

**Chinese Journalism Education under Market and System Pressure:
A Case Study of School of Journalism and Communication, Nanjing
Normal University**

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Abstract

Since the late 1990s, Chinese higher education began radical market-oriented reforms under the dominance of political force. From then on, the tension between political, administrative power and the demands of the market shaped the basic modality of higher education in China, including China's journalism education. Taking example of Journalism and Communication School in Nanjing Normal University, this paper discusses the macro elements and their impact that rational educators encountered in their educational activities, as well as educators' adaptive behaviors in regard to these influences. We argue that the conflict between the deficiency of teachers and expansion of college enrollment, which is brought by the rapid development of a market-oriented higher education, propelled journalism schools and departments to reconstruct the space of traditional journalism education. In this space, through rational considerations of their interests, the agents create the internal and external "compensation mechanism", a mode of operation that place more emphasis on academic than teaching. To some extent, this mode of action is innovative, but more importantly, it constantly regenerate and strengthen the dominant role of the administrative power, thus making China's journalism education lack clear directionality and systematicity on the whole and hindering the fundamental breakthrough of journalism education.

Key words: System, Market, Reconstruction of Space, Compensation Mechanism

Journalism Education is increasingly becoming a salient issue among China's journalism academia in the last 10 years. We can see from the statistics from China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI), the largest database in China, the number of relevant papers published in Chinese journalism key journals has been rising on an annual basis (see Table I) . In December 2008, Tsinghua University, the most exceptional university in China, held the first "Global Journalism Education Reform" seminar in Beijing with UNESCO and other institutions. Presidents and deans of journalism and communication schools from 31 colleges and universities around the world attended this seminar, which also assembled and published participants' papers (Li Xiguang, 2010). In March 2009, Journalism Quarterly, one of the most outstanding journalism and communication journals which is issued by China's another top university-Fudan University, published a series of papers in special topics, aiming at discussing the issue of journalism and communication education in China. All of these above demonstrate to a certain degree the essentiality and immediacy of the issue of China's current journalism education.

Table I: the number of papers on China's journalism education in the last 10 years

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Number	3	4	5	5	5	6	6	7	7	8

Sorting out the relevant papers published in key journals, we can see that the discussion on the issue of journalism education has been focusing on three main aspects: 1) Pointing out the strengths and weaknesses of China's journalism education, and putting forward correspondingly critical or constructive opinions (Zheng Baowei, 2007; Liu Haigui, 2008); 2) Comparing the journalism education models and methods at both home and broad, so as to draw on the successful

experience of others (Guo Ke & Qian Jing, 2006; Lui Haigui, 2007); 3) Analyzing at a microscopic level with the focus on the concrete curriculum system and teaching methods. In recent years, discussions in this respect has been paying increasing attention to see that how traditional journalism education has been influenced by media technology (Deng Jianguo, 2009; Zhao Qizheng, 2007). These papers have given us very meaningful insights on examining and understanding China's journalism education.

However, apart from "adding more flowers on the brocade", this paper attempts to take a different route to approach this issue, by putting journalism education in the background of China's current social transformation and education reform, then analyzing how the field of journalism education is being penetrated into by variations and operating mechanisms of the fields closely related to it and how the agents in the field of journalism education are being pressed by those factors and how the agents with their own interest appeals are coping with those forces actively, thus shaping the status quo of China's journalism education.

One of the core difficulties of China's reform, which was proceeded from 1980s, is the certain degree of opposition between the booming market demand and political and ideological appeals which followed the historical traditions of the Communist Party of China, which I called the antagonism between "the system and the market". In this paper, I will describe the relationship between the two poles of system and market. System refers to political system and ideology, its basic mechanism being the reinforcement of control; market refers to the logic of free market, its fundamental mechanism being trying to get rid of external control and carrying out self-regulation with "invisible hand".¹ The tension between the system and the market penetrates into every level and all walks of life in China's society, as well as the field of journalism education. Thus, by examining particular case, this paper aims at presenting and analyzing how the strategic reactions of journalism educators under

¹ Of course, it is dangerous to consider the system and the market as two totally opposed entities, because it suggests an either/or dichotomy, and is also not in conformity with the reality of China's reform. Fundamentally, China's market-oriented transformation is propelled and dominated by political force. While confronting each other, there is also cooperation and collusion between the system and the market.

such tension have an effect on China's journalism education.

Determining Research methods and case selection

In order to elaborate the pattern of interaction between the system and the market in and outside the field of journalism education, as well as the practical activities of the agents, we adopt the methodology of participant observation, as commonly used in cultural anthropology, by presenting and analyzing the mechanism, process and result of educator's activities within a "natural context", and on that basis, emphasizing the interpretive understanding of meaning to the agents, so as to acquire what Geertz (1973) called the "thick description" effect.

Materials used for elaborating and analyzing in this research are mainly from the observations, interviews and records I have made as an "insider" with hidden research agenda, since I became a full-time teacher of Nanjing Normal University's Journalism and Communication School. I have been instructing journalism-related courses from August 2000. In the last 10 years of engaging in journalism education, I have been experiencing more clearly and profoundly the pressure on agents within the education field from many other internal and external forces, such as politics and economy. Since April 2009, I started observing and recording with intention, thus having the characteristic of an "covert researcher".

Taking the educational institution that I am in service of as the object for observation and research, is not only because of research convenience, but more importantly, is because Nanjing Normal University itself also possesses the basic feature of a typical object.

Nanjing Normal University was established in 1888 and boasts a long history and a tradition emphasizing on humanities and social sciences. Now, it orients itself towards the construction goal of "promoting teaching and research simultaneously". Within the administrative system of higher education in China's mainland, Nanjing Normal University is vested in local government management (provincial). This means it doesn't have various resources and advantages for the competition of being a

first-class university in China. However, within the pyramid of over 1500 colleges and universities in China's mainland, Nanjing Normal University is at the top of the second echelon. Because it is located in Nanjing, the capital of Jiangsu Province which is the most developed region in economy and culture within the country, and it is also a key university of Jiangsu Province and one of the first "211 Project"² institutions as key construction projects. Although its overall strength is not as developed as Tsinghua University, Peking University, Fudan University and other subordinate institutions, it plays a leading role among numerous provincial universities.

Nanjing Normal University established the journalism major in 1964, and was one of China's earliest institutions to provide education on this subject. Originally, this profession was under the branch of Chinese Language and Literature, and then it formed as a separate and independent subject with the construction of Journalism and Communication School in the climax of withdrawing departments and constructing as independent schools among China's higher institutions in 1995. Now the Journalism and Communication School consists of 4 departments, which are Department of Journalism, Department of Radio and Television, Department of Advertising and Department of News Photography. In 2000, it was approved by the Chinese Ministry of Education as eligible for Graduate Admissions; in 2005, it stood out in competition and won the right to grant Ph.D. degree, then was ranked among "China's first-class educational institution for journalism and communication" by Professor Fang Hanqi (2005), a leading authority in China's journalism academia. At present, the overall strength of this school ranked about No.10 in the mainland. Though Nanjing Normal University's Journalism and Communication School is not considered as developed as the long-established and competent journalism schools of Chinese People's University, Fudan University and Wuhan University, and has been surpassed by Tsinghua University and Peking University which were set up later and have been enjoying the

² "211 Project" is the higher education construction project initiated in 1995 by the Chinese Ministry of Education, aiming at constructing about 100 key universities and colleges in the 21st century. Being a "211 Project" institution means it has certain reputation and strength in the field of higher education in China, and it can also obtain state support in policy and funding.

excellent platform of top universities, it still occupies the hierarchical position between the end of the first-class and the top of the second-class.

Being at such hierarchical position, Nanjing Normal University and its Journalism and Communication School enable this research to possess certain typical significance. Firstly, unlike those hastily created "latecomers" in the rapid expansion wave of journalism education, Journalism and Communication School of Nanjing Normal University boasts certain historical sediments and independent pursuit in education and academic research, so as to maintain as much as possible its relatively leading edge in the competition. Therefore, it depends greater on various resources in all directions. Secondly, the status of not being a first-class institution and below "top" in every respect makes it less strong to resist external pressures, and more susceptible to the influences of various external and internal forces. Thirdly, China's higher education on the whole features homogeneity to some degree, so does the journalism education. Thus, Journalism and Communication School of Nanjing Normal University has similar educational philosophy, teaching methods and curriculum system with other institutions in the same majors.

Therefore, in the hierarchy of China's knowledge production and dissemination system, Nanjing Normal University with its Journalism and Communication School is positioned below the end of the first-class and above the top of the second-class, and can be seen as "the middle class" in the field of education and academia: it is motivated to step into the first-class, but faces more or less the pressure of resource shortage; it enjoys partial advantages of top universities (such as applying for national special subject, acquiring financial support from state and local departments at various levels), but also is confronted with the dilemma suffered by second-rate universities (such as student source, employment, teachers and so forth). Just as Mills (1951, p. ix-xx) said, the middle class "carry, in a most revealing way, many of those psychological themes that characterize our epoch", because the situation of the middle class, "reflecting conditions and styles of life that are borne by elements of both the new lower and the new upper classes, may be seen as symptom and symbol of modern society as a whole". It is at this level that we have the solid intellectual basis for our

taking Journalism and Communication School of Nanjing Normal University as our observational object.

Participant observation is one of the main social science research methods and, of course, has been criticized because it might cause subjective bias in research orientation and results, and the higher level of participation, the more subjective a researcher may be. However, the aim of this research is not to give "objective "cause and effect explanations, much less providing strategic guidance to resolve practical problems, but attempts to present and explain the meaning of the concrete activities of educational agents under the tension of the system and the market. From this perspective, the positivistic approaches, such as experiments and survey, which are best suited for testing specific hypotheses and theories and providing explanations, on the contrary, are not suited for this research. When the purpose of research is to appeal the meanings people use to define and interact with their ordinary environment, the methodology of participant observation seems to be a natural choice (Jorgensen, 1989, p. 23-24). Therefore, based mainly upon research priority and tactical need, we will conduct our research with combined use of methods such as observing while participating, interviewing, documents and personal experience and so on.

Facing the market: Expansion of Student Sources and Deficiency of Teachers in Quantity and Quality

Usually, when the teachers of Nanjing Normal University's Journalism and Communication School meet, especially when they meet for the first time at the beginning of a semester, they would say: "Do you have many courses this semester?" This sentence may have different meaning in various contexts. Sometimes, it's just a simple greeting, just like "how are you", which doesn't necessarily need an answer, or the one being asked just have to reply with "It's OK ", then they would go on to talk about something else. At other times, this habitual greeting would invite brief discussions between colleagues, which can be mutually interpreted as concern among associates: concern about whether both have heavy teaching tasks or whether they would be able to accomplish enough required tasks to get adequate remuneration.

These two kinds of meaning are changed overtime: the former was more usual before 2005, while the latter became much more common afterwards.

It is not easy to investigate accurately when the greeting manner started to get popular. However, based on my empirical observation, it gradually became a habitual wording from about the late 1990s. The background of this gradual process was the accelerating enhancement of the marketization of China's higher education and Nanjing Normal University's implementation of the so-called "Post allocation and Staff Establishment", a system for performance evaluation of teachers.

The important indicators of the marketization of China's higher education are the nationwide implementation of "Unified Admission" from 1997, as well as the large-scale expansion of the national college enrollment from 1999. These were two significant steps toward a market-oriented higher education after 10 years of preparation and trial by the Central Government. Before the 1980s, colleges and universities across the country recruited students according to planned targets for the number of admissions ordered by China's administrative department of education, and the expenses in school management were covered by the state. In 1985, the Central Government issued <the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party's Decision on Educational System Reform>, which allowed higher institutions to "recruit a few students that pay at their own expenses, and the students should pay a certain amount of educational tuition fees". Some colleges and universities began to carry out this decision by lowering the entry score. From the mid-1980s to 1992, China's administrative department of education started to dominate the transition of "Unified Admission", and began to charge tuition fees in an all-round way. After the implementation of "Unified Admission", the tuition criterion increased dramatically: in 1996, the average college tuition fee in China was 2000 yuan per year(Kang Ning, 2000, p. 19); according to <Notice on Adjusting Tuition Standard of Average Higher Institutions> issued by the Chinese Ministry of Education in 2002, the upper limit of general majors' tuition fees should be 4200 yuan per year, key institutions approved by administrative department of Education 5000 yuan; the upper limit of the majors' tuition fees in science and engineering should be 4600 yuan annually, key institutions

approved by administrative department of Education 5500 yuan; the upper limit of the majors' tuition fees in foreign Language and medicine should be 5000 yuan, and key institutions approved by administrative department of Education 6000 yuan (Zhang Kaihua, 2002) .

Almost simultaneously taking place with unified admission, was the rapid expansion of college enrollment in China. In 1994, led by the then State Education Commission and submitted to the Central Government, a national research formed a report that pointed out that, talent shortage had become one of the great obstacles for the further deepening of China's economic reform: "From macro policy making, regulation and control to operation of the market and then to business management, there is a lack of professionals who can operate freely in a market economy. The cultivation of this kind of talents is the basic condition for the establishment of China's socialist market economy." (Educational System Special Study Group of State Education Commission, 1994) In November 1998, when the Asian financial crisis started, the Asian Development Bank economist Tang Min and his wife professor Zuo Xiaolei from Asian Institute of Management, submitted a written statement to the State Council, putting forward that university enrollment should be enlarged to stimulate domestic demand and to confront economic weakness. It was recommended that the amount of college enrollment be doubled in 3 to 4 years , and new students pay school fees at their own expenses, which was 10,000 yuan per year. The report and its proposal got recognition from the highest quarters. In early 1999, relevant departments drew up a recruitment plan, which increased enrollment by more than 20% over the previous year, and a few months later increased to 47% for the consideration that the rate was not high enough (Lu Xiang, 2003). Later, Tang Min and Zuo Xiaolei (1999) further published their proposal in the newspaper and caused great repercussions. The central government think-tank economist Hu Angang (Hu Angang & Shi Zulin, 1999) supported this proposal openly, suggesting that the number of Chinese college students be expanded by at least 60% in 5 years, "to promote higher education market to adapt to changes in labor market demand." In

June 1999, the CPC Central Committee, State Council convened the National Education Conference which decided to expand college enrollment that year, and put forward in file (Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party & the State Council, 1999) that by 2010, the enrollment rate of Chinese school-age population in higher education be increased from 9% to 15%. Thus the scale of Chinese university enrollment began to expand by leaps and bounds (Zhang Weiming, 2007) (see Table II).

Table II: Statistics on Chinese College Enrollment (Unit : million) ³

Year	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
College Enrollment	1.08	1.60	2.21	2.68	3.21	2.82	4.47	5.04	5.30

The substantial increase of tuition fees after unified admission, and the expansion of student enrollment, made the proportion of the appropriation of government funds in total higher education funding decline continuously. For instance, the proportion was 83.25 % in 1993 and then dropped to 52.6% in 2001. Meanwhile, the proportion of the university's fund-raising was climbing year by year, reaching 47.4% in 2001, and tuition fees became an important component of universities' income (Hu Jianhua, 2003; Leslie Nai Kwai & Cao Taisheng, 2003). Since then, the phrase "student sources" had had a double meaning for China's higher institutions: Firstly, it means the quality of students, and the better the students enrolled are, the higher quality of school education; secondly, it means the quantity of students, the greater the number is, the higher the school's income will be.

China's universities are known as "ivory tower", which implicates a certain

³ Source: <China Education Statistical Yearbook> from 1999 to 2006 . The reason for recording to 2006 is that the negative impact caused by the enlargement of university enrollment was becoming increasingly salient in successive years, and in 2006, Zhou Ji, Minister of Education and Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao made speeches in related conferences, demanding the college and university enrollment be controlled, and the increase rate be compressed to 5% from then on. Therefore, the year 2006 is generally considered the year of termination of university enrollment expansion in China. (Yang ChongLong, 2007)

distance between the university and the secular society, and also means less intrusion on education by the secular community. From the mid-1990s, the education reform propelled by the Central Government, let "ivory tower" gradually open its door to the market. Meanwhile, government forces, which originally occupied the absolutely dominant position in the educational field, began to withdraw finitely. In this process, the government's role began to change. There was a transition from "state control model" to "state supervision model", as some scholars called, and the nature of this change is the gradually limited withdrawal of political power from the field of higher education, and the introduction of market mechanisms to some extent, thus forming the "multi-triangle relationship" among university, market and government (Mok, 1997; Hu Jianhua, 2003).

The formation of this "multi-triangle relationship" made political power and economic power two main external forces that penetrated into the field of higher education. To a large extent, those combined forces shaped the current situation of Chinese higher education, including journalism education. The profound manifestation of this situation is the rapid enrollment expansion. Journalism and Communication School of Nanjing Normal University, for instance, had an enrollment of 86 students when it was first established, but in September 2005, its undergraduate's enrollment number reached 881, and postgraduate's 169. The quantity of its students increased over 11 times in 10 years.

In addition to the expansion of a single journalism school and its department, journalism institutions also sprung up in great numbers. Until the mid-1990s, Nanjing, where Nanjing Normal University locates, only had three universities that had journalism majors, but after 2000, there were over 20 colleges and universities in Nanjing that established journalism and related majors. These universities included pure science and engineering institutions, like Nanjing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics, Nanjing University of Science and Technology. A survey by Steering Committee on the Teaching of Journalism as a Discipline from China's Ministry of Education(2009), shows that from 1989 to 1999, the number of institutions in China that opened journalism-related schools, departments and majors increased from about

40 to 111, including 210 teaching points;⁴ undergraduate enrollment number rose from over 6000 to more than 50,000. And in 2009, there were 360 journalism-related schools and departments, 650 teaching points with an undergraduate enrollment of about 160,000.

Behind the rapid expansion of the journalism education is higher institutions' chase for "student sources" (which has the double meaning as mentioned above). Because in China, media organizations and practitioners are enviable professional groups; their incomes are much higher than the average level and they often enjoy higher social status, enabling journalism to be a popular major in college. This major can attract more students with better academic records, and is also in sharp contrast to "unpopular" majors such as philosophy, history and so forth.

In relation to the expansion and adequacy of "student sources", the first difficult problem facing the market-oriented journalism education was the deficiency of teachers. In 2000, Journalism Department of Nanjing Normal University's Journalism and Communication School had only 11 full-time teachers, while undergraduate enrollment number then was almost 200, and another department—the Department of Radio and Television likewise. In this case, every teacher had to bear a lot of teaching tasks. A young teacher who had just entered this school in September 2000 summed his more than one year of work and wrote this:⁵

This year I take on six professional courses: News Coverage, Journalism Writing, Reading Outstanding News, Sports News Reporting, Journalism Theory, Operation and Management of Media Organizations. It's my first time to teach these courses ... it is a big challenge for me... but I also benefit greatly from this experience ... (December 27, 2001)

The phenomenon that a teacher took on various academic directions of

⁴ A teaching point refers to a major, such as journalism for radio and television. In 1989, most journalism-related majors are not independent as departments, and often existed as majors (teaching points) under the branch of Chinese Language and Literature.

⁵ Quoting from the teacher's summary of the work in 2001. Cited by his permission.

multi-disciplinary courses and the content of some courses might have exceeded of the teacher's knowledge scope , was relatively common and it also could not be chosen in the period of journalism education expansion. The inevitability of this phenomenon lies in the fact that the market-oriented reform of Chinese higher education, to a large extent, was propelled by the dominator of institutional forces-the national government, by its eager to get rid of a heavy financial burden (Leslie Nai Kwai & Cao Taisheng, 2003). This time, there displays a kind of collusion and joint force between the system and the market, because the various behavioral agents in the market pole, such as colleges and universities, can justifiably seek their own economic interests within institution's framework. Originally, institutional forces in China have a strong impetus, coupled with market forces in the same direction, thus making the scale of Chinese higher education expand by leaps and bounds in about 2000, including the size of journalism education, then surpass the scale of the original resources-for instance the number of teachers-could withstand.

On the one hand, from the students' point of view, the contradiction between student sources and the quantity of teachers, does more harm than good because it means the decline of education quality. But on the other hand, it has both advantages and disadvantages for teachers. The main disadvantage is that teachers have to face more students, teach more courses, and their teaching tasks will naturally be heavier. Therefore, in this period, when teachers met, their greeting "Do you have many courses this semester" emphasized more on the meaning of "You were working hard". But at the same time, advantages are also very obvious. More students mean more profits of the school, which will bring the improvement of working conditions and welfare enhancement. As the young teacher said above, "benefit greatly", the original intention of which was that for teaching so many courses, he had to focusing on learning more knowledge as complement, so as to possess a knowledge structure that was more abundant and perfect. However, undeniably, he also enjoyed the benefits of the market-oriented education, at least in the material and welfare level.

At this stage, due to the relative shortage of teachers, educators themselves had become scarce resources in the market-the "supply" for teachers was far behind the

"demand" in learning caused by the enrollment expansion. The fundamental significance of this comparison of change is that, it indicates the most direct impact to education field by the market-oriented education reform from unified admission in 1997 and the enrollment expansion in 1999, is the change of the relatively balanced and stable state of resource allocation in the first place. This change in resources will continue to have effect on China's journalism education field with the implementation of a series of educational reform policies in the next few years.

Reconstruction of Journalism Education Space

To be compatible with a market-oriented reform, the Chinese government (including the CPC Central Committee and State Council) and administrative department of education released many policies continuously to guide and regulate various problems and contradictions that may occur in the course of this transformation, and at the same time, tried to ensure that the entire transformational process is under the control of institutional forces. Some researchers (Xie Weihe & Chen Chao, 2006) compiled statistics about the educational policies in documents, laws and regulations promulgated by the Chinese government and administrative department of education since 1985, and found that in the 3 years of 1999, 2000 and 2001, when unified admission and enrollment expansion were underway, there were over 100 policies annually, much higher than other years. This discovery reflects the system-dominated characteristic of China's education reform.

However, since it is a market-oriented reform, so to a certain extent, it needs to be in accordance with the market's own characteristics and requirements, a very important one of which is to get rid of the control of the "visible hand", and to run independently according to its own laws. Therefore, while China's administrative department of education is reinforcing its dominant position through the enactment of a series of policies, it has to give some autonomy to the educational agents: at the level of substantive autonomy (Braun and Merrien, 1999: 21-22), the government gives universities the rights of determining voluntarily their own professional orientation, working put the plan and outline of teaching, and actively engaging in

teaching reform; at the level of procedural autonomy, colleges and universities have broken the integrating control by the state in the distribution system, and simultaneously have gradually possessed certain authority in personnel management, through the appointment system of teachers which introduce competitive mechanism into performance evaluation, thus theoretically breaking "the secured job" for university teachers.

Moderate relaxation within controllable scope became the main feature of China's higher education policies from then on (Zhang Xiulan, Hu Xiaojiang & Qu Zhi-yong, 2009). Xie Weihe and Chen Chao found in their research that before 1995, relevant policies promulgated by the national government and the education authority emphasized more on involving directly in the level of school management, regulating the internal school education and teaching activities, whereas since 1995, the number of macroscopic management policies (for example education legislative construction, ideology guidance, educational system transformation and so on) has begun to surpass that of the policies that regulated directly the concrete teaching behaviors. This is the direct manifestation of "giving certain independent space within control".

The significance of giving moderate autonomy to educational agents is that it provides possibility for the reconstruction of the system space. The so-called system space refers to the inherent flexibility of the existing system and its ability to accommodate "innovative" or "non-conventional" practice. This space possesses relatively strong reality, because any practical behavior must be displayed within some system and must be sustained or "contained" by physical space and time.

The reconstruction of the space of Chinese higher educational system has the following sociological significance. Firstly, social practices of educational agents occur in a specific time and space coordinate, namely a concrete social and historical scene, or some joint point of various relationships within the system. The system is consisted of practical activities in specific scene. Secondly, the system includes the relationships between "agents" and "insitutions" and these relationships "weave" a network with hierarchical ladders. The core or summit of this network is the party and government's control. Every educational agent (a whole school or a individual

teacher) is a "point" in this network, and has various space distance to the core of the network. Thirdly, practical activities of agents maintain the social reality of the system and reproduce the existing system which has a certain inner space to sustain traditional and "conventional" practices and allows for innovative and "unconventional" practices under given circumstances.

China's journalism education carries out its transformation in such a reticular system space. As response to a certain degree of marketization allowed by the system, educational agent's first attempt is to expand the education space of its own subject. The main manifestation of this attempt is the establishment of new departments and new professional direction. The basic objective of this attempt is to make the most of the space and autonomy given by the system, to take full advantage of possible resources on the premise of not breaking through the limit set by the system, so as to secure one's own leading position in all directions. Specifically, there are two reasons for this attempt: firstly, through the establishment of new majors, to develop and improve the journalism-related subject systems, so as to establish one's unique or leading positions in the competition with other schools or departments in journalism and communication; secondly, based on its own evaluation of talents need of the industry, to recruit and cultivate students that are able to adapt to the demands of job market and at the same time, by setting up majors that are relatively smart and can appeal to the needs of the society, to attract more students with better academic records.

Nanjing Normal University's Journalism and Communication School, for example, in 1995, which was established as a independent school from journalism major under the branch of Chinese Language and Literature, opened Department of Radio and Television and set up the professional direction of Management of Journalism under the Department of Journalism. A few years later, the vice-president(now retired), who then helped establishing this professional direction, said to me proudly in our interview that, the original reason for setting up this major was that, since 1990s, the rapid development of marketization of journalism in China made essential a great number of talents who were good at both journalism and operation and management

of media organizations, but traditional journalism education emphasized more on the vocational work of journalism, which couldn't meet the demand of reality. Hence, "our establishment of this professional direction not only satisfies the requirements of the market, but more importantly, enables us to be the first one setting up Management of Journalism, triggering big repercussions in both journalism academia and industry."⁶

After 1999, in the context of the expansion of the national higher education enrollment, Journalism and Communication School of Nanjing Normal University entered the phase of rapid development in departments and professional directions. In 1999, it opened the specialized direction of "Sports News" under the Department of Journalism; in 2000, it set up Department of Advertising; in 2001, it opened the specialized direction of "Internet News" under the Department of Journalism; in 2002, it set up Department of News Photography. All these made this school more systematic and comprehensive in departments and professionals, and enabled it to have more students enrolled. In the then field of journalism education, it was quite common to promote the establishment of discipline system through the wave of enrollment expansion, just like the Journalism and Communication School of Nanjing Normal University. The "standardized" professional system of China's most journalism and communication schools⁷ was mainly formed in the 4 or 5 years after 1999.

But on the other hand, even if framed within the boundaries of the system, educational agent is not totally free in expanding its space of practice, and must be conditioned by other factors, the most important of which is the market factor, namely whether the students of a certain professional direction could be employed or not. If a major's students couldn't maintain relatively higher employment rate, it wouldn't be able to attract enough high-quality source of students, thus damaging the

⁶ According to my own diary, on February 17, 2003.

⁷ Journalism education in China's higher education features homogeneity to some degree, thus forming a "standardized" system: Firstly, they have similar names, most of which are called "Journalism and Communication Schools"; Secondly, the establishment of departments is close, generally includes Department of Journalism, Department of Radio and Television, Department of Advertising(Public Relations); Thirdly, their curriculum is similar, and only a few competent schools boast several unique departments, such as Department of News Photography in Journalism and Communication School of Nanjing Normal University.

prestige of the college. The establishment of sports news professional direction in Journalism and Communication School of Nanjing Normal University was because the then decision makers of this school sensed a change in the press that, increasingly more media organizations attempted to attract more audience by presenting more sports news, so as to get an edge in the market competition. The sports news majors graduated in 2003 and 2004 got employed successfully because of the sports news expansion wave. However, sports journalist became saturated as the development of sports news market had leveled off. From 2005, graduates of this professional direction started to encounter unemployment, which caused its enrollment termination since then. Similar circumstances also happened to journalism management and internet news, which were set in 1995 and 2001 respectively and then both were stopped recruiting students after a few years.⁸

In addition to the market factor, when expanding its space of practice, journalism educational agent is also constrained by its own hierarchical location in the entire network of educational field. Within a university, School of Journalism forms a hierarchical network with other schools, and also competes with others for various resources in the education space. These schools boast different capacity in contending for resources because of their various history, academic accumulation and reputation. When it comes to common resources, the hierarchical relationships among schools often determine where these resources may go to and their final destination. Within Nanjing Normal University, for example, School of Geographic Sciences wins university's recognition because of its leading position in national geographic discipline; School of Chinese Language and Literature and School of Fine Art enjoy more power of discourse over Journalism and Communication School for their long and profound history (they were established with Nanjing Normal University). In

⁸ Strictly speaking, although the reasons for the termination of these professional directions may vary, such as the lack of teachers and students, but their graduates couldn't find jobs that were in line with their majors was the common cause. In this era of media integration, the professional direction of Internet news may seem competent to be employed by media organizations and other industries, but the reality that graduates face is, China's new media departments tends to recruit pure journalism majors(including other humanity and social science majors except journalism) and pure computing majors. This is because of the low level of media integration within China's media organizations, and also because of their misunderstanding and discontentment in new media education and training (according to my interview with Chen Xiaoshu, Associate Director of New Media Department of Nanjing Daily Newspaper Group, on October 4, 2009).

2001, when Journalism and Communication School first set up Broadcasting and TV Editor & Director major, School of Chinese Language and Literature also set up a similar major called "Broadcasting and TV Announcing & Hosting", which confused many applicants. In addition, School of Chinese Language and Literature has a undergraduate major of publishing, Journalism and Communication School also has the professional direction of publishing in graduate education, so as to compete for resources in this respect. Although teachers of Journalism and Communication School all hold mild criticisms about this situation, complaining that School of Chinese Language and Literature "crosses the line", they can do nothing about it. Similar circumstances also happened to the competition for "Department of Photography" and "Department of Animation" between School of Journalism and Communication and School of Fine Art.⁹

Based on the evaluation of the market, the constant establishment of new departments and new professions is the main approach of journalism educational agent to expand the space of journalism education, by making full of the authority granted by the system, and is also the main method for journalism education innovation. All of these enable the principled policies and measures of political power to be implemented in the practices within the educational field, thus giving the system the social reality. This kind of innovation was constrained immensely by the demand of job market. Now, that the main professional establishment in journalism and communication department mostly concentrated on journalism, radio and television

⁹ School of Fine Art's "Department of Photography" in Nanjing Normal University was set up early. About 2001, it was considered better had its name changed, thus hoping to attract more applicants. As media practitioners in China enjoy higher social status and more substantial income (which is described above), thus being more attractive to students, so it was planned to be called "Department of Photography and Media Art". Facing this "tort", School of Journalism and Communication and School of Fine Art reached a compromise after a great deal of bargaining: School of Fine Art set up "Department of Photography and Media Art" and School of Journalism and Communication set up "Department of News Photography"; School of Fine Art would be in charge of enrollment with School of Journalism and Communication' participation. Similarly, there were game between the two schools when School of Fine Art set up ""Department of animation", because comic and animation industry then had been developing rapidly as a burgeoning industry in China, which needed a great number of talents. The reason given by School of Fine Art of setting up this major was that animation production needed a solid background in the fine arts; while the reason given by School of Journalism and Communication being the research of cultural industry including comic and animation industry had always been a important research field of journalism and communication, and Department of Radio and Television could provide technical support for animation production. However, because School of Fine Art , which enjoyed advantage in the hierarchical network within Nanjing Normal University , started this program earlier than School of Journalism and Communication which didn't spare no efforts because of such limitations as the lack of teachers, "Department of animation" was finally settled in School of Fine Art .

and advertising, is a response to social talents need in the field of journalism and communication. Journalism and Communication School of Nanjing Normal University once wanted to set up "Laws News" with School of Law and "International News" with School of Foreign Language, but failed to put these plans into practice. Apart from the fact that the two parties concerned couldn't reach an agreement in the allocation of resources and interests, the main consideration of not doing so is that graduates of these two majors may not be employed easily. From this perspective, within the space of system and market change, the reconstruction of Chinese journalism education space is a result of the rational choice and action of the journalism schools and departments as an active whole.

Action as Strategy

In addition to educators as a whole - journalism departments, the teachers within journalism disciplines as individual agents also carry out their practices actively within the field shaped by system and market factors. Their practices also give "principle" and specific content (see Garfinkel, 1984) ruled by institutional forces, thus shaping the current state of Chinese journalism education.

As noted above, because of the large-scale expansion of university enrollment in 1999, college teachers became scarce resources and couldn't meet the teaching requirements brought by rapidly increasing number of students. Therefore, it was a top priority for Nanjing Normal University which was just set up then to enlarge the quantity of teachers. The school's Journalism Department, for example,¹⁰ recruited at least one professional teacher every year since 2000 until 2006 when university enrollment expansion was stopped. In 2006, there were 19 professional teachers in Journalism Department, while in 2000 only 11.¹¹ Sources of new teachers had three

¹⁰ In Journalism and Communication School, professional teachers' expansion of other departments was similar to that of Journalism Department. Radio and Television Department recruited 8 teachers after 2000, making a total number of 19; Advertising Department now has 8 teachers while there were only 3 when established; News Photography Department now has 6 teachers while there were only 2 when founded. Meanwhile, teachers of Advertising Department and News Photography Departments are fewer than that of Journalism Department and Radio and Television Department because of their relatively lesser students.

¹¹ In 2002, two teachers retired from Journalism Department and three teachers were transferred to other places. Therefore, after 2000, the actual number of new recruited teachers was 13.

categories: firstly, the school employed its best graduate students after graduation. This category occupied the most part of the new teachers, which were 7;¹² secondly, it engaged open recruitment from other schools—a Doctor of Literature, a Doctor of Sociology and two Masters from journalism and communication majors; thirdly, it transferred two practitioners from media organizations.

No matter when and how do these individual and active agents enter the field of journalism education, they will first face the structural pressure. Since the late 1990s, within journalism education field, this kind of structural pressure has mainly been coming from the action and penetration of system and market forces within journalism education field. The practical activities of individual agents in the field are determined by their location in the hierarchical system (Swartz, 1997: 64-72) and feature “the structural practice” (Bourdieu, Boltanski et al., 1990:23). But at the same time, agents actively accommodate and transform the structural factors, thus enabling its practices to be innovative.

Together with promulgating the unified admission and enrollment expansion, National administrative department of education also enacted a series of new educational administrative policies; all of these constructed the system of China’s higher educational reform. Among these policies, the one that has relatively greater impact on the individual educators was the change of personnel management policies with “Post allocation and Staff Establishment” being its main content. On August 16, 1999, the Chinese Ministry of Education promulgated <Decision On Enhancing the Quality of Teachers In the New Era >, which ruled that “to strengthen the teacher evaluation system, and to improve the teacher appointment system, we should actively explore teacher assessment methods and indicator systems that are scientific, effective and feasible, so as to enable the assessment to be institutionalized and standardized and scientific”, and put forward that “teacher assessment results be

¹² In general, professional teachers in colleges and universities should have doctoral degrees. After 1999, however, demand for teachers increased rapidly university enrollment expansion and the domestic doctors graduated at that time couldn’t suffice for there were only 4 universities then in the country that were qualified with the right to grant Ph.D. degree. Therefore, it was a common phenomenon for graduate students to take teaching posts after graduation then study for a doctorate.

the basis for appointment, promotion, rewards and punishment” . In September, 1999, the Chinese Ministry of Education issued <Several Decisions On the Current Deepening of Higher Institution’s Personnel Allocation System Reform>, ruled that employment system and contract appointment system be implemented among higher institutions’ teachers. The principle of this promulgation was establishing posts according to demand, open recruitment, equal competition, competitive selection and contract management and this transformation process was required to be finished in two or three years. On June, 2000, Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee, Personnel Department and Ministry of Education promulgated <Notice on Implementation of Higher Institutions’ Personnel System Reform> , which required that on the basis of “the principle that the Party is in charge of cadre management” and the president assumes overall responsibility under the leadership of the Party, and the employment of teachers be carried out in an all-round way. It also ruled that according to the demands of discipline construction, teaching and scientific research tasks, universities should establish reasonably the posts in teaching, scientific research and management, determine post responsibilities, employment conditions, rights and obligations, and duration of employment; they should carry out open recruitment, equal competition, competitive selection for posts of all levels according to established procedure, so as to play down “identity” evolution and better achieve the aim of post employment.

As a result, China’s universities in the transformational process of the market-oriented reform formed the so-called “Post allocation and Staff Establishment” personnel management model. The so-called “Post allocation” means universities and its schools and departments should establish posts and determine different work contents and requirements according to teaching and administrative needs; the so-called” Staff Establishment” means according to established posts and work requirements, higher institutions should employ teachers to engage in specific jobs and evaluate teachers on the basis of the quantification inspection of their performance. If the teachers cannot meet the demands of their posts, they would be dismissed.

To comply with the opinions and policies of national education authorities on university personnel system reform, since 2000, universities one after another started to work out their policies of teacher employment and evaluation. When drawing up these policies, almost every university in China, including Nanjing Normal University, emphasized more on the efficiency mechanism of management and tried to introduce competition mechanism, thus forming the quantized and standardized performance evaluation system.¹³

The impact on educational individuals from this kind of university personnel system reform with “Post allocation and Staff Establishment” as its core can be demonstrated as the following aspects:

Firstly, it strengthens the school's internal executive-dominated system of bureaucratic power. Although China's higher education has departed from the "universal model" of government monopoly, it hasn't fully adopted the “residual model”, which let the market and the family operate education entirely with government control being only the smallest degree of complement. Thus, China's higher education is in the intermediate area between "universal model" and “residual model”, features the “selective model”, as some scholar called (Guan, 2000). On the one hand, the aim of this model is to adjust to the development of socialist market economy, to enhance the state institutions' efficiency in an market-oriented environment, so universities need to introduce market mechanism into those areas; on the other hand, in order to alleviate the social problems brought by market reform and to maintain social stability, public departments including higher education institutions need to be under the control of state supervision. In the area of higher education, the most important presentation of institutional factors is that universities still belong to administrative departments of education and are subordinates directly regulated by the government. This is the basic relationship between university and government in a planned economy and is not subject to market-oriented reform. Colleges' party and government leaders are still appointed directly by the higher authorities, and organizations within the university still apply the administrative hierarchy ruled by

¹³ Incisive perspective on Chinese universities' “standardized management”, please refer to Hanley, 2003.

the government. In this context, those things that closely related to university teachers including teaching activities, academic research activities and the academic committee-the main evaluator of personnel performance, are not independent academic community that consist of educational and academic colleagues, but a consulting and evaluating organization serving for universities' administrative management and also the expansion of academic and political power in the area of education and academy. The power of the academic committee is a kind of institutionalized and regularized power; its basic organizational principle is in conformity with bureaucratic organizations. The academic committee can only exert limited academic power controlled by political power (Guo Lijun, 2006: 92-100). Just as Pan Maoyuan(2003) said: "The work, principle and power of evaluation of university teachers' professional titles are all determined by administrative departments, and there is evaluation leading group which is in higher position than the academic committee and which is consisted of the secretary of the Party committee, the president, the human resource manager and so on. What the academic committee has passed may not be approved by administrative departments; what is impassable at the academic committee, may be granted by the administrative departments." Therefore, within such a context in which the core level of political system-the Party and government's control-is not changed, the policies for marketization may become the reason for further strengthening administrative control in practice. As we can see from the relevant policies for personnel employment and evaluation in higher education, those policies further enlarge the interfering scope of administrative power and affect directly on every agent in the educational field. A teacher of Nanjing Normal University's Journalism and Communication School mentioned several times in our conversations that every time he walks into university's Housheng Building (the office building where the school level Party committee and institutions are), he will think that there are so many people in this big building who are regulating us so strictly in every respect, from the content of our courses, to our salaries-for them, we are just employees. This is the perceptual intuition of a teacher about the institutional and administrative management power.

Secondly, the research-oriented evaluation system considerably reduced the degree of importance that teachers attach to teaching. In general, the evaluation of college teachers focuses on two dimensions: education and academic. In theory, university as an educational institution, its

primary function is to disseminate knowledge. Moreover, there is no essential contradiction between education and academic-the results of academic research should be reflected in the educational process, while the process of education can also provided the basis and promotion for academic research. However, when academic research became the most important, even the only evaluation index, journalism education was lost in the dispute about which one should come first, “the education” or “the academic” (Du Junfei, 2009).

As has been described above, a major characteristic of Chinese University's teacher evaluation system is highly quantitative. This is because of the pursuit of the so-called fairness, justice, science and efficiency of administrative activities. Of college teachers's two main tasks- teaching and academic research- no doubt the latter is easier to be quantified in the evaluation operation. Nanjing Normal University divided Chinese academic journals into three categories: I-level authoritative journals, II-class authoritative journals, core journals and provincial periodicals, and every kind of journals corresponds to different scores-80 points, 40 points, 20 points and 8 points-so that papers published in these journals every year can be easily converted to measure the required score. There are also corresponding score for books written and published by teachers annually: 160 points for monograph, 100 points for translations and 80 points for teaching materials. If papers or books are written in collaboration, then every party concerned will get the average scores.¹⁴ In addition, Nanjing Normal University also provides different levels of research scores that teachers should complete each year: 100 points for professors, 70 points for associate professors, 20

¹⁴ It needs to be demonstrated here that like Nanjing Normal University, other universities also give lower scores to the translation of domestic monographs. However, the time and energy that needs to be devoted into translating a monograph is no lesser than writing one. Because of the low “input-output ratio”, few teachers would like to engage in the monograph translation. This situation to a large extent hinders the communication of academic ideas between China and foreign countries and also impedes the development of journalism and communication education, as well as academic research (Huang Dan & Ding wei, 2005).

points for lecturers and 10 points for teaching assistants. The I scores, which are obtained through publishing papers on the core or higher level journals, are required to account for more than 50% of the total score. When the evaluation at the end of the year comes, teachers would be awarded if their research scores exceed the provided value- 20 yuan for every point-and otherwise they would be punished by deducting post subsidies, that is also 20 yuan for every point.

In contrast to the relatively detailed evaluation of scientific research, Nanjing Normal University takes it much more roughly in the performance evaluation of teachers. The only quantitative indicator is the provision on teaching hours in various posts for each school year: 320 hours for professors, 300 hours for associate professors, 260 hours for lecturers, 220 hours for teaching assistants. When the evaluation at the end of the year comes, teachers would be awarded if their teaching hours exceed the provided value- 10 yuan for one hour-and otherwise they would be punished by deducting post subsidies, that is also 10 yuan for one hour. In addition, the assessment for teaching also includes students' appraisals, which haven't formed comprehensively quantitative indicators.

That academic research is considered more important than teaching in evaluation systems is not only because the former one can directly affect teachers' incomes, but also because it can influence the appraisal of teachers' professional titles. According to Nanjing Normal University's provisions, if teachers want to get promotion or want to apply for posts of higher status, they must meet a series of demands in research subjects, papers, monographs or teaching materials; all of these requirements in academic research are considered "unquestionable conditions". However, when it comes to teaching, as long as there is no serious teaching incident(generally referred to teachers' not being in class for no reasons), and as long as there is no lack of provided teaching tasks successively, it won't have an effect on teachers' promotion or post employment.

In this quantitative, research-oriented academic evaluation system, the rational agents will naturally emphasize more on whether their research results can be published, thus creating a "pragmatic" and "utilitarian" tendency in research. One of

my colleagues once did a participant and observational research on Nanjing Normal University's Journalism and Communication School, and concludes that teachers of this school are influenced immensely by utilitarianism in their researches, and their research projects are often about "publicity ideas of a certain period" (such as "political party's guidance on public opinion", "socialist core value," etc.), having the characteristic of "short-term, focusing on the social hotspots, and being close to the slogan," etc. In addition, their "production" of books and papers lack the standardization of academic research, and are too concerned about the practice of low-level practical behaviors (such as the discussion of "how to write news leads"). Therefore, there are very few works with close reasoning and profound thinking.¹⁵ This is actually a common condition among the entire journalism academia in China's mainland. It was criticized by Chinese-American scholar Chin-Chuan Lee (2003) that China's journalism and communication scholar "most lack basic technical training, and too many smart people are saying something pretentious, superficial and empty, and too few people are willing to do in-depth analysis of a small amount materials with a down-to-earth attitude."

On the other hand, because teachers always put more energy into their researches, to some extent, the teaching in the classes will not be taken seriously. On October 14, 2009, during a conversation with a teacher of Nanjing Normal University's Journalism and Communication School, he told me that the teachers of Journalism Department including himself often only meet the requirements provided by the university and would not spare more efforts in teaching. He worried that, "In this case, whether a teacher pays enough attention to teaching would entirely depend on the teacher's own professional ethics. If some teacher holds more responsibilities for students, he/she would be more serious in class, and there would be better teaching results. But I also know that some teachers pay very less attention to teaching. All these have something to do with university's evaluation system. No matter how much energy you devote to the classes, the result would be the same. Naturally, teachers

¹⁵ This part of the content comes from my colleague Bian Donglei's paper, "The Knowledge Production of Communication in Mainland China: A Case Study basing on participant observation", which is not published. Thank Bian Donglei for its free copy. References authorized.

won't attach more importance to teaching.”

Thirdly, the establishment of a quantitative evaluation system, to a certain extent, makes teaching a kind of economic behavior. As has been described above, with the scale expansion of the enrollment, recruiting a large number of teachers had been an important approach to cope with the lack of teachers brought by a market-oriented education. However, when the control of enrollment was started in 2006, on the contrary, teachers began to be "surplus" resources for the total teaching hours of students couldn't guarantee that every teacher is able to accomplish the teaching hours provided by the school.¹⁶ It is in this context, the previously described greeting” Do you have many courses” can be interpreted as a colleague's concern about whether you would be able to accomplish enough required tasks to get adequate remuneration.

Faced with this situation, educational agents must seek to take appropriate actions to avoid a decline in incomes and to prevent the negative impact on professional title promotions brought by long-term lack of teaching hours. At the school level, the general measures are enhancing the access threshold for new teachers, limiting the amount of new teachers, or simply stop hiring new teachers. For example, the Journalism Department stopped hiring new teachers from 2006. The main purpose of these measures is to stabilize the existing teachers and to prevent the further fierce competition for curriculum resources. As for the educational agents as individuals, they would adopt two strategies to ensure their own interests.

On the one hand, teachers would take advantage of the opportunities offered by the market-oriented higher education and get income compensation through teaching and learning activities outside their own universities. As has been described above, propelled by a market-oriented higher education, journalism and communication

¹⁶ Since 2002, Nanjing Normal University started to compress the total class hours of undergraduate students. According to the university, the main objective is to give students more time for independent study such as self-teaching or learning interesting elective courses, so as to improve the knowledge structure of the students. However, due to the emphasis on political ideology in China's higher education, general political courses (must be taken by all majors) including "Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory and the Important Thought of Three Represents," (a year), "the basic principles of Marxism" (one semester), "Ideological and Moral Cultivation and legal basis" (one semester) were saved. Therefore, professional classes became the objects to be compressed. For instance, "News Writing", which was previously taught in a school year, is now compressed into one semester; those basic and professional classes like "Basic Writing", Chinese modern literary history were canceled. Based on the statistics of Nanjing Normal University's undergraduate student training program from 1999 to 2006, the class hours of professional compulsory courses were reduced by about 20%.

majors have become one of China's fastest expanding majors because of the competition for student sources. Therefore, for China's journalism education as a whole, there is still a lack of teachers and the quantity of teachers can't meet the demand for education. Especially for many private colleges and universities which were founded in market-oriented reform and most of which don't have their own professional teachers, employing part-time teachers from other universities is a common resolution.¹⁷ This offers the opportunity of practicing "external compensation mechanism" for the teachers of Nanjing Normal University's Journalism and Communication School. That is to say, teachers can transfer their status and prestige advantages gained within the system into profitable tools in external organizations, so as to obtain growth in economic interests and enhancement in prestige and status. Because Nanjing Normal University's Journalism and Communication School enjoys a relatively higher reputation in the field of China's journalism education and research, therefore, it would be easier for its teachers to get part-time jobs in other universities to make up for their lack of incomes within their own school. This practice is more common in younger teachers, because they are often at relatively lower position within the power hierarchy of the university, thus having disadvantages in the competition for curriculum resources. As for the Nanjing Normal University's Journalism Department, almost every one of its young teachers has done some part time teaching in other universities, and some teacher's volume of part-time courses is several times larger than the teaching tasks undertaken at his own school.¹⁸

On the other hand, the compression of students' class hours in Nanjing Normal University mainly focuses on the professional compulsory courses and doesn't include elective courses, so by making use of the authority granted by the system, it is

¹⁷ For private colleges and universities, the cost of recruiting part time teachers from the school is far less than the employing their own professional teachers, because they only have to pay for a certain lecture fees, without covering salaries, capital, welfare and other expenses. Therefore, employing teachers from other universities became a common choice for private colleges and universities. That they put more emphasis on economic interests than teaching and research is one of the main reasons that restrict the development of private universities in China. (Xu Xuqin, 2007)

¹⁸ In addition to do some part time teaching in other universities, "compensation mechanism" also includes the use of their identities as teachers to do some staff training for the media organizations, to provide strategic advice to corporate organizations. But relatively speaking, part time teaching in other universities is more common and widespread.

also relatively common for teachers to apply for opening various professional elective courses, so as to make up insufficient quantity of teaching. The positive side of this practical change is that, to some extent, it has brought innovativeness into the traditional journalism education. To attract students to take courses, teachers often emphasize more on the practicality of the courses' pioneering contents, and on whether these courses really can help students. In recent years, the elective courses opened in Journalism Department include courses which have more theoretical orientation and which are opened for students who are interested in theory learning, such as "Media Sociology", "Mass Media and Mass Culture"; and also include courses the pay more attention to practical operations like "Website Construction and Web Design". All of these elective courses expand the choices of the students. However, as strategic action for making up insufficient quantity of teaching, instead of thinking on the position of students, teachers prefer to choose course subjects that are familiar and interesting to them, rather than consider the comprehensiveness of journalism education for the students. Therefore, the entire curriculum of journalism in this school features more or less a little bit disorder and a lack of systematicity. Moreover, there are courses that even have overlapping contents, such as "Study of Public Opinion", "Mass Communication", "Media Sociology", "Mass Media and Mass Culture" etc, which would easily cause dissatisfaction from students.

Conclusion

What we have done in this paper, is the theoretical description of journalism educators' behavioral characteristics in China's education reform. Here, we see the agents in the field of journalism education from two levels-general and individual, and observe, in the environment of a market-oriented reform propelled by the system, how do they face the pressures from political and economic fields in a rational and strategic way, thus finally shaping the modality of China's journalism education. Through the description of the agents in the field of journalism education, we hope to present the dynamic process of China's higher education reform.

From this perspective, although China's higher education reform seems to have

been developing dramatically-which can be seen from the rapid expansion of university enrollment, it in essence is a gradual process, which seeks non-change in change, and the non-change refers to the basic principle of the system. Because of the dominating power of the system, the relationship between the system and the market tends to be more cooperative and collusive. System refers to the pole towards political forces, and means specific concepts, outlines, frameworks and the sum of constantly regenerating practices of journalism education provided by those concepts, outlines, and frameworks. The system is dynamic. The concepts, outlines and frameworks determined by the system are continued in the practical activities of journalism education, and penetrate the entire process of practice through agents' activities, and present the ideology of the ruling class. From this point, there is a reason for the fact that higher education is considered "the last piece of fortress" in China's planned economy (Zhang Ye, 2009).

In the practice of journalism education, in order to obtain the participation right of higher education reform, the agents must accept the basic provisions of the system. Under the dominance of the system as well as the collusion of the system and the market, although the agents of social activities have the characteristic of reflexivity and possess discursive and practical consciousness (Giddens, 1984), the activity space for educational agents is very cramped. In other words, the agents can clearly sense the tension from the system and the market, and can express their feelings in discourse, but in actual action, they can only practice in the limited space designated by the system and the market.

This might explain why the innovation of China's journalism education is slow. In the space constructed by the system and the market, whether as a whole or as individuals, the basic starting point of journalism education agents' actions is to maximize the benefits and resources as much as possible according to their positions in the hierarchical structure. This is mainly manifested in the reconstruction of journalism education space, the establishment of the academic research oriented action model, and the creation of the external and internal "compensation mechanism". All of these are no doubt innovative, but lack clear directionality and are not

systematic on the whole to obtain fundamental breakthroughs. When the cost of innovation is far outweighed by potential benefits, or cannot be accommodated by the space designated by the system and the market, agents would often avoid or exclude innovative behaviors. This can be seen in the course settings about media convergence. At the level of academic and everyday experience and discourse, journalism educators all realize that the challenge to traditional journalism education brought by the change in media technology, as well as the importance and necessity to deal with this challenge through innovation of journalism education. However, most journalism and communication schools we know including that of Nanjing Normal University haven't reformed a curriculum systematically to meet the demand of practice. The current curriculum system is mostly made up of vocational-oriented courses such as news coverage, writing, editing, and commentary, and is complemented by theoretical-oriented courses like journalism theory and mass communication theory. Media convergence related contents are instructed as no more than a chapter in some courses. Therefore, under such tension from the system and the market, China's journalism education more or less possesses the characteristic of "cynicism".

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