgency of literary reform was reflected across China during the nationwide protests. Those involved in the Movement worked diligently to promote the new form of language and writing across the country, with the goal of improving literacy among the Chinese. To these intellectuals, improving China’s literacy meant enlightenment for their country, along with education reform, children’s literature and the formation of a genuine modern nation (Bi, 2012). A key landmark in Shih’s quest for China’s literacy reform was his article, “Tentative Suggestions about Literacy Reform,” which was published in a popular Chinese magazine, “New Youth.” Shih’s letter contained specific rules and practices for readers to follow in order to adopt the “new” form of communication, and turned out to be a success. Theory behind Shih’s victory in language reform states that it is due to Shih tying ideas of nationalism for China into his writings (De Francis, 1950). Shih’s success was further demonstrated during the May Fourth Movement, in which over four hundred new journals and newspapers were created while the demonstrations and protests were taking place. Each of these new journals and newspapers were written in Shih’s “vernacular” (simplified) new language. This was further proof that the language had become a symbol for nationalism in China. In 1921, China’s Education Ministry began creating primary school textbooks in Shih’s vernacular language, which was also imposed in secondary schools in 1922. This created a domino effect across China, and soon
all literary publishers were adopting the new way of writing as the “universal Chinese language” (Michael & Taylor, 1964).

China’s Emergence of Capitalism

Yet another legendary figure during this time is Ma Yin Chu, who studied in the U.S. in 1907, receiving his degree in economics from Yale as well as his Ph.D. in economics from Columbia in 1914. When Chu returned to China, he became a teacher at the National Peking University, where he would eventually become president of in the 1950s. While teaching in the 1920s, Chu expressed his views on capitalism and the impact it could have on his own society. Chu held highly specific beliefs, stating that there were four precise benefits that capitalism would have on Chinese culture; (1) It would drive technology improvement to improve the quality of commodities; (2) it would trigger scientific invention for better efficiency of production; (3) it would enhance initiative power of individual innovativeness for creating more knowledge; (4) it would curtail production cost so prices of commodities would be cheaper (Sun & Ma, 2007). Chu had a vast number of theories regarding the cause of the Great Depression, which were illustrated in his writings over the course of forty years. He believed that the largest cause of the Depression was the idea of individualism. In other words, Chu stated that “individual benefit” was the core problem regarding capitalism due to the fact that everyone involved was only focused on personal profits, and therefore failed to successfully collaborate with one another. Because everyone kept their information confidential, Chu said, there was no way enterprises had the correct amount of knowledge regarding the overall amount of supply and sales volume from their own community (Sun & Ma, 2007). Chu has been deemed one of the greatest educators and scholars of China during...
his time, eventually leaving his teaching position to work for the Chinese government to create new financial policies for the country.

The most notable contribution Chu made to China, however, was his extensive research on the country’s rapid population growth. This research was illustrated in his famous article, “New Population Theory,” in which he presented his theories that between 1953 and 1957, China’s annual growth rate would exceed 20%. This was a clash with the census of 1953, which had stated that the annual growth rate would stop at 20%. Chu calculated that if the number of Chinese people grew by 20 births per 1,000 a year going forward, that in 30 years the population of China would spiral out of control and would affect areas such as the need for industrial materials, enterprise size and labor productivity and capital accumulation. Chu urged the government to incorporate a form of population control into China’s Second and Third Five-Year Plan. Although Chu was persecuted for this proposal in 1957, China finally adopted a one-child policy in 1980 that stemmed from Chu’s recommendation, after the government found they could not control their growing population (Wong, 2010).

Establishment of Chinese Political Parties

The CCP was created in 1921 by revolutionaries from the May Fourth Movement, Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu, who studied abroad in Japan prior to the 1911 Revolution (Carlson & Xiao, 2011). This formation was followed by an alliance with the KMT in 1924, which was formed by Sun Yat-Sen, another product of a study-abroad movement. The goal of this alliance was, initially, to liberate China from the old Qing dynasty.

The Kuomintang

After the demise of the Qing dynasty rule in China in 1911 from the efforts of Sun Yat-Sen and the United League, Yat-Sen formed a new party called the “Kuomintang,”
otherwise known as the Nationalist Party. In 1922, the Nationalists formed an alliance with the Chinese Communist Party. As a response to the increasing number of communist demands for a “more formal party ideology,” Yat-Sen established a set of principles he deemed the “Three Principles of the People.” The first principle, “Minzu Zhuyi” (nationalism), was a means of denoting self-determination for the Chinese people as a whole, as well as for the minority groups within China (Sun, 1924). The second principle, “Miquan” (rights of the people, i.e., democracy), Yat-Sen said could be achieved by allowing the Chinese people to control their own government through means of election, initiative and recall (Sun, 1924). The final principle, “Minsheng” (people’s livelihood, i.e., socialism), Yat-Sen determined was the idea of equalization of land ownership through a system of taxation (Sun, 1924).

*The Chinese Communist Party*

The work-study program in France that started in 1915 was the means by which Deng Xiaoping and Zhou Enlai (the first Premier of the People’s Republic of China) were able to study abroad. This particular program was the reason that the Chinese Socialist Youth League was created in 1921, which would later go on to become the French branch of the CCP (Dillon, 1998).

The CCP was created in 1920 under the leadership of Chen Duxiu and Gregory Voitinsky, a Russian Communist Party member (Yohshihiro, p24). According to the official view of the CCP, the birth of the Party was recognized as an outcome of the combination of the Chinese labor movement and the widespread spread of Marxism-Leninism in China (Smith, 2002).

It should also be noted that Li Dazhao, along with being a founder of the CCP, is also called “the father of Chinese Marxism.” This is because he not only made the first
introduction of Marxism to China in 1919, but also because his beliefs on Marxism and in turn the beliefs he reflected to the general public in China were correlated to populism, voluntarism, and traditional Chinese idealism. These beliefs were not only relatable by the general public of China, but were also intertwined with the beliefs towards Marxism by Japanese scholars (Meisner, 1999). Dazhao’s previous studies spent abroad in Japan can be accredited for this.

The Second Wave’s Influences on Education

During the New Culture Movement of 1915, Duxiu placed particular emphasis on educating Chinese youth in areas including western democracy and science, which he believed were the keys for the formation and longevity of a New China. Duxiu started the movement by encouraging those involved to break from the traditional Chinese values defined by Confucianism, and promoted individual thought among his students (Ebrey, 1996). This core ideology of the New Culture Movement was deemed “Anti-Confucianism.”

During the Chinese Socialist Era, which lasted from the 1950s to 1970s, China’s economy suffered tremendously (Naughton). While China no longer had to put up with battles due to foreign invasions, the Chinese government decided to conduct a series of destructive events that would end up having devastating effects on Chinese society. The Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution were the two biggest catastrophes caused by the new Chinese communist government since 1949, the year of the establishment of the People’s Republic of China. Not only did these two disasters cause the death of millions of Chinese citizens, as well as no economic progression, but they also caused the stagnation of education.

Since 1949, the College Entrance Exam was the sole method Chinese people used to determine their admission to a Chinese college or university, which was held annually by
the Chinese government. However, in 1966, the exam was officially suspended when the government decided that they wanted Chinese high schools and colleges to fully devote their time and energy into the Cultural Revolution, in accordance with Chair Mao’s orders (RenMinRiBao, 1996). It was not until ten years later in 1977 that the exam was resumed by Deng Xiaoping, a politician and reformist leader of the Chinese Communist party.

*Science Society of China*

The new influence of western sciences pioneered by returned overseas Chinese students was also immense. In 1914, the “Science Society of China” was founded at Cornell University by a group of Chinese international students, who shared the goal of gathering Chinese science scholars to collaborate and improve modern Chinese science. The Society relocated overseas to China in 1918, and became the largest as well as most influential science society in the country (Cao, 2004). The society served as a bridge in connecting the East and West’s scientific worlds, and introduced Western science practices to the Chinese society.

*Summary*

There were several differences between the first and second study-abroad waves. First, most overseas students in the second study-abroad wave were no longer children but young adults. They had received their high school educations in China before venturing to the U.S. to pursue their higher educations. Second, students in the second wave prominently hailed from elite families in China, and were not handpicked by the Chinese government (Zhang, 2008). The self-sponsored students who did study abroad either received scholarships from American schools or were from wealthy families with hefty education funds. Finally, the level of diversity among the students in the second wave was much more abundant than those
in the first wave. To elaborate, female students in China had begun to join the study-abroad trend. Thanks to the promotion of the ideas of "Freedom, Equality, and Fraternity" (Chen, Suo) of the May Fourth Movement, Chinese women were allowed more rights than they were ever granted previously. Among these rights included the right to attend colleges and universities alongside their male peers (Chen, 1942).

Without the Beiyang government’s interference, the second study-abroad wave had an immense influence over Chinese society in comparison with the first study-abroad wave. These influences, specifically, were in areas such as education, economy, literature, political movement, and scientific advancement, along with numerous implementations of Western ideologies, technologies, and modern science across China.

Many of the students who returned to China after their overseas studies took teaching and executive positions at Chinese colleges and universities (Cao, 2004), which made immense improvements in Chinese higher education. In the early 1900s, there were only three state universities in China; the Imperial University of Peking, the Imperial Tientsin University, and the Shangxi Grand School. Combined, these three universities employed than 300 professors, illustrating the fact that China was indeed lacking in institutions and higher education personnel. From 1909 to 1922, around 178 returned scholars from the U.S. devoted their lives to teaching at Chinese colleges and universities (Cao, 2004).

**The Third Wave (1978-present)**

The third study-abroad wave is classified as a time that focuses heavily on entrepreneurship and business in China. The normative structures that the returning students have contributed in this wave so far are advanced technologies, entrepreneurship, and new business ideas. The systems of practice that the returning students have contributed in this
wave so far are the private organizations that emerged to replace state-owned organizations during Mao’s period as well as the establishment of stock markets in China. The social capital that the returning students have contributed in this wave so far begin with the introduction of the Western way of business management to establish private companies. In turn, the private companies out of these that became financially successful helped improve the overall economy of China. Along with this, the Chinese government holds a focus on strong economic development with an emphasis on business opportunities in the private sector.

In 1978, the year for the beginning of China’s economic reform and opening-up, Deng made the important decision to send a large number of Chinese students and scholars to study abroad (Zhang, 2011). On June 23, 1978, Deng Xiaoping delivered a speech to Tsinghua University students regarding his opening-up ideology. Xiaoping stated, “I agree we need to increase the number of students studying overseas. This is one of the most efficient ways of improving Chinese society in the next five years. We will not send eight or ten students, but hundreds of thousands of students” (Zhang, 2008) This was the starting point of the third study-abroad wave, and moreover was the symbol of China’s first international educational exchanges with the U.S. in the post-1949 period (Oden, 2004).

Thirty days after Xiaoping’s speech, negotiations between China and the United States on bilateral students’ exchanges commenced during a three-day meeting that began on July 7, 1978 in Peking (Oden, 2004). During the negotiations, China avoided a centralized, government-controlled exchange program, instead opting for a wide-open, decentralized process of sending students and scholars directly and individually to American institutions (Oden, 2004). The new exchange agreement combined the characteristics of earlier 19th and 20th Centuries’ private and governmental exchange programs. On December 26, 1976, just
prior to the normalization of political relations between China and the United States (which took place on January 1, 1979), China sent its first group of 52 students to the U.S. These students consisted of mainly those who had previously studied physics and mathematics. This action marked the end of an approximate 30-year hiatus (Oden, 2004).

Xiaoping deeply believed that foreign education would rapidly change China. He evaded the issues between the different political ideologies in the two societies (communism and democracy), and worked with the U.S. to create bilateral relations that fostered mutual benefits for both of the countries. Xiaoping’s actions here are a reflection of his very statement; "Black or white, so long as it catches a mice, it is a good cat” (Oden, 2004, p1).

In regards to a potential brain drain, China’s Premier Wen (Cao, 1996) stated that the future of China’s advanced technologies and sciences is up to how the country draws in and educates youth in these subjects. Wen also says that the foundation of this approach is held in appealing to a wide array of intelligent and young individuals and immersing them in a creative and inspiring atmosphere (Cao, 1996). In 1995, the Chinese government took action to encouraging students and working professionals to venture abroad to further their educations, and improving the appeal of returning to China after the studies were complete (Cao, 1996).

Since the late 1990’s, China has made a concentrated effort to improve the quality of human capital in their country. It is apparent that China’s previous prioritization of bolstering the economy over education has changed, based on the recognition by the Chinese government that having educated citizens directly correlates with their booming economy. In 2001 Zhu Rongji, then premier of the State Council, told the World Forum on the Chinese Economy that China’s future emphasis on economic reform would no longer stress attracting
financial capital but instead concentrate on attracting human resources and technology from abroad.

Between 1980 and 1990, only a small number of government-supported Chinese students went abroad, while as of 2013, self-funded Chinese students account for over 90% of the total diasporas. This is largely in part to the rapid growth of China’s middle class, which is gradually transforming the landscape of international education (Jiang, 2013).

**Normative Structures**

*Advanced Technologies*

Since the beginning of the third study-abroad wave, China’s annual domestic product has grown by 9% each year, while foreign trade growth has averaged nearly 15%. China has created a powerful combination of resources that have led to its current economic stance, such as a disciplined and low-cost labor force, working professionals educated in advanced technologies, and a strong infrastructure able to support the steadily-growing industry of manufacturing (Rosato, 2005). One of China’s major sources of income revolves around the plastics industry, which has been increasing by 11.3% annually since 2003. Since the 1950’s, when the plastics industry in China was first developed, China has constructed over 200 immense plastic manufacturing facilities across the country. In addition, new facilities in major companies are under continuous construction, with the implementation of advanced technologies (Rosato, 2005).

Since the mid-1980s, after former President Bush issued the Chinese Student Protection Act in 1992, the number of Chinese students, professionals and scholars who have chosen not to return to China has been on the rise. This is due to the fact that these non-returning individuals almost always join a Chinese organization in the U.S., providing them
with a sense of community and support. These organizations revolve around aspects such as areas of study, specific interests, and locations, for example. The majority of these individuals can be placed into one of four areas of practice; Giving a means to create and build upon the relationship between Chinese students and scholars in the U.S. while communicating with their peers in China; developing and organizing studies regarding issues in China and how to solve them; facilitating a way for members to learn how to manage and operate an academic group; and collectively pooling and using their networks in China in order to give members the connections necessary to furthering their careers upon returning to China. Thus, these organizations in the U.S. are creating a link between China and the U.S. to accelerate scientific and economic collaboration (Guo, 2003).

Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship in China has undergone three major evolution stages. The first was before reform and throughout the 1980’s and was mostly made up of small retailers and street vendors. These individuals were actually of low social status and had little education, and started on their own because they otherwise had no means of making money. The second stage was in the late 1980’s and consisted of highly educated individuals running businesses such as restaurants and manufacturing. The third stage has become more prominent in recent years, correlating with the popularity of the Internet. While these individuals are also highly educated, they vary tremendously in terms of demographics, education levels and types of businesses (Liao & Sohmen, 2001). In 1989, "there were about 15,000 high tech ventures in China, providing 400,000 jobs and $700 million in products" (Liao & Sohmen, 2001). Virtually all of these ventures were pursued by returning students, who not only possessed an education in advanced technologies, but also foreign business contacts. These tech
entrepreneurs were Chinese students who spent several years studying in the West, accumulated business contacts and received funding commitments before even returning to their home country (Liao & Sohmen, 2001).

Incentives for returning students also attract entrepreneurs to China. According to the China Daily, “Returnees opening ventures…with an investment of less than 1.2 million dollars can enjoy income tax exemption for three years and another three years of reduced taxes, as well as two years of free rent for office space” (Liao & Sohmen, 2001). In 2000, Minister at the State Development Planning Commission Zeng Peiyan stated that the Chinese government would support and guide private investment, which leveled out the playing field for all businesses for the first time since the Communist revolution in 1949 (Liao & Sohmen, 2001).

From the mid 1990s on, an increasing number of Chinese returning students have pursued new business development as entrepreneurs. These individuals have been a major force in China’s globalization process and economic development (Wang, 2014). Specifically, 57% of businesses started by returnees are in the scientific field, with 44% of them holding patents. There is also a core group of Chinese enterprises with a total market value of $30 billion that are listed on Wall Street exchanges. These companies brought advanced technology and talent to China as well as international capital and new mechanisms in business operation (Wang, 2014).

Chinese entrepreneurial returnees have also played a major role in venture capital, which has stimulated the growth of returnee entrepreneurship and small-to-medium enterprises. Almost all international venture capital companies are partially owned or managed by returnee entrepreneurs, since most of this venture capital was either imported to
China directly by these returnees or by foreign-funded companies where the returnees were formerly employed. This venture capital also brings in new management mechanisms and teams to China, contributing to the continuous growth and development of the economy. Most returnees who were successful entrepreneurs in China are now venture capitalists (Wang, 2014).

**Human Capital Allocation**

In 2008, the Chinese government began accelerated efforts to attracting talented and intelligent working professionals to relocating to China. These efforts were specifically aimed at three demographics. The first, "who have an academic title equivalent to professor in internationally well-known universities and institutions," the second "who work as senior managing staff within a well-known international company or banking institution," and the last "who have developed technologies and patents and established their own business abroad." The central government placed priority on recruiting top scientists and academics, while the local government placed priority on attracting entrepreneurs (Zhao & Zhu, 2010). These efforts were coined the “One Thousand Talents Scheme” (Zhao & Zhu, 2010).

Combining these efforts with China’s already-booming economy and its increasing global presence makes life in China appealing for not only these professionals, but for Chinese students studying abroad in other countries as well. For example, in 1999, 32.6% Chinese students returned home, with a GDP per capita for about 7,000 Yuan. In 2008, 38.5% of Chinese students returned home, with a GDP per capita for about 22,000 Yuan. This means the ratio of returning students to those who are studying abroad has been on the rise (Constant & Tien & Zimmermann & Meng, 2011).

These returning students have been leaders in launching new tech start-ups as well
as upgrading educational institutions (Naughton, 2007). Among these returning students, almost 49.2% were visiting scholars, 32.8% PhD graduates, 3.3% post-doctoral fellows, 9.9% MA/MS graduates and 1.6% JD/MD, MBA or BA/BS graduated. Out of these students, around 79% were in charge of science and technology, education, industrial development, foreign affairs, finance, and foreign trade, with 6.6% involved in politics and 1.6% in charge of rural development (Li, 2006). Along with this, China is also spending more on research and development than any other major developed country in the West (Constant & Tien & Zimmermann & Meng, 2011). China currently has the largest economy in the world, along with the world’s largest current account surplus and foreign exchange reserves (Constant & Tien & Zimmermann & Meng, 2011). China has also become a pioneer in advanced technology and science; in fact, in 2007, 59% of the scientific papers published by Chinese scholars were in natural sciences. In a five-year plan for 2011-2015, China also noted that they plan to become the number one country in advanced sciences and research by 2050 (Constant & Tien & Zimmermann & Meng, 2011).

By 2007, China had established educational relationships with 188 countries and regions all over the world (Constant & Tien & Zimmermann & Meng, 2011), and agreements on the mutual recognition of academic degrees had been signed with 32 countries and regions in the world. Chinese students can now be found studying in countries all over the world, with the U.S. taking the lead as their most-preferred country (Constant & Tien & Zimmermann & Meng, 2011). In 2008, 419,109 Chinese students studied abroad, and 110,246 of them went to the U.S.

After China’s admittance to the World Trade Organization in 2001, Chinese policymakers were faced with an increasing pressure to make fundamental changes and
accelerate the transition to a market economy. In order for these changes to successfully occur, one particular area that would need to be reinforced was ensuring that those holding business managerial positions in China were properly trained in their respected practice (Sun & Ross, 2008). Although this sense of increased pressure occurred in 2001, China has actually been partaking in overseas management training since the late 1970s. There are three specific phases of overseas management training, the first from the late 1970s to the late 1980s, where managers were primarily provided with technical training. During this time, Chinese professionals were sent to developed countries and areas to learn advanced/modern technology in science, industry, and agriculture. The second phase occurred from the early 1990s to the mid 1990s. During this time, Chinese professionals were sent to developed countries to learn advanced/modern technology and management. The third phase began in 1996, and is still undergoing. In this phase, Chinese professionals are provided with training in managerial skills, leadership development, and technology. The professionals sent overseas primarily consist of senior managers/executives from government departments/organizations and enterprises, and are sent to Western countries to learn advanced management knowledge, skills, practices and experiences (Sun & Ross, 2008).

Immersing these Chinese professionals into a Western culture means these managers have experienced different cultural values, customs, and ways of thinking. They have learned to look at things from a global perspective and are more tolerant of the diversity of other cultures. In addition, overseas training promotes innovation in institutional structures and management systems to facilitate local economy and business. Managers who have been trained overseas contribute their studies to their own organizations through their means of conducting business as well as teaching their own employees (Sun & Ross, 2008).
Systems of Practice

The Replacement of the State-Owned Organizations

When Xiaoping launched his reform program in 1978 to stimulate economic growth, the accompanying de-collectivization of agriculture resulted in rural unemployment and disappearance of local-level revenue, which therefore resulted in the rapid development of township and village enterprises, otherwise known as TVEs (Liao and Sohmen, 2001). By 1990, TVEs comprised 20% of China’s gross output. This was also the beginning of modern entrepreneurship in China. Although the TVEs were under contracts with local governments, they demonstrated entrepreneurial characteristics, such as choosing their product lines, finding their own funding, labor, raw materials, and making necessary adjustments to their businesses based on prices and costs in order to make the most profit (Liao and Sohmen, 2001). By 1987, a surge towards the Chinese private sector occurred, growing by 93% in this year alone (Chen, 2013).

Establishment of the Stock Markets

Prior to 1978, private enterprises with more than eight employees were prohibited and there were no capital markets. For several decades, citizens could only obtain employment and economic means from government organizations and state-owned enterprises. Today, there are more than 10 million privately-owned enterprises, which equates to over 80 percent of each year’s employment growth. There is now an abundance of public equity offering opportunities and bank financing options that are available to private firms (Chen, 2013).

Today, China has over 2,400 listed companies on two stock exchanges with a total market capitalization of more than RMB 21 trillion. China also has over 300 securities and
trust companies that are licensed to provide investment banking and stock brokerage through over 2,500 branch offices across the country. This network of brokers has attracted more than 200 million stock and mutual fund accounts (Chen, 2013).

When the economic reform occurred in 1978, the peasant families who benefited from the agricultural sector saw a large increase in income and living standards. The success in agriculture started to affect the debate on how to reform the industrial sector where state ownership ruled. After a first failed attempt of an industrial-reform experiment, a new one took place in the late 1980s. This experiment was in the form of joint-stock corporations with limited liability, with some state owned enterprises converted into joint-share corporations. These shares were traded on unofficial street markets initially, until December 1990 when the new Shanghai Stock Exchange was created; just months later the Shenzhen Stock Exchange emerged. Notably, before 2006, the state shares and legal-person shares were not publicly tradable (Chen, 2013).

Summary

The first wave involves the normative structures of Western technology as well as education throughout Chinese society. Along with this, the integration of Western educational systems and modern methods that were contrary to old Chinese schooling has been also been demonstrated. The influence of new technology and science allows Chinese nationals to set the stage for future progress in several ways. It is particularly notable that Chinese society respects the return of nationals after education abroad. This results in a sense of social pride and worth that is fostered by China as a whole. Those who choose to return to China will be considered as having a favorable or more prestigious degree that is a testament to their skills and international experiences (Yang & Tan, 2006). These skills are applied through public
and private sectors to an immense degree, and can account for many of the meticulous changes to societal and technological infrastructure in China.

The second wave elicited new political ideas and tenants of democracy within Chinese society. The influence of socialist educators and philosophers is also notably related to international theories and perspectives. The greatest influence of Marxism can be seen in educational innovations within China from 1915 to 1927. Motivation for education would be geared towards skilled traders and other individuals in various capacities, and the administration of educational facilities in the first half of the twentieth century would be changed based on tenants of social and political influence abroad (Mao, 1949). This describes the indirect impact of transformation in Europe and the United States on philosophy and infrastructure within China.

The introduction of Western political ideas and structures allowed for liberation in many areas of Chinese thought and reform. This influx was important because it combined the emerging transitions in business and economic procedures within the country on a whole, and the desire for rural and socioeconomic advancement created sustained urban integration. This was a particularly liberalizing transition because it accommodated the human resources and social capital from numerous regions that were previously disjointed. This change was significant to the influence of foreign nationals to a great degree. The most important aspect of this was the presence of political changes that impacted the political idealization of different demographics in China. The reformation of educational systems were useful to the overall changes in society towards a more capitalistic and skill-oriented culture. It also would allow the maximum educational capacities to be achieved for people in urban and rural environments, something that was not previously available to the degree that reformation
provided (Yang, 1994).

The third wave identified unique aspects of high technology being integrated into modern function in entrepreneurship for both private and state-owned organizations throughout China. This demonstrated a transformation in the ability of social capital to be distributed and applied throughout China. The quality of student organizations specifically echoes the changes that were necessary amongst private and publically owned entities within the country. Numerous professional and educational opportunities were prompted by the changes that students elicited upon returning to China. One notable way this was accomplished was through the propagation of networking amongst foreign professionals and nationals. The expansion of an internally connected identity fostered greater relations and uses of the skill sets gathered amongst Chinese nationals in their professional endeavors.

The greatest connection between the production of human capital and development can be seen as the direct result of knowledge gained by foreign students. Production and consumption of IT components would ultimately influence the global recognition that China asserted among their economic activities within the country and abroad. Since a greater understanding of technology would contribute to the streamlined integration of resources and networks would be useful in almost every area of societal functioning, the contributions of Western-returned employees to Chinese society was highly valuable. The results were magnanimous and have impacted the development of China as a country and made China a gigantic economic center in the East (Robinson, 2007).
Chapter Four

Analysis and Conclusions

Based on the research in chapter three, it is obvious that the social remittances transferred to China impacted a variety of aspects of Chinese society during different historical eras. The fields of Western technology and education have particularly demonstrated an impact in Chinese development and infrastructure, leading to varied outcomes of social remittances in the first wave. During the second wave, new political and cultural ideas led to the transformation of political parties and the establishment of liberation campaigns within China ending the Qing dynasty. The new ideas that were introduced at this time fueled a lasting political revolution and growth that spurred contemporary thought around the world. Finally, the implications of the third wave involve entrepreneurship and business as well as the propagation of technology throughout China. In this wave private organizations replaced other programs during Mao’s period, known as the State Owned Enterprises, and established private markets within the nation.

In this chapter, we will analyze the pathways, the adaptation, and the transformation of the social remittances transferred to China during the three waves. We first will take a look at the pathways the social remittances transferred in each wave, and then compare the pathways to determine the differences and significance. The next step is to analyze how social remittances were adapted in each wave, the level of resistance of these social remittances from the Chinese society and how returned students successfully or unsuccessfully overcame the resistance as well as their outcomes. Finally, we will analyze the
The overall transformation of social remittances that were transferred by these Western-educated students, and the impacts they made on Chinese society over time.

**Pathways**

*The First Wave*

The social remittances transferred to China during the first wave went through pathways that were mainly at the top level, which means the social remittances were transferred via activities and organizations established by the Qing government. Some of the notable activities and organizations include the Chinese Educational Mission, the Jiangnan Arsenal, the Fuzhou Dockyard, and the Shanghai Polytechnic Institution and Reading Room.

The students sent to the U.S. to study in the CEM program made huge contributions due the fact that when they returned, they held important positions within the government or agencies that were established by the government. For example, Tong Shao-yi, one of the first 30 students sent by the Commission, became prime minister of the Chinese Republic (Bevis, 2006); Chan Tien-Yu, also one of the first 30 students sent overseas, went back to China after graduating from the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University in 1881 and dedicated 32 years of his life to the design, planning and construction of China's railroads (Bevis, 2006). These two individuals were able to use their knowledge learned in the West to make direct changes within the Chinese society.

The Jiangnan Arsenal and the Fuzhou Dockyard were Chinese navy bases established to study Western technology on firearms and machineries. New ideas, such as the method of building machineries and the method of Western sciences, were introduced in these institutions by hiring foreign teachers and students who had previously studied abroad. The Qing government also sent graduates from the Fuzhou Dockyard to Europe, mainly in
England and France, for advanced training in order to keep up with new technological developments (Elman, 2004).

*The Second Wave*

The social remittances transferred to China during the second wave held different roots. During this wave, social remittances started to break into pieces and were being transferred by students directly via student-organized groups such as the Tongmenghui that was established by Sun Yat-sen, which later became an important Chinese political party the KMT. Other student-organized groups include the Chinese Socialist Youth League, created in 1921, which would later go on to become the French branch of the CCP (Dillon, 1998) as well as the Chinese Communist Party, which was established by Chen Duxiu, and the “Science Society of China.” Ideas were also introduced by way of new journals and newspapers, which led to the May Fourth Movement, a cultural renaissance that led to a literacy reform in China during this time period.

The Tongmenghui was established by Sun Yat-sen and aimed to introduce Western political ideologies to China via foreign educated students. The “Three Principles of the People” were the core values that the members of this student-organized group believed in. This set of core values was a doctrine of Western nationalism and democracy. Similarly, the Chinese Socialist Youth League and the Chinese Communist Party were aimed to introduce communism ideology from Europe to mainland China during that time period. These student organizations were first operated secretly overseas because they both anticipated and organized political revolutions in China in order to end the control of the Qing dynasty.

The “Science Society of China” was another notable student-run organization during this time period. The society served as a bridge in connecting the East and West’s
scientific worlds, and introduced Western science practices to the Chinese society. The Society relocated to China in 1918, and became the largest as well as most influential science society in the country (Cao, 2004).

*The Third Wave*

The social remittances transferred to China during the third wave were done so by individuals at the bottom level, in which students brought home new ideas on their own with less institutional influence.

During this wave, the Chinese government still had censorship over information inflow to China. For example, the Chinese government set up an online firewall to filter certain information that they believe would increase instability within the society. Despite this censorship, students are the specific demographic who have more freedom to bring ideas home without governmental interference. This idea was contributed to Chinese political parties’ policies for its dedication into opening up the Chinese economy and introducing Western ideas, especially in business and finance, into the nation to make China a more prosperous country.

However, this does not mean the social remittances transferred during this time period do not transfer on other pathways. Because of China’s openness to the rest of the world, other nations started to cooperate with China to create joint channels to help better exchange ideas in technology and sciences. For example, the Chinese Student Protection Act was established in the United States in 1992 to give a means to create and build upon the relationship between Chinese students and scholars in the U.S. while communicating with their peers in China; develop and organize studies regarding issues in China and how to solve them; facilitate a way for members to learn how to manage and operate an academic group;
and collectively pool and using their networks in China in order to give members the connections necessary to further their careers upon returning to China (Guo, 2003).

**Summary**

As we can see from above analysis, the structure of the pathways during the three waves changed from a top-down level to a combination of a top-down level and a bottoms-up level. This is because Chinese studying-abroad trends in general shifted from governmental organized activities to a combination of governmental organized activates and students’ individual choice. Thus, the pathways of social remittances transferred in these study-abroad waves also shifted.

In the first wave, social remittances transferred via the Qing government's organized institutions during the Self-Strengthening Movement, such as modern factories, schools, and navy yards. During the second wave, social remittances were transferred via student-organized groups such as the Tongmenghui and the Chinese Communist Party. Students had more freedom of selecting and filtering what would be transferred and what kind of methods would be used in the transferring process. Finally, during the third wave, the economic openness created opportunities for students to freely travel and study-abroad, which created unlimited channels and pathways through which social remittances could be transferred.

**Resistance and Adaptation**

*The First Wave*

During the first wave, resistance of the social remittances transferred was strong and existed at both the top and the bottom levels. Thus, adaptation of the social remittances faced many challenges.
At the top level, the Qing government was concerned with the loyalty of the students they sent overseas in the CEM. As the commissioner of the CEM, Woo Tsze Tun, wrote in a sarcastically-penned letter to the students involved, “You must know that the original design of sending you here was not that you should by any means forget the manners and customs of your country” (Woo, 1882, p1). The top level was also faced with pressures from the conservatives within the Qing dynasty. In the eyes of the conservatives, practicing Western technology and culture with Chinese traditional cultures were antipathetic (Zhang, 2010). Cixi, the Empress Dowager and mother of the Tongzhi emperor who had complete control of the political power of the Qing dynasty, often had to choose between the “Westernization” side of the dynasty and the “Die-Hard (the conservative)” side of the dynasty (Zhang, 2010).

At the bottom level, most of the general public in China still trusted the country’s Civil Service Examination system, which was a method in ancient China used for recruiting civil officials based on their skills (Cheng, 2009). Only the Chinese southern and coastal provinces were relatively familiar with foreign cultures, and only parents from those provinces were willing to send their children overseas for education. Parents from northern and inland provinces were not supportive (Litten, 2009), which resulted in the lack of diversity in geographic representation within the student groups.

Even though adaptation of the social remittances transferred faced some challenges, China started applying Western methods of scientific studying to education and adopted the methods of building firearms and machineries. This was thanks to the institutions established by the Qing government during the Self-Strengthening Movement. These institutions created pathways that allowed Western sciences and technologies to flow into Chinese society.
**The Second Wave**

Resistance during the second wave was received from both the Warlords and the Qing government. Student organizations were created and labeled as “secret societies,” running operations under the table. Examples of these student organizations were the Tongmenghui as well as the Chinese Socialist Youth League, which would later go on to become the French branch of the CCP (Dillon, 1998). Both organizations were established overseas and remained overseas for a period of time. These organizations aimed to revolutionize China and put an end to the feudal system.

The Tongmenghui, which later became the Kuomintang, was started in Tokyo in 1905 and slowly transferred its members to mainland China until the Xinhua Revolution in 1911 exploded. The CCP was formed in 1920 when Chen and other radical intellectuals brought together a small group in Shanghai with the help of Gregory Voitinsky, a representative of the Russian Communist Party.

In specific areas such as education and culture, social remittances did not face as much resistance in comparison to political ideologies. Duxiu started the New Culture Movement by encouraging those involved to break from the traditional Chinese values that were defined by Confucianism, and promoted individual thought among his students (Ebrey, 1996). This core ideology of the New Culture Movement was deemed “Anti-Confucianism.” The Chinese Literary Reform, under the lead of Hu Shih, promoted the new form of language and writing across the country with the goal of improving literacy among the Chinese. To these intellectuals, improving China’s literacy meant enlightenment for their country, along with education reform, children’s literature and the formation of a genuine, modern nation (Bi, 2012).
Adaptation of new political ideologies during this wave was difficult; China had to go through the Xinhuai Revolution in 1911 as well as a civil war to fully adapt to one type of Western political ideology. Since there were two political parties established during the second wave, both communism and democracy were introduced to China and led to conflicts later during this wave. In 1927, war between the KMT and the CCP broke out in what we now know as the Chinese Civil War. This was due to a large number of disagreements between the two groups based on different ways of thinking, even though they were both receiving help from the Soviet Union towards their initial shared goal.

The Third Wave

Resistance during the third wave on the social sentences transferred reduced significantly. China’s political party's decision on opening up their economy to the rest of the world to increase their overall economic prosperity meant that China became more open to Western culture and ideas, especially in the fields of business and technological innovations. From the mid-1990s on, an increasing number of Chinese returning students have pursued new business development as entrepreneurs. These individuals have been a major force in China’s globalization process and economic development (Wang, 2014). They also have been leaders in launching new tech start-ups as well as upgrading educational institutions (Naughton, 2007).

Adaptation of modern businesses and the financial institutions like banks and stock market in the private sector has been on the rise since the Chinese government became pro-business in 1978 with a focus on building a strong Chinese economy. The new Shanghai Stock Exchange was created in December 1990, and just months later, the Shenzhen Stock Exchange emerged. Notably, before 2006, the state shares and legal-person shares were not
publicly tradable (Chen, 2013). In 2008, the Chinese government began accelerated efforts to attracting talented and intelligent working professionals to relocating to China. These efforts were specifically aimed at three demographics. The first, "who have an academic title equivalent to professor in internationally well-known universities and institutions," the second "who work as senior managing staff within a well-known international company or banking institution," and the last "who have developed technologies and patents and established their own business abroad." The central government placed priority on recruiting top scientists and academics, while the local government placed priority on attracting entrepreneurs (Zhao & Zhu, 2010).

Summary

Adaptation during the three waves changed systematically. First of all, social remittances had been broken into smaller pieces from the first wave to the third wave through…. Second, from the first wave to the second wave, social remittances were transferred from formal institutions largely organized by the government to informal institutions at the individual level. Third, social remittances become more easily transferrable when more social networks or newly founded organizations were involved, such as the Tongmenghui, political parties, science societies, and schools in the second wave and a combination of government organizations, such as banks and the stock markets in conjunction with private organizations in the third wave.

In the first wave, social remittances were largely concentrated in the Qing government's established institutions and were transferred in large volumes. Resistance to the new ideas and systems of practices was also strong due to the Qing government's internal conflicts between the conservative and the modernization groups. In addition, resistance
existed at the bottom or grass-roots level, where Chinese people had no knowledge of foreign affairs at that time.

Moving into the second wave, social remittances transfer came through a variety of new channels. Thus the government monopoly over social remittances was broken down, as remittances were transferred through pathways paved by a variety of new organizations. Besides the government-established schools, arsenals, and navy yards in the first wave, more students organized groups were established, such as the Tongmenghui, the Chinese Socialist Youth league, and the Chinese Science Society, and were involved in the transferring process. Even though resistance against Western influences grew stronger after new political ideologies, such as democracy, challenged the control and power of the Qing government and the Warlords. Ironically, these same Western ideas were eventually adapted by the Chinese to create new revolutionary ideologies, that led to massive socio-economic change and eventually brought China political stability after 1949.

Finally, during the third wave, the process of social remittance transfer faced the least resistance as ideas, goods, and services flowed through narrower, more individualized channels and organizations. These organizations included both government-sponsored and privatized institutions, but were not monopolized by a single group. The government’s positive role in promoting private sector development following the implementation of economic reforms in 1978 made the transfer of social remittances much easier to accomplish.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the returning study abroad waves introduced social remittances that sparked massive transformations within Chinese society. As Western-educated Chinese students returned to China, they brought home new ideas in the realms of science, technology,
education, and political and economic structures that ultimately contributed to change across all sectors of Chinese society.

The first wave transformed the old China into a society with modern technologies and a Western form of education, the scientific approach of studying. The overall development resulted from the social remittances transferred by Western-educated students in Chinese society during this wave that focused on infrastructures like factories, railway, military, and education. The pathways through which social remittances were transferred were largely concentrated in a few government-organized institutions, and because of that, resistance against the adaptation of the social remittances was strong. The Qing government mitigated these influences. According to Levitt, social remittances are easier to be transferred when broken into smaller pieces and via more organizations (Levitt, 2005).

The second wave transformed China into a nation with modern political and economic structures. Political parties were created during the early stage of this wave by Western-educated students hoping to foster political revolutions by introducing Western political ideologies to Chinese society via their student organizations. Social remittances in the area of culture also flowed into the Chinese society via literary reform. Moreover, Capitalism was introduced to China by Western-educated students. China became politically stable and the nation developed the political infrastructure for future economic development. The pathways through which social remittances were transferred were broken into smaller chunks through student-established rather than government-established. This gave more opportunities for social remittances to overcome resistance and then be successfully transferred and adapted.

The third wave helped to transform China from a poor nation into a prosperous
nation. Returned Western-educated students played a critical role in promoting recent Chinese economic growth by introducing advanced technologies, entrepreneurship, innovations, and finance to Chinese society. More private businesses are established within the private sector by Western-educated students, modern financial institutions, such as banks and the stock market, were established, and more state-owned enterprises slowly transformed into a combination of privately and state-owned enterprises. The pathways of the social remittances transferred went through both top-level and the bottom-level channels. Instead of resisting Western-educated students, the Chinese government began to welcome returned students with new innovative ideas and to give them opportunities to start their own businesses. This made the process of transferring social remittances more robust as they flowed more easily through diverse channels into an ever-changing, more modernized Chinese society.

In summary, the study abroad phenomena began as an initial experiment in globalization and eventually became the vehicle for significant social change in China. Just as many drops of water can slowly dissolve stone over a period of time, each student who studied overseas and each small step in the direction of cultural reform have ultimately contributed to social remittances and knowledge brought home from abroad, which began to transform Chinese society far beyond any expectations. Thus, it can be argued that the study abroad phenomenon has played a significant role in introducing ideas that galvanized social, political, economic, and cultural transformation in China throughout the past century. What began as a small cadre of Chinese youth sent abroad to study has expanded to become a vast outflow of Chinese students heading abroad to receive their education. As we head into the 21st century, social remittances have become critical to the advancement of China’s exponential economic growth and growing competitiveness in the international arena.
Bibliography:


