

**Exploring Internationalization of Higher Education (IHE) Policy and Reality in China:
Neoliberal Globalization, State Formation, and Higher Education**

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Abstract

This dissertation presents results from qualitative research on IHE which investigates China's state policies on IHE from 1949 to 2012 and IHE at a national key university, a member of "Project 211" in China. It aims to explore the role of state policies on higher education in influencing IHE in China, examine the rationale for IHE at the national and institutional level, and discuss implications of IHE in a Chinese context. Specifically, it responds to the research questions of: How have national and global influences been playing a part in the development/evolution of IHE policy in China? What are the perspectives of university administrators and faculty members on the state policies in relation to IHE? How might university administrators and faculty members' perspectives inform policy and practice in higher education in China?

Beyond filling the gap in literature by connecting IHE to a macro level context i.e. state formation and globalization, the research argues that the reality of IHE at local higher education institutions (HEIs) and issues of Chinese higher education should be taken into account in the making of China's state education policy. Methodologically, this research employs a constructivist-interpretive qualitative approach and uses both policy document analysis and qualitative case study strategy. It examines China's state policy and positions on IHE from 1949 to 2012 through document analysis, while explores university administrators' and faculty members' perspectives on China's state policies and positions on IHE and institutional reality of IHE through key informant interviews conducted at the University of the Plains. The research intends to enrich educational policy studies on IHE from a political, social, and cultural perspective. It also offers policy significance to higher education policy-making in China by addressing IHE reality at a local HEI, issues and challenges related to higher education and IHE, and institutional demands for IHE.

Résumé

Cette thèse présente les résultats d'une recherche qualitative sur l'internalisation de l'enseignement supérieur (IES) qui enquête sur les politiques d'État de la Chine sur l'IES de 1949 à 2012, en plus de l'IES dans une université nationale, membre du «Projet 211» en Chine. Cette recherche vise à étudier le rôle des politiques d'État sur l'enseignement supérieur dans l'influence de l'IES en Chine, examiner les raisons pour l'IES au niveau national et au niveau institutionnel, et discuter des implications de l'IES dans un contexte chinois. Plus précisément, elle répond aux questions de recherche: Comment les influences nationales et mondiales ont joué un rôle dans le développement / évolution de la politique IES en Chine? Quelles sont les perspectives des administrateurs universitaires et des membres du corps professoral sur les politiques d'État en relation avec l'IES? Comment les perspectives des administrateurs universitaires et des membres du corps professoral pourraient informer les politiques et la pratique au niveau de l'enseignement supérieur en Chine?

Au-delà de combler un vide dans la littérature en faisant le lien d'IHE à un contexte macro c'est-à-dire la formation au niveau de l'État et de la mondialisation, cette recherche soutient que la réalité de l'IES au niveau des établissements d'enseignement supérieur locaux et les problématiques de l'enseignement supérieur chinois doivent être pris en compte dans l'élaboration de la politique de l'éducation de l'État de la Chine. Méthodologiquement, cette recherche utilise une approche qualitative constructiviste-interprétative et utilise à la fois une analyse des documents politiques et une stratégie d'étude de cas qualitative. Elle examine la politique d'État et les positions sur l'IES de la Chine de 1949 à 2012 par le biais de l'analyse des documents, tout en explorant les perspectives des administrateurs universitaires et des membres du corps professoral sur les politiques d'État et les positions de la Chine sur l'IES, et en examinant la réalité institutionnelle de l'IES au moyen d'entrevues menées à l'Université

des Plaines auprès des personnes clés. La recherche a l'intention d'enrichir les études sur les politiques éducatives sur l'IES à partir d'un point de vue politique, social et culturel. Elle offre également une signification politique pour l'élaboration des politiques sur l'enseignement supérieur en Chine en abordant la réalité de l'IES au niveau local dans les établissements d'enseignement supérieur, les enjeux et les défis liés à l'enseignement supérieur et IES, et les exigences institutionnelles pour l'IES.

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Résumé.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
Purpose of the Research.....	5
Methodological Approach.....	6
Significance of the Proposed Research.....	7
Scope and Limitations of the Research.....	8
Organization of the Thesis.....	9
Chapter Two: IHE: Education Policy and State Formation in China in an Era of Neoliberal Globalization.....	14
Economic, Political, and Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.....	14
Neoliberal Globalization.....	18
Impact of Neoliberal Globalization on Higher Education.....	21
Dismantling IHE.....	26
Recent Research Trends in the Study of IHE.....	27
Meanings and Dimensions of IHE.....	29
Approaches to the Study of IHE.....	31
Rationales behind IHE.....	35
State Formation and Education Policy.....	37
State Formation.....	37
Nationalism and Socialist Patriotism.....	40
Educational Policy Studies.....	42
Chapter Three: IHE: A Methodological Exploration.....	46

Research Questions	46
Commonly-used Methods in Researching IHE.....	46
Research Methodology.....	49
Qualitative Research.....	49
Research Design.....	51
Case Study Strategy.....	53
Execution of Research	56
The Researcher: An Insider and Outsider.....	57
Data Collection.....	59
Document Analysis.....	60
Interviews.....	60
Data Analysis and Interpretation.....	62
Confidentiality and Trustworthiness.....	64
Ethics.....	64
Limitations and Scope of the Study.....	65
Conclusion.....	66
Chapter Four: An Introduction to China's Higher Education Development: 1949-	
2012.....	68
1949-1959: Takeover and Reconstruction of Higher Education.....	68
1960-1965: Initial Proposals for Higher Education System Reform.....	73
1966-1976: Chaotic and Dark Times for Higher Education.....	78
1977-1989: Consolidation of Higher Education and Exploration of Higher Education Reform.....	80
1990-1999: Radical Reform and Optimization of Higher Education.....	83
2000 -2012: Further Optimization of Higher Education.....	91

Chapter Five: Policy Shifts on IHE in China: 1949-1989.....	98
1949-1959: Learning and Borrowing from Others.....	99
1960-1965: IHE in Early Stage.....	106
1966-1976: Interruption and Isolation by the “Cultural Revolution”.....	112
1977-1989: Back on the International Stage of Higher Education.....	114
Chapter Six: Policy Shifts on IHE in China: 1990-2012.....	133
1990-1999: Further International Engagement of Higher Education with New Explorations	134
2000-2012: Towards Globally Engaged Higher Education	141
Chapter Seven: A Case Study in China: University Administrators and Faculty Members’ Views on IHE at the University of the Plains.....	158
General Views on IHE.....	159
Implementation of State Policy on IHE at the University of the Plains.....	161
Governance and Administration on IHE	161
Strategies for IHE.....	163
Academic Staff Mobility.....	164
Student Mobility.....	165
Academic Relationships with Foreign Schools and Joint-Training Programs.....	166
Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) in the University.....	168
Social, Cultural, Financial, and Technological Challenges from IHE.....	171
Facilitating IHE: Whose Theory, System and Model Should We Take?.....	171
Cultural, Political, and Ideological Conflicts in IHE.....	173
Shortage of Funding and Investment	177
Gaps between Policy-making and Practice.....	178
Defective Administration.....	180

Further Reflections on Issues in Current China's Higher Education	182
Discussion	186
Chapter Eight: A Case Study in China: University Administrators and Faculty Members' Views on IHE at the School of Foreign Studies.....	190
National and Global Influence on IHE at the School of Foreign Studies.....	190
Focus of the Program and Curriculum.....	191
Academic Collaboration with Foreign Schools.....	195
International Movement of People.....	195
Problems in Higher Education and Challenges from IHE.....	199
Underfunded School of Foreign Studies.....	200
Academic Collaborations with Foreign Schools.....	201
Academic Staff and Student Mobility.....	202
Issues in Curriculum Development and Program Offering.....	203
The Challenging Use of English as Language of Instruction.....	206
The Fading Art of Pedagogy.....	208
Challenges from Social Change on Teacher Education.....	210
Educational Equity and Social Justice.....	211
Discussion	213
Chapter Nine Concluding Reflections on Neoliberal Globalization, State Formation and IHE in China.....	216
Overview of the Thesis.....	216
Policy-making, Power, Politics, and State Formation.....	220
Neoliberal Globalization and IHE in China.....	222
Cultural Globalization and IHE.....	227
Implications of the Study for Policy-making in Higher Education	229

Education Policy-making, Institutional Autonomy, and Participation.....	229
Model of Higher Education and Contextualization in China	231
Pursuit of Excellence, Building up World-class University and the Reality of Higher Education in China	233
Education Equity, Social Justice, and Higher Education Policy-making	235
Concluding Reflections on the Research Experience.....	237
Considerations for Future Research.....	239
References.....	241
Appendix 1 A Description of Research Participants	268
Appendix 2 Questions for Interviews.....	269
Appendix 3 Key Policy Documents Related to Higher Education and IHE (1949-1959).....	270
Appendix 4 Key Policy Documents Related to Higher Education and IHE (1960-1965).....	273
Appendix 5 Key Policy Documents Related to Higher Education and IHE (1966-1976).....	275
Appendix 6 Key Policy Documents Related to Higher Education and IHE (1977-1989).....	277
Appendix 7 Key Policy Documents Related to Higher Education and IHE (1990-1999).....	281
Appendix 8 Key Policy Documents Related to Higher Education and IHE (2000-2012).....	283

List of Figures

Figure 3-1 Policy into Practice: A Model.....	53
Figure 4-1 GNP and GDP in the Year of 1978, 1990, 2000, and 2013	92
Figure 4-2 National Expenditure on Education (2008-2012)	92
Figure 4-3 China's Gross Domestic Expenditure on R & D (GERD) (2003-2012).....	93
Figure 6-1 The Number of Chinese Students Going abroad for Studies (2003-2012)...	145
Figure 6-2 Statistics on Foreign Students in China (2000-2012).....	147
Figure 6-3 The Number of Returned Overseas Chinese Students (2003-2012).....	156
Figure 9-1 Recent State Policy Formulation and Implementation at a Local HEI.....	217

List of Tables

Table 2-1 Four General Approaches to Cross-border Higher Education.....	32
Table 2-2 Four Approaches to Internationalization of Higher Education.....	33
Table 2-3 Subcategories of Rationales for Internationalization of Higher Education....	36
Table 5-1 Key Findings of Document Analysis (1949-1989).....	98
Table 6-1 Key Findings of Document Analysis (1990-2012).....	133
Table 7-1 Initial/Final Coding of University Administrators and Faculty Members' Views on IHE at the University of the Plains.....	158
Table 8-1 Initial/Final Coding of University Administrators and Faculty Members' Perspectives on IHE at the School of Foreign Studies.....	190

Chapter One Introduction

A large number of international activities only happened in China in recent years, for example, the rapidly increasing number of Chinese student pursuing studies abroad, frequent academic staff and student exchange with foreign HEIs, the emergence of the English language training industry, close international research collaboration with foreign institutions, and the establishment of Sino-foreign universities. In the 21st century, the world-class university is also proposed as a strategy to propel China's elite universities to achieve a world-renowned status as well as to further their global engagement. Other than that, activities of multinationalization can also be observed in China even though these are only at an early stage of development. For example, Xiamen University has established its foreign campus in Malaysia, which makes it the first Chinese university to establish campuses abroad. Confucius Institutes and courses had opened in 39 countries by the end of 2014, supported by the Chinese government. In the meantime, HEIs in China have adopted different responses to the state policy, globalization and other social influences due to the stratification of higher education in China. My own identity as an international student from China for several years, with research interests in globalization, internationalization, and higher education policy studies makes me sensitive to these phenomena. In particular, I am interested in the rhetoric of China's state policy-making on higher education and IHE and intend to explore how and why the policy shifts happen and how policy impacts the reality of China's higher education.

Discussions about globalization have accompanied the strengthening of interrelatedness between countries through growing international economic, political and cultural communication and interchange in the post-Second World War period. Scholars, researchers and policy makers explore globalization from different perspectives, debating the history, meaning, dimension and influence of globalization. Proponents of different

ideological perspectives endow globalization with a particular meaning. For example, “industrialization,” “modernization,” “universalization,” “liberalization,” “westernization,” “cultural imperialism,” “capitalization,” “marketization,” and “internationalization” are often by-words attached to globalization. As such, the definition of globalization is contested as are claims about globalization’s impacts on society. However, it is this great controversy that makes globalization the focus of debate in academia and beyond.

Conceptually there is a conundrum existing between the terms “globalization” and “internationalization”. Globalization is sometimes understood as internationalization, “a growth of transactions and interdependence between countries” (Scholte, 2005, p. 54) and globalization is measured by looking into the process of internationalization (Scholte, 2005). The perspective of “globalization-as-internationalization” (Scholte, 2005) really blurs the conceptualization of the two terms and has caused ambiguity in literature on globalization and internationalization. This vagueness must be clarified and should not perplex theorizing each of the terms in turn. As a matter of fact, far from its historical meaning of geographic expansion of economic activities across national borders, today’s use of the term internationalization has been extended to other domains such as education and international relations. Globalization is not only an economic phenomenon, but has also been examined for its political, cultural and technological aspects. As Herman (1999, para.1) distinguishes from an economic angle:

internationalization refers to the increasing importance of international trade, international relations, treaties, alliances, etc. Inter-national, of course, means between or among nations. The basic unit remains the nation, even as relations among nations become increasingly necessary and important...whilst, globalization refers to global economic integration of many formerly national economies into one global economy, mainly by free trade and free capital mobility, but also by easy or uncontrolled

migration.

Marginson (2006a) also addresses the difference between globalization and internationalization. He thinks that globalization is more transformative than internationalization. Globalization indicates “the widening, deepening and speeding up of interconnectedness on a world and meta-regional scale” (p.1), while “internationalization happens at the edge of the nation, the borderlands, the docks and trading zones” (p.1). In particular,

Globalisation goes directly to the communication hubs and to the economic, cultural and political core of nations; remaking the heartlands where national and local identities are formed and reproduced; while also refashioning the larger higher education environment across and between the nations. Internationalisation is an older, more limited practice. It assumes that societies defined as nation-states continue to function as bounded economic, social and cultural systems even when they become more interconnected. (Marginson & van der Wende, 2006, p. 9)

HEIs have never been isolated academic entities but have been charged with local, national, regional and even international missions which varied from country to country especially in the contemporary era of globalization (1960-today, Robertson, 1992). In the meantime, the frequent emergence of international activities of higher education only occurs in recent years, though international communication and corporation in higher education, as some scholars argue, is not a new phenomenon. Further, many scholars and researchers point out that international activities such as international student and academic staff mobility, delivery of distance education, establishment of foreign campuses, and international research collaboration should be studied under the umbrella of IHE.

Education plays a key role in state formation, not only serving state construction and priorities but also contributing to the formation of ideologies and collective beliefs in China.

To be specific, higher education is expected to contribute to the development of a knowledge-based economy, but also is required to train successive cadres of the socialist cause.

Nationalism and socialist patriotism have been used to promote IHE as a call for Chinese people all over the world to contribute to development of the state. Although I focus on state policies in relation to higher education and IHE, I was also driven by my personal research interest and curiosity as I wanted to capture the features of state policies on IHE in different historical periods of the P.R.C. Consequently, when I reviewed the literature on education policy studies, I came across Bell and Stevenson's exploration of process, themes, and impact of education policy (2006). In their book, they highlight the significance and impact of local context and policy development at an institutional level on the macro-policy environment and call for a dialogue between the two. Illuminated by their thoughts, I decided to conduct a case study at a university in China to explore a local HEI's response to the state policy on IHE.

Situated in neoliberal globalization and impacted by China's traditional culture, China's higher education has its own challenges. Neoliberal globalization has significantly influenced China. Though the Chinese government keeps reinforcing ideological and political education of citizens in China relying on Marxism-Leninism and rejects capitalist ideologies and values, the social problems related to the widening gap between the rich and the poor, social justice and education equity, and environmental degradation, generated by the employment of a market system in its economic development have emerged. In terms of higher education and IHE, the state finally removed the barriers for self-financed studies abroad. This helps students from wealthier families and elites to obtain more opportunities to access higher education abroad. In addition, to build a handful of world-class universities means a huge amount of funding and educational resources are given to those elite universities, which has resulted in inequity of allocating educational resources among Chinese public HEIs. Managerialism also exists in higher education administration. This

research reveals the negative aspect of following western education evaluation and assessment measurement, such as huge pressure to ‘publish or perish’, and plagiarism in particular happens in humanities and social sciences. Neoliberalism also influences students’ views on learning. As the research reflects, few students are really interested in studying for studying’s sake compared to a decade or more ago; instead, they are keen on job hunting driven by intensified labor market competition.

The impact from traditional Chinese culture should never be looked down upon. Confucius attaches a high social significance to education, but there are many downsides of his influences on education. For example, Confucius thinks people who excel in learning can be an official. Wealth and beauty can be gained through diligent study. This traditional value and orientation for education are obviously problematic. In fact, people who excel in learning can contribute to every walks of life. There should not be such utilitarianism in education. Confucianism draws people’s high attention to education and does stimulate parents to invest more on children’s education. In such a case, credentialization happens in China as parents compare their own kids with others, students compete as they want to study at a better university and earn a higher academic degree.

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to explore the role of state policies on higher education in influencing IHE in China, examine the rationale for IHE at the national and institutional level, and discuss implications of IHE in a Chinese context. To be specific, the research aims to answer these questions: 1) How have national and global influences been playing a part in the development/evolution of IHE policy in China? 2) What are the perspectives of university administrators and faculty members on the state policies in relation to IHE? 3) How might university administrators and faculty members’ perspectives inform policy and practice in higher education in China?

Methodological Approach

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) insist that the nature of all research is interpretive. Also as several scholars argue that the researchers' ontological and epistemological assumptions guide or influence the execution of research (Kuhn, 1963; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Sarantakos, 2005; Creswell, 2007), this research is underpinned by my assumption that the world of human beings is socially constructed. Social phenomena can be explored and demystified through an in-depth study and thorough analysis and interpretation.

Given that I focus on exploration, meanings and issues, a constructivist-interpretive qualitative approach is adopted in my research on policy and practice pertaining to IHE in China. In particular, documents, which include web-based public policy documents and policy documents retrieved from sourcebooks are used to analyze policy positions and rationales pertaining to IHE. The advantages of using document analysis has been addressed by many scholars. For example, the effect that the researcher has on a situation or subject can be eliminated by using documents in data collection (Merriam, 2009). Documentary methods are especially applicable to the historical study of research subjects (Sarantakos, 2005; Liamputtong and Ezzy, 2005)

Although it is controversial to offer a clear definition of case study, a few scholars recognize case study as an approach to inquiry, a methodology, and a research strategy (Merriam, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Creswell, 2007; Padgett, 2008; Yin, 2009). Instead of putting a high value on predictive theories and universals in the study of human affairs, many scholars like Flyvbjerg (2004) highlight the significance of concrete, context-dependent knowledge that case study provides. The case study is bounded by looking into a specific group of university administrators and faculty members at a public Chinese university. In specific term, I conduct key informant interviews at the University of the Plains as I expect research participants who have been working there for years to share their insights into the

current IHE policy and practice in China.

Significance of the Proposed Research

In view of the current policy climate which strongly encourages IHE in China, my literature review shows that critical reflections on IHE in China are very rare. I contend that local institutional responses to the state policy on IHE and the perspectives of university administrators and faculty members on higher education and IHE should be investigated because they play an important role in higher education policy-making and implementation of state policies on IHE. Hence, the empirical significance of this research lies in that it not only conducts a policy document analysis to explore the policy rationale behind facilitating IHE, but also considers university administrators' and faculty members' perspectives into the study of policy and reality of IHE. It combines policy studies and qualitative studies of IHE, addressing the gap between policy and practice. Theoretically, this research fills the gap in literature by linking IHE to state formation and especially explores how IHE plays a role in state formation in China. In addition to theoretical/conceptual connects with state formation in a Chinese context, the research also contributes to conversations between globalization of higher education and IHE by reviewing the literature on those areas. It enriches the study of IHE from a political, social, and cultural perspective by connecting IHE to a macro level context. This is the main theoretical significance of this research.

Even though some scholars like Mohrman (2011) find higher education plays such a key role in realizing China's plan for modernization that higher education policies are too important to be determined at the institutional level, this research argues that the reality of local HEIs should never be underestimated given the top-down policy-making model ¹in

¹ Chou (2009) explores government and policy-making reform in China. He points out that, Central government maintains a *nomenklatura* system which lists the leading positions in local governments under the management of the Organisation Committee of the CCP Central Committee and its local branches....Leading party members' groups (*dangzu*) manned by reliable Party members are set up in the state apparatus

China. The research concentrates on reflections on policy rationales, insights and critiques from research participants, and issues generated by IHE. It offers policy significance to education policy-making in China by taking the reality and responses of local HEIs and institutional demands into account.

This study is significant to me because it shares the research that I conducted after I completed my master's thesis research on international student mobility. It further develops my interests in internationalization, globalization, and higher education policy studies. This research furthers my understanding of the rhetoric of higher education policy-making in China. It makes me more responsible in my attitude towards analyzing higher education policies. Encouraged by the openness of many research participants at the University of the Plains, I insist my research must be honest and constructive. The research strives to be reflexive and to critically engage with the policy and reality of IHE in China. I respond to issues in China's higher education and problems associated with IHE even though some scholars in China are very defensive and are reluctant to address many of these in their research. However, I am not afraid of being disenfranchised in this research area.

Scope and Limitations of the Research

The original research design aimed to examine the policy rationale for IHE in China by reviewing state policies on higher education and IHE from 1980 to 2012. However, I found the shift of policy rationale can only be captured when a long period of time is incorporated into the study. Thus I decided to examine China's policy shifts on higher education and IHE from 1949 to 2012. This study is mainly limited by the research participants' openness and willingness to share their thoughts and experience with IHE. The

for making major decisions. Upper-level Party committees formulate performance contracts for local leaders. Inside the performance contracts are specific performance indicators reflecting the policy priorities of upper-level Party committees. (pp. 10-11) A top-down model is evident in China's policy-making process.

knowledge they have on education also restricts their response to my research questions. The recruitment of research participants is bound to the access to HEIs in China.

The research was planned to set up the second case study at another elite university in China in light of the richness of data. However, due to time and resource constraints, this plan had to be given up. Only administrators and faculty members at the University of the Plains were interviewed. Having worked at the University of the Plains for years, they were invited to share their experience with higher education and IHE, and their insights into problems of China's higher education and IHE. Given state policies related to IHE are in favour of elite universities in China, the research tries to address other non-elite public universities' IHE reality and demands for IHE and calls for a wider inclusiveness in the making of higher education policies.

Organization of the Thesis

As an introduction, Chapter One explains the purpose of conducting the research and addresses three questions that the study aims to answer. It elaborates the choice of a qualitative methodological approach for this research. It discusses the significance of the research since the research responds to some scholars' call for a dialogue between education policy and practice by conducting a case study of state education policies on IHE and the reality of IHE at a public university in China. In addition, Chapter One highlights limitations of the research. A brief review of the organization of the thesis is also included in this chapter.

Based on my assumptions that IHE in China has not only been intensified by globalization but also driven by state policies and rationales, Chapter Two reviews the literature on globalization, IHE, and education policy and state formation. In particular, it examines the political, economic, and cultural dimensions of globalization, points out that neoliberalism has been embedded in contemporary globalization, and discusses the impact of

neoliberal globalization on higher education. In studying the literature on IHE, it discusses recent research trends in the study of IHE. It looks at meanings and dimensions of IHE, approaches to the study of IHE, and rationales behind facilitating IHE. Lastly, it discusses state formation and nationalism/socialist patriotism as these play an important part in China's state formation. In the context of globalization, national education policy-making is also driven by global forces. My discussion of global education policy draws on the work of scholars like Rizvi and Lingard (2010), and Ball (2012).

Chapter Three explores the methodological approach for conducting this research. It starts with an introduction to the research questions and then discusses the commonly-used methods in research IHE. Given that the research focuses on exploration, meanings and issues, a qualitative approach is adopted to examine state policy rationales and institutional perspectives on IHE. The case study strategy is utilized for an in-depth study as I highlight the significance of the study of a concrete and context-dependent case instead of generalizations. I reflect upon my own identity as an insider and outsider in this qualitative research. In terms of data collection, document analysis is employed in the research to collect and analyze the shift of state policy and rationale on IHE. Key informant interviews are taken for exploring university administrators and faculty members' perspectives on IHE policy and practice. Data analysis goes through initial coding, category development and thematic analysis. Confidentiality and trustworthiness, and ethics are also discussed in this chapter.

For a better understanding of China's policy and position on IHE, Chapter Four offers an overview of the history of higher education in the P.R.C, focusing on the key state policies on higher education from 1949 to 2012. Shifts of policy and rationale are visible by looking at state policy and position in each specific historical period. In particular, I discuss the context and rationales for higher education policy-making in each historical period and interpret China's higher education policies by situating them in the specific political,

economic, cultural and social context. I also review legitimization and access to higher education in this section as I intend to find out who can access higher education and who can benefit from higher education according to the state discourse/rhetoric in higher education policy-making in China. A brief review of the history of higher education in China offers an essential background introduction for a further study of state policies on IHE in China.

Chapter Five draws on document analysis of state policies and positions on IHE from 1949 to 1989 by breaking it into four periods: 1949-1959; 1960-1965; 1966-1976; and 1977-1989 chronologically while taking significant policy shifts into account. In particular, the rationales for policy-making on IHE, the drives facilitating policy shifts on IHE, the impact of state policies on IHE on China's higher education, and the role of IHE in China's state formation in each historical period emerge through the document analysis. For example, during the period of 1949-1959, the Chinese government adopted a very conservative and cautious position on facilitating international activities of higher education with foreign countries especially western countries considering ideological conflicts. Driven by the emergent domestic imperative for state construction and demand for talented people, the Chinese government dispatched a certain amount of students and staff to socialist countries each year like the Soviet Union and East Europe for learning their advanced knowledge and borrowing their experience. The returned Chinese students and staff contributes to the state construction for modernization.

Chapter Six focuses on document analysis of state policies and positions from 1990 to 2012 by looking at two periods 1990-1999 and 2000-2012. After the implementation of the state policy of "reform and opening-up," the Chinese government had been working on mutual understanding and cooperation with foreign countries. HEIs in China also accept a certain amount of foreign students from different countries to come to China for study. Besides dispatching state-funded students abroad for study, the procedure of self-financed

student pursuing studies abroad has been simplified. The model of joint training programs with foreign HEIs was promoted by the Chinese government. Teaching Chinese as a foreign language was also highlighted in the state policies on IHE. During the period of 2000-2012, an orientation in state policy-making on IHE is that the Chinese government aims to further opening up higher education and proposes a more globally engaged higher education. This indicates that IHE in China is not confined to international mobility of people, instead, the Chinese government intends to build up its own centre of excellence.

I present collected data from key informant interviews and analyze university administrators and faculty members' perspectives on IHE in two chapters. In Chapter Seven, I mainly discuss findings pertaining to IHE at the University of the Plains. For instance, doing something international is on the agenda of the university as it has received funding from the Chinese government for facilitating IHE. However, participants held varied point of view on the current trend of IHE in China. Some doubted the necessity of doing IHE in China, and some thought if IHE is a must then the way of knowledge dissemination should be facilitated in a mutual way instead of the one-way of following western higher education model. Chinese own knowledge was emphasized by some participants. In discussion with the rationale for facilitating IHE at the University of the Plains, some participants thought the university had been driven by the demand from China's further opening-up, state development and state construction. Higher education model in China was also debated by some participants in this chapter.

Chapter Eight talks about key findings about IHE at the School of Foreign Studies. The impact from national and global forces on the focus of the program and curricula that the School of Foreign Studies offers is visible. For example, the program focus was changed from English for Science and Technology to English with minors in International Trade in the 1990s in that there was a demand for a great number of graduates who should know both

English and international trade when China furthered its opening up and later joined in the WTO. As for IHE at the School of Foreign Studies, some participants observed that IHE was not significant compared to other academic departments in the university. Facilitating IHE at the School of Foreign Studies is restricted by many factors, such as funding, capacity, centralized administration, and problems existing in China's higher education. Beyond that, the radical reform of English teaching and learning, challenges from social changes to teacher education, and educational equity and social justice were reflected upon by research participants.

In conclusion, Chapter Nine revisits the main research questions, critiques the influence of neoliberal globalization on the Chinese society and argues that the reality of higher education in China must be taken into account in the making of state education policy instead of blindly catching up with the global trend of IHE and Western higher education standards. Cultural globalization and IHE are also discussed given the influence of western culture on China's higher education. With regard to the implications of the study, I respond to the issues reflected by this research and talk of education policy-making and institutional autonomy, model of higher education and contextualization, the pursuit of excellence, world-class university strategy, and the reality of higher education in China, and education equity, social justice and higher education policy-making. My final reflections on research experience, and considerations for future research are presented at the end of the chapter. In particular, four research possibilities are offered for critical and further studies.

Chapter Two: IHE: Education Policy and State Formation in China in an Era of Neoliberal Globalization

In this section, I first look into the economic, political and cultural dimensions of globalization. I then attend to neoliberal globalization as I argue IHE in China has been intensified by this current global trend. I then review IHE literature, addressing recent research trends in the study of IHE, its meanings and dimensions. Lastly, state formation and education policy is discussed provided that IHE contributes to China's state formation while this research focuses on educational policy studies.

Economic, Political, and Cultural Dimensions of Globalization

Olssen, Codd and O'Neill (2004) think that economic globalization is "...about processes that enable the free flow of goods, services, investments, labor and information across national borders in order to maximize capital accumulation (p.5). Economic globalization particularly manifests itself through free trade, foreign direct investment (FDI), financial globalization and transnational corporations (TNCs). As Bhagwati (2004) notes, "economic globalization constitutes integration of national economies into the international economy through trade, direct foreign investment (by corporations and multinationals), short-term capital flows, international flows of workers and humanity generally, and flows of technology" (p. 3). However, neoliberal globalization has created deeper divergence between the "developed countries" and the "developing countries" instead of enabling the so-called free trade and free market among nations as its proponents have claimed. To be specific, developing countries tend to be situated in the periphery of the global economy. As Dunklin (2005) states, "developed countries benefited by selling cheap, capital-intensive consumable products for high prices. Peripheral countries, on the other hand, sold the tools of production to the core at low prices and imported finished products from the core" (para. 8). In addition, Singh (2005) argues that the flows of FDI are greatly concentrated in that "over two-thirds of

flows are concentrated among the members of the Triad – the US, EU and Japan” (p. 165), and as a result unevenly distributed around the world. Other evidence that Singh puts forward are that: “around 90 per cent of the world’s top 100 non-financial TNCs are headquartered in the Triad” (p. 164); “Much of international trade of goods and services is intra-regional (particularly in Europe and North America), rather than inter-regional” (p.166). These statistics reveal a highly controlled global economy by the capitalist powers, an uneven development discourse and an unequal distribution of wealth between developed and developing countries as well as an expansion of the capitalist mode of production.

In discussion of the political dimension of globalization, fundamentally, “the general trends towards deterritorialization, interconnectedness across borders, and the acceleration of social activity” (Scheuerman, 2014, para. 11) can be perceived as the manifestation of globalization in political life. King (2004) further elaborates that “the decline in the sovereignty and importance of the nation-state, to increased interstate collaboration, and to the decline of socialism and the worldwide acceptance of liberal democracy” (p. 50) are what globalization politically means. However, the argument about deterritorialization, the reduced autonomy of the nation-state and the demise of nation-states caused by globalization is contentious. Singh (2005) instead asserts that globalization fails to destroy nation-states in line with the facts such as the on-going formation of new nation-states in the past two decades, the unresolved border issues which certifies borders still matter in globalization. As such, debates around globalization in its political dimensions concentrated on the challenges of globalization to the nation-state. Green (1997) also comments, “in political theory the debate has been largely about questions of national sovereignty and autonomy and about how both have been eroded in the new global order” (p.154). Although it is arguable to say that the forces of globalization weaken the sovereignty of nation-states, the influences of globalization on nation-states do exist. For instance, Woods (2000) thinks that “all states are

affected by globalization insofar as it alters their possibilities and opportunities. However, a much greater erosion of autonomy is occurring in respect of weak states than strong” (p.10). Regarding political globalization, Olssen, Codd and O’Neill (2004) articulate that national policy tends to respond to international development and engage in international agreements and collaboration with the emergence of quasi-regional or supranational organizations such as the WTO, the World Bank, etc. They further indicate that certain capacities of the nation-state are compromised in order to “ensure citizenship rights or entitlements and to maintain non-economic policies having such aims as environmental protection or social justice” (2004, p.8). However, it must be clarified that there is always local resistance against hegemony given that the emergence of new powers and regional blocs has been accompanied by the assertion of certain national or regional political and ideological proposals.

In their exploration of the cultural dimension of globalization, Osterhammel and Peterson (2005) indicate general agreement about the invasive influence of globalization on “everything covered by the rubric of ‘culture’” (p. 7). They contend that, “cultural globalization, driven by communication technology and the worldwide marketing of Western cultural industries, was understood at first as a process of homogenization, as the global domination of American mass culture at the expense of traditional diversity” (2005, p.7). They also discuss a contrasting trend of heterogenization coming along with the movements against globalization for “the defence of local uniqueness, individuality, and identity” (2005, p.7). In this regard, Robertson (1992) earlier foretells the complexity of the impact of globalization on culture. He considers globalization as “a form of institutionalization of the two-fold process involving the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism” (p. 102). Appadurai (1996) demonstrates that the problem of today’s global interactions has centred on cultural homogenization and heterogenization. He opines that, “the complexity of the current global economy has to do with certain fundamental

disjunctures between economy, culture, and politics that we have only begun to theorize” (p.33). Hence, in discussing shape and process in global culture formations, he focuses on disjunctures and develops an elementary framework for the study of such disjunctures. In particular, he explores the relationships between five dimensions of global cultural flows, namely, ethnoscapas, mediascapas, technoscapas, financescapas, and ideoscapas² that are moving across national boundaries (1996). In his review of the studies on globalization and culture, Hopper (2007) suggests that the nature of cultural globalization is complex, plural and multidimensional. He looks at many facets of cultural globalization such as deterritorialization, cosmopolitanism, cultural hybridization, homogenization, cultural conflict, and so forth. Further, Robertson and Scholte (2007) argue that cultural globalization encompasses three general aspects of globalization: “the diffusion of ideas and other symbolic products across ever-larger areas” (p. 258); people’s sharing norms and knowledge

² According to Appadurai (1996), Ethnoscape refers to the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree. (p. 33)

Technoscape refers to “the global configuration, also ever fluid, of technology and the fact that technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries” (p. 34).

Financescapas, as the disposition of global capital is now a more mysterious, rapid, and difficult landscape to follow than ever before, as currency markets, national stock exchanges, and commodity speculations move megamonies through national turnstiles at blinding speed, with vast, absolute implications for small differences in percentage points and time units. (pp. 34-35).

Mediascapas refer both to the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television stations, and film-production studios), which are now available to a growing number of private and public interests throughout the world, and to the images of the world created by these media. (p. 35)

Ideoscapas are “concatenations of images, but they are often directly political and frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and the counterideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a piece of it” (p. 36).

through their participation in global activities and “stretched” social relations (p. 258); and the world culture consisting of symbolic tools, which encompasses “principles of human rights and conceptions of how states ought to function, for interpreting social life in a single global space” (p. 258).

Critics of cultural globalization concentrate on the domination by western culture of different local cultures as a process of cultural imperialism. Robertson and Scholte (2007) contend that the earliest available theory of cultural globalization might be argumentations on cultural imperialism which can be traced to the early decades of the 20th century. Barker (2004) points out that the argument about the domination of one culture by another and the perspective on cultural imperialism as “a set of processes involving the ascendancy of one nation and/or the global domination of consumer capitalism” (p. 38) highlight “a loss of cultural autonomy for the ‘dominated’ nation and the worldwide growth of cultural homogeneity or ‘sameness’ mainly propagated by those transnational corporations of US origin” (p. 38). In this vein, cultural imperialism is considered as “the outcome of a set of economic and cultural processes implicated in the reproduction of global capitalism” (Cultural Imperialism, para. 1). Nowadays, cultural imperialism has undergone modifications and revisions to its original meaning. However, as Smandych (2005) notes, for many reasons, there is renewed and growing research and debate on cultural imperialism. In particular, he mentions

the quickly increasing global reach and speed of the internet and other forms of informational and communication technology (ICT), the phenomenal growth and influence for American-exported cultural industries, and the shifting state of international relations and global politics in the aftermath of 9/11 and the American-led War against Iraq. (p. 3)

Neoliberal Globalization

Through an analytical review of the literature on the dimension of globalization, I would argue that globalization is more than a historical process which intensifies interconnectedness and flows and generates network and consciousness. A historical description of globalization is far from enough to explore what the contemporary globalization brings to the human society. Hence I take a neo-Marxist lens to discuss neoliberal globalization in order to position myself in the exploration of globalization, internationalization and higher education given the deep influences of neoliberalism on contemporary globalization.

As a distinctive strand of liberal ideology, neoliberalism first appeared in the 1940s. From the 1970s, its influence increased (Gamble, 2007). However, as Li (2003) argues, neoliberalism itself is “a product of the contradictory development of economic, political and social capitalism” (p. 4, trans by the author). He further elaborates that “neoliberalism creates more space for the development of [contemporary] capitalism and mediates the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, but has resulted in polarization among developed countries and between developed and developing countries” (2003, p.4, trans by the author). Harvey (2005) states that neoliberalism

...is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. (Harvey, 2005, p.2)

Robertson and Scholte (2007) further sum up the main arguments of neoliberalism as “free-market individualism, private property, constitutional order, and the minimal state” (p.865). Campbell and Pederson (2001) describe the last two decades of the twentieth century as the time of neoliberalism, flooded with market deregulation, state decentralization, and reduced state intervention into economic affairs. Ironically, the adoption of neoliberal policies does

not advance human well-being as proponents of neoliberalism have claimed. According to the United Nations (2010), by 2010, the average income of a country in the top quarter of the world income distribution has approached 29 times that of a country in the bottom quarter while it was 23 times greater in 1970. “The richest country today (Liechtenstein) is three times richer than the richest country in 1970. The poorest country today (Zimbabwe) is about 25 percent poorer than the poorest country in 1970 (also Zimbabwe)” (p. 42). This reveals a widening divergence in incomes between developed and developing countries and a huge gap in the distribution of wealth between the richest countries and poorest countries. Global inequity is now worse than ever.

The scope of neoliberalism is not confined to the economic domain but has been expanded to the political, cultural and ideological spheres. As Scholte (2000) articulates, “neoliberalism has enjoyed very powerful backing: from commercial circles, including big capital in particular; from official circles, including economic and financial policymakers in particular, and from academic circles, including mainstream social scientists in particular” (p. 307). Scholte suggests that “neoliberalism has generally prevailed as the reigning policy framework in contemporary globalization” (2000, p.35) and most governments in the western countries and multilateral institutions such as the IMF, the WTO and the OECD have promoted neoliberal policies towards globalization, which have continually linked globalization with liberalization. Therefore, neoliberalism as a term has become a substitute for globalization in a neoliberal discourse and indicates a particular set of policies for global governance (Robertson and Scholte, 2007). Neoliberalism also exerts a subtle influence on people’s daily life. It is so penetrating that it makes people think of it as a matter of fact. Giroux (2009) further contends that

Neoliberalism represents one such system of cruelty that is reproduced daily through a regime of common sense and that now serves as a powerful pedagogical force,

shaping our lives, memories, and daily experiences while attempting to erase everything critical and emancipatory about history, justice, solidarity, freedom, and the meaning of democracy. (p. 572)

Impact of Neoliberal Globalization on Higher Education

Education, as the most important factor and carrier for the transmission of knowledge, plays a leading role in human development. Education might be able to offer people access to knowledge and cultures in different contexts other than their own, which will encourage the intra-national and international exchange and share of advanced technologies, information and values. It is expected to enlighten the whole society, cultivate the citizens, promote the development of technology and foster different thoughts though it contributes to furthering the stratification of social class and deepening social inequality within the prevailing neoliberal discourse. As the whole world has entered into the stage of contemporary globalization and economic life has become more competitive and demanding, on one hand, education has played a key role in enhancing people's capacity and life in the fast-paced development. On the other hand, shaped by globalization and influenced by the effects of globalization on national government, "education at the same time has become a primary medium of globalization, and an incubator of its [globalization's] agents". Globalization not only inhibits or transformed the older kinds of education but also creates new kinds (Marginson, 1999, p. 19).

Higher education has become a multifaceted phenomenon in the twenty-first century given that it deals with varied institutions and systems, diversity of students, and different purposes and functions (Altbach, 2002). Altbach further articulates the impact of globalization on higher education by addressing a few phenomena. For instance, HEIs mediate tensions between national conditions and international pressures. English has become the dominant language of research and scholarship worldwide. Students have

travelled abroad in pursuit of overseas studies while scholars can work outside their home country. Modern technology assists in the spread of innovations and practices (2007).

Unlike the previous mission to serve the elite class, higher education nowadays is tied to the knowledge-based economy and state construction in many countries. Gürüz (2008) underlines the contribution of higher education to the development of national cultural identity and nation building and indicates the importance of higher education to the global knowledge economy. As he argues, “the importance of an educated citizenry to nation building and a well-trained workforce to economic development has become even more crucial in the global knowledge economy” (Gürüz, p. 141).

In discussion of higher education in the last two decades, Schugurensky (2007) observes that higher education has been affected by “the intensification of a variety of social, cultural, economic, and political developments” (p. 257), in particular, by “the globalization of the economy, the retrenchment of the welfare state, and the commodification of knowledge” (p. 257). Bloom (2005) perceives that the pressure that universities have to respond to global integration has been intensified in the past decades. “The unprecedented speed of globalization has turned a piercing spotlight onto each country’s systems and institutions of higher education” (2005, p. 21). However, Turner and Robson (2008) think it is contested to draw a clear picture of the territory of globalization and how globalization impacts local institutional practices. In particular, “beyond the terms of implying a simple increase in international traffic, the existence of globalization and the nature of its impact, the influence of local context and the likely outcomes of globalization processes remain unclear within the discourse” (p. 3).

Though it is difficult to figure out the extent that neoliberal globalization has influenced higher education, many scholars have explored the impact of globalization on higher education. For example, Nayyar (2008) suggests that the world of higher education

has been radically changed by marketization and globalization. He demonstrates many influences that globalization has on higher education. This includes, higher education being regarded as a business thanks to market forces, bearing the feature of competition or profit; great transformations in distance education following the technological revolution in the mode of delivery of higher education; and a large volume of cross-border transactions in higher education. Therefore, he argues that “markets and globalization are shaping the content of higher education and exercising an influence on the nature of institutions that impart higher education” (2008, p.7). Similarly, Smith (2004) thinks that given the common understanding that [contemporary] globalization comes with the dominance of markets and market ideology worldwide, the impact of globalization and markets on higher education manifests in various ways, encompassing “the commodification of education, greater reliance upon corporate management styles, greater sensitivity to ‘customers’ interests, and ‘bottom-line’ decision making” (p.69). Currie (2004) canvasses the potential benefits and dangers in terms of privatizing and corporatizing universities. As she summarizes, benefits to higher institutions can be the “spread of access and opportunity,” “internationalization and increasing tolerance,” increasing links with industry and creating greater economic growth,” and “more efficient operation” (p.45-46), while disadvantages can potentially be “increasing inequality,” “skewing education toward the market and vocationalism,” “widening of inequalities,” “lowering standards and quality,” “increased managerialism and secrecy of decision making,” “changing nature of academic work,” “intensification of work,” “fragmentation and loss of collegiality,” and “loss of traditional values”(p.45-54). Reflecting on the UK, Boden and Epstein (2011) say that within the discourse of neoliberalism, universities have become orientated to their efficient allocation and utilization of space, time, money, facilities, and labour to maximize returns, driven by the marketization and commercialization of higher education and managerialism. Psychically, managerial

technologies direct people to do academic work in particular ways, confining people's imagination within the neoliberal framework. Giroux (2002) also critically examines the impact of neoliberalism on higher education in the US context. He opines that,

neoliberalism has become the most dangerous ideology of the current historical moment. Not only does it assault all things public, sabotage the basic contradiction between democratic values and market fundamentalism, it also weakens any viable notion of political agency by offering no language capable of connecting private considerations to public issues. (para. 1)

Specifically, he shows us what a "neoliberal university" (Boden & Epstein, 2011) looks like in the United States, for example, where "universities and businesses are forming stronger ties; the humanities are being underfunded, student tuition is rising at astronomical rates; knowledge is being commodified; and research is valued through the lens of an audit culture" (2011, para. 1). Under such circumstances, "delivering improved employability has reshaped the connection between knowledge and power, while rendering faculty and students as professional entrepreneurs and budding customers" (2011, para.1). More severely, the fundamental role and social commitment of the university have been radically changed. On this point, Giroux (2011, para. 2) further argues that

the notion of the university as a center of critique and a vital democratic public sphere that cultivates the knowledge, skills, and values necessary for the production of a democratic polity is giving way to a view of the university as a marketing machine essential to the production of neoliberal subjects.

Other than the above discussed impact of globalization on higher education, the influences of multilateral institutions of neoliberal globalization on the national higher education should also be investigated. When examining the World Bank's policy on higher education from the mid-1990s, Robertson (2009) points out that driven by the knowledge-

economy meta-narrative promoted by the World Bank and other international organizations, “higher education in developing economies is seen as a potential market for the developed economies as they seek to build a globally competitive services sector and the means for securing the basis for these economies closer integration into the global economy” (p.12). She further states that the Bank and other global actors apply the principle of “trade” but not “aid” in higher education as long as it comes to the discourses and projects in relation to higher education markets and development of a global services economy. This operation safeguards the interests of the developed countries but not of low-income developing economies. It “will deepen the knowledge-gap, generate new intellectual dependencies, and widen the asymmetries between the developed, transition and developing economies” (p. 3). As another institutional mechanism of neoliberal globalization, the World Trade Organization (WTO) is a key actor in facilitating the liberalization and commercialization of higher education. As part of the WTO, the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) was created to facilitate all internationally-traded services, such as banking, telecommunications, tourism, and professional services. The sector of educational services covering primary, secondary, post-secondary and adult education services, as well as specialized training such as for sports, has been included in the new services negotiations since January 2000 (WTO, n.d.). The marketization of education has been put on the agenda. The GATS’ potential influence on education can be analyzed through its four modes of trading services, namely, “cross-border supply,” “consumption abroad,” “commercial presence,” and “presence of natural persons”. The implications for higher education could be expanded distance education, international student migration, establishment of branch campuses, academic staff mobility and so forth (OECD, 2004). GATS advocates aim at facilitating commercial liberalization of education services, steering clear of state sovereignty. In this regard, Kelsey (2003) argues that,

In the GATS context it formally guarantees equally liberal access for services suppliers to compete within the services ‘markets’ of the WTO’s member countries. According to the theory of comparative advantage those suppliers who are more efficient will succeed, which in turn encourages the rationalisation of scarce resources into activities that produce the best returns. (Kelsey, p. 271)

Robertson (2003) further contends that “the WTO/GATS processes do not work on a level playing field or in the interests of the powerless. Rather, the WTO/GATS embraces a set of rules that sets the balance of the rules in favor of those who make them” (p. 266).

Dismantling IHE

IHE is not a new phenomenon. Some scholars like Altbach (1987) consider that academic institutions are not isolated but connected owing to a common historical tradition and an international knowledge network which includes the circulation of books, journals and data bases. He pinpoints that “more than any other major institution, the university is by its nature international” (1989, p. 125). In studying IHE, Altbach takes “new internationalism” to explore the then emergent migration of foreign students and scholars. He points out that “the ideas, products, books and journals and the methodologies and orientations of the industrialised nations” dominate in the international knowledge system, which generates many inequalities, such as, structural inequalities related to curriculum that foreign students study at the host country in the language of the host country (1989, p.126). Marginson (2006a) regards internationalization as a condition but not a norm or strategy. He further elaborates that “[internationalization] simply refers to enhanced relations across borders between nations, or between individual HEIs situated in national systems, without any necessary implication for changing identity or day to day practice” (p. 1).

Some scholars like Mok (2007) thinks the character and functions of higher education have been dramatically changed by globalization and a pursuit of a knowledge-based

economy in most countries and he insists that globalization intensifies the call for internationalizing universities. Similarly, Barrow, Didou-Aupetit and Mallea (2003) contend that “globalization of the world economy, the pursuit of competitive advantage, and the investment policies of international organizations are each promoting the internationalization of higher education in the advanced countries” (p. 13). Others from an institutional perspective promote a comprehensive IHE. For example, Hudzik (2011) considers that “the globalization of commerce, social forces, idea exchange, and growth in student mobility drive further significant internationalization of education” (p. 7). He mentions the differences between past and current IHE which lie in “the breadth of clientele served, the outcomes intended, and a reshaping of institutional ethos” (p.7) and notices “... a growing sense that internationalization is an institutional imperative, not just a desirable possibility” (p.7). Van der Wende (2001) also argues that IHE is a response to globalization which should be regarded as an important element of higher education policy at both the institutional and the national level.

Nonetheless, based on the previous discussion of the differences between globalization and internationalization and a review of others’ argumentations on IHE, I assume the rise of IHE has its own reasons. Although globalization creates conditions for IHE in terms of global travel, mass media and technology, while intensifying the process of IHE, other drives from within higher education itself and the nation-states should also be incorporated into studies. The following section starts with a review of recent research trends in IHE. Then IHE is reviewed from three aspects of meanings and dimensions, approaches and rationales.

Recent Research Trends in the Study of IHE

“Internationalization received substantial attention in the public debate during the 1990s” (Teichler, 2004, p. 22). Since then, IHE has become a prominent educational and

social phenomenon in recent years. The multi-facets of IHE have been studied by different actors in higher education, not only scholars, researchers and academic institutions but also supra-national organizations and nation states, through varied methodologies and interpretations. In reviewing recent researches surrounding IHE, I highlight the following dominant trends and list research examples related to each trend:

1) Activities of IHE: International student mobility with an extension to the flow of international human capital; internationalization of curriculum; knowledge transfer; and so forth. For example, Verbik and Lasanowski (2007) published their observatory report on patterns and trends of international student mobility. Manakul (2007) explores the role of English in IHE in Japan. Besides, there are plenty of statistics and reports on IHE available at the official website of international organizations such as UNESCO and the OECD (UNESCO, annual global education digest; OECD Stat Extracts, international students enrolled).

2) National, institutional and international/super-national organizations' rationales, strategies, and policy regarding IHE. For instance, Woodhall (1987) details in analyzing government policies regarding overseas students by comparing the enrolment trends and developments in ten countries. Bolsmann and Miller (2008) examine the policy rationales for recruiting international students in England in four universities within the discourse of globalization.

3) Conceptual and theoretical explorations of IHE. Zha (2003) explores the conceptual and organizational framework of IHE, discussing the definitions, rationales, approaches and strategies with respect to IHE. Marginson (2006b) distinguishes internationalization from globalization and Europeanization and insists it is important to make this distinction in higher education studies.

4) Higher education and global competence. For example, Marginson (2006a) shares

his strategic thoughts on research-intensive universities, cross-border flows and global ranking and presents his observations of developing “World Class” universities in East Asia (2011).

5) IHE linked with political-economy, culture and sociological concerns, addressing challenges and problems that universities are facing in internationalization and globalization. For example, Marginson and Sawir (2005) interrogate global flows in higher education by looking into “global ‘scapes’, impacts, transformations, situatedness and relations of power” (p. 281) in two universities. Mok (2007) critically reflects the quest for internationalization of universities in Asia. Robertson (2009) offers a critical political economy analysis of market multilateralism, the World Bank group, and the asymmetries of globalizing higher education. When reflecting on the internationalization of universities in cultural globalization, Luke (2010) points out the dilemma that “Western universities’ attempt to educate the Other have been limited by an institutionalized Eurocentric myoptics, a standpoint which they remain largely unable to name or understand” (p. 20-21).

It should be pointed out that as well as early statistical reports on international student mobility, IHE has been studied from different angles. Significantly, the emerging sociological and critical research broadens our view and deepens our way of thinking about IHE. It leads us to further reflect on the question of who is benefiting from IHE. What do we mean by internationalization, and why are we internationalizing higher education?

Meanings and Dimensions of IHE

Knight (2004) conceptualizes IHE as “the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education” (p. 11). However, this definition overemphasizes the positive portrait of IHE and this normative approach is biased to define IHE (Marginson, 2006b). Marginson further elaborates his understanding of internationalization as “...the thickening of relationships

conducted between nations ('inter-national' relations), where national institutions and practices are affected at the margins but essentially remain intact" (2006b, p.2). Zha (2003) opines that IHE is one of the ways that a country responds to globalization while respecting the individuality of the nation. Regardless of various understandings of IHE, the notion of 'between or among nations and cultural identities' should be the key element in the term. As he states, "[a] country's unique history, indigenous culture(s), resources, priorities, etc. shape its response to and relationships with other countries. Thus national identity and culture are key to IHE" (2003, p. 249). Hudzik (2011) observes that the American Council on Education has been using "comprehensive internationalization" (CI) and popularized this term in many of its works since the early 2000s. He elaborates that CI is regarded as an organizing paradigm in the United States to deliberate IHE and to get more objectives and people on and off campus involved in internationalization. Further, he indicates a growing awareness of the importance of global engagement of world's universities and specifies that the meaning of CI has been modified in the past decades. He demonstrates the concept of CI from an institutional perspective,

Comprehensive internationalization is a commitment, confirmed through action, to infuse international and comparative perspectives throughout the teaching, research, and service missions of higher education. It shapes institutional ethos and values and touches the entire higher education enterprise. It is essential that it be embraced by institutional leadership, governance, faculty, students, and all academic service and support units. It is an institutional imperative, not just a desirable possibility. (2011)

The exchange of students and scholars, foreign languages teaching, and integration of international elements into curricula and programs constituted the major meaning of IHE until the 1980s (Gürüz, 2008). Gürüz (2008) notices that "with the advent of globalization, higher education worldwide started to 'internationalize,' in both the content and the scope of its

activities” (p. 137). He reveals that along with the intervention of international organizations such as the OECD, UNESCO, the World Bank and other supranational bodies like the European Union in education in the second half of the twentieth century, the study of comparative education, and international studies in higher education have also been promoted. Harman (2005) thinks that IHE actually includes one or more activities such as international student mobility, international academic staff and researchers mobility, internationalization of curricula, “international links between nation states through open learning programs and new technologies,” “bi-lateral links between governments and higher education institutions in different countries for collaboration in research, curriculum development, student and staff exchange, and other international activities,” “multi-national collaboration such as via international organizations or through consortia such as Universitas Global,” and “export education where education services are offered on a commercial basis in other countries, with students studying either in their home country or in the country of the provider” (p. 120-121). In measuring the dimensions of IHE, Turner and Robson (2008) indicate that variables like “international engagement,” “mobility,” “revenues,” “international professionals,” “communication,” “knowledge-sharing,” “language,” “programming and curriculum,” “academic practices,” and “reciprocal internationalization” might work for a preliminary qualitative assessment of how internationalization impacts HEIs (p. 15-20).

Approaches to the Study of IHE

International organizations and researchers employ different approaches in the study of IHE. The OECD (2004) adopts four approaches to study cross-border postsecondary education. These are the mutual understanding approach, the skilled migration approach, the revenue-generating approach, and the capacity-building approach (See Table 2-1). However, as the OECD itself acknowledges, the division of these four approaches is not clear cut. They are not mutually exclusive given the strategic considerations of the nation-state. Knight and

de Wit (2002) also develop four approaches to study IHE. They propose the “activity approach,” “the “rational/ethos approach,” the “competency approach,” and the “process approach” (See Table 2-2). However, these four approaches are not independent from each other if we take current worldwide IHE practice into account. In this regard, Hudzik (2012) reviews emerging approaches to IHE in the 21st century. As he perceives it, Europe facilitates mainstream internationalization and adopts a “systematic and strategic internationalization” by “coordination, continuity, normalization, institutional profile and priorities, and integration, and institutional service and support units” that mainly fulfil internationalization at home (2012, p.10). Australia does deep internationalization and internationalization of the curriculum. CI in Australia is a recent phenomenon. The United States is undertaking comprehensive internationalization, while in Asia, internationalization is “in all missions being built-in from the start” (p. 11). CI is under discussion in Latin America. However, there is internationalization of all academic programs and Latin America is “building research capacity and collaborations” and “changing patterns of mobility” (p. 12). IHE in Africa is aimed for social and system development and regionalism is the core aspect of internationalization (p. 12).

Table 2-1 Four General Approaches to Cross-border Higher Education (OECD, 2004, p. 12-13)

Approaches	Features
the mutual understanding approach	encompasses political, cultural, academic and development aid goals
the skilled migration approach	shares the goals of the mutual understanding approach; but gives stronger emphasis to the recruitment of selected international students; and tries to attract talented students to work in the host country’s knowledge economy

the revenue-generating approach	shares the rationales of the mutual understanding and skilled migration approaches; but offers higher education services on a full-fee basis, without public subsidies
the capacity-building approach	encourages the use of foreign postsecondary education, however delivered, as a quick way to build an emerging country's capacity

Note. Adapted from *Internationalization and trade in higher education opportunities and challenges*, p. 12-13, by OECD, 2004, Paris: OECD publications

Table 2-2 Four Approaches to Internationalization of Higher Education

Approaches	Features
the activity approach	describes internationalization in terms of categories or types of activities; includes academic and extracurricular activities, such as curricular development and innovation; scholar, student, and faculty exchange; area studies; technical assistance; intercultural training; international student; joint research activities
the rationale/ethos approach	defines internationalization in terms of its purposes or intended outcomes; focuses on developing an ethos or culture that values and supports intercultural and international perspectives and initiatives
the competency approach	looks at internationalization in terms of developing new skills, attitudes, and knowledge in students, faculty, and staff with the focus on the human dimension not on academic activities or organizational issues
the process approach	frames internationalization as a process that integrates an international dimension or perspective into the major functions of the institution

Note. Adapted from *Internationalization of higher education in the United States of America and Europe: A historical, comparative, and conceptual analysis*, p. 116-118, by H. de Wit, 2002, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press

The above classification and discussion indeed shows us a useful comprehensive

picture of IHE. However, if we look at current IHE discourse, it is hard to make a fully positive or even neutral comment on the on-going process of internationalizing higher education. Research results from Chen & Barnett's (2000) macro network analysis of international student flows in 1985, 1989 and 1995 reveal that "the United States and most Western industrialized countries maintained their position at the center of the network [of student flows], while East European and Asian countries have become more central and the African and Middle East countries have stayed peripheral" (p. 435). They state that "an academic hegemony [is] consistent with world economic and political performance" (p.435), and that the possibility of international students not returning to their countries of origin with the knowledge and expertise will worsen the unequal distribution of wealth and technology between the host countries and countries of origin of students. Xun (2000) scrutinizes China's case and identifies the fact that China is transferring its own educational resources and educational market to the overseas HEIs in a generous way through all kinds of cooperation with overseas HEIs. After graduating, college students either work for a foreign enterprise or a joint-venture enterprise or just emigrate to those foreign countries. He thinks that IHE can only make sense to China if its higher education sector is developed as strongly as higher education in the west. Otherwise, China's HEIs could not compete with those in the west and hence would not be able to attract talented students both domestically and abroad. Beyond the issues concerning inequity in IHE, Mok (2007) critically reflects on the quest for internationalization of universities in the Asian context. He reminds us of the danger of a new imperialism in education, points out that proper adaption and contextualization must be considered when learning from other educational systems, and emphasizes the importance of maintaining and reinforcing our own rich cultures and scholarly traditions in the process of IHE. He therefore calls for alternative paradigms for internationalizing higher education in Asia.

Rationales behind IHE

Other than the academic and socio-cultural rationales for internationalization from HEIs themselves, higher education in many countries assumes the responsibility of capacity building and cultivation of talented people. Its close relationship with the nation-states makes it a political mechanism when competitive powers or regional groups intend to increase their own influences on their counterpart, hence to a certain extent, higher education carries out the mission of enhancing national influence. One concrete example could be the promotion of international education programs, especially during the Cold War. This confrontation, between the West and the East in the political and economic systems and cultural and ideological fields resulted in the situation that “during the 1945–90 period, the United States and Soviet Union employed various cultural and informational and educational tools to establish and maintain friendly political regimes in foreign states” (p.199) and “...international education programs became a major part of their strategy to win the ‘minds’ and ‘allegiance’ and to reproduce or transform foreign dominant groups” (2008, p. 199). Besides a possible mechanism to realize political goals, higher education has also become the frontier, competing for talented people and serves economic development after the Cold War with the emergence of the knowledge economy and driven by intensified global competition.

In particular, Knight and de Wit discuss the rationales to facilitate IHE at the national and institutional level. According to them, IHE is mainly driven by economic and political rationales, and cultural and educational rationales (Knight & de Wit, 1995; de Wit, 1998). de Wit thinks that the political rationale for IHE includes “foreign policy, national security, technical assistance, peace and mutual understanding, national identity, and regional identity” (2002, p. 85, see Table 2-3).

Table 2-3 Subcategories of Rationales for Internationalization of Higher Education

Rationales for IHE	Subcategories of rationales for IHE
Political rationale	foreign policy, national security, technical assistance, peace and mutual understanding, national identity, and regional identity
Economic rationale	economic growth and competitiveness, the labor market, national educational demand, and financial incentives for institutions and governments
Social-cultural rationale	providing an international dimension to research and teaching, extension of the academic horizon, institution-building, profile-status, enhancement of quality, and international academic standards
Academic rationale	

Note. Adapted from *Internationalization of higher education in the United States of America and Europe: A historical, comparative, and conceptual analysis*, p. 85, by H. de Wit, 2002, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press

However, the dominant rationale varies in different historical periods. de Wit points out that political rationales for IHE dominated in the post-Second World War period, whilst economic rationales were highlighted in the post-Cold War period. He further writes that European powers aimed to establish political, cultural, economic and academic dominance through reproducing the European models of higher education in their colonies worldwide. However, economic rationales have always been a driving force to the launch of various programs for international cooperation and exchange in Europe. He thinks both political and economic rationales mainly drive institutions of higher education to become more international (2000). Zha (2003) also talks about the shifting emphasis on rationales for IHE. He opines that “internationalization was focused especially on humanitarian aims of improving understanding between people for peaceful coexistence and later on, on solidarity with countries in the non-industrialized world” after World War Two (p. 254). However, this rationale has been dwarfed by the economic rationale alongside the rising concerns for international competence and

competitiveness.

The academic and cultural/social rationales, reflected in measures like the mobility of students and staff, the improvement of the quality of education, a greater compatibility of study programs and degrees, and enhanced knowledge of other languages and cultures, seems all to be derived from the overarching economic rationale of strengthening human resources for international competitiveness. (2003, p. 254)

The above reviewed literature tends to offer some insights with which to understand IHE. Rather than adopt a liberal and institutional perspective on IHE, I intend to regard it as “specific policies and programs” (Altbach, 2007) undertaken by varied stakeholders, however, with market-oriented operation and commercial liberalization embedded. Furthermore, different stakeholders’ motivations for promoting IHE and its attendant problems, such as “brain drain,” westernization of knowledge and culture, the English language industry, and loss of value and identity must be examined. Moreover, in the process of IHE, the question of whose knowledge and whose higher education models are internationalized should be further examined.

In the last section of this literature review, I look at state formation and education policy, given that my research focuses on China’s national policies on IHE.

State Formation and Education Policy

State Formation

Krohn-Hansen and Nustad (2005) indicate the complexity of the construction of states and point out that “a state formation is the result of myriads of situations where social actors negotiate power and meaning” (p. 12). They further argue “a modern state must be understood as produced by a broad and continuously shifting field of power relationships, everyday practices and formations of meaning” (p. 11). They propose to have history and culture incorporated in the study of states. As they note, “every modern state formation has a

specific history. It is essential to acknowledge the enormous political diversity of the contemporary world and that this diversity has been historically constituted” (p.8). In addition, they propound,

We need to study state formation as cultural processes and to profoundly politicize the anthropological study of meaning. In our attempts to grasp forms of state formation, we should seek to forge links between cultural forms, institutional structures and regimes of power. (p. 11)

This research adopts Green’s (1990) term of “state formation” in order to explore how policy - especially national education policy - plays a role in the modern construction of the state in China and representing the state’s needs. According to Green,

State formation refers to the historical process by which the modern state has been constructed. This includes not only the construction of the political and administrative apparatus of government and all government-controlled agencies which constitute the ‘public’ realm but also the formation of ideologies and collective beliefs which legitimate state power and underpin concepts of nationhood and national ‘character’. (1990, p. 77)

Though there are controversies in the study of the formation of early states and emergence of the state in China, “China’s long historical record provides rich information concerning its cultural origins, which often refer to the Three Sovereigns, Five Emperors, and Three Dynasties (Xia, Shang and Zhou; ~2100–200 b.c.)” (Liu, 2009, p. 222). China’s long history and traditional culture not only impinge on the formation of the Chinese nation but also significantly contribute to its modern state formation. Historically, different philosophical approaches and cultural theories have existed and flourished in Chinese society. This can be traced to the Spring and Autumn Period (722-481 BC) and the Warring State Period (403-221 BC) in China, where “Zhuzi Baijia” emerged. Later on the ruling class in each dynasty drew

on different Chinese philosophies in order to legitimize their ruling over the people on its territory. For example, “Jingxue” (the study of lection) and “Shenxue” (the study of theology) had been promoted by the ruling class in Han Dynasty (202 BC-220 AD), “Xuan Xue” (the study of ontology) in Wei and Jin Dynasty (220 -589AD), “Fo Xue” (Buddhism) in Sui and Tang Dynasty (581-960AD), “Li Xue” (Rationalism) in Song and Ming Dynasty (947-1644AD), and “Shi Xue” (Pragmatism) in Qing Dynasty (1636-1911AD). Although what really defines traditional Chinese culture is subject to debate, Confucianism has deeply influenced Chinese people for centuries and has become the mainstream in the cultural and philosophical dimensions of the Chinese society. After the establishment of the P.R.C, Confucianism was totally wiped out during the period of “Cultural Revolution,” but has been revitalizing by the CCP in the past decade. In particular, harmonization that Confucians propose has become the CCP’s main proposal for dealing with domestic and foreign affairs. In particular, the 4th Plenary Session of the 16th CCP Central Committee clearly states the orientation to building up a harmonious socialist society. In terms of harmony, Li (2006) elaborates,

In practice, the ideal of harmony translates into a kind of pragmatic attitude. It is this attitude that makes the whole world of difference between the philosophy of harmony and the philosophy of conflict. The attitude of harmony has a strategic significance. It makes us more willing to engage in negotiation, more willing to compromise, and less willing to resort to confrontation and conquest. It enables us to take into consideration the whole picture when considering an issue and to give each party its due. It is thus more conducive to peaceful solutions to the world’s problems. (p. 595)

He further comments that,

Harmony calls for action—and action that is proactive. The significance of this ideal of harmony is that it provides us with a fundamental attitude toward the world

problems facing us, an attitude of determination that we must resolve conflicts by harmonization rather than conquest. This is particularly applicable to the problems of cultural and international conflicts in our world today. (Li, 2006, p. 596)

Beyond the highlighted harmonization, other philosophies of Confucianism like “showing high respect for teachers and attaching great importance to education,” the concept of “self-cultivation” are popular and widely accepted by Chinese civil society.

Nationalism and Socialist Patriotism

In discussion with modern state formation in China, nationalism can never be overlooked. Nationalism, as Giddens and Sutton (2012) define it,

refers to a set of symbols and beliefs that provide the sense of being part of a single political community called a nation. Nationalist movements have been among the most influential social movements in the shaping of the modern world. Gellner argues that nationalism is largely the product of the industrialization process and is therefore a thoroughly modern phenomenon. (Chapter Summary for Chapter 23 Nations, War and Terrorism section, para. 1)

Schein (2005) indicates the variety of nationalism, such as “state or official or economic nationalism, which is primarily associated with government organs, official statements, official media, and policies” (p. 99) and “popular or ethnic nationalism” (p. 99). She also uses “deterritorialized nationalism” based on her argumentation that nationalism is not only associated with states and central governments but is also produced and exists among “groups not associated with states and their boundaries” (p. 99).

Nationalism in China does have a history though; “Kang Youwei (1858–1927), the leader of monarchist reformers, formulated the first modern ideology of Chinese nationalism and nation-state under the Qing” (Nyíri, 2015, p. 148). Nyíri further articulates that, “Kang stressed common ancestry and race, borrowing popular eugenic theories from the West to

establish a hierarchy of races. The newfound importance of blood was reflected in the 1909 nationality law, which introduced the principle of the *jus sanguines*” (p. 148). Historically, nationalism plays a critical role in safeguarding the motherland of China as it calls upon Chinese people all over the world to unify and fight against the invasion and colonization of western powers. After the establishment of the P.R.C, nationalism has also been promoted by the CCP leaders except for the period of “Cultural Revolution.” For instance, “during Mao’s ‘cultural revolution,’ emigration was once again seen as treason. Relations with overseas Chinese were frozen, visits not allowed, and anyone with relatives overseas suspect as a “class enemy” (Nyíri, p. 147). In contemporary China, nationalism is more attached to government and official statements, calling upon people of Chinese origin all over the world to contribute to China’s modern state construction. As Nyíri states, “after Mao’s death and the beginning of reforms, the government of the PRC became, once again, interested in investments and donations by overseas Chinese” (Nyíri, p. 150).

Contemporary nationalism finds its expression in socialist patriotism that is widely publicized by the CCP and underlined in China’s state policy. Zhao (2004) writes that,

...shortly after the 1989 crackdown the state launched an extensive propaganda campaign of education in patriotism, appealing to nationalism in the name of patriotism to ensure loyalty in a population that was otherwise subject to many domestic discontents. The goals of the campaign were to rejuvenate China’s national spirit, to strengthen the unity of the Chinese people of different ethnic groups, to reconstruct a sense of national esteem and dignity, and to build the broadest possible coalition under the leadership of the CCP. However, this campaign deliberately blurred the lines between patriotism, nationalism, socialism, and communism. (pp. 8-9)

He also points out that “Chinese tradition and history, territorial integrity, and national unity” (p. 9) have become the main themes of the patriotic education campaign. Ancestor worship and

Chinese traditional culture have been revived by the CCP as the CCP intends to make a connection between communist China and its non-communist past (Zhao, 2004).

Educational Policy Studies

As a newly established research area, policy studies can be traced to “the 1950s in mainly liberal democratic countries, where governments sought the resources of the social sciences to develop public policies, replacing earlier approaches that were largely intuitive and ad hoc” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2009, p.1). In particular, Levinson and Sutton (2001) regard the emergence of the notion of educational policy as “part of a trend toward greater rationality and efficiency in the administration of vast public enterprises” (p. 4). Brooks and Miljan (2003) further point out that “what governments do, how they do it, and with what consequences are aspects of public policy that have changed dramatically over time” (p. 11), “policy studies is [also] linked to the process of change” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2009, P.1). As “...education today is a central arena of public policy” (Levinson and Sutton, 2001, p. 4), educational policy studies also catch scholars and researchers’ attention. Although the definition of educational policy is contested, Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard and Henry (1997) underline the weakness in defining policy, arguing that “...policy problems are too complex to be solved in simple technicist ways” (p. 24). Instead, they emphasize the notion of policy as process, “to refer to the politics involved in the recognition of a ‘problem’ which requires a policy response, through the formulation and implementation stages, including changes made along the way” (p. 24). Ozga (1999) further argues that the researcher’s perspective to a great extent determines how he or she understands the term. Rather than some scholars who adopt a linear understanding of policy as the actions of government plus targeting certain outcomes, she views policy as “...a process rather than a product, involving negotiation, contestation or struggle between different groups who may lie outside the formal machinery of official policy making” (p. 2, 1999). Beyond that, many scholars specifically talk of the political culture of public policy (Brooks & Miljan, 2003;

Olssen, Codd and O'Neill, 2004) and call for a deeper grounded study of educational policies in the context of history (Levinson & Sutton, 2001; Olssen, Codd and O'Neill, 2004). As Olssen, Codd and O'Neill (2004) elaborate,

Policy documents are discursive embodiments of the balance of these dynamics as they underlie social relations at particular points in time. It is for this reason that the discursive formations they contain constitute a highly politicized form of public rhetoric; symbolic systems which await decoding. (p.2)

In relation to educational policy, Bell and Stevenson (2006) also consider that,

Policy is political: it is about the power to determine what is done. It shapes who benefits, for what purpose and who pays. It goes to the very heart of educational philosophy - what is education for? For whom? Who decides? (p.9)

Drawing on the above discussion on public policy/education policy, my research considers policy as a social and historical process, where power and politics are deeply embedded.

Bell and Stevenson (2006) also suggest that macro-policy studies usually focus on the role of the state. "State policy" in their words, "whether national or local (or increasingly supranational), therefore has a considerable impact on shaping what happens on a daily basis in schools and colleges, and the lived experiences of those who study and work in those establishments" (p. 8). Wong and Apple (2003) suggest that even if the research on the role of education in state formation has mushroomed in recent years, the focus of research is overwhelmed by the dependence of educational system on state formation, hence fail to address the autonomy of the educational system and the schools' response to the course of state formation (p. 81). Other than that, when it comes to educational policy studies, the intervention of global forces, such as international organizations and regional blocs in national policy-making can never be overlooked in the era of globalization, where the authority of the state has been greatly challenged by neoliberal globalization, neoliberal

ideologies and its institutions. The emergent conceptualization of global education policy (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Ball, 2012) justly reflects this phenomenon. Rizvi and Lingard (2010) argue that “policy is multidimensional and multilayered and occurs at multiple sites” (p. 14), and “globalized discourses and agenda-setting and policy pressures now emerge from beyond the nation” (p. 14-15). Ball (2012) also notes that though it is contested, “the two main axes of global trends in education policy are those of parental choice and the role of ‘private’ schooling, and the reform of state education systems along managerialist/entrepreneurial lines...” (p. 11). He continues,

The first rests on a set of neo-liberal arguments about more or less radical destatisation (Jessop, 2002), subjecting state organizations to competition and/or the handing over of education service delivery to the private sector. The second is more post-neo-liberal in the sense of reasserting the role of the state but in a new form and with new modalities involving a shift from government to governance; that is from bureaucracy to networks; from delivery to contracting. The first involves forms of exogenous and endogenous privatization (*metaexchange*) and the second, new forms of organizational practice and culture (*metaorganization*). In the pragmatics of reform the two are typically blended together. (p. 11)

The two axes have been greatly supported by international actors and are circulated by those transnational agencies and groups, such as the World Bank, IFC, WTO and the OECD (Ball, 2012), both of which “...are firmly embedded in the generic nostrums of international (p. 11) management consultancies and education businesses (see Ball, 2007; Ball, 2009)” (Ball, 2012, p. 11-12).

Educational policy studies, as Sutton and Levinson (2001) note, “shaped by multiple contexts of theory and practice”, “defy neat categorization by theory or method” (p. 6). They also suggest that although qualitative research methods and sociocultural perspectives have

been adopted in such research, “a more grounded sociocultural approach to educational policy studies, let alone a fully anthropological approach, has yet to be developed” (p. 1).

While based on the above argumentations centring on educational policy, state, and globalization, this research aims to ‘analyze China’s national policy towards IHE in the given political, economic, social, and cultural context. Further, in response to Ozga’s (1999) call for “explicitness in relation to what is being studied, why it is being studied and how” (p. 53) in terms of research on education policy, it intends to explore how national policy concerning IHE has been formed in each historical period, and the impacts of IHE policy on HEIs and state formation. Though Sutton and Levinson’s (2001) studies show “research studies have only modest influence on policy formation...” (p. 15), they also indicated that “policy researchers often have access to the ears of policy designers” (p. 15). They argue that “sociocultural research into policy formation and appropriation can bring to light the diverse interests and perspectives of students, parents, teachers, local administrators, and others who shape and are shaped by policy processes” (p. 15). Beyond that, I am inspired by Bell and Stevenson’s (2006) contribution to the study of “the relationships between policy development at an institutional level, the impact of local context and the influence on these of the macro-policy environment” (p. 7). I conduct a case study in a key Chinese national university which is a non-member of China’s top elite league in order to look at the influences of the current state IHE policy on a local HEI in China, highlight gaps between state policy towards IHE and institutional implementation, and draw attention to the local context and higher education reality in the making of China’s state education policy.

Chapter Three: IHE: A Methodological Exploration

This chapter begins with a clarification of my research questions and research orientation. A discussion of commonly-used methods in researching IHE follows. I then describe the nature of my research, explaining why I situate this research in a qualitative paradigm. I further talk about my research design and discuss the validity of using case studies as a research strategy. My role as both an insider and outsider researcher is also scrutinized to demonstrate the credibility of conducting this research. In addition, I discuss data collection, analysis and interpretation, given that they are key components of a research procedure. Lastly, limitations and delimitations of this research are under discussion.

Research Questions

In this section, I first scrutinize my research orientation, clarify my research ideas and then develop my questions. The main purpose of this research is to examine and understand national and global influences on the development/evolution of IHE policy in China from the advent of the CCP (1949) to 2012 with a view to contribute towards contemporary policy development. The proposed research responds to three research questions: 1) How have national and global influences been playing a part in the development/evolution of IHE policy in China? 2) What are the perspectives of university administrators and faculty members on the state policies in relation to IHE? 3) How might university administrators and faculty members' perspectives inform policy and practice in higher education in China?

Commonly-used Methods in Researching IHE

Methodologically, comparative research design and case study strategy are commonly found in the study of IHE. They are employed to highlight key findings and conduct an in-depth exploration. Qualitative, quantitative and mixed research methods have been used in many research projects. Different theories are adopted to underpin each specific

research design. International organizations such as the OECD who possess rich and first-hand statistics are able to conduct large comparative research projects on IHE. For example, the OECD has its own data base where annual statistics on international students enrolled in different countries can be retrieved from <http://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx>. However, by and large, the research reports published by such international organizations is descriptive rather than critical and reflexive. For instance, Tremblay (2001) does a comparative analysis of student mobility between and towards OECD countries in 2001. Her data are drawn from the “Indicators for Education Systems” project by UNESCO, the OECD and EUROSTAT. Despite a description of the scale, directions, features and factors of student flows, there are no in-depth and critical reflections on the consequences of student mobility for the countries of origin and host countries in her writing. In contrast to those descriptive organizational reports, individual scholars explore activities and phenomena associated with IHE. Some of them use second-hand data retrieved from international organizations but undertake a critical examination and respond to issues generated by IHE. For instance, Chen and Barnett (2000) focus on 64 countries, the representatives of the largest number of international student exchanges, exploring international student flows from a macro perspective through a network analysis of 1985, 1989 and 1995. They interpret data from the UNESCO *Statistical Yearbook* using network analysis drawn from world systems theory (Chase-Dunn, 1989; Shannon, 1989; Barnett & Salisbury, 1996, as cited in Chen & Barnett, 2000). In particular, they analyze the structure of the international student exchange network, new international order and the pattern of international student flows, and the relationship between a country’s position in the international student exchange network to its level of economic development. One of their key findings is “an academic hegemony consistent with world economic and political performance” (p. 435), by which they think “countries that hold the resources and knowledge desired by others stay at the center of the world system”, while other countries

which are “limited by educational capabilities and lack high technical skill” could not attract international students, staying at the periphery (p. 437).

In addition to a number of quantitative studies of IHE, such as research which measures international study mobility and expansion of programs, qualitative research methods are also applied in investigating various aspects of IHE. In recent years, qualitative studies of international student learning experiences in various contexts, and more studies on IHE seen through a theoretical and sociological lens appear. This kind of research either draws on experiential studies or combines document analysis of the national, institutional or international organization’s policy regarding IHE with theoretical or sociological considerations. For example, Howe (2009) adopts “comparative ethnographic narrative, a blend of reflexive ethnography and narrative inquiry” (p. 385) in his research about IHE in East Asia. He presents the difficulties of transborder students and the “downside” to internationalization by looking into students at six Japanese universities from China, South Korea and other East Asian countries. He further suggests the hegemony of Western knowledge and critical social justice issues alongside IHE such as access, diversity and equity should be further explored. Robertson (2008) reflects on the new political economy of regionalism and international political economy and takes a neo-Gramscian analysis of world order to examine the role of mobilization of higher education in the mediation and constitution of the Europe-Asia inter-regional relationship as well as the realization of social transformations in the world order. Her argumentations are based on a critical analysis of a series of higher education policies and initiatives taken by the European Union (EU). Reviewing research on IHE from the mid-1990s, Kehm and Teichler (2007) identify “an increase of theoretically and methodologically ambitious studies without a dominant disciplinary, conceptual, or methodological ‘home’” (p. 260). These previous studies indeed reflect the multi-lensed perspectives on, and varied research approaches to IHE. The

strengths and weaknesses of these studies have made me reflect on my research orientations and contemplate research questions.

Research Methodology

Methodology, as Sarantakos (2005) suggests, mainly deals with “the nature of research design and methods” (p. 30), demonstrating how we gain knowledge about the world. Various perspectives on the relationship between research paradigm and the execution of research exist. Some like Kuhn (1963) think that one’s paradigmatic view of the world might influence the way one does research. Sarantakos (2005) further identifies that “ontology and epistemology influence methodology, and this guides the choice of research designs and instruments” (p. 29). Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose the use of naturalistic inquiry in research. Further, Patton (1990) regards “methodological appropriateness” as the primary criterion for judging methodological quality” and suggests a “paradigm of choices” (p. 39). McWilliam and Tan (2010) call for greater “epistemological agility” between measuring and interpreting, dealing with research partnership overarching intellectual, disciplinary and cultural differences. However, as far as I am concerned, the purposes and methods of all scholarly activities are unavoidably influenced by individual assumptions in both ontology and epistemology. Hence this research is underpinned by my assumption that the world of human beings is socially constructed. Social phenomena can be explored, but they can only be demystified through an in-depth exploration and thorough analysis and interpretation rather than a piecemeal and superficial study. Based on this assumption, I align myself with interpretive qualitative research.

Qualitative Research

In their discussion of the nature of research, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) argue that “all research is interpretive; it is guided by the researcher’s set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied” (p. 22). Qualitative research, as they

define it,

is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. (2005, p.3)

Additionally, from an applied research methodological perspective, Creswell (2007) contends that “qualitative research begins with assumptions, a worldview, the possible use of a theoretical lens, and the study of research problems inquiring into the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (p. 37). Thus my research commences with individual assumptions, a worldview, and a theoretical lens, and is interpretive and qualitative by its nature.

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) identify four major interpretive paradigms in qualitative research, which are: positivist and postpositivist, constructivist-interpretive, critical (Marxist, emancipatory), and feminist-poststructuralist. They further point out that “each interpretive paradigm makes particular demands on the researcher, including the questions the researcher asks the interpretations he or she brings to them” (p.22). Specifically, among those paradigms, they argue that constructivism is underpinned by “a relativist ontology (relativism), a transactional epistemology, and a hermeneutic, dialectical methodology” (p, 184) by referring to Denzin, Lincoln and Guba’s definition. Moreover, they find that,

Users of this paradigm are oriented to the production of reconstructed understandings of the social world. The traditional positivist criteria of internal and external validity are replaced by such terms as trustworthiness and authenticity. Constructivists value transactional knowledge. ...Constructivism connects action to praxis and builds on antifoundational arguments while encouraging experimental and multivoiced texts. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.184)

Similarly, Creswell (2007) uses social constructivism and states that individuals in this worldview

seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. They develop subjective meanings of their experiences – meanings directed toward certain objects or things.

These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrow the meanings into a few categories or ideas.

(p. 20)

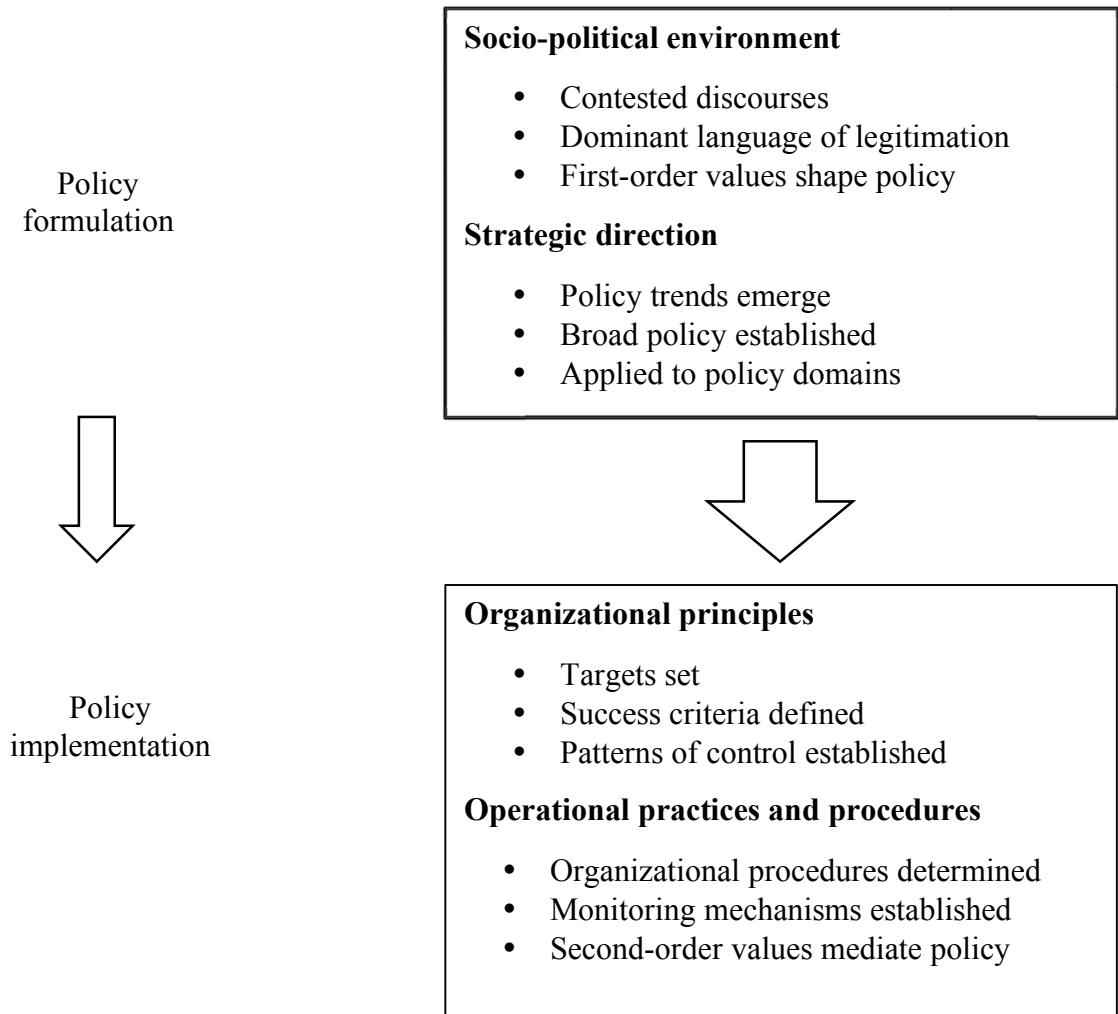
This research takes a constructivist-interpretive-qualitative approach. First, I regard IHE as a multi-faceted educational and social phenomenon which could not be interpreted in a linear fashion by quantified data. Second, this is also a policy study of IHE. Analysis of policy changes will be more significantly explored by employing a social, historical and cultural understanding together with a critical and reflexive approach. Third, visions, issues, and suggestions from policy makers and practitioners are expected to reflect the current policy and practice on higher education and IHE. Their feedback will play an important part in offering constructive suggestions to IHE policy and practice.

Research Design

Yin (2009) points out research design tackles a logical problem instead of a logistical problem. de Vaus (2001) further underlines the difference between research design and a work plan: “the function of a research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible” (p.9). When it comes to the process of designing a qualitative study, Creswell (2007) thinks that the study does not start with methods but “with the broad assumptions central to qualitative inquiry, a worldview consistent with it, and in many cases, a theoretical lens that shapes the study” instead (p. 42). Furthermore, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) advance four basic questions with which to structure research design. These are: “How will the design connect to the paradigm being

used? Who or what will be studied? What strategies of inquiry will be used? And what methods or research tools will be used for collecting and analyzing empirical materials?” (p. 200). To me, research design is like a research plan, used for testing what I believe. However, I contend that research design is not always static; it should be flexible with the emergent insights. To be specific, I review literatures on neoliberal globalization, IHE, and related literature on state formation and educational policy studies. I then focus on document analysis of state education policies related to IHE in China and conduct a case study at the School of Foreign Studies at the University of the Plains in China to explore the reality of IHE. Given that this research focuses on education policy studies and illuminated by Taylor et al.’s analytical framework (1997) which looks at the context, text and consequences of policy and Bell and Stevenson’s (2006) extended conceptual framework (see Figure 3-1) which looks into education policy within the sociopolitical environment, the strategic direction, organizational principles, and operational practices and procedures developed from Taylor et al.’s model, I review higher education policies - the larger context for IHE policy-making within the given sociopolitical environment in the P.R.C from 1949 to 2012 before I examine the text of specific education policy on IHE in each historical period. The key national education policy and policy changes to IHE that occurred from 1949 to 2012 are examined by situating them in the historical, social, political, and economic context. Thereafter, I explore organizational principles and operational practices and procedures at the School of Foreign Studies of the University of the Plains. I develop research questions for semi-structured interviews. The attempt is to ascertain university officials or educational policy makers’ perceptions and constructions pertaining to their visions and decision-making processes on IHE.

Figure 3-1 Policy into Practice: A Model (Bell & Stevenson, 2006, p. 13)



Case Study Strategy

“Case study research has a long, distinguished history across many disciplines” (Creswell, 2007, p.73) and can be qualitative and quantitative (Stake, 1994). However, case study had not been recognized as a specific type of research until the late 1970s and 1980s, when authors like Stake (1978), Yin (1981), and Merriam (1988) describe case study research in their own work (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). Many scholars understand case study research as an approach to inquiry, a methodology, and a research strategy (Merriam, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Creswell, 2007; Padgett, 2008; Yin, 2009). Further, reflecting on the conventional wisdom about case study research, Flyvbjerg (2004) points out that

Abercrombie, Stephen, and Bryan's (1984) argumentation that "a case study cannot provide reliable information about the broader class, but it may be useful in the preliminary stages of an investigation since it provides hypotheses, which may be tested systematically with a larger number of cases" (as cited in Flyvbjerg, p. 420) is oversimplified and misleading to appraise the role of a case study in research. He critiques this view by arguing that it limits the application of case study research to a pilot study "only in preparing the real study's larger surveys, systematic hypotheses testing, and theory-building" (p. 420) and finds that conventional research prefers to evaluate case study as a scientific method. He further reviews and responds to five conventional misunderstandings of case study research. For example, he argues that one such misunderstanding is "that general theoretical (context-independent) knowledge is more valuable than concrete, practical (context-dependent) knowledge" (p. 422). In response to this, he argues that "predictive theories and universals cannot be found in the study of human affairs. Concrete, context-dependent knowledge is therefore more valuable than the vain search for predictive theories and universals" (p. 423).

This study regards case study research as a research strategy and form of qualitative approaches to inquiry. However, in employing case study strategy in research, a case must be identified. Patton (1990) thinks "a case can be a person, an event, a program, an evaluation, a time period, a critical incident, or a community" (p. 54). Johnson and Christensen (2012) define a case as "a bounded system", composed of "a set of interrelated elements that form an organized whole" (p. 395), which "...may be simple or complex" (Stake, 1994, p. 236). They further explain that

using the system metaphor, cases are seen as holistic entities that have parts and that act or operate in their environments. Bounded is added to emphasize that you should identify the outline or boundaries of the system—you must determine what the case is and what it is not. (2012, p. 395)

In a similar vein, Huberman and Miles (1994) indicate that “there is a focus of attention and a more or less vaguely defined temporal, social, and/or physical boundary involved...” (p. 440).

I agree with the above discussion about case studies, and moreover, adopting case studies in this research also arises from my epistemological considerations. Epistemologically, all phenomena, whether in nature or in the world of human beings, can be explored. But they can only be demystified through an in-depth exploration and thorough analysis rather than a piecemeal and superficial study. Hence, I insist that an in-depth case study which focuses on the study of a concrete discourse or aspects will be more fruitful and meaningful than vague generalizations. In this research, case study is therefore regarded as an approach and a method of inquiry for knowledge development for an in-depth exploration of policies on IHE in concrete settings and understood as “a detailed examination of one setting, or one single subject, or one single depository of documents, or one particular event” (Bogdan & Biklen 1982, p. 58). The case study is expected to “...[draw] on multiple perspectives and data sources to produce contextually rich and meaningful interpretation” (Padgett, 2008, p.33). This research consists of one bounded case. The case is bounded to explore IHE policy and reality at a local HEI by looking at perspectives of policy makers and practitioners who are involved in IHE at the University of the Plains.

Stake (2005) classifies case studies into three categories i.e.: an intrinsic case study, which is mostly conducted for a better understanding of a particular case driven by an intrinsic interest, but not mainly for theory building; instrumental case study, in which “a particular case is examined to provide insight into an issue or refinement of theory,” while the case itself is not the primary interest (p. 237); and collective case study, which is “...not a collective but instrumental study extended to several cases” (p. 237) given that one particular case is insufficient to inquire into the research. Referring to Stake’s classification, I think my

research falls into the second category of an instrumental case study, in which the case is examined to provide insight into policy and practice of IHE in China.

Execution of Research

Access to research objects. One research object is national and institutional educational policies surrounding IHE. The other comprises perspectives of policy makers and practitioners involved in IHE at one university in China. Most policy documents are available on the official websites of government, ministries of central government, and universities and thus could be retrieved by the public freely. I also spent a few days in National Library of China in Beijing, where with the help of my friends and librarians, I located some archival policy documents related to higher education and IHE. Policy makers and practitioners were mainly contacted by e-mail as their e-mail addresses could be obtained from the universities' website. To be specific, I sent a brief self-introduction, description of research project and an invitation to their university e-mail address for touching base with potential participants. I did not send them an information letter about the research project and a participant consent form via e-mail until potential participants had expressed their interest in participating in this research. When they felt comfortable to sign the paperwork, I then fixed a time and place with respondents for interviews. Some of them were my acquaintances, thus telephone was also used to contact them. Most of potential research participants responded positively and expressed a desire to participate, even though some were wary when they learned that I am a student at a Canadian university. They kept questioning the acquaintance who accompanied me, making sure that the purpose of interview was purely for my dissertation research. One participant asked me to show him my passport and student ID card to ensure that I was only a student and not a Canadian spy.

Selection of research sites. The reason for the selection of the University of the Plains is primarily because of my access to it. As a national key university established in the

early days of the P.R.C, the University of the Plains has its own challenges because of the introduction of higher education reforms, and social change, such as globalization, and internationalization. It finally became a member of Project 211³ and “Advantageous Discipline and Innovation Platform” Project, following the model of Project 985⁴. I am glad to see this progress and feel inspired to look into any policy changes which have happened there with a focus on IHE. However, in order to make this research informative, reflective and in-depth, I finally decided to narrow the boundary of the case to the School of Foreign Studies at the University of the Plains, which I considered to be an ideal site for investigating IHE. This is because the School of Foreign Studies plays a key role in enhancing international communication and takes an active role in the university’s international activities. For example, comprehensive English courses in all faculties and departments of the university are offered by the School of Foreign Studies. The School of Foreign Studies hires teachers from English-speaking countries for teaching and learning capacity building.

Selection of research participants. This study draws on educational policy studies, thus ideally participants are involved in IHE policy-making or practice. Administrators and faculty members were contacted for recruitment. Research participants who have been working there for many years were invited to share their experiences with higher education and IHE as well as reflections on the problems alongside IHE. I attach a description about my research participants in Appendix 1.

The Researcher: An Insider and Outsider

I am immersed in this study as both an insider and an outsider. I describe myself as an

³ Facing the 21st century, the Chinese government planned to prioritize the development of about 100 institutions of higher education and key disciplinary areas. As a key national project, Project 211 was included in the 9th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development of the People’s Republic of China in 1995 and implemented from then on (State Planning Commission, MOE, & MOF, 2011).

⁴ The Chinese government aimed to build a number of world-class universities in the 21st century in order to realize modernization (MOE, n.d.e).

insider because of two facts. Having lived in China for over 25 years and having studied there enabled me to respond to the educational and social changes along with the implementation of “reform and opening-up” national policy, the adoption of a socialist market economy, and the on-going reform in education during that period. In particular, when I studied at the University of the Plains, I noticed the impact of the then emerging internationalization and global competition on curriculum design. For example, English and western culture were welcomed and emphasized in curriculum by the university. When I was there, they hired foreign teachers from the United States and Canada who not only taught English majors oral English and English writing, but also offered seminars and introduced western culture such as western history and music to all students. Over two hundred students came from different faculties and departments to attend one of these seminars. Besides, international trade, international finance and western economics were also offered as required courses in the third or fourth year of undergraduate studies for English majors besides those core courses like English linguistics and English literature which are precisely related to the study of English. This is quite different from what the departments of English in many other universities did at that time. One possible reason the university was doing that is that it was motivated to cultivate competitive graduates driven by the intensified competitive labour market. By doing this, the university intended to make graduates attractive and successful in the selection exams or applications for further studies. Another interesting phenomenon was that university ranking just received our attention when I was an undergraduate student. As students, we cared about the university ranking because we wanted to be recognized by employers in the labour market and by other national and international HEIs when applying for further studies. Each university in China has its own commitment to the country, the local and society. My observation makes me feel that in those years, the University of the Plains was ahead of many HEIs in response to the socialist market economy, internationalization

and globalization. It has earned a high reputation for producing high quality graduates favored by employers. The other reason that I think I am an insider is owing to my identity as an international student at McGill University. Thanks to IHE, I got the chance to study at a Canadian university. From this point, I have benefitted from Canadian/McGill's educational policies surrounding IHE. Thus, I was able to reflect on IHE from my own observation and experience.

I am an outsider also in light of two facts. One is that I have been away from the University of the Plains since 2003, and away from China since 2007. Time and space separate me from experiencing policy and practice changes there. Nonetheless, my further studies at two Canadian universities equip me with a solid foundation of education and critical thinking. My continuous dialogue and debate with colleagues and researchers in Canada on globalization, internationalization, and higher education is conducive to me learning different perspectives on this research topic and to thinking critically. This helps me prevent myself from falling into a narrow and limited individual and experiential reflection. The other thing is that it is a policy study. While my current role is still an international student, at best, I can describe myself as a participant in IHE. I am far away from policy-making or facilitating IHE. In this sense, I am an outsider of IHE policy-making. My status as an outsider is good for me to examine and analyze policy documents, avoiding interference as an insider who might be overwhelmed by personal feelings or emotions which could affect the credibility of document analysis.

Data Collection

Data collection in case study research, as Creswell (2007) writes, "is typically extensive, drawing on multiple sources of information, such as observations, interviews, documents, and audiovisual materials" (p. 75). Specifically, document analysis and individual interviews and semi-structured surveys are used in this research.

Document Analysis

This research focuses on the study of IHE policy in China, thus policy documents are part of data and document analysis is an important method for conducting the research. As Merriam (2009) illustrates, “documents are, in fact, a ready-made source of data easily accessible to the imaginative and resourceful investigator” (p. 139) without the possible intrusion upon or setting changes associated with the presence of the investigator and independent from “the whims of human beings whose cooperation is essential for collecting good data through interviews and observations” (p. 139). Many like Sarantakos (2005) emphasize that documentary methods are especially applicable for research with a focus on past events. Further, Liamputtong and Ezzy (2005) elaborate that “the significance of the documents may be located in the historical circumstances of production, in their circulation and reception of the items and also the social functions, interpretations, effects and uses that may be associated with them” (p. 79). As this research explores policy changes in IHE, an analytical and historical review of policy is part and parcel of this study. In order to develop a policy-based perspective on IHE, I first look at China’s national policy and positions that direct higher education development from 1949 to 2012. I think that the policy shifts on IHE can only be reviewed clearly by being situated in a historical process. Then I look into specific national policy documents about IHE from 1949 to 2012.

Interviews

Kvale (1996) thinks that interviews provide people with an opportunity to open up to others, expressing their own perspective in their own words. A variety of perspectives can be captured through qualitative research interviews. Thus by doing qualitative research interviews, researchers can learn the subjects’ thoughts and further explore the meaning of their experiences. Merriam (2014) also recognizes the importance of interviewing provided that interviewing is typically applicable to the situations that behavior, feelings, and people’s

interpretation of the world could not be captured through observation and that past events could not be replicated. Beyond that, Wellington (2000) discusses that

...interviewing allows a researcher to investigate and prompt things that we cannot observe. We can probe an interviewee's thoughts, values, prejudices, perceptions, views, feelings and perspectives. We can also elicit their version or their account of situations which they may have lived or taught through: his or her story. (2000, p.71)

In this research, individual interviews are mainly used to obtain a special kind of information from university officials, policy decision makers and practitioners who are involved in internationalizing higher education. Participants are located in the School of Foreign Studies and the international office of the University of the Plains in China. They are department chair, professors, as well as university administrators. A total of ten participants were expected to be recruited for the research.

For this purpose, I have developed an interview guide in which I list six research questions given that "an interview guide is prepared in order to make sure that basically the same information is obtained from a number of people by covering the same material" (Patton, 1990, p. 283). The guide was intended to help me keep the research focus when doing interviews while maintaining flexibility, building an effective and comfortable conversation with each key informant. I attach questions for the interview guide in Appendix 2.

Beyond a regular recruitment procedure as outlined in the section of access to research subject, I also followed up when I did not receive replies from targeted participants. I asked for other colleagues' help to access them and reached some participants by myself, doing face-to-face recruitment advertising. I submitted an invitation letter to ten potential research participants. However, only seven were interviewed. One female participant could not make the time for an interview because she was busy with teaching and applying for

research funding. I visited an official who works at the international office of the university, accompanied by an associate professor who is my acquaintance and who also knows the official. But unfortunately the official was reluctant to be interviewed. When he saw the associate professor who introduced me to him, he said he would give me some time for an interview. But, after the associate professor left, he left me to wait outside of his office for half a day. I communicated with him by phone while waiting, but he used all kinds of excuses to postpone my interview and would not share statistics about the number of international students at the University of the Plains with me. When I tried to reschedule the appointment, he would not commit to a time and date. Eventually I had to abandon the idea of interviewing him. The third absentee from my interviews is a foreign instructor. He could not join in my interview because he was out of town and on vacation.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Once data are obtained, it is necessary to clarify what my exploration is doing prior to analyzing data. Referring to Mason's (2002) possible answers to "what your exploration is doing", I emphasize that my exploration concerns comparing, developing and tracing, and theorizing. I want to highlight the differences between IHE policy and practice in China via the case study at the University of the Plains. I also intend to trace the changes in IHE policy and practice in a long historical period and further explain why this happens. Lastly, I want to contribute to theorizing IHE because I argue IHE should be re-examined given political, economic, cultural and social changes. Bearing this in mind, I turn now to address data analysis and interpretation.

Bodgan and Biklan (2007) describe data analysis as a process of "systematically searching and arranging the interview transcripts, field notes, and other materials" which are accumulated for producing findings, whilst data interpretation is "developing ideas about [findings] and relating them to the literature and to broader concerns and concepts" (p.159).

For this research, I obtained qualitative data from document analysis in the form of field notes and data from interviews in audio files and field notes. I analyzed them during and after data collection. During data collection, I conducted some basic analysis which “serves to guide research in the right direction, and to facilitate a more effective treatment and coverage of the research topic” (Sarantakos, 2005, p.346). I then verified earlier data analysis after data collection and focused more on specific aspects of research questions. I used different coding strategies after I had all data at hand, such as “process code” (p. 176) for document analysis in different time periods, “definition of the situation codes” (p. 174), for figuring out how each participant relates their setting to IHE, and “perspectives held by subjects” (p. 175) for capturing participants’ visions on or suggestions to IHE. After initial coding and category development, I worked on thematic analysis.

Given that this is an instrumental case study, “data analysis relies upon careful coding with a focus upon aggregate instances in the case report. The case report focuses less on the complexity of the case...and more on specifics related to the research question” (Grandy, 2010, p. 473). After a description of the data, I “focus on a few key issues (or analysis of themes), not for generalizing beyond the case, but for understanding the complexity of the case” (Creswell, 2007, p. 101) and elaborate the meaning of the case.

Other than the above stated, I link data analysis with theory and data generation. Reflecting on Mason’s (2002) three possible ways to construct and develop theory in the research process, i.e. “theory comes first before empirical research and analysis, and is tested on or measured against data” (p. 141), “theory comes last and is developed from or through data generation and analysis” (p. 141), and “theory, data generation and data analysis are developed simultaneously in a dialectical process” (p. 141), I took the third dialectical way to tackle the relationship among theory, data generation, and data analysis. This is because I do not consider that theory should dominate the research process, followed by a hypothetico-

deductive reasoning in data analysis. Instead, knowledge is produced in a dialogical or communicative way. Theory can also be developed, enriched and even revised given the presence of new findings. Thus I moved back and forth between theory and data analysis, looking for findings and any emergent themes.

Confidentiality and Trustworthiness

The confidentiality of the data is protected in this research. Data were collected anonymously and all the identifiers such as signature on the returned consent forms and other personal information written down on the field notes have been destroyed. All personal data is made public behind a shield of anonymity. To be specific, data from interviews with several participants are collated in thematic analysis that does not identify individuals but concentrates on understandings generated from participants. Confidentiality is also maintained abiding by a “need to know” and “minimum necessary” principle. Only my supervisor and myself have access to the research data. My supervisor and I do not share the actual content of interviews or field notes with other people. All information will be maintained under lock and key and encrypted on the computer. Data will be destroyed in five years (maximum time).

Individual interviews are taken for creating an open conversation and exchanging visions on and ideas of IHE. However, in order to minimize the discomforts, the main purpose of the study, research questions and methodology was clarified to all participants at the beginning of every interview. Trustworthiness of data was addressed by the adherence to ethical guidelines such as informed consent, protection of privacy and non-deception; triangulation of sources of data (interviews and documents).

Ethics

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Research Ethics Board-II at McGill University. Participants were informed

that of their right to refuse to take part in, or to opt out of the research at any time without prejudice. They could withdraw at any time in the process by simply requesting that data they have provided not be included in the data analysis. In the event that this happens, electronic/hard copies would be returned to them. They were also informed that they may refuse to answer any questions they don't want to answer and still remain in the study. Specifically, I requested participants to participate in an interview of an hour (maximum time commitment on their part), with the possibility of a follow-up session of another half hour (if required). They were expected to answer six research questions related to the research topic. Interviews were audio-recorded and the data only used for research and analysis. However, audio-recording of interviews was not mandatory. If they did not wish their voice to be recorded, I would only take written notes during the interview.

Limitations and Scope of the Study

The limitations of doing this qualitative case study mainly lie in participants' un/willingness to share thoughts or visions on IHE. Some in administrative positions like university officials might not be willing to share their concerns or address issues in light of their official position, even though they have concerns and have already observed problems. Although China's political climate is much more relaxed than it was in the period before "reform and opening up," people are still very cautious about how openly they speak. People like foreign students will not be allowed to collect qualitative data without an official sanction. The University of the Plains was contacted as I had known some people there for years. Participants at the University of the Plains were approached with the help of my acquaintances. The richness of interview data was also inhibited by the availability of participants. The gender balance of interviewees should be put into perspective, since due to issues of access and availability, fewer female participants were included. Some female participants could not make the time for an interview due to their heavy load of research,

teaching, and family commitments. Some potential participants could not be interviewed because they were on vacation.

Besides, this study was supposed to be conducted at the School of Foreign Studies with the possibility of recruiting others, like people in the international office and other administrative units dealing with IHE. However, people in other places than education might not have enough knowledge about IHE despite the fact that their work is involved in IHE. In such a case, it might be hard to obtain insightful feedback from participants on questions around IHE policy and practice. Other than that, case study is often criticized by its validity for generalization and knowledge production from one or several cases. Indeed, data analysis, interpretation and key findings are contextualized and precisely confined to the bounded case. Nevertheless, the case is bounded by its focus on a specific group (administrators and academic staff at the University of the Plains in China). The proposed qualitative case study weighs the significance of an in-depth exploration of specific educational policies on IHE and a specific group of people rather than generalization.

Conclusion

To sum up, this research is orientated to exploring IHE policy and practice in China through document analysis of state policies related to higher education and IHE and a case study at the University of the Plains. It is carried out with my assumptions, world views and theoretical lens. It intends to conduct an educational policy study of IHE but also offers insights of university administrators and academic staff on IHE policy and practice. Case study is viewed as an ideal and suitable approach to inquiry for this research as it is conducive to setting up boundaries for my research and shaping my focus. Finally, one case is bounded in order to investigate the specific group of people who are involved in IHE at the University of the Plains in China. Data from the research is used to compare educational policy and practice regarding IHE in different historical contexts, interpret policy and

practice changes in terms of IHE, identify problems in IHE, and share reflections on issues accompanying IHE.

Chapter Four: An Introduction to China's Higher Education Development: 1949-2012

In this chapter, I review China's national policy shifts on higher education chronologically, from 1949 to 2012, to gain a better understanding of the ways the Chinese government has crafted national policy on IHE. Specifically, I look at the dynamic political, economic, cultural and social context and the state's rationale for higher education policy-making. For higher education policy-making, I also explore key national higher education policies, legitimization, and access to higher education.

1949-1959: Takeover and Reconstruction of Higher Education

Context and Rationale of Policy-Making

Ravaged by years of foreign invasion and civil wars, China was expecting a recovery and revival when the People's Republic of China (P.R.C) was established in 1949. China found itself in a difficult situation at the beginning of the founding of the P.R.C as it became the object of sanctions imposed by western countries and confronted the imperialist powers as a member of the socialist camp. In addition, foreign invasions and the civil wars severely destroyed China's economy and hindered China's economic development, and the influence of feudal and imperialist culture had been ingrained in Chinese society by feudal monarchies and foreign invaders, exerting a form of ideological control over Chinese people. Under such circumstances, education was seen to play an important role in educating the masses, serving nation building and functioning as an ideological state apparatus.

The culture and education of the P.R.C shall be New Democratic - national, scientific and popular. The main tasks of the People's Government in cultural and educational work shall be the raising of the cultural level of the people, the training of personnel for national construction work, the eradica[tion] of feudal, compradore [*note: A compradore - the word is Portuguese, was a Chinese agent of a foreign business in China*] and fascist ideology and the develop[ment] of the ideology of service to the

people. (First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, 1949, trans. by <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1949-ccp-program.html>)

China's whole educational system was under reconstruction and the initial layout of higher education took shape in the first ten years after the establishment of the P.R.C. In 1949, the Ministry of Education (MOE) of the P.R.C held the First National Conference on Higher Education, deliberating on higher education policy reforms and directions for developing higher education, and proposing to cultivate high-end professionals for nation-building. Educational sovereignty was totally regained by the end of 1951, given a number of measures that were used to take over all the schools from foreign sponsors. For instance, then-vice premier Guo Moruo (1950) commented that the US imperialist power had not only conducted a political, economic and military invasion but also a cultural invasion in China for over a century. The Administrative Council of the Central People's Government (ACCPG, 1950) then made a *Decision on Processing the Cultural and Educational Organizations and Religious Groups Sponsored by the US* in order to eliminate all of the influences of the US imperialists on Chinese society, protect China's autonomy in its own cultural, educational and religious affairs, and put an end to the reactionary activities boosted by the US imperialists by utilizing cultural, educational and relief organizations, and religious groups. A year later, the MOE issued an *Instruction for Dealing with Missionary Schools and Other Educational Organizations Sponsored by the US*. Under the terms of this instruction, all schools which had received sponsorship from the US were converted into either public or people-run (private) schools in China. By the end of 1951, all private universities had been turned into public universities and the Chinese government had assumed full jurisdiction over higher education.

Significant policy shifts took place alongside education reform during this period. As

early as 1949, the MOE held the first national education conference, where it clarified that education must serve state reconstruction, and support both industry and agriculture. It suggested that China learn from the Soviet Union and bring in the Soviet Union's advanced experience in education. Therefore, China mainly followed the Soviet Union's higher education model, which aimed to cultivate senior experts and professionals, during this period. This led to significant improvement in China's higher education system. *The Decision on the Reform of the Educational System*, which was implemented by the ACCPG in 1951, required China's HEIs to offer students advanced and specialized education in addition to a comprehensive culture and knowledge education, and to cultivate talented people with advanced and professional knowledge who could support the state construction. The influence of the Soviet Union's education model was clearly visible in this first reform of the educational systems of the P.R.C. In particular, the MOE prioritized cultivating talented people for industrial construction and training teachers in 1952. Some new institutions and specializations, such as iron and steel engineering, geosciences, aeronautics and astronautics, mining and technology, and water resources, were set up by the MOE with the goal of cultivating experts for China's industrialization.

In 1955, the MOE took another important step by changing the classification of disciplines within the HEIs and altering their geographic distribution so as to reduce the extent to which they were clustered around China's big cities and coastal areas. In the *Report on First Five-Year Plan for Economic Development* (hereafter the *First Five-Year Plan*), Li specified that the work on higher education must prioritize the development of HEIs focused on technology, and of faculties of science in comprehensive universities. In the meantime, HEIs dedicated to agriculture, and forestry, normal universities, and medical schools should be developed appropriately. The plan spelled out that a cluster of HEIs, especially technology-based HEIs, were located in coastal cities, and this situation should be changed in

order to meet the demands of the nation-wide economic construction. The *First Five-Year Plan* did not call for new HEIs to be built, but it suggested that the large scale of expansion of HEIs should be stopped in the coastal cities. Instead, HEIs in the mainland of China should be deployed appropriately (1955). To a great extent, this proposal balanced the development of higher education in different regions of China. The layout of China's modern higher education took form after the higher education system had twice been optimized.

Early in 1953, the Central Committee of the CCP (CCCCP) articulated the idea that culture and education work should be gradually incorporated into the plan for nation building in solidarity with the central government's policy (MOE, n.d.a). Based on the earlier meetings at the inception of the P.R.C. that had discussed education policy and reform, the CCCCCP in 1958 clarified that the mission of education in China should serve communist politics and that education must be connected to production and labour. Thereafter, when Mao visited China's Tianjin University and Nankai University, he articulated that higher education should focus on three things: the leadership of the CCP, extension of educational access to the masses, and support for the connection between education and production and labour (MOE, n.d.a). At the Conference on Scientific Research Work of HEIs held by the National Council of Science and Technology (NCST), the MOE, and the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS) in 1959, conducting scientific research was singled out as one of the most important missions of higher education. It was suggested that research at HEIs should be integrated into national development plan for science and technology (the MOE, n.d.a). The development of higher education has therefore been gradually incorporated into the national development strategy.

Legitimization and Access to Higher Education

Higher education had been developed soundly in China until 1958. However, due to the dominance of the extreme left politics and the "Great Leap Forward," an *Instruction for*

the Work on Education was issued by the State Council and the CCCCPC in 1958. This revealed that the CCP was motivated to achieve big goals in education in a short period. For example, it required all provinces, cities, autonomous regions, and even every county to set up a complete system of education. It required the whole nation to eliminate illiteracy and achieve universal primary education in three to five years, to provide universal higher education in about fifteen years, and to further improve higher education in another fifteen years. In order to achieve those unrealistic goals, a radical revolution in the education system was started, and the already well-developed education system was affected. The proposed massification of education is doomed to a failure as it neglected China's reality. Still some positive measures were taken by the CCCCPC to improve the quality of higher education in 1959. Sixteen universities, including Peking University, were designated as national key construction universities by the government in 1959 in order to improve the quality of higher education. More universities were added to key national construction university line in batches thereafter (MOE, n.d.a).

As regards access to higher education, only the students who passed Gaokao (the National College Entrance Examination), a recruitment and selection test, had the opportunity to attend HEIs. According to *Annals of Tsinghua University*, the MOE issued the first document for college entrance examination, called the *Regulations on Summer Examination for Recruiting New College Students in 1950*, which it prescribed the unified admission requirement for entering both public and private HEIs, mandatory subjects of the entrance exam, duration of the exam, and so forth. The newly enrolled college students had to be high school graduates or normal school graduates who had two years of work experience, or government administrative staff who had a high school diploma or its equivalent, or workers who had served in industry for three years. However, this requirement did not fully apply to cadres and military staff who had served in revolutions, students from the ethnic minorities,

and overseas Chinese students for their attending HEIs. Further, China adopted a unified examination for recruiting college students in 1951. With the implementation of the *Regulations on the Summer Examination for Recruiting New College Students in 1952* issued by the MOE, the National College Entrance Examination was formally carried out nationwide. The national college student recruitment committee and local college student recruitment committees were established by the central government and the local governments respectively. The unified national college entrance examination was effective until 1965, with the year of 1958 excluded. (Fang & Zhang, 2001, p. 219-220)

Free public health care was supplied to teaching staff at HEIs in 1952 and further to college students in 1953. A scholarship system was officially applied to all HEIs and secondary vocational schools, according to a directive from the ACCPG on July 8, 1952 (MOE, n.d.a). This financially helped people from civil society to access higher education. *The Constitution of the P.R.C* (hereafter *Constitution 1954*) was passed at the first conference of the first National People's Congress in 1954, guaranteeing the right of all citizens to receive education. It prescribed that China should set up and gradually expand all kinds of schools and other cultural and educational organizations. Innovation by Chinese citizens who were occupied in science, education, literature, arts and other cultural careers was supported by the *Constitution* (1954).

1960-1965: Initial Proposals for Higher Education System Reform

Context and Rationale of Policy-Making

Through ten years of reconstruction after the founding of the P.R.C, China's social system, economy, culture and education recovered and were developed. However, the anti-rightist campaign movement, three-year "Great Leap Forward" from 1958 to 1960, Three Years of Natural Disasters (1959-1961), and the poor relationship between China and the Soviet Union severely hindered China's development in the years that followed. China's

economy shrank dramatically in the early 1960s. This situation continued until the “eight-character policy” of “调整, 巩固, 充实, 提高” (adjustment, consolidation, enrichment and improvement) was adopted by the Ninth Plenary Session of the CCP’s Eighth Central Committee in 1961. China’s economic development was well planned and its economy revived between 1962 and 1966. As a consequence, higher education policy had undergone great changes and challenges due to the unrealistic and aggressive directive related to work on education from the CCP from 1958 to 1960. Nonetheless, the situation improved in 1961 as the CCP realized the problems and started to change its policy on national economy, politics, ideology, culture, education, and so forth.

The CCCCP forwarded the *Report on the Arrangement of Work Related to Culture and Education in 1961 and the Near Future* (hereafter the *1961 Report*) and declared that work on culture and education must follow the “eight-character policy.” With the implementation of the “eight-character policy,” the earlier momentum in developing higher education was gradually regained and maintained. According to the MOE (n.d.b), the secretariat of the CCCCP discussed the textbooks used in HEIs and secondary technical schools and decided that these should be compiled by the leading textbook compilation group of science, technology, agriculture, and medicine experts from HEIs and secondary technical schools, organized by the Ministry of Publicity of the CCCCP and the MOE. The chaos caused by the 1958 education revolution was not stopped until the implementation of the *Temporary Regulations for Higher Education Institutions Administered by the MOE* (hereafter *1961 Regulations*) by the CCCCP in 1961. Based on administrators’ reflections on the positive and negative experiences of the revolution, the *1961 Regulations* played a positive role in getting China’s education system back on track, keeping the normal order of teaching and learning, improving the quality of higher education, stimulating the initiatives of the intellectuals, and developing national education.

Throughout this period, the CCP's attitude towards intellectuals stayed positive, albeit that some overreactions did affect intellectuals in the 1958 education system reform. According to the MOE (n.d.b), Premier Zhou Enlai gave a talk about the problem of intellectuals at the national science and technology conference in 1962 and he stated that "to unite, to education, and to transform" should be the guiding principle for working with intellectuals. He took the position that intellectuals should be trusted and assisted. The relationship between the CCP and intellectuals should be improved. Apologies should be made if the critiques directed at them were wrong.

Decentralization was advocated in the *Report on Further Adjusting Education Work and Streamlining School Teaching Staff* by the CCP party group of the MOE in 1962. The report underlined the fact that the responsibility for education would no longer be totally borne by the nation state (MOE, n.d.b). Education in the short period that followed was well-developed until Mao's individual perspective on education started influencing education policy-making again in China in the mid-1960s. According to the MOE (n.d.b), at a symposium on education work held by Mao in 1964, Mao argued that China's education policy was correct, but the method was wrong. System, curricula, and methodology must be modified. However, as Hao, Long and Zhang (2011) perceived, Mao's thoughts were not entirely carried out by the MOE given that Mao had a bias especially against curriculum design and examination. The then Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE) held an enlarged conference in Beijing at which leaders of the universities administered by the MOE discussed Mao's instruction for reforming higher education. The then-minister of the MOE, Yang Xiufeng, proposed to take the strategy of "思想积极, 步骤稳妥" (responding actively but taking step steadily) in response to Mao's instruction for education. Consequently, the MOE did review the weakness and defects in its work and proposed to strengthen ideological and political education, reduce the study load of students, and further carry out the principle of

“walking on two legs,” implementing two educational systems (full-time and part-time studies) in 1964. The work-study school system was popularized in 1965 and the CCCCPC suggested that the work-study school system should be the direction for developing education in the future.

Despite these efforts, according to the MOE (n.d.b), Mao kept directly intervening in China’s education. He wrote a letter to the then-minister of the MOE on July 3, 1965 and opined that the heavy study load had affected students’ health. He suggested thirty percent of study hours be cut in order that students could have enough time to take a rest and have some free time of their own. This is the so-called “three seven instruction.” Mao’s individual perspectives on education heavily influenced China’s education policy-making and destroyed the country’s established education system when he further consolidated power in the mid-1960s and when he launched the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

Legitimization and Access to Higher Education

China’s higher education underwent an unsuccessful massification at the cost of reduced quality of higher education in the movement of “the Great Leap Forward.” The dominant principle of “鼓足干劲、力争上游、多快好省地建设社会主义” [going all out, aiming high, and building up socialism with greater, faster, and better efforts in an economical way] proposed at the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the CCP in 1958 was corrected by the CCP in early 1960s, while the system of College Entrance Exam system continued to serve its function as a test for selecting qualified students for HEIs. According to *Annals of Tsinghua University (2001)*,

The national key universities in 1962 could make an adjustment for the fixed national recruitment plan as those universities controlled a 20% fluctuation of the national planned intake of students in view of the quality of students in different places. The criteria for reviewing students’ political performance were also revised given that

individual performance was required to be taken into account in the process of student recruitment. The preference which had been given to workers, peasants, and cadres in student recruitment was canceled so that a unified college entrance examination was offered to people who intended to attend higher education. The score of foreign languages was required to be calculated into the total scores of college entrance exam and some students' exemption from the college's foreign language test was also cancelled. (Fang & Zhang, p. 220, trans. by author)

Higher education policies were further consolidated after the implementation of the strategies underlined in the *1961 Report*. For example, the *1961 Report* revealed that the overly rapid development of culture and education had led to a shortage of labour force in agricultural production and resulted in the situation that quantity overshadowed quality in education. In higher education, the report suggested the intake of students of HEIs be reduced to 250,000, 94,000 less than the previous year. It proposed that the investment in construction for culture and education be reduced to 46.2 million Chinese Yuan, which was 58% of the budget of 1960 (CCCCP, 1961).

China's higher education system was officially legitimized when the *1961 Regulations* were passed by the CCCCCP. The regulations include ten chapters and sixty articles. In particular, the general provisions outlined the basic tasks of HEIs, which were to carry out the policy of education, to serve the proletariat's politics, to link education with production and labour, and to cultivate people with all kinds of specialized talents for the socialist construction. The training objectives of HEIs were described as follows:

to cultivate students with patriotism, internationalism, and communist ethics,
[ensuring that they are] supporters of the communist leadership and socialism with the
intention of serving the socialist career and people; to help students gradually
establish the proletariat's view on labor, view on mass, and dialectical materialism

point of view through the study of Marxism and Leninism and Mao Zedong's work and certain production labour and real practice; to make students grasp the fundamental theories, specialized knowledge and practical skills and know the new development of their specializations; and to make sure students stay healthy.

(CCCCP, 1961)

The general provisions of the *1961 Regulations* also required China's HEIs to maintain their teaching orientation and to improve the quality in teaching and learning. Hence, teacher education was highlighted as teachers were considered to play a leading role in teaching and learning. Hence, HEIs were to continue training teachers and to ensure that they were "red and expert". Though the communist leadership of HEIs was expected to be strengthened, academic freedom was also mentioned in the *1961 Regulations* as it articulated that different views and academic schools were allowed in natural sciences. However, in social sciences, all kinds of modern capitalist views were to be criticized in order to develop Marxism and Leninism in China. Different views and freedom of speech were allowed to exist among Marxist and Leninist believers. In this sense, higher education was tied more closely to socialist politics. In terms of administration, the MOE directly supervised the size and reform of those HEIs. Teaching and learning, production and labour, training graduate students, scientific research, teachers and students, hardware and infrastructure management, ideological and political work, leadership and administrative organizations, and the CCP party's organization and work in HEIs were discussed in other chapters and articles of the *1961 Regulations*. The *1961 Regulations* thus offered preliminary thoughts for building up China's higher education system and played a vital role in training talented people for China's socialist construction at the early stage.

1966-1976: Chaotic and Dark Times for Higher Education

By following Mao's misguidance during the "Cultural Revolution," (1966-1976)

education in China was ruined and intellectuals received unfair treatment as Mao made an announcement on May 7, 1966 that there should be a revolution in education and capitalist intellectuals should not control our schools any more on May 7, 1966 (MOE, n.d.c). Culturally, Confucianism suffered severe criticism, and Mao dictated that it should be totally removed from Chinese society, together with feudalism. In its place, nationwide worship of Chairman Mao had been propagated by the CCP.

In response to the “Cultural Revolution,” a variety of education reform plans were proposed by some HEIs and a multitude of pilot-run educational revolutions were led by those schools. Hence, the education system, regulations and rules in place since the establishment of the PRC were totally abandoned. For instance, the unified national college entrance examination was stopped. Existing universities were forced to migrate to or establish branch campuses in the third tier cities of China for decentralization. In 1969, a large number of HEIs and secondary technological schools were decentralized as the CCCCCP made an *Announcement on the Problems of Decentralizing Higher Education Institutions* and prescribed that all HEIs administered by the CCCCCP should be administered by the local governments (Central Committee of the CCP, 1969). “Labour universities” also emerged and were popularized across China. Knowledge from textbooks was looked down upon, and students were called upon to participate in labour production. The length of schooling was shortened. Students could attend higher education as long as they were recommended by the commune authorities and their particular production teams. This meant that students were able to attend higher education regardless of gender and social status on the basis of the recommendation system. Mao’s thoughts on social equity seemed to be fulfilled in education, but still it was not a successful mass higher education in that it was hard to guarantee its quality and the qualification of college students without a sound quality control system. Students during this period were also encouraged to engage in the cultural and political

revolution instead of studying at schools.

1977-1989: Consolidation of Higher Education and Exploration of Higher Education

Reform

Context and Rationale of Policy-Making

China's domestic situation started to improve after the termination of the "Cultural Revolution." The Third Plenary Session of Eleventh Central Committee in 1978 confirmed "reform and opening up" as China's fundamental state policy. After a series of domestic economic reforms, China was experiencing a transition from a socialist planned economy to a market economy. A socialist market economy system was proposed by the leading reformers of the CCP like Deng Xiaoping and gradually implemented. The new state policy greatly boosted China's economic growth. Meanwhile, by adopting the opening-up policy, China softened its restrictions on international trade in 1979 and assigned Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou, and Xiamen as four special economic zones, opening to the world in 1980. China further opened 14 coastal cities including Shanghai and Guangzhou in 1984. This meant that China had given up the self-closed development model adopted since 1949, trying now to connect its economy to the world.

Politically and culturally, China's society thus entered into a relatively relaxed and steady period after eradicating the negative influence from the far-leftism and bringing order out of chaos caused by the "Cultural Revolution." The call for liberty and democracy from civil society emerged as the "opening-up" policy was implemented. Nonetheless, neo-liberalization was not allowed to extend to politics, or to social policy other than economic reform. According to the MOE (n.d.d), Deng Xiaoping articulated in 1986 that China should take a clear-cut stand in the struggle against bourgeois liberalization and seek for a steady and united political situation. The conflicts between economic reform and the ideological and political realms ultimately resulted in the Tiananmen Square protest in 1989.

Nevertheless, influenced by the new state policy, China's education system was reconstructed in accordance with state reform and development during this period. New education policies and priorities were made by the central government, demonstrating the direction for China's education development. In 1985, the CCCCPC's *Decision on Reforming the Educational System* (hereafter *The 1985 Decision*) was passed by China's Politburo. The decision prescribes that "education must serve the socialist construction" and "education should be geared to modernization, the world and the future" (CCCCP, 1985).

Legitimization and Access to Higher Education

At the National Higher Education Conference on Student Recruitment in 1977, the MOE decided to resume China's college entrance examination which had been stopped for ten years due to the "Cultural Revolution." A unified exam for enrolment by selection was conducted, which again offered people from throughout Chinese society an opportunity to access higher education. At that point, Chinese higher education began to improve and a radical reform in higher education system was started. The *Regulations of the P.R.C. on Academic Degrees*, which clarified higher education academic degree application and awarding procedures, was implemented in 1981. The *1985 Decision*, a critical document for guiding China's education system reform in the 1980s, suggested that higher education reform should focus on the reform of the student recruitment system, graduates' job assignment, and the expansion of HEI's autonomy in administering schools. The mission of higher education was described as follows: "Higher education shoulders the critical responsibility of cultivating talented senior professionals and developing science, technology and culture" (CCCCP, 1985, trans. by author). The strategic goal of developing higher education was established

...to build up a system with sound disciplines and a reasonable layout and proportion by the end of this century [2000], the size of which can be compatible with China's

economic capacity; to cultivate talented senior professionals in our own HEIs; to independently conduct science and technology research and to a great extent contribute to solving the critical theoretical and real problems in socialist construction. (CCCCP, 1985, trans. by author)

The *1985 Decision* required China's HEIs to improve the education system in order to cultivate graduate students and to establish a number of key disciplines, education centres and science and research centres. It also specified that reforming the content, method and system of teaching and learning, and improving the quality of teaching and learning by following the principle of integrating theory and practice, and of being guided by the ideas of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, were the urgent and important tasks facing China's HEIs.

In terms of existing problems, all kinds of experiments for reforming teaching and learning should be actively conducted; these should include changing narrow specializations, optimizing and updating the content of teaching and learning, adding more activities for practice, reducing required courses but adding elective courses, implementing a credit system and double-degree system, increasing individual study time and extra-curricular activities, facilitating part-time employment, and so on. In order to improve teachers' teaching and academic levels, associate professors should be given one year of sabbatical leave for continuing education, scientific research, and academic exchanges. The hardware for teaching and learning should be improved as much as possible. Modern tools for teaching and learning should be added and laboratories and libraries should be upgraded and enriched. (CCCCP, 1985, trans. by author)

The *1985 Decision* also pointed out that in order to reach the strategic goal of HE, changes should be made to the ways in which governments directly administer HEIs. The national

economic and social objectives, it stated, should be promoted by HEIs as well.

The government must change the administrative system of HEIs and expand the autonomy of HEIs, strengthen the connections between HEIs and production, science and research, and other societal aspects, and endow HEIs with the initiative and capacity to cope with economic and social development demands under the guidance of a unified national education policy and plan. (CCCCP, 1985, trans. by author)

With expanded autonomy, HEIs gained greater freedom to run their own affairs. According to the *1985 Decision*,

HEIs have the authority to recruit students including self-funded students; can make adjustments to ensure specializations serve national needs; can make their own teaching plans and outlines and compile and select textbooks; can cooperate with other units for research and development, bringing together teaching, research and production; can name and dismiss vice presidents and other cadres; can make use of investments and funding from the government; and can develop the international communication in education and academic exchanges by using funds raised by HEIs themselves, etc. (CCCCP, 1985, trans. by author)

1990-1999: Radical Reform and Optimization of Higher Education

Context and Rationale of Policy-Making

The revolutions of 1989 that took place in the socialist states of the Central and Eastern Europe as well as the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1990 were a hard blow to believers in socialism. China as a member of socialist countries also experienced the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 and found itself situated in a challenging international environment in the early 1990s. This situation continued until the mid-1990s, when China adopted a flexible diplomatic policy and made some breakthroughs in foreign affairs. China started to develop and deepen a variety of partnerships with a number of foreign countries,

pursuing common interests, beginning in the mid-1990s. For example, China and Brazil proposed to develop a strategic partnership in 1995, China and India reached a consensus on establishing a strategic partnership facing the 21st century in 1996, and China and the UK signed a joint declaration for developing a comprehensive strategic partnership in 1998. China also took an active stance towards joining the WTO and started negotiations with the WTO in 1995.

Beyond developing and deepening multilateral partnerships with foreign countries and international organizations, China carried on further domestic reforms to its economic system, especially after Deng Xiaoping's tour to southern China where he kept elaborating his proposal for economic reform and opening up policy. Deng's proposal received positive feedback and gained support from local Chinese society. Deng emphasized pragmatism and his thoughts about economics, which took the form of "cat theory" (the idea that black or white, the one that catches a mouse is a good cat) and ideas about the "common wealth" (e.g: Some areas or some people should be allowed to get rich earlier than others) were later theorized in the form of Deng Xiaoping theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Deng's theory was regarded as the guiding principle for China's economic reforms which centred on decentralization and marketization. A socialist market economy with macro-level state control was gradually established in China, as Deng insisted that the market is only a means of allocating resources, which does not affect political systems.

During this period, education received a great deal of attention from the Chinese government. "科教兴国" ("Revitalizing the Nation through Developing Science and Education") was proposed and employed as a strategy by the Chinese government in the 1990s (CCCCP & State Council, 1995; MOE, 1998). As the economic reforms proceeded, the higher education system in China also needed to be reformed in order to keep pace with the national economic construction and state development. As such, higher education in

China also underwent radical reforms, such as decentralization, the expansion of autonomy of HEIs, mergers of HEIs, and massification.

Legitimization and Access to Higher Education

A couple of policies were developed and carried out during this period, and China made noticeable achievements in higher education. At the beginning of 1993, the State Council passed the State Education Commission's (SEC) *Opinion on Accelerating the Reform and Development of Higher Education*. The document was composed of 17 articles, in which the SEC detailed the plans and strategies for reforming China's higher education. The State Council and the SEC (1993) clarified that higher education shouldered the important task of training builders and successors of the socialist cause and the development of science, technology and culture. Higher education played a vital role in liberating and developing productivity. The main tasks of higher education reform and development were defined as follows:

to reform the system of running and administering higher education, to transform government functions in administration, to expand the autonomy of HEIs, to reform the inner administrative and operating systems of HEIs, to further the reform in teaching and learning, and to explore new ways to develop higher education. (State Council & SEC, 1993, para. 4)

The goal of higher education reform was to establish a higher education system with Chinese characteristics and a certain size and shape, a reasonable structure, good quality, and efficiency. In particular, the reform underlined the importance of quality in developing higher education and decentralization of higher education (State Council & SEC, 1993).

After the 14th National People's Congress designated China's main tasks of reform and construction in the 1990s, the CCCCP and the State Council issued *Outline of China's Education Reform and Development in 1993* (hereafter *Outline 1993*), given that education

had been prioritized in China's development. It offered a blueprint for China's education reforms in the 1990s and the guiding principle for building up a socialist education system with Chinese characteristics. It reflected on China's experience in developing education over the past 40 years, laid out strategic principles for developing China's education from then to the end of the 20th Century, discussed the reform of China's education system, stressed the importance of ensuring quality in the system of China's education, talked of teacher education and funding for education, and so forth. As regards higher education, it reaffirmed the main statements of the *1985 Decision* and pointed out that the size and shape of higher education should be proportionally built up; the structure of higher education should be more streamlined; and the quality of higher education, the level of science and technology and school management, and overall efficiency should be significantly improved by the end of the 20th century.

In more specific terms, the *Outline 1993* set a plan for keeping 1.8 million undergraduate students in universities and 4.5 million students in colleges to be met by the year 2000. Different targets and priorities, it stated, should be classified by HEIs in view of the type and tier that they belong to and at which they are located. Colleges were encouraged to expand the intake of students via offering courses by TV, radio and correspondence. The *Outline 1993* also required HEIs to train professionals in order to meet the demand stemming from the development of economy, science and technology, and the society, and suggested that China should concentrate on establishing around 100 national key universities and key disciplines. It insisted that high-quality, specialized and talented people should be trained mainly by domestic HEIs.

Other than that, the State Council and the SEC decided to deepen the reform of China's higher education system, focusing on decentralization and establishing a higher education governance system under the macro-level control of the government, but with

gradual autonomy offered to HEIs. Financially, with the establishment of a socialist market economy, the Chinese government decided to institute a fee charging system in higher education as higher education would not be considered part of compulsory education in China. The Chinese government decided not to fully finance students at HEIs; instead, it offered student loans or scholarships to students in view of different situations. The fee charging system in higher education officially took effect in 1997. In the meantime, the SEC launched the *Reform Plan of Teaching Contents and Curriculum of Higher Education Facing the 21st Century* in 1994 (hereafter *1994 Reform*). This document details plans to reform many aspects of higher education, such as reforming theories and views on education, adjusting the structure of specializations, reforming the model for training talented people, and reforming teaching plan and curriculum design (SEC, 1994).

The *Ninth Five-Year Plan for National Education Development and 2010 Vision* (thereafter *The Ninth Five-Year and 2010 Vision*) offered statistics on success in implementing the Eighth Five-year Plan. It reported, for example, that there were 2,210 HEIs by 1995, 1054 of which were comprehensive universities and 1156 of which were adult HEIs. The number of students on campus had reached 5.477 million which meant a total of increase of 46.9% compared to 1990 and a yearly increase of 8.0%. Also during the fulfilment of the national *Eighth Five-year Plan*, the HEIs' ability to train graduate students had been enhanced, and scientific research had become a big proportion of HE work. With consistent investment from the state in science and research, 101 national key laboratories and 58 specialized laboratories were built by 1995. Graduate studies were also developed quickly and the degree system was further improved. 219 HEIs were offering doctoral studies and 471 HEIs offered master's-level studies (SEC, 1996).

The *Ninth Five-Year and 2010 Vision* published the basic guidelines for the development of education in the following fifteen years, as follows:

to prioritize the development of education strategically according to the national economy and social development plan and the strategy of invigorating China through science and education; to deepen the reform of education systems and optimize the structure of education; and to enhance the quality of education and efficiency in school management, and enable the development of education to cope with China's social and economic development. (SEC, 1996, para. 1, Chapter 2)

The SEC emphasized its adherence to Deng's proposal that "education must be geared to the needs of modernization, the world and the future" and required that China's strategy, goal, structure, scale and speed of developing education keep pace with China's social and economic development. The specific goal of developing education was also established in this document. For example, the SEC (1996) indicated China should facilitate a moderate expansion of higher education and ensure that the total number of students at HEIs reach 6.5 million in fifteen years. As regards the disciplinary structure of Chinese institutions, the SEC stated that the development of applied disciplines should be prioritized. The development of new and peripheral disciplines should be well planned. HEIs, moreover, should guarantee the demand for talented people from the key national industries, education, and the national defence industry. The SEC also aimed to concentrate resources in the construction of 100 universities and developing a number of disciplines.

In terms of higher education governance, the SEC suggested that in the period of implementing the *Ninth Five-Year and 2010 Vision*, the joint administration of higher education by national and provincial government should be the main strategy in the governance of higher education in China. This reveals that the Chinese government aimed to eliminate and change the single subordinate relationship between HEIs and the central government. A conditional merger among different HEIs was also initiated in the *Ninth Five-Year and 2010 Vision*. It was proposed that some highly specialized institutions affiliated

with national ministries be decentralized and supervised by provincial governments.

Radical reforms in recruitment, tuition and employment systems were also planned. The *Ninth Five-Year and 2010 Vision* highlighted the co-existence of government-funded and self-funded systems. However, the tuition-free policy for college students and the state assigned employment after graduation would be stopped as the market mechanisms were introduced to education as well. The SEC also devised a plan in this document to carry out Project 211 with the aim of building up about 100 key universities and a number of key disciplines in stages by the year of 2000, as well as making a few universities world-class at the beginning of 21st century (1996). Later on, and similarly, Project 985 was specifically announced by ex-president Jiang Zemin at the 100th anniversary of Peking University on May 4, 1998 to carry out improvements to the quality of China's higher education and enhance the international influence and reputation of Chinese universities.

China's higher education system reform has been consistently prioritized by the government. The Office of the CCCCCP issued the *CCCCP and the State Council's Decision on Deepening Educational Reform and Fully Promoting Quality Education* in 1999, in which it required China's higher education to place an emphasis on the cultivation of college students' ability to be innovative and entrepreneurial, and to develop practical skills. In addition, it emphasized the enhancement of students' spirit of humanity and science literacy. In this document, a new goal of higher education enrolment was set: the higher education enrolment rate was to be lifted from the current 9% to 15% by 2010. As such, a large scale of expansion and massification of higher education was started (1999).

After many years' construction and exploration in developing higher education, the *Higher Education Law of the P.R.C* was passed at the fourth session of the Standing Committee of the Ninth National People's Congress in 1998 and took effect in 1999. It guaranteed Chinese citizens the right to attend higher education by law. The law clearly

stated that public HEIs should follow a governance structure based on a system in which a “president is responsible” under the leadership of the grass-roots committees of the CCP.”

The law included eight chapters and sixty-nine articles. The general provisions discussed the social responsibility and role of the state in developing higher education, and the duty, and mission of China’s higher education system. For instance, Article 3 stated that “the state must develop higher education under the guidance of Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and Deng Xiaoping theory, abiding by the principles of the Constitution” (para.4, trans. by author). Article 4 demonstrated that “Higher education must implement the state’s educational policies, serve socialist modernization, connect [the university] to production and labour, and make students the builders and successors of the socialist causes with all-round development in ethics, intelligence, physical education, and so forth” (para. 5, trans. by author). The mission of higher education, it stated, was “to train senior professionals with creative initiatives and practical skills, to develop science, technology and culture, and to contribute to socialist modernization” (para. 6, trans. by author). The state would make plans for developing higher education based on economic construction and social development (para. 7). Beyond these statements, Article 7 mentioned that the state would foster higher education system reform and higher education teaching and learning reform, optimize the structure of higher education and resource allocation, and improve the quality, profits and performance of higher education in response to the demand for socialist modernization and the development of the socialist market economy. Other than that, the state encouraged international communication and cooperation of higher education. The state was to promulgate the system of academic degrees, including bachelor’s, master’s, and Ph.D degrees. The establishment of HEIs, noted the document, must cope with the national higher education development plan, and keep pace with the national interest and public interests instead of pursuing profits (1998).

2000-2012: Further Optimization of Higher Education

Context and Rationale of Policy-Making

The *Outline of the Tenth Five-Year National Economic and Social Development Plan* (hereafter the *Outline of Plan*) indicated that after the radical reform of its economic system, China had finished the first two steps of “the three-step development strategy” by the year 2000 and should “全面建成小康社会” (have been establishing a well-off society in all respects) and catching up to the level of moderately developed countries in the next fifty years. It discussed the Chinese government’s strategy of rejuvenating China by developing science, technology and education and highlighted the determinative role that scientific and technological progress and innovation play in enhancing comprehensive national power. It also pointed out that education plays a leading role in economic and social development, providing the basis for training talented people. The *Outline of Plan* confirmed that the state would continue investing more in education (State Council, 2001).

China has entered into a remarkable period of rapid economic growth since 2000. The statistics offered by the National Bureau of Statistics of China shows a nearly six-fold increase of GNP and GDP between 2000 and 2013 (See Figure 4-1). Guided by the national strategy of revitalizing the state by developing science and education, national expenditure on science and education was improved. According to the Ministry of Finance (MOF) of China, national expenditure on education followed a steady and rapid growth between 2008 and 2012. For instance, national expenditure on education in 2010 reached 1,245 billion Chinese Yuan, an increase of 19.3% compared to that of 2009. In 2011 and 2012, the national expenditure on education was 1,611.6 billion and 2,116.5 billion Chinese Yuan respectively (See Figure 4-2). In the meantime, the Chinese government had been vigorously investing in research and development (R&D) over this decade. The gross domestic expenditure on R&D (GERD) reached 1,029,841 million Chinese Yuan in 2012 (UNESCO Institute for Statistics,

n.d.), an increase of 6.69 times compared to that of 2003 (See Figure 4-3).

Figure 4-1 GNP and GDP in the Year of 1978, 1990, 2000, and 2013 (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2013)

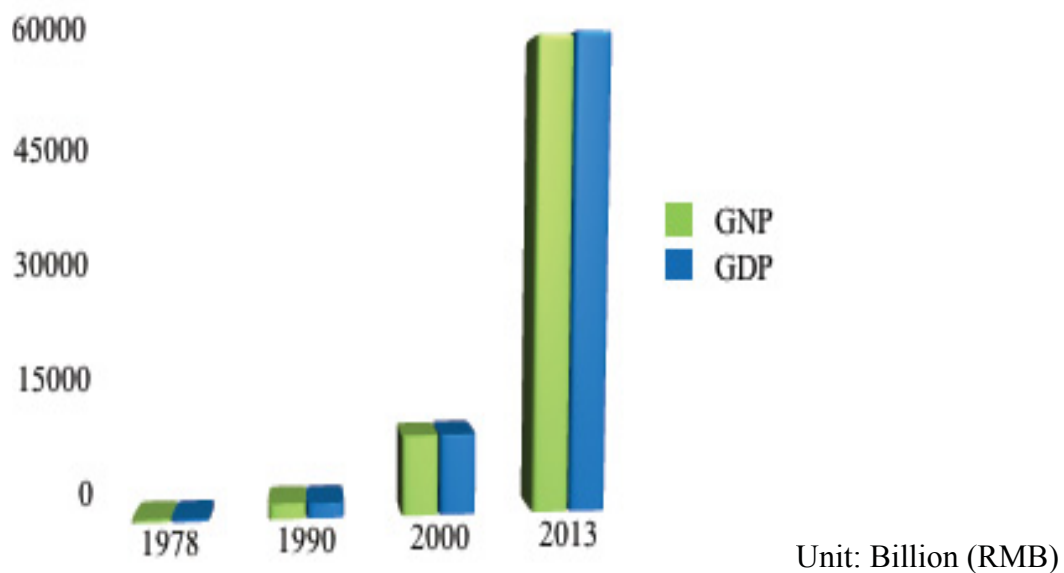


Figure 4-2 National Expenditure on Education (2008-2012) (Ministry of Finance, China, 2008-2012)

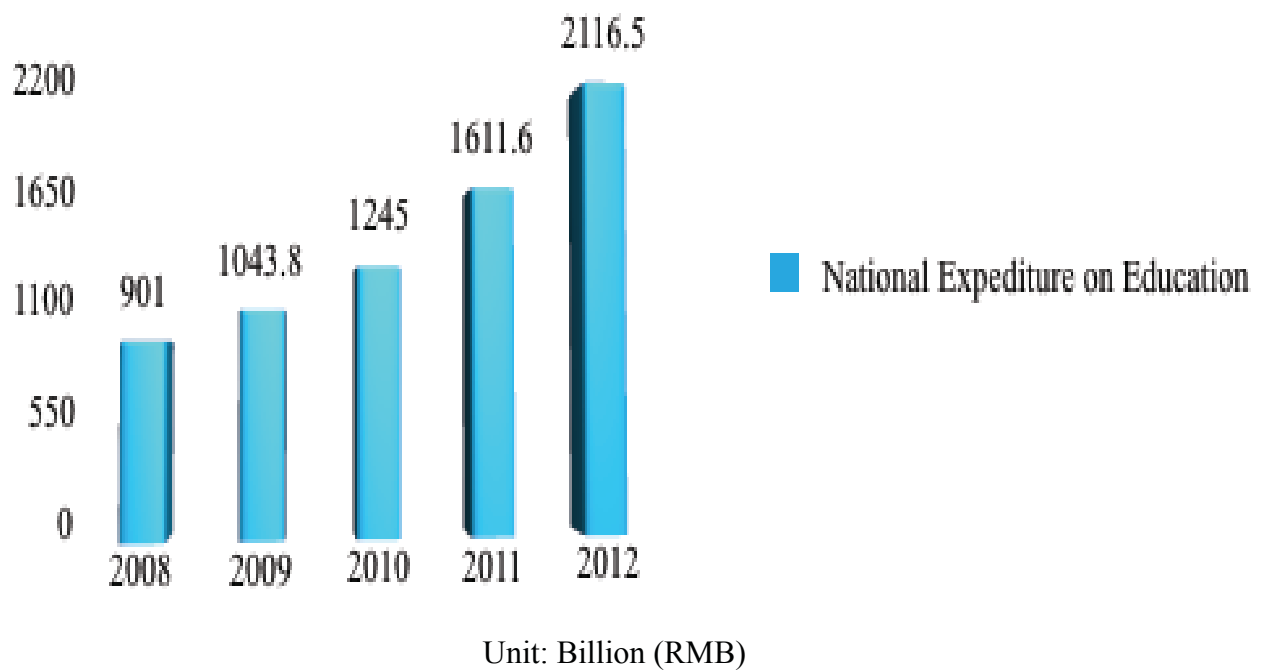
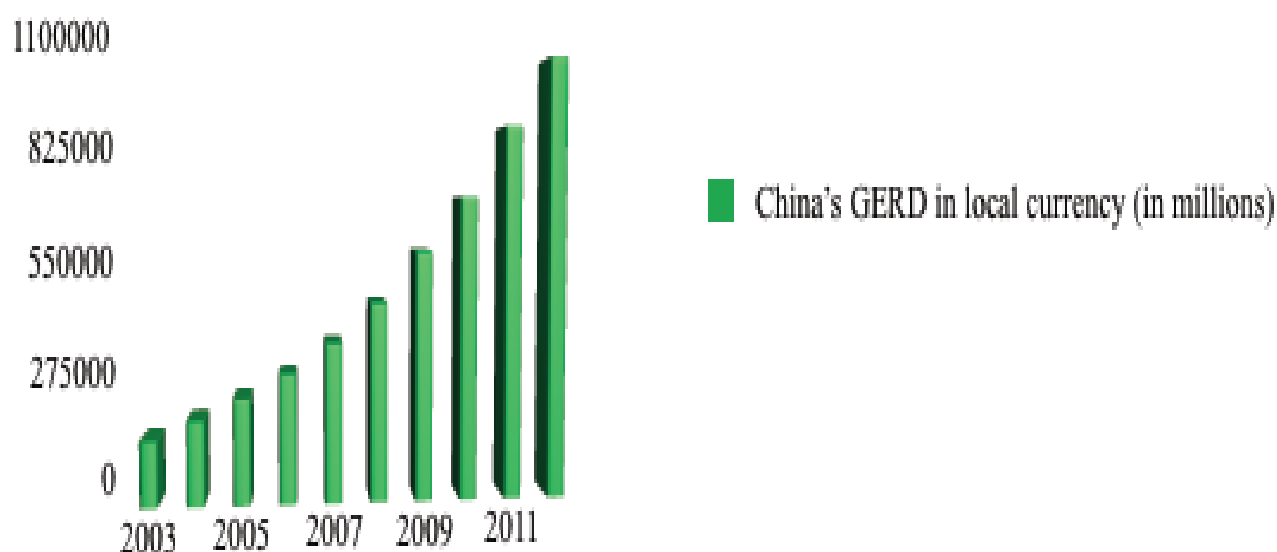


Figure 4-3 China's Gross Domestic Expenditure on R & D (GERD) (2003-2012)

(UNESCO Institute for Statistics, n.d.)



Beyond aiming to construct a well-off society, the Chinese government worked on building up a harmonious society during this period. Confucianism was strategically adopted by the government and returned to Chinese society as a mainstream ideology in the culture. Confucian virtues and principles such as respect for teachers and attaching social significance to education were also popularized in Chinese civil society. At the state level, in the *Outline of Plan*, the Chinese government deemed talented people as the most precious resources and understood competition with other countries to be a competition for talented people. The Chinese government aimed to build a large and high quality team of talented people, especially professionals in information, finance, accounting, international business, law, and modern management, fields that were urgently demanded by state construction (State Council, 2001). Under such circumstances, China's higher education system was required to be further reformed, optimized, and developed in order to better serve the development of the state.

Legitimization and Access to Higher Education

Policies related to higher education over this decade were oriented to boosting

China's higher education reform and development and further facilitating revitalization of the state by developing education. In response to the state's demand for new types of talented people, new policies on higher education were issued to support the reform of China's higher education; these included massification and expansion of higher education, further decentralization of higher education, merger of HEIs, the on-going Project 211 and Project 985, the project of world-class universities, and the project of developing education in western China. The *Tenth Five-Year National Education Development Plan* ("The Tenth Five-Year Education Plan") was issued by the MOE in 2001. It confirmed the substantial achievements of China's educational system since the opening-up policy had been adopted and analyzed the situation of China's education reform and development from 2001 to 2005: the guiding principle, the fundamental principle, strategic key points, and main objectives, main policies and measurement. In specific term, in the five years from 2001 to 2005, China would take various kinds of measures to expand higher education. A goal was set up to increase the intake of current students at all kinds of HEIs to 1.6 million, among whom 600,000 would be graduate students. Vocational education was further developed with Chinese characteristics. In addition, the document aimed to significantly improve research ability, innovation ability and the service of HEIs. In order to reduce the difference between China's higher education and foreign higher education, the ability of China's higher education in solving theoretical and practical problems in national economic and social development was to be strengthened. The cultivation of leading scholars in key academic disciplines and scientific research, and of talented people in high technology fields, was to be accelerated (MOE, 2001a).

Later on, the MOE developed the *Revitalization Plan for Education from 2003 to 2007* (hereafter *The 2003-2007 Revitalization Plan*) which was put forward by the State Council in 2004. As a guiding policy, it reiterated China's strategy of revitalizing the state by

developing and prioritizing education in China's construction of modernization. In terms of higher education, it set higher goals for China's HEIs as it referred to the model of well-known research universities around the world and called for some of China's HEIs to gain this so-called world-class status. In particular, the plan set out to build world-class universities as a key and strategic decision made by the state and the CCP in improving the overall power of a country and the international competitiveness of China. It insisted on the importance of continuing Projects 985 and 211 as China aimed to establish a number of high-level universities and key academic disciplines. It launched the higher education science and technology innovation plan, which aimed at reaching the scientific frontier, and the need to modernize and strengthen the science and technology innovation platform. To be specific, China planned to establish a number of world-class national laboratories and national technology innovation centres and a number of key laboratories and military-industrial scientific research centres. Humanities and social sciences research centres were also planned. In addition, interdisciplinary studies combining various fields were encouraged by the plan.

Over a long period, HEIs in China had mainly responded to the demands of the state for talented people in science and technology; hence the humanities and social sciences were underdeveloped. In the *2003-2007 Revitalization Plan*, the development of the humanities and social sciences in HEIs was taken into account by the MOE. The MOE proposed to facilitate the *Higher Education Philosophy and Social Sciences Revitalization Plan*. It emphasized the role that philosophy and social sciences play in constructing the socialist material, political, and spiritual civilization. Similar to the plan for developing natural sciences, it put an emphasis on cultivating leading scholars and young scholars in the humanities and social sciences, and on compiling key curricula and constructing research centres. The MOE also aimed to build a number of philosophy and social sciences

laboratories and reputable academic journals, and to reward applied research with high-impacted results. The Chinese government anticipated improving the quality and comprehensive capacity of HEIs while facilitating the contribution of HEIs to the modernization of the state. (State Council & MOE, 2004).

Outline of China's national plan for medium-and long-term education reform and development (2010-2020) (CCCCP & State Council, 2010) is another key guideline for educational development in China, this one applying to the next ten years. In it, the MOE plans to continue the massification of higher education and aims at a gross enrolment rate of 40%. It again clarifies that higher education must shoulder the responsibility of cultivating of talented professionals, developing scientific technology and culture, and fostering socialist modernization. It also aims to build up world-class universities and enhance the competitiveness of China's higher education in the world. It supports participation in international academic cooperation and international research plans, and proposes co-founding R and D bases with famous foreign scientific research institutions. It requires China's education to be further opened up to the world.

According to the *Statistics Report on 2012 National Education Development* (MOE, 2013), the enrolment rate in higher education has reached up to 30% in 2012. 33.25 million students were attending all kinds of higher education in 2012. 521,300 students were enrolled in master's programs and 68,400 students were enrolled in doctoral programs. The number of comprehensive universities reached 1,145. A total of 811 universities and scientific research institutions could offer graduate studies. The expansion of higher education theoretically had offered more students the opportunity of accessing higher education.

In order to balance the educational development across China, however, the *Tenth Five-Year Education Plan* stated that the training of high-end talented people in western China should be fully supported by the government. The central government established

special funding in support of provinces in western China for running a number of vocational schools and one high-level HEI in each province. Teachers colleges in western China would also receive support from the state (2002). To help students who come from low income families attend higher education, the State Council and the MOE pointed out that “student loans, work and study, tuition fee waiver, subsidies and so forth should be further improved” (2004).

The legislation for education was also improved during this period. In the *2003-2007 Revitalization Plan*, the State Council and the MOE articulated that the revision of laws and regulations of the education system must make headway. The *Tenth Five-Year Education Plan* suggested that the *Decree of Degree and Compulsory Education Law* should be revised and a lifelong education law should be drafted. The Chinese government kept working to draft a law on academic degrees based on the *Regulations of the P.R.C on Academic Degrees* (2002). In addition to this progress made in legislation, the MOE kept improving higher education administration. *Temporary Methods for Making Articles of Higher Education Institutions* was passed by the MOE and implemented in 2012 to direct China’s HEIs to establish a modern higher education system with Chinese characteristics.

Having provided this introduction to higher education development in China, and this brief review of key state policies on higher education from 1949 to 2012, I focus in the next two chapters on the document analysis of China’s key state policies on IHE.

Chapter Five: Policy Shifts on IHE in China: 1949-1989

My study of policy shifts on IHE in China mainly responds to the following questions: How has education policy on IHE been shaped in each historical period? What drives the policy shifts on IHE in different historical periods? How do policies on IHE impact China's higher education in each historical period? And how has IHE played a part in China's state formation in each historical period? In this chapter, I focus on critical state policy documents concerning IHE. I look especially at international engagement of China's higher education in different historical periods: 1949-1959, 1960-1965, 1966-1976, and 1977-1989, which I divided chronologically and by significant policy shifts. Beyond analyzing features of IHE in each historical period in China, I discuss ideological and political education at the end of each sub-section. As a socialist country, the Chinese government keeps countering western soft power and subversion and penetration of capitalism. Ideological and political education has always been a component of school education for moulding young people for the socialist cause in the form of compulsory courses taught at primary schools, high schools, and post-secondary institutions in China. Ideological and political education is also strategically used by the Chinese government to cultivate patriotism in order to retain and attract talented overseas Chinese people. See attached Table 5-1.

Table 5-1 Key Findings of Document Analysis (1949-1989)

Historical periods	State policy and position on IHE	Rationale for policy-making	Main international activities of higher education	Ideological and political education
1949-1959	Conservative and cautious	Learning experience from other socialist countries for state construction and development	Dispatched Chinese students and staff abroad for study or training; accepted a small amount of students from developing countries for international aid	Started working on ideological and political education by training teachers of Marxism-Leninism in post-secondary schools.

1960-1965	Did not completely shut the door to the world given the then dominant domestic far-left politics	Meeting the state demand for foreign language professionals for developing foreign affairs and state construction	Stopped dispatching a great number of students and staff abroad for study and training, but sent a small amount of students and staff abroad for foreign language studies; Teaching English as a foreign language has been highlighted in schools; Streamlined administration on foreign students; Accepted a small amount of foreign students.	Marxism-Leninism became the main ideology that have been popularized in China's HEIs as well as the CCP's political arguments.
1966-1976	Declined, self-closed	Deny the significance of formal school education	Few international activities in higher education	Marxism-Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought had been widespread across the country. There was a nationwide worship of Mao. Instead, capitalism and traditional Chinese culture were fought against and not allowed to exist in the society.
1977-1989	Opening-up; Started to administer IHE	State construction and modernization, mutual understanding	Dispatched Chinese students and staff abroad for study or training; accepted students from western countries; joint training programs emerged; worked on "talented people".	Patriotism and communist ethics were taken into account in ideological and political education.

1949-1959: Learning and Borrowing from Others

In review of the state policy on higher education, I find some typical features in policy-making for international engagement of higher education during this period and I describe them as demand-driven, selective, and prudent. China urgently demanded a great number of professionals to contribute to the development of the state right after the

establishment of the P.R.C. However, due to the low domestic higher education capacity, the government had to dispatch students and staff abroad for studies, having them trained at foreign HEIs. Also because of the confrontation between the socialist and capitalist camps, the Chinese government adopted a cautious attitude towards international interaction with other countries especially Western countries in light of the risk of ideological penetration of imperialism. International activities of higher education mainly happened between China and other socialist countries. This featured in bringing in other socialist countries' experience and dispatching Chinese students abroad for study. Exchanging students was also facilitated mainly between China and other socialist countries for mutual cultural understanding and communication. It should be noted that the rationale of China's dispatching a number of students to the Soviet Union and East Europe was essentially driven by the then urgent domestic demand for modernization and construction of industry, science and technology. Students who pursued overseas studies in those countries were expected to bring in sophisticated technology and advanced knowledge.

Policies on Chinese Student Mobility Abroad

Dispatching students abroad for study, continuing education, and practicum were directly supervised by the central government during this period. The CCP leaders' opinion also played a key role in dispatching students and staff abroad. For example, the then director of the Culture and Education Committee of ACCPG Guo Moruo forwarded the *Plan for Dispatching Researchers Abroad for Studies* drafted by the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS) to the ACCPG. The implementation of this plan aims to "learn science and technology of advanced developed countries to improve China's scientific research level and foster the development of China's production and construction"⁵ (CAS, 1950, para. 1, trans. by author).

⁵ This is from the document of *Zhongguo kexueyuan paiqian yanjiu ren yuan liuxue jihua dagang cao'an* [*Chinese Academy of Sciences' plan for dispatching researchers abroad for studies*], available from the sourcebook of *Zhonghua liuxue jiaoyu shilu: 1949 nian yihou*

Although the Chinese government dispatched students and staff to socialist countries, mainly to the Soviet Union, students and staff to capitalist countries were also sometimes sent to capitalist countries. For instance, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and the MOE submitted *Request on Dispatching Students for Graduate Studies in Capitalist Countries* to the State Council in 1956. This was also driven by the demand for state construction and developing good cultural communication and a friendly relationship between China and capitalist countries. A certain number of students were planned to be dispatched to western countries to pursue graduate studies in language, history, and other noted specializations of western HEIs each year. Given the risk of ideological penetration and subversion from western countries, only master's students with strong political belief in [Marxism] would be selected and dispatched to western countries⁶ (MOFA & MOE, 1956).

Later, the *Report on the Work Meeting for Dispatching Students Abroad* (hereafter *1959 Report*) as an important instruction for the work on dispatching students abroad was forwarded by the Central Committee of the CCP (CCCCP) to the CCP's party group of all ministries of the government and local governments for implantation in 1959. The CCCCCP (1959) identified the significance of the work on dispatching students abroad for studies.

Dispatching students abroad for study is one of the important tasks of constructing China's science, culture and education and catching up with the world leading science and technology. It also contributes to the friendly collaboration between China and other 'brother countries.' (para. 1, trans. by author)

The *1959 Report* specified that the work on dispatching students abroad passed through three stages following different instructions from the CCCCCP: 1950-1953: following the guidance

[*History and records of Chinese pursuing studies abroad: After 1949*] (pp. 98-99), compiled by T. Li, M. Sun, S. X. Li, D. X. Li, Z. Y. Du, F. X. Zhang & S. X. Wo (2000).

⁶ It is from the document of *Guanyu xiang ziben zhuyi guojia paiqian liuxue yanjiusheng de qingshi baogao* [*Request on dispatching students for graduate studies in capitalist countries*]. See Li et al., 2000, pp.145-146.

of “严格选拔，宁缺勿滥” (strict selection, quality before quantity); 1954-1956: “严格审查，争取多派” (strict review of the qualification of students with the aim of sending more people abroad) and “以理工科为重点兼顾全面需要” (prioritizing disciplines of science and technology while taking all-around demand into account); 1957-1958: “多派研究生，一般不派大学生” (dispatching more graduate students instead of undergraduate students abroad for study) (CCCCP, CCP Group of NCST, CCP Group of MOE, & CCP Committee of MOFA, 1959, para.3). According to the *1959 Report*, a total of 16,520 students and staff were sent abroad for degree studies, continuing education, and practicum from 1950 to 1958. Among them, 64 were sent to 11 capitalist countries, 14,798 to the Soviet Union, 1,290 to the other 10 socialist countries. 5,805 were undergraduate students, 1,973 were graduate students, 311 were teachers for continuing education, and 8,063 were students for practicum. The study areas of the 7,778 students dispatched to the socialist countries were: 5,179 are in technology, 692 in science, 524 in agriculture, 323 in medicine, 450 in arts, 610 in finance, law, education, physical education, and so forth (1959, para. 2). The statistics reveal that China dispatched a large number of students abroad for practicum from 1950 to 1958. China mainly dispatched students to the Soviet Union and the majority of the dispatched students focused on the study of technology.

Some achievements have been made through dispatching students and staff abroad. As the *1959 Report* stated, “A number of cadres in science and technology, and teaching staff have been cultivated for the state construction and the work has accumulated administrative experience in dispatching students and staff for future work” (1959, para. 4, trans. by author). Nonetheless, problems and defects in the work on dispatching students and staff abroad for studies also existed. For example, the quality of some students that China sent out was not high. Some dispatched students did not have enough professional background, some did not have good foreign language proficiency, and the morality of dispatched students was not

fully considered; It was also noted that there was a neglect of sending students abroad to study arts and social science. China sent abroad students to study mainly natural sciences and technology and such an approach lacked a long-term view on dispatching students abroad given that only the current domestic demands were met up; and there lacked leadership for dispatching students and staff abroad (1959, para. 5-12, trans. by author).

The *1959 Report* clarified that under the leadership of the NCST, the MOE, the CAS, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, Philosophy and Social Sciences Section of CAS, the Second Ministry of Machine Industry, and Ministry of Culture work together on dispatching students and staff abroad. The MOE was not only responsible for making a plan for the selection and dispatching students and staff from its directly administered HEIs but also for generating preliminary statistics of the dispatching plan proposed by all provinces, cities, autonomous regions, and other ministries and offering a complete suggestion to the NCST.

As the guiding document for the work on dispatching students and staff abroad, the *1959 Report* demonstrated that dispatching students and staff abroad should be linked with national economic construction, science construction and culture and education construction. It adopted an open attitude as it suggested that China must learn advanced science and technology from the Soviet Union and other “brother countries” as well as from capitalist countries in order to cultivate senior talented people in science and technology and teaching and learning and build up a strong team of talented people in natural science and social science. Three rules were established in terms of dispatching students and staff abroad: to make sure the specialization that students study can meet the critical demands from economic development, national defence development, and culture and science development while taking the general demand (natural science and social science) from the state into account as well; to guarantee the quality of the students and staff, and in particular the graduate students that China sent abroad (For example, graduates from universities with excellent academic

achievements should be selected to continue their graduate studies abroad every year after they work or study in China for a certain time period); and to take both the long-term demand and the current demand into account. Beyond sending a certain amount of graduate students and undergraduate students abroad, short-term continuing education and practicum were also facilitated in order to meet up the demand.

Policies on Foreign Student Mobility to China

China signed an agreement on exchanging students and mutually dispatching students with a few countries during this period. For example, China and West Germany signed an agreement on cultural cooperation, exchanging graduate students and undergraduate students in 1954. Abiding by those agreements, China accepted a certain number of foreign students though it was building the capacity of its higher education. China opened its door to foreign students from its neighboring countries, like North Korea and Vietnam as humanitarian aid. For example, China offered higher education and secondary technical education to students from North Korea (the P.R.C & the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, 1953⁷). China accepted 490 students from Vietnam under the framework of the 1955 cultural cooperation plan signed by China and Vietnam (the P.R.C & the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 1955⁸). However, China did not open all the specializations to foreign students. For instance, the MOFA prescribed that only a few subjects and specializations, such as biology and mathematics in science, Chinese literature, Chinese history, and Chinese history of revolution limited to graduate students in arts could be open to foreign students from eastern Europe

⁷This is from the document of *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo zhongyang renmin zhengfu he chaoxian minzhu zhuyi renmin gongheguo zhengfu guanyu chaoxian xuesheng zai zhongguo gaodeng xuexiao ji zhongdeng jishu xuexiao de xieding* [Agreement on offering higher education and secondary technical education to students from North Korea by the P.R.C and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea]. See Li et al., 2000, p. 269.

⁸ This is from the document of *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo zhengfu he yuenan minzhu gongheguo zhengfu guanyu wenhua hezuo de yidingshu* [Cultural cooperation plan signed by the P.R.C and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam]. See Li et al., 2000, p. 270.

between 1954 and 1955⁹ (ACCPG, 1954).

The Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE) also issued *Several Ways of Dispatching Students between China and other friendly Countries* in 1955, suggesting the number of students to be dispatched abroad, the enrolment criteria and procedure, specializations, and benefits to foreign students¹⁰. The MOHE and the MOFA (1956) published the *Revised Advice on Accepting Foreign Students Dispatched by Capitalist Countries* and advocated to take a positive attitude but exercise care towards accepting foreign students from capitalist countries. By 1956, there were nine universities, mainly in Beijing that could accommodate foreign students, and a few specializations were open to foreign students from the capitalist countries¹¹.

Ideological and Political Education

Following the Soviet Union's higher education model, which emphasized political theories in curriculum design (Gu, 2004), the CCCCPC announced the instruction for training teachers of Marxism-Leninism for HEIs and secondary vocational schools in 1952. The work on Marxism-Leninism-oriented ideological and political education was started. According to the MOE (n.d.a), the CCCCPC in 1955 forwarded the document on *Influence of Pragmatism on China's Education and Preliminary Plan for Criticizing Educational Thoughts of Pragmatism* written by the CCP members' group of the MOE to the public and regarded

⁹ It is from the document of *Zhengwuyuan wenhua jiaoyu weiyuanhui tongyi guanyu dong'ou laihua liuxuesheng ruxue tiaojian ji shouxu de tongyi guiding ji 1954-1955 niandu wo gaodeng xuexiao dui qi kaifang de zhuan ye* [Administration Council's agreement on a unified requirement for admission, procedure of registration, and opened specializations for foreign students from East Europe]. See Li et al. 2000, pp. 275-276.

¹⁰ The original source is *Gaodeng Jiaoyubu zhiding de duiyu woguo yu ge youhao guojia hupai liuxuesheng de jixiang zuofa* [Several ways of dispatching students between China and other friendly countries issued by the Ministry of Higher Education]. See Li et al., 2000, p. 278.

¹¹ The original document is *Gaodeng jiaoyubu, waijiaobu guanyu jieshou ziben zhuyi guojia paiqian liuxuesheng lai woguo xuexi de xiugai yijian* [Revised advice on accepting foreign students dispatched by capitalist countries]. See Li et al., 2000, p. 279.

further ideological transformation of teachers as an important task in developing China's education. Thereafter, in 1956, in order to fight against a small group of people who supported pluralism of expression and criticism of the government, there was an expanded anti-rightist campaign from 1957 to 1958 sponsored by the CCP, in which many cadres, teachers, and students were labelled as rightists. However, Mao also indicated the importance of the intellectuals and pointed out that intellectuals should be united. Based on this, the work on the ideological control of teachers and education was moved on.

The *1959 Report* also highlighted the importance of working on the ideological and political education of overseas Chinese students and staff dispatched by the Chinese government. It propounded that a broad international perspective and a noble patriotism should be cultivated in the students and staff dispatched abroad, while a narrow-minded nationalism should be prevented and rejected. Overseas embassies and consulates of China were required to coordinate with regard to the ideological and political education of Chinese students and staff abroad and help them become working class intellectuals with an international view. In terms of assigning the work for the returned overseas Chinese students, the report thought China must take a long-term view and make good use of these people (CCCCP, CCP Group of NCST, CCP Group of MOE, & CCP Committee of MOFA, 1959).

1960-1965: IHE in Early Stage

Though influenced by the far-left political ideology from the "Great leap forward," China did not close its door to the world but still dispatched students and staff abroad for study and continuing education. The CCP opined that to carry on the work on foreign affairs required a number of people with good foreign language skills, so that a few students and staff were dispatched abroad for foreign language studies during this period. Teaching English as a second foreign language was also encouraged and actively facilitated at schools. In terms of foreign student mobility, China formulated regulations on accepting foreign

students for study in China.

Policies on Chinese Student Mobility Abroad

The document of *Proposals for Future Work on Overseas Chinese Students* was issued and passed by the CCCCCP, the CCP Party Group of the NCST, CCP Party Group of the MOE, & CCP Party Committee of the MOFA in 1960. As the document depicted,

China has dispatched a total of 9,822 people including undergraduate students, graduate students, teachers of continuing education, and students for practicum abroad in the past eleven years, 5,468 of whom have returned to China. Dispatching students and staff abroad for study has trained a number of cadres in science and technology and teaching staff for China as well as has played a role in strengthening friendly collaborations between China and foreign countries. (1960, para. 2, trans. by author)

The significance of bringing in foreign advanced science and technology for China's development was highlighted in this document. However, instead of dispatching a large number of students and staff abroad, this document responded to China's "eight-character" policy and emphasized quality rather than quantity. The Chinese government decided to reduce the quantity of students and staff to be dispatched abroad but gave attention to improving the quality of people it sent out.

Guided by such policies, sending a large number of students and staff abroad regardless of quality was stopped during this period, while a small number of students and staff were dispatched abroad mainly for foreign language studies. This is mainly because the CCP perceived an urgent demand for professionals of foreign languages from foreign affairs and state construction.

The current domestic and international situation is favourable for China and the CCP.

With the increasing international reputation, China and the CCP will play a much

more important role in the world revolutionary movement and international affairs as well as take more international responsibilities. In order to foster the world revolutionary movement, China and the CCP must make good use of the domestic and international situation, furthering its work on foreign affairs. This requires the country to cultivate a multitude of cadres who can use foreign languages to strengthen the team of foreign affairs. On the other hand, China's current level of science and technology still lags behind the world leading standards. In order to catch up with that, plenty of cadres who have professional knowledge and know foreign languages are demanded so that we can bring in the achievements and experience from all nations in the world, speed up China's four modernizations, and serve the socialist construction. (State Council & CCCCCP, 1964, para. 1, trans. by author)

According to the *Outline for Planning the Seven-Year Plan for Foreign Language Education* (Foreign Affairs Office of the State Council, Culture and Education Office of the State Council, State Planning Commission, MOHE, & MOE, 1964a), a total of 1,926 students were planned to be sent abroad from 1964 to 1966. Among them, 379 students would go for continuing education, 1,547 would take undergraduate studies (414 in French, 45 in German, 240 in Spanish, 75 in Arabic, and 773 in other languages).

Policies on Foreign Student Mobility to China

After over ten years' work on accepting foreign students, the CCCCCP, Foreign Affairs Office of the State Council, Ministry of Education, and the General Bureau of International Economic Liaison in 1962 formulated *Regulations for the work on Foreign Students (draft)* (hereafter *1962 Draft*), the first legal document streamlining the administrative work on foreign students. It consisted of ten chapters, including general provisions, how to accept foreign students, teaching and learning, ideological work, administration of political activities, supplementary provisions, and so on. It clarified the purpose of China hosting

foreign students. Article 1 of the *1962 Draft* propounded that, “Hosting and training foreign students is one of China’s internationalist duties as well as an important work to further cultural communication and friendship between China and other countries and between Chinese people and people in other countries” (para. 1, trans. by author). The training objectives were also set up for foreign students as China aimed to “cultivate foreign talented people with fundamental theories, specialized knowledge, and practical skills, staying healthy and being friendly to Chinese people” (para. 3, trans. by author). A preparatory college school in Beijing was assigned to be the main place for foreign students to study Chinese language. Quality of education offered to foreign students was highlighted in this document.

Thereafter, the Office of Foreign Affairs of the State Council in 1963 released two documents of *Regulations of Hosting Foreign Students for Higher Education by the MOE* and *Notice on Hosting Foreign Students* (hereafter *Notice 1963*) drew up by the MOE. The MOE clarified the type of foreign students that China hosts, admission criteria for foreign students, selection and review process, and fees in the regulations. The *Notice 1963* put an emphasis on the quality of education and a strict review of foreign students’ applications (para.1, 1963). During this period, China continued its open policy towards hosting foreign students in order to promote cultural communication and understanding between China and other countries. Only a small number of foreign students who passed certain review processes and were willing to live a simple life in China were accepted by China’s HEIs. China’s HEIs also waived foreign students’ tuition, accommodation and medical fees. China hosted a total of 4,852 foreign students from 70 countries between 1960 and 1965 (“The Yearly Intake of Foreign Students 1950-1965,” as cited in Li, Sun, Li, Li, Du, Zhang, & Wo, 2000, p. 286-288).

Policies on Foreign Language Education

Driven by expanding diplomatic relations with more countries than the socialist

regime, a big demand for translators and interpreters to work on foreign affairs arose. The State Council of the CCP Central Committee then signed two instructive documents for foreign language education in 1964. One is the *Report on the Problems in Planning Foreign Language Education in Seven years* (hereafter *1964 Report*) and the other is *Outline for Planning the Seven-Year Plan for Foreign Language Education* (hereafter *Outline 1964*). The *1964 Report* reflected many problems in facilitating foreign language education such as lack of qualified foreign language teachers and materials for foreign language teaching and learning. It also reported the progress made in China's foreign language education. As it illustrated, "a total of 510 high school graduates were dispatched to 21 countries, studying 19 foreign languages this year [1964]; there is a plan for hiring 237 foreign teachers this year and by now 183 have been employed" (1964b, para.1, trans. by author). In terms of foreign language studies in schools, there was a shifting focus from Russian to English. "The ratio of the number of students studying English and Russian has been adjusted from 1:2 to 1:1" (1964b, para. 4, trans. by author). Besides, a number of departments of foreign language studies and institutes of foreign language studies were established to strengthen foreign language education during this period. The report drew on the reform on teaching foreign language and proposed to improve pedagogy and quality of teaching and learning, and cultivate cadres who were competent in using English. Senior interpreters and translators were also demanded and more were requested to be trained according to the report.

The *Outline 1964* pointed out that the quality and quantity of the students that the existing departments of foreign language studies of HEIs educated could not meet the needs of China's socialist construction and work on foreign affairs. The foundation of foreign language education could not cater for the state's demand. Owing to a comprehensive study of Russian in schools at the beginning of the PRC and the period of the first five-year plan, the study of other foreign languages was neglected. The plan called for changing this

situation and expanding the scale of foreign language education. To be specific, in school education, English was defined as the first foreign language. The plan insisted that more and more students should learn English as well as French, Spanish, Arabic, Japanese, and German. The number of students studying Russian should be reduced to meeting the real demand. The ratio of English and Russian should be 1:1 and 2:1 after 1970 (1964a). With the implementation of such policies in schools, teaching English as a foreign language has been highlighted in foreign language education. In the meantime, China made significant progress in foreign language education rather than focusing on the study of Russian only.

Ideological and Political Education

Ideological conflicts among the CCP were sharp and the CCP had kept fighting against capitalism after the establishment of the P.R.C. In the *Temporary Work Regulations for Higher Education Institutions Administered by the MOE*, the tasks of ideological and political work of HEIs were described as follows:

The university should follow the leadership of the CCP committee at the university to keep improving students' ideological and political awareness and moral ethics through publicizing Marxism and Leninism, the general principle of the CCP and all kinds of principles and policies; to unify university teachers, students, and staff, to stimulate their initiatives, to carry out the CCP's education principles, and to make sure the completion of all the tasks of the university, such as teaching and learning. (CCCCP, 1963, Article 44, trans. by author)

From this statement, we can find Marxism and Leninism were claimed as the dominant ideology by the CCP that should influence university students and the CCP's political arguments were emphasized in China's higher education.

In the mid-1960s, Mao thought believers of capitalism existed among the CCP and that education on socialism should be strengthened. The MOE in 1964 propounded that the

ideological and political work at schools should be reinforced. Education on socialism was strengthened during this time. The State Council of the Central Committee made an announcement on September 11, 1964 that teachers and students in humanities and social sciences should be organized to join the socialist education movement. Teachers and students in science were also instructed to attend socialist education movement in February 1965 (MOE, n.d).

1966-1976: Interruption and Isolation by the “Cultural Revolution”

China’s work on international engagement of higher education was prevented and interrupted due to the “Cultural Revolution.” The work on dispatching students and staff abroad had been stopped for a few years after the MOHE promulgated a notice on postponing the selection and dispatching students abroad in 1966. Overseas Chinese students and staff were even asked to come back to China in order to attend the Cultural Revolution¹² (MOE & MOFA, 1967). However, a small number of students were still sent abroad for language studies. For example, around 20 Chinese students went to France for French language studies in 1972¹³ (Group of Science and Education of the State Council-, 1972a). Similarly, 25 English teachers were sent to England for continuing education¹⁴ (Group of Science and Education of the State Council, 1972b). The MOE planned to dispatch 200 to 300 Chinese students abroad for study with the objective of training interpreters and teachers¹⁵ (MOE,

¹² The citation is from *Jiaoyubu, waijiaobu guanyu guowai liuxuesheng huiguo canjia wenhua dageming yundong de tongzhi* [Notice for overseas Chinese students on returning to China for joining in the cultural revolution]. See Li et al. 2000, (pp. 266-267).

¹³ The citation is from *Guowuyuan kejiaozu guanyu xiang faguo paiqian xuexi fayu jinxiusheng de tongzhi* [Notice on dispatching students to France for continuing studies of French]. See Li et al. 2000, pp. 505-506.

¹⁴ It is cited from *Guowuyuan kejiaozu guanyu xiang yingguo paiqian 25 ming yingyu jinxiu jiaoshi de tongzhi* [Notice on dispatching 25 English teachers to the UK for continuing studies of English]. See Li et al. 2000, p. 507.

¹⁵ It is cited from *Jiaoyubu guanyu 1976 zhi 1977 niandu paiqian chuguo liuxuesheng de tongzhi* [Notice of dispatching students abroad between 1976 and 1977 by Ministry of Education]. See Li et al. 2000, p. 508.

1976).

The work on accepting foreign students was also affected and even stopped by the “cultural revolution”. “A revival of accepting foreign students for study in China comes along with economic aid to other countries [during this period]” (Li, Sun, Li, Li, Du, Zhang, & Wo, 2000, p. 808). For example, China accepted 200 students from Tanzania and Zambia in order to help the two countries train talented people in the transportation administration of railways in 1972¹⁶ (Ministry of International Economic Liaison, 1972). Li (2001) observed that China officially resumed accepting foreign students from 1973 as each year a request report on the plan for accepting foreign students was submitted by the MOFA and the Group of Science and Education of the State Council to the State Council (p. 811). According to the 1973 request report, China planned to accept a total of 465 foreign students from 66 countries in 1973. Among them, 313 were offered a scholarship and 152 were self-financed students¹⁷ (MOFA & Group of Science and Education of the State Council, 1973). In the 1974 request report, China planned to accept a total of 466 foreign students from 74 countries but dispatched 214 Chinese students to 46 countries for study¹⁸ (MOFA & Group of Science and Education of the State Council, 1974).

Ideological and Political Education

Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought had been widespread and ingrained in the masses during the ten years of “cultural revolution”. Confucianism and capitalism were

¹⁶ The citation comes from *Wo duiwai jingji lianluobu jiu laihua liuxuesheng shi zhihan tansangniya, zanbiya zhuhua dashiguan* [A letter to Embassy of China in Tanzania and Zambia from the Ministry of International Economic Liaison]. See Li et al. 2000, p. 808.

¹⁷ The statistics are from *Waijiaobu, guowuyuan kejiaozu guanyu 1973 nian jieshou laihua liuxuesheng jihua he liuxuesheng gongzuo ruogan wenti de qingshi baogao* [Request report of 1973 on the plan for accepting foreign students and issues about the work on foreign students]. See Li et al. 2000, pp. 811-816.

¹⁸ The statistics are from *Waijiaobu, guowuyuan kejiaozu guanyu 1974 nian jieshou he paiqian liuxuesheng jihua de qingshi* [Request report of 1974 on the plan for accepting foreign students and dispatching Chinese students abroad for study]. See Li et al. 2000, pp. 816-818.

greatly criticised and wiped out by China's society, whereas the masses' worship for Chairman Mao reached a climax. As Lu (1999) described it, "everywhere, one saw and heard such slogans as 'long live Chairman Mao'; 'Wish Chairman Mao a long life'; and 'loyal to the party, loyal to the people, loyal to Chairman Mao, and loyal to Mao Zedong's thought'" (p. 498). Many students became red guards of Chairman Mao and were mobilized in China with the main tasks of attacking the "Four Olds" of Chinese society and later rooting out "capitalist roaders" by force (Karnow, 1984, p. 232).

1977-1989: Back on the International Stage of Higher Education

Underpinned by the central government and on-going higher education policy reforms, the international engagement of China's higher education is significant during this period. China formulated and promulgated new policies and regulations related to IHE, which led to the facilitation of student and staff mobility, and joint training programs in an organized way. On the one hand, China kept dispatching students abroad for studies and continuing education; on the other hand, China accepted more foreign students not only from Third World countries but also from Western countries. A mutual way of dispatching students was facilitated between China and those countries. Joint training programs emerged which cultivated a great number of talented people for China's state construction. The work on attracting and retaining talented people has been taken into account.

Policies on Chinese Student Mobility Abroad

The ten-year Cultural Revolution destroyed much of China's social, cultural, and economic infrastructure, particularly education. After the termination of the disaster, the CCP leaders highlighted the importance of education and restarted to dispatch Chinese students abroad for study as they thought this would be an efficient way to cultivate talented people for China and it would contribute to China's construction for four modernizations- through learning and bringing in foreign advanced science and technology and management

experience. Policies on dispatching Chinese students abroad for study were researched and debated at the end of the 1970s. The MOE (1976) published the *Notice on Selecting and Dispatching Students Abroad for Study in 1977*, which it identified that around 200 students would be dispatched abroad for studies. Beyond sending a small amount of students abroad for continuing education in science and technology, other students were sent abroad for language studies¹⁹ (MOE, 1977). The MOE and the MOFA further made a *Request to the State Council about Dispatching Students for Language Studies and Teachers for Continuing Education Abroad* in 1978. The objective of dispatching students abroad for study is clarified as prioritizing the training of advanced translators and interpreters, and improving the teaching of advanced English in the university²⁰ (MOE & MOFA, 1978b). Thereafter, Deng Xiaoping provided an instruction for dispatching Chinese students abroad when discussing issues concerning Tsinghua University in 1978. He articulated that,

I am in favour of sending more students to study abroad mainly in natural sciences.

The rules for administering overseas Chinese students should not be too rigid.

Without participation [in foreign activities], students will not learn much. It is one of the most efficient ways of improving the level of our education in five years. We must send them by tens of thousands rather than by tens²¹. (Deng, 1978, trans. by author)

Encouraged by Deng's instruction, the MOE, the NCST, and the MOFA (1978) submitted a *Request to the State Council about Dispatching Students abroad for the Study of Science and Technology between 1978 and 1979*, in which they proposed to select around 200 students to

¹⁹This is from *Jiaoyubu guanyu 1977 nian xuanpai chuguo liuxuesheng de tongzhi* [Notice on selecting and dispatching students abroad for study in 1977]. See Li et al. 2000, pp. 508-509.

²⁰ This is from *Jiaoyubu waijiaobu guanyu xiang guowai paiqian yuyan liuxuesheng he jinxiu jiaoshi deng wenti de qingshi* [Request to the State Council about dispatching students for language studies and teachers for continuing education abroad]. See Li et al. 2000, pp. 509-510.

²¹ It is cited from *Deng Xiaoping tongzhi tan qinghua wenti shi guanyu paiqian liuxuesheng wenti de zhishi* [Instruction for dispatching Chinese students abroad in discussion with the issues concerning Tsinghua University]. See Li et al. 2000, pp. 365-366.

study science and technology abroad. The MOE submitted the *Report on Increasing the Number of Dispatching Chinese Students abroad for Study* (hereafter *1978 Report*) to the then vice premier Fang Yi and vice president Deng Xiaoping in 1978. In the *1978 Report*, the MOE planned to send 3,000 students at least abroad for study. 85% of these students would focus on the study of natural science, 15% of whom would study social sciences including language studies, management, history, education, psychology, and so forth. It also discussed the methods for selecting students to be dispatched, the possible destination countries of Chinese students, and the administration work on dispatching students abroad. The MOE proposed to establish a new division for administering overseas Chinese students²² (MOE, 1978).

Instead of the total control of dispatching students and staff abroad for study in early years of the PRC, other ministries of the central government, local governments and the MOE-administered HEIs started to have the authorization to facilitate this work from the mid-1980s. In response to the state policy of “opening-up” and a national call for streamlining administration and instituting decentralization, the MOE issued *Notice on Selecting and Dispatching Students and Staff abroad for Study by Ministries and Local Governments* in 1984²³ and *Notice on Selecting and Dispatching Students and Staff abroad for Study by the MOE-Administered HEIs* in 1985²⁴. In these documents, the methods for selecting and dispatching students and staff abroad for study were provided to the new authorities (MOE, 1984; MOE, 1985).

²² It comes from *Jiaoyubu guanyu jiada xuanpai liuxuesheng shuliang de baogao* [Report on increasing the number of dispatching Chinese students abroad for study]. See Li et al. 2000, pp. 366-369.

²³ *Jiaoyubu guanyu bumen, difang zixing xuanpai chuguo liuxue ren yuan de tongzhi* [Notice on selecting and dispatching students and staff abroad for study by ministries and local governments]. See Li et al. 2000, p.574.

²⁴ *Jiaoyubu guanyu bushu gaodeng yuanxiao zixing xuanpai liuxue ren yuan shen pi ban fa de tongzhi* [Notice on selecting and dispatching students and staff abroad for study by the MOE-administered HEIs]. See Li et al. 2000, pp.574-575.

Another guiding document of *Notice on Several Problems about Improving and Strengthening the Work on Overseas Chinese Students and Staff* (hereafter *1986 Notice*) was issued by the CCCCPC and the State Council on May 4, 1986. It highlighted the significance of dispatching students and staff abroad for study. As it stated,

the work on dispatching students and staff abroad has made great achievements and played an active role in bringing in foreign advanced science and technology and management experience, cultivating senior and professional talented people, and improving the quality of talented people²⁵. (CCCCPC & State Council, 1986, para.1, trans. by author)

It accentuated the compatibility in taking a variety of ways to send students and staff abroad for study in compliance with China's opening-up policy, while it addressed issues in dispatching students and staff abroad.

Consistent with the long-term opening-up policy, the Central Committee thought dispatching students and staff abroad through all channels should be firmly carried out, based on their practice in previous years. Hence, problems in dispatching students and staff and management work must be put into perspective. Problems are manifested in that: the dispatching plan does not have a tight connection to the state construction; there is disconnection between study and application; ideological and political work on dispatched students and staff is vulnerable; and some returned students and staff do not play a full role in state construction after they return to China. (CCCCPC & State Council, 1986, para. 1, trans. by author)

In view of these problems, the CCCCPC and the State Council offered suggestions to

²⁵ The citation comes from *Zhonggong zhongyang, guowuyuan guanyu gaijin he jiaqiang chuguo liuxue ren yuan gongzuo ruogan wenti de tongzhi* [Notice on Several Problems about improving and strengthening the work on overseas Chinese students and staff]. See Li et al. 2000, pp.390-394.

dispatching students and staff abroad for study, such as “dispatching by demand,” “guaranteeing quality,” and “learning for practice.”

Dispatching students and staff should serve the four modernizations of China, be closely connected to the demand from our production and construction, scientific research and the cultivation of talented people who can solve the problems in scientific research and production, and contribute to enhancing the ability of cultivating senior talented people in China. The work on dispatching students and staff must follow the guidance of dispatching by demand, guaranteeing quality, learning for practice, strengthening the management and education of dispatched students and staff, and try to create conditions for dispatched students and staff in order that they can apply what they learned into real practice and contribute to the state construction. (CCCCP & State Council, 1986, para. 2, trans. by author)

The *1986 Notice* insisted that “the method for recruiting public-funded students and staff to be dispatched abroad should be changed. From 1986, the quota of public-funded students for master’s studies should be mainly set for HEIs, research institutes and other units gradually” (para. 7, trans. by author). Hence, the selection of students for overseas studies was optimized compared to previous varied sources of people. Given the significant progress that China has made in higher education, dispatching students abroad for undergraduate studies was discouraged except for language studies and other special fields abroad and the cultivation of graduate students was to be conducted domestically. Dispatching more students abroad for doctoral studies was strongly recommended. New ways of research collaboration and joint Ph.D. training programs were encouraged (1986). Specializations for state-funded Chinese students and destination countries to which Chinese students should be dispatched were also discussed in the *1986 Notice*. “The dispatched students and staff should mainly study applied disciplines. There should be a proper number of students and staff to be dispatched abroad to

learn foreign languages and fundamental and theoretical science” (1986, para. 4, trans. by author). The *1986 Notice* also unveiled that the Chinese government had taken a more liberal attitude towards Chinese students and staff mobility abroad, as it stated, “Dispatching students and staff abroad should follow China’s independent foreign policy of peace and aim for gathering knowledge from countries all over the world and bringing it into full play in China” (CCCCP & State Council, 1986, para. 5, trans. by author).

Policies on dispatching students and staff for public-funded overseas studies were further optimized in the *Notice on Selecting Students and Staff for Public-Funded Overseas Studies by the National Education Committee in 1989* (hereafter *1989 Notice*) by the State Education Commission (SEC) as time advanced. The SEC figured out that selecting and dispatching people abroad for study should meet the demand from national economic construction and domestic urgent demand for senior professionals. According to the *1989 Notice*, the programs funded by the state were classified into visiting scholar program, current doctoral student program, overseas doctoral studies program, and so on. In particular, visiting scholar programs were established for “developing domestic high technology, national, ministerial, and regional key research and development programs and constructing the domestic new, weak and cutting edged subjects”²⁶ (SEC, 1989, para. 4, trans. by author). Those with senior professional titles or with doctoral degrees were particularly targeted and selected for doing research or improving their academic ability through research collaboration, or working on some fixed assignments at foreign science and research institutions, HEIs and corporations abroad. They could study research abroad for half a year, one year or one year and a half. In order to improve the quality of China’s Ph.D. education, Current Doctoral Student Program offered Ph.D. students in China an opportunity to make

²⁶ The citation is from *Guojia jiaowei guanyu xuanba 1989 nian guojia gongfei chuguo liuxue ren yuan de tongzhi* [Notice on selecting students and staff for public-funded overseas studies by the National Education Committee in 1989]. See Li et al. 2000, pp.578-580.

use of foreign advanced equipment for their experiment or data collection for their research (SEC, 1989).

Self-financed overseas studies were claimed as one channel of cultivating talented people in the *Request for self-Financed Overseas Studies* (hereafter *1980 Request*) posted by the MOE, the MOFA, the Ministry of Public Security (MOPC), the MOF, State Bureau of Personnel, the Science and Technology Cadre Bureau of the State Council, and the State Bureau of Labour in 1980. The request deemed that self-financed Chinese students who pursue a study abroad be considered part of overseas Chinese students.

In a long run, our policy and work should focus on having more Chinese students come back to China after they complete their overseas studies, serving the socialist motherland. Politically, there should not be differences between self-financed students and public-funded students²⁷. (1980a, para. 2, trans. by author)

The *1980 Request* was passed by the State Council and forwarded to all levels of government and HEIs together with the *Temporary Regulations on Self-Financed Overseas Studies* (hereafter *1980 Temporary Regulations*) in 1981. In particular, the *1980 Temporary Regulations* specified the definition of self-financed overseas studies, the review process of applications for self-financed overseas studies, the cost of overseas studies and the treatment to the self-financed students who complete their studies abroad after they come back to China, and the ideological and political education for self-financed students who pursue overseas studies²⁸ (MOE, MOFA, MOPC, MOF, State Bureau of Personnel, Science and Technology Cadre Bureau of the State Council & State Bureau of Labor, 1980b). Studying abroad at a student's own expense was allowed in 1980 by the P.R.C. However, the review of

²⁷ *Guanyu zifei chuguo liuxue de qingshi [the Request for self-financed overseas studies]*. See Li et al. 2000, p.382.

²⁸ *Guanyu zifei chuguo liuxue de zanxing guiding [Temporary regulations on self-financed overseas studies]*. See Li et al. 2000, pp.382-383.

qualification of applicants was quite strict owing to the government officials' concern of a "brain drain" (Zheng, 2010). At this stage, university graduates could not apply for overseas study unless they had served their work unit for two years. Applicants for overseas doctoral studies did not fall into the category of self-financed overseas studies. Nonetheless, three years later, the *1980 Temporary Regulations* were revised in 1984. In particular, the 1984 version modified the definition of self-financed overseas studies and further removed the restrictions for self-financed studies abroad. As it prescribed, "All Chinese citizens without the limitation of academic background, age and length of service can go abroad for self-financed study through a legal process with the aid of foreign currency and overseas scholarships as well as a study permit"²⁹ (State Council, 1984, para. 2, trans. by author). Beyond that, there is no restriction for the coming and going of the self-financed students. In order to attract more overseas Chinese students who were doing self-financed studies back to China, the State Council promised to pay the travelling expenses back to China for those who obtained a master's degree or a Ph.D. degree. (State Council, 1984)

Self-financed overseas studies have been recognized as a way of cultivating talented people for China. Self-financed overseas Chinese students were also targeted and attracted by the Chinese government as they are potential contributors to China's construction for modernizations.

Self-financed overseas studies as a channel of cultivating talented people for the state construction should be supported by the government. Politically, self-financed students pursuing overseas studies should be treated equally with public-funded students pursuing overseas studies with care and love. The state should encourage them to return to China after completing their studies, and serve the socialist

²⁹ The citation is from *Guowuyuan guanyu zifei chuguo liuxue de zanxing guiding [State Council's temporary regulations on self-financed overseas studies]*. See Li et al. 2000, pp.388-390.

modernizations of the motherland China³⁰. (State Council & SEC, 1986, Article 1 of Chapter 6, trans. by author)

Policies on Foreign Student Mobility to China

China started to streamline the procedure for accepting foreign students during this period. However, the government took a rather conservative position on accepting foreign students mainly in light of the limited capacity of China's HE for training foreign students. *Notice on This Year's Work on Accepting Foreign Students by the MOE and the MOFA*³¹ (1978a) offered a list of specializations that foreign students could study in China's universities, and prescribed the contents of teaching and learning, and the length of schooling between 1978 and 1979. In order to improve the quality of students, foreign students who intended to come to China pursuing a study in science, technology and medicine were required to pass certain fundamental examination on mathematics, physics, and chemistry. An examination of Chinese culture was also strongly recommended to foreign students before they came to China. In terms of continuing education, foreign students were mainly from Second World countries [The Eastern bloc of the communist-socialist states, Giddens, 2006] and their specializations were limited to Chinese language, literature, history, philosophy, medicine, and etc. The notice also uncovered that the MOE, the MOFA, the Ministry of Culture, the MOF, and the State Planning Committee should start the preparation work for accepting more foreign students given that foreign countries required China to accept more students from their countries for study along with more Chinese students going to their countries for study (MOE & MOFA, 1978)

³⁰ *Guanyu chuguo liuxue ren yuan gongzuo de ruogan zanxing guiding [Temporary regulations on the work on overseas studies of students and staff]*. See Li et al. 2000, pp.395-402.

³¹ *Jiaoyubu, waijiaobu guanyu zuohao jinnian jieshou waiguo liuxuesheng gongzuo de tongzhi [Notice on this year's work on accepting foreign students by the MOE and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs]*. See Li et al. 2000, pp.826-827.

In 1979, the MOE, the MOFA, the MOF, and the State Planning Commission submitted a *Request for the Enrolment Expansion of Foreign Students*³² (hereafter *1979 Request*) to the State Council. They stated,

After China decided to dispatch a large number of students to the US, the UK, France, West Germany, Japan, and so forth, these countries also required to send their students to China for study. Countries of the third world have constantly sent us a request for increasing admission quota and scholarships, helping them cultivate cadres for developing their national economy and culture. Hence, it is imperative for us to expand the enrolment of foreign students. (1979, para. 1, trans. by author)

In the *1979 Request*, they proposed an enrolment plan for accepting foreign students in light of meeting the demand from mutual exchange of students among China, the US, and Second World countries and cultivating some cadres for friendly countries of the third world. They planned that,

China will accept a total of 13,000 foreign students from 1979 to 1985, of which 6,700 are in arts and science, 3,000 are in technology, 2000 in medicine, 700 in fine arts, and 600 in agriculture and forestry. 1,000 will be enrolled in 1979, 1,200 in 1980, 1,700 in 1981, 2,000 in 1982, 2,200 in 1983, 2,400 in 1984, and 2,500 in 1985. (1979, para. 2, trans. by author)

After the State Council approved this request, the MOE finally made *Suggestions for Accepting Foreign Students and Arranging Construction Tasks for Foreign Students' Accommodation from 1979 to 1985* in 1979,

A total of 13,000 foreign students will be accepted by China. Instead of accepting foreign students in each year between 1979 and 1985, two batches of foreign students

³² *Jiaoyubu, waijiabu, wenhuabu, caizhengbu, guojiajiwei guanyu kuoda jieshou waiguo liuxuesheng guimo deng wenti de qingshi* [A request for the enrolment expansion of foreign students]. See Li et al. 2000, p. 831.

will be accepted by Chinese universities. The first batch of foreign students with a total of 6,575 will be enrolled at 43 Chinese universities, most of which have the experience of accepting foreign students from 1979 to 1985. The second batch of foreign students with a total of 6,425 will be enrolled by Chinese universities, some of which are newly open to foreign students.³³ (MOE, 1979, para. 1, trans. by author)

Specific policies and regulations in relation to accepting foreign students were issued by the MOE and the MOFA in 1980³⁴ and 1981³⁵ (MOE & MOFA, 1980; MOE & MOFA, 1981). In particular, the 1980 notice continued the policy of accepting foreign students for study in China. Other than that, accepting self-financed foreign students was also discussed in the notice.

China's regulations, specializations open to foreign students and the enrolment quota of foreign students should be introduced to foreign countries. The quota of accepting foreign students from the US and Second World countries should be made according to the bilateral cultural exchange plan or through non-governmental ways. Foreign students will be classified into students with scholarship and self-financed students. Whereas for students from Third World countries, the majority of them will be funded by China (exchanging students can also be tried). If countries of the third world require dispatching self-financed students to China, China can properly accommodate their needs but must comply with China's regulations. (MOE & MOFA, 1980, para. 2, trans. by author)

³³ *Jiaoyubu guanyu 1979 nian zhi 1985 nian jieshou waiguo liuxuesheng guimo he anpai waiguo liuxuesheng yongfang jijian renwu de yijian* [Suggestions for accepting foreign students and arranging construction tasks for foreign students' accommodation from 1979 to 1985]. See Li et al. 2000, pp.831-832.

³⁴ *Jiaoyubu, waijiabu guanyu 1980 nian jieshou waiguo liuxuesheng gongzuo de tongzhi* [Notice on accepting foreign students in 1980]. See Li et al. 2000, pp. 832-833.

³⁵ *Jiaoyubu, waijiabu guanyu 1981 nian jieshou waiguo liuxuesheng gongzuo de tongzhi* [Notice on accepting foreign students in 1981]. See Li et al. 2000, pp. 833-834.

To be specific, for undergraduate studies, foreign students could study arts, science, technology, medicine, and agriculture in China. At this time, China mainly accepted foreign students for continuing education in arts. Foreign applicants must identify the specialization, specific requirement, and the expected length of schooling before they could come to China. The MOE then would make a decision about which university that foreign students could study at. The regulations for accepting foreign students for graduate studies were still under construction. Anything to do with graduate studies had to be reported separately (MOE & MOFA, 1980). The 1981 notice further explained the quota for accepting foreign students, stating that the number of self-financed foreign students that China would accept should be less than that of self-financed Chinese students going to those countries. For students from Third World countries, China continued its supportive policy and would offer scholarships to them besides exchanging students (MOE & MOFA, 1981).

The SEC published a list of HEIs and specializations that were open to foreign students in 1986. Sixty-six universities could accept foreign students. Among them, 14 are universities of arts and science; 4 are normal universities; 6 are universities of fine arts; 22 are universities of technology; 3 are agriculture universities; 16 are medical universities; and 1 is a university of physical education. An improvement of the quality of foreign students that China would accept was expected in early 1990s. As Li et al., (2001) figured out,

China would like to accept in-service staff with degrees above diploma level and fresh graduates to come to China for further studies, doing Master's or Ph.D. studies. Also in order to improve efficiency and shorten the schooling cycle, special courses will be opened for foreign students from the third world countries where English is the language of instruction. (trans. by author, p. 841)

Policies on International Academic Exchange

Beyond making new education policies for self-financed overseas studies, China was

active in facilitating exchanges in education with other countries. Agreements on international communication in education and academic exchange were undertaken between China and other countries. For example, China and the US signed a document called *For Cooperation in Educational Exchanges in 1985* (hereafter *1985 Cooperation*) in Washington for a period of four years, clarifying the guiding principles for bilateral cooperation in educational exchanges, the exchanges of individuals, delegations and study groups, exchange of materials and data, unofficial exchanges, and so forth. To be specific, this document classified exchanges of individuals as research scholars, graduate students, and teachers and lecturers. For example,

Each Party may select and sponsor scholars from its own country to engage in research in the other country. In addition, each Party may select and sponsor scholars from the other country to engage in research in its own country. Scholars may be placed in association with education, research or other institutions relevant to the accomplishment of research objectives or may, with the approval of the host government, engage in independent research. (1985, Article, trans. by

Education Office of Consulate of the People's Republic of China in San Francisco)

Fields of research, study, teaching and lecturing include humanities, social sciences, education, natural sciences, and technological sciences, according to the *1985 Cooperation*. An agreement on the bilateral exchange of delegations and study groups as well as the exchange of material and data was also reached in this document. As it stated, “the Parties agree to the bilateral exchange of delegations and study groups in various educational fields, which may include participation in joint meetings such as conferences and symposia in areas of mutual interest to the Parties” (1985, Article 3, trans. by Education office of consulate of the People's Republic of China in San Francisco).

The Parties agree to encourage and facilitate the exchange of scholarly and other

educational materials and data on education between educational and research institutions, and individuals, of both countries. Materials may include books, periodicals, monographs and audio-visual materials. (1985, Article 4, trans. by Education office of consulate of the People's Republic of China in San Francisco)

Supported by positive policies towards international academic exchange, joint graduate training programs appeared in the 1980s. For instance, the China-US Physics Examination and Application (CUSPEA) program was started in 1979 and was active until the end of 1980s. Created by the Chinese-American physicist Tsung-Dao Lee and the Chinese physics community, the CUSPEA program offered some excellent Chinese students the opportunity to pursue graduate studies at well-known universities in the United States. Other similar programs also emerged, such as CUSBEA for biochemistry and Shiing-Shen Chen project for mathematics. Beyond the significance of promoting culture exchange between China and the US, it is noticeable that these programs produced a large number of talented people especially in natural sciences. Many of the students who participated in these programs and completed their studies abroad later become leading scholars in many scientific fields, significantly contributing to China's state construction.

During this period, China also signed agreements on joint-training programs with other countries, seeing these as a new way of training talented people. For instance, the SEC published the *Notice on the Joint Training Ph.D. Programs with West Germany* in 1986. This notice revealed that, according to the agreement signed by the then premier Li Peng and the president of Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (DAAD), Tsinghua University, Zhejiang University, Rwth Aachen University, Technische Universität Berlin, and Technische Universität München started the pilot run for joint training PhDs for China. The length of schooling should be four years. Students spend the first year in China learning the primary courses, the second two years in Germany for research, and the last year in China for

preparing dissertation and oral defense³⁶ (1986). Later on, the SEC (1987) published *Notice on Training Joint PhD with the European Community*. It notified that China planned to dispatch 20 to 30 doctoral students to the member countries of the European Community for one-year study in 1988. Joint-training programs have been established by China and many other countries thereafter³⁷.

Policy on Attracting and Retaining Talented People

As early as 1983, the State Council made *Decision on Bringing in Foreign Intelligence for the Constructions of Four Modernizations*, in which it initiated a proposal for bringing in foreign talented people for China's construction of modernization. Given that China's domestic situation had improved as "China has realized the political solidarity, China's economic construction has got back on track and the open-up policy has showed significant achievements, which creates good environment for foreign talented people" (State Council, para 5, trans. by author, 1983) after the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CCCCP.

Other than making good use of foreign investment and bringing in foreign advanced technology, bringing in foreign talented people should be on the schedule and taken step by step. In particular, bringing in talented people with Chinese origin abroad will greatly contribute to China's construction of socialist modernization. (State Council, para. 1, 1983, trans. by author)

To be specific, the State Council intended to draw on the experience of other countries in bringing in foreign intelligence for their own state construction and particularly to target foreign experts and scholars of Chinese origin for their potential contributions to China's

³⁶ *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo guojia jiaoyu weiyuanhui yu deyizhi kexue wenhua jiaoliu zhongxin guanyu lianhe peiyang zhongguo boshi yanjiusheng de xieyi* [Notice on the joint training Ph.D. Programs with West Germany]. See Li et al. 2000, pp.448-449.

³⁷ *Guojia jiaowei guanyu yu ouzhou gongtongti hezuo peiyang boshisheng de tongzhi* [Notice on training joint PhD with the European Community]. See Li et al. 2000, pp.569-570.

state construction. As it expounded,

bringing in foreign intelligence as an effective measure to boost the development of a country's science and technology, economy, and society has been widely used by the international society in recent years....Hiring a number of experts with Chinese origin from abroad and inviting them to join our state construction will shorten our time of exploring. Bringing in both talented people and technology will help us digest and absorb foreign advanced science and technology and management experience with a low cost and speed up the state construction. (State Council, 1983, para 4, trans. by author)

The State Council highly evaluated the exchange in science and technology, and economy and trade between China and other countries, and encouraged the international cooperation and communication. Departing from previous policies with a focus on attracting overseas Chinese talented people, it deemed that foreign experts could be hired, serving China's state construction.

China now has a wide connection with the world in terms of exchange in science and technology and economy and trade. The number of foreign experts who came to China in response to our invites for a visit or academic exchanges is increasing gradually each year. This type of international cooperation and communication should be actively promoted these years. In the meantime, the defects of our work in the past should be made up and we should find ways and means to hire some foreign experts and let them join in our construction work either for a short term or a long term. (State Council, 1983, para. 6, trans. by author)

The State Council also identified varied channels of getting in touch with foreign talented people.

Bringing in talented people should make full use of all channels, like through the

official, semi-official, civil, and international organizations and bring all academic groups, science and technology groups, the mass organizations like alumni into full play in contact and solidarity with talented people abroad. Also our scientists, experts, overseas Chinese students, and overseas Chinese visiting scholars can be organized to contact and look for suitable talented people for China and then the related ministries and units can make a job offer inviting them. (State Council, 1983, para. 7, trans. by author)

There is also a description in this document about what kind of talented people that China prefers to bring in, which revealed that China adopted an open and flexible policy in recruiting talented people that it needed. All foreign professionals and experts in certain area which China demands, such as senior and junior experts in science and technology, workers with proficiency in certain skills, in-service experts, retired experts, and experienced workers were welcome to China provided that they are willing to contribute to China's construction of four modernizations. They could work in China either for a short-term or a long-term. Favourable policies were also offered to overseas experts of Chinese origin in that they can settle and live in China with the freedom to come and go. The Chinese government encouraged varied strategies to be employed in bringing in foreign expertise (1983).

In order to attract and retain more well-known foreign experts, the State Council took an open attitude and allowed conferring honorary academic title to foreign experts and having foreign experts as committee members at the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

China can confer honorary academic titles to those foreign experts with prominent achievements for the convenience of the come and go of foreign experts. The Chinese Academy of Sciences should have overseas committee members as soon as possible and all sub-group of the association of Chinese science can also have overseas consultants and members beyond honorary professors and research fellows working

for HEIs and science and research units. (State Council, 1983, para. 9, trans. by author)

The State Council and the SEC (1986) also signified that employment must be properly offered to the returned overseas Chinese in order that they can fully play their role, serving the construction of socialist modernization. It called upon creating good living and working environment for the returned overseas Chinese students and staff.

Ideological and Political Education

During this period, ideological and political education was emphasized in the work on higher education and IHE. Distinctively, the CCP thought patriotism and communist ethics should play a part in ideologically moulding overseas Chinese students so as to have them return to China serving the state construction.

Ideological and political work on students and staff who pursue studies abroad should be strengthened, especially the education in patriotism and communist ethics in order for helping them foster the consciousness of hard pioneering and rejuvenating the Chinese nation, and returning to China and playing a role in state construction.

(CCCCP & State Council, 1986, Article 3, trans. by author)

However, with China's opening-up, western democracy and culture were also known to Chinese civil society. University students who were at the frontier of touching western knowledge and culture were not satisfied with the status quo of China's democracy and human rights. Under such circumstances, two big domestic student protests happened. The student movement which pushed the aspiration for democracy to a climax in 1986 finally led the Central Government to strengthen the ideology education of students. The CCCCCP in 1987 made a *Decision on Improving and Strengthening the Ideological and Political Work of Higher Education Institutions*, in which it clarified that socialism must be the guiding ideology for running higher education. It offered a couple of suggestions to improve the

ideological and political education at HEIs. For example, it required ideological and political education be offered to students frequently, helping students correctly understand the CCP's routes, principles, and policies and stay firmly with the socialist beliefs. It also advised HEIs to review a student's political status and ideological beliefs when recruiting graduate students. Teachers' and staff's ideological and political education were also requested to be strengthened. Specifically, a strong team of people who study Marxism, ideological and political work should be built up in several HEIs (1987). According to the MOE, Deng Xiaoping mentioned the defects of the ideological and political work of the CCP. He remarked that "the development of China in recent 10 years is good. Our biggest mistake lies in education because the ideological and political work on education is weak and education does not get well development" when he talked to Yoweri Museveni, the president of Uganda (1989, as cited in MOE, n.d.d).

Though the CCP strengthened ideological and political education in HEIs, Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 broke out. The movement was finally defined as counter-revolutionary riots by the CCP. The CCP launched a crackdown on the movement regardless of students' patriotism and their concern for China's social problems. It is contested whether it was appropriate to use military force to put down the student movement. This directly resulted in many western countries attacking China's social system and human rights. Many western countries united to impose economic sanctions and an arms embargo on China. This placed China into diplomatic isolation for a while.

Chapter Six: Policy Shifts on IHE in China:

1990-2012

China entered into a period of dramatic economic reforms and rapid economic growth in the 1990s and 2000s. Higher education reform was conducted by the Chinese government to accommodate the new economic system and state construction. Some new features and rationales in China's international engagement of higher education emerged. See attached Table 6-1.

Table 6-1 Key Findings of Document Analysis (1990-2012)

Historical periods	State policy and position on IHE	Rationale for policy-making	Main International activities of higher education	Ideological and political education
1990-1999	Further opening-up; The establishment of CSC	Train senior professionals for state construction	More frequent student mobility; self-funded overseas studies getting popular, deepen international exchange and collaborations with foreign education institutions	Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and Deng Xiaoping Theory became the main content of ideological and political education. Ideological and political education was written in higher education law.
2000-2012	Towards globally engaged higher education	State construction Global competition	Student mobility, academic exchange, research collaboration with foreign institutions, joint-running programs and the establishment of Sino-foreign schools, TCFL, Confucius Institute	Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, and "three representatives" were the main content of ideological and political education. Other than that, patriotism, belief, ethics, and moral education were also highlighted in higher education.

1990-1999: Further International Engagement of Higher Education with New Explorations

IHE in China during this period was actively facilitated by the Chinese government's thrust of opening up to the outside world and higher education was deemed to have a key role in training senior professionals for the development of the state. The national administration on public-funded overseas studies and foreign students' studies in China were optimized as China Scholarship Council (CSC) was established to administer those affairs in 1996. Self-financed overseas studies were also becoming popular in this period. As Confucianism deeply influences China's civil society and attaches high social, cultural, and economic significance to education, people have wanted to invest more in higher education when their economic status improved along with the domestic economic reform. In the meantime, a variety of policies on retaining overseas talented Chinese students were issued given the Government's concerns for "brain drain."

Policies on Chinese Student Mobility Abroad

In the early 1990s, in order to streamline the work of selecting students and staff for public-funded study abroad and completing the review work on applicants' qualifications, the State Education Commission (SEC) organized an expert evaluation group for reviewing applications in 1990. The relevance between applicants' study area and state construction together with the urgent degree of state demand were reviewed by the expert review committee. The establishment of the CSC straightened out the administration of in-bound and out-bound international student mobility. This is also a fulfillment of the decentralization of power in that the central government has been taking a macro control of these affairs instead of direct jurisdiction over them. In the meantime, legal and economic means could be employed in the administration by the CSC. The CSC can bring in foreign and domestic funds through varied channels for training talented people. Articles of the CSC were

promulgated and implemented in 1999, in which the general provisions, mission, organization, operation, and supplementary provisions were regulated. In particular, the objective of the CSC is prescribed as

to provide, in accordance with the law, statutes and relevant principles and policies of China, financial assistance to the Chinese citizens wishing to study abroad and to the foreign citizens wishing to study in China in order to develop the educational, scientific and technological, and cultural exchanges and economic and trade cooperation between China and other countries, to strengthen the friendship and understanding between Chinese people and the people of all other countries, and to promote world peace and the socialist modernization drive in China. (CSC, n.d.)

The CSC is mainly funded by the state, but also accepts donations from other domestic and foreign individuals and organizations. The general provisions specify that the “China Scholarship Council is financed mainly by the state’s special appropriations for scholarship programmes. At the same time the CSC accepts donations from the personages, enterprises, social organizations and other organizations at home and abroad” (CSC, 1999). The missions that the CSC shoulders are described as,

...to use legal and economic means to manage the affairs of the Chinese citizens studying abroad and of the foreigners studying in China, take charge of the management and utilization of China Scholarship, determine the relevant assistance projects and modes, formulate management regulations and put the scholarship to best use; manage the bilateral and multilateral exchange or unilateral scholarships between China and other countries; manage other matters concerning educational exchanges and scientific and technological cooperation on behalf of relevant organizations, institutions and individuals inside and outside China; provide financial support to the projects conducive to the development of China’s education and its friendly relations

with other countries; strive for donations from home and abroad, expand the sources of the Scholarship and increase the Scholarship; establish contacts with its counterparts at home and abroad and carry out exchange and cooperation with them. (CSC, n.d.)

The CSC specifically refines the procedure for dispatching Chinese students and staff abroad by employing the policy of “individual application, evaluation by experts, the selection of best candidates, dispatching after signing a contract, and compensation for breach of contract”. This tightens the connection between the dispatched students and staff and the state given the financial implications.

Policies on Foreign Student Mobility to China

China continued its supportive policies towards accepting foreign students for study in China during this period. *Outline for the Reform and Development of China's Education 1993* (hereafter *Outline1993*) was issued by the CCCCP and the State Council, in which it suggested that the recruitment and administration of foreign students should be improved. After the establishment of the CSC, the administrative work on foreign students was also optimized. According to Jiang, Zhang and Ni, the CSC received a total of 1,887 applications from 123 countries, offered admission and scholarships to 1,794 foreign students for their studies in China between 1997 and 1998, and offered admission and scholarships to 1,871 foreign students between 1998 and 1999³⁸ (1999). The Chinese government has been offering varied scholarships to foreign students, such as the full foreign student scholarship, the full Great Wall Scholarship to the eligible applicants recommended by the UNESCO, the full Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi (Chinese language proficiency test, HSK) Winner Scholarship to winners in the HSK test in support of their study of Chinese language, literature, history,

³⁸ Fulu: Guojia liuxue jijin guanli weiyuanhui de chengli he gongzuo [Appendix: The establishment and work of China Scholarship Council]. (pp. 967-976).

philosophy, economics, and arts in China. The CSC also processes self-financed foreign students' applications. Foreign applicants can submit their applications to the CSC and Chinese universities. In addition, foreign applicants are required to pass HSK and other ability tests such as mathematics, physics, and chemistry tests for pursuing undergraduate studies in China. Specific requirement varies by different majors. Like the application and admission procedure taken at foreign institutions, the CSC reviews applicants' transcripts, certification of highest degrees, letters of recommendation, and other test results. As such, a system of foreign students' study in China has been established.

Policies on International Academic Exchange and Collaboration

Besides facilitating linear out-bound and in-bound student mobility, the Chinese government started to deepen international exchange and collaborations with foreign education institutions. This orientation has been addressed in key national policies on education. The Article 14 of *Outline 1993* reveals that China's education should be further opened up to the world and international communication and cooperation in education should be strengthened. It also encouraged China to freely bring in and borrow the successful experience in developing and administering higher education from all countries (Central Committee & State Council, 1993). The joint training of talented people and scientific research collaboration with foreign HEIs or experts was encouraged. Teaching Chinese as a foreign language (TCFL) was also strengthened (the State Council, 1993). After that, *Action Plan for Vitalizing Education for the Twenty-First Century* (hereafter *1998 Action Plan*) was released by the State Council and the MOE in 1998, which highlights the importance of international academic exchanges. It regulated that, beyond continuing the existing scholarship system to dispatch short-term visiting scholars abroad, the state would select and fund senior visiting scholars who are department chairs or distinguished scholars at research institutes and laboratories for their academic exchange at foreign first-class universities. It

also pointed out that foreign distinguished scholars and professors at world class universities should be invited to take a position of guest professor at domestic universities, teaching and doing research in China for a short term. The MOE decided to facilitate the implementation of the system of national key laboratories and visiting scholars by following western higher education systems in the *1998 Action Plan*. The Chinese government also established special funds for laboratory expenditure.

With the launch of the project of 211 and 985 that focused on establishing a number of world class universities in China, the MOE decided to work on the project of high-quality talented people who were to be carriers of creativity. It also required HEIs to strengthen their scientific research ability and participation in the national innovation and creativity system development in the *1998 Action Plan*. Specifically, it required “HEIs keeping pace with the dynamics of international academic frontiers and becoming the base of knowledge innovation and high-quality and creative talented people” (State Council & MOE, 1998, Article 11, trans. by author). The MOE also encouraged HEIs to hire and bring in many domestic and foreign leading scholars in different academic disciplines and guarantee those leading scholars autonomy in hiring staff and expenditure management. China’s IHEs were expected to train many young but promising world leading scholars. The MOE required HEIs to offer a few professor positions especially for recruiting extraordinary excellent young scholars all over the world and to encourage the local governments and HEIs to establish special awards for them (1998).

Although policies and regulations on Chinese-Foreign cooperation in running schools were drafted during this period, the Chinese government took a conservative attitude. As early as 1993, the State Education Commission issued a *Notice on Issues about Foreign Organizations and Individuals Running Schools with Chinese Stakeholders* in China. While offering temporary guidance for administering Chinese-Foreign cooperation in running

schools in China, it recognized this type of running schools as one way of foreign exchange and international cooperation in education and an important part of implementing the policy of “reform and opening up”. It also specified the definition, the principle, the field, the type, and the operation procedure for such cooperation. Yet it still insisted on a supportive but cautious attitude towards cooperation with foreign organizations and individuals within the frame of law (1993). Thereafter, in order to strengthen the administration in this aspect and facilitate China’s communication and cooperation with foreign countries in education, in 1995, the State Education Commission issued *Temporary Regulations on Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools* (1995 Regulations). Article 3 of *1995 Regulations* restated Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools as one important way for developing China’s international communication and cooperation with foreign countries in education and is a component of China’s educational cause. Still, there are restrictions for Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools. For example, Article 4 regulated that,

Chinese and foreign cooperators in running schools may cooperate to establish educational institutions of various types at various levels with the exceptions of offering compulsory education service or special education services and training.

China encourages Chinese and foreign cooperators to run schools offering vocational education. (State Education Commission, 1995, Article 4, trans. by author)

Policies on Attracting and Retaining Overseas Talented People

Besides improving the administrative work on international student mobility, positive policies were also made in order for attracting and retaining talented people during this period. *The Meeting Minutes of Debating Issues of Studying Abroad by the Politburo Standing Committee of the CCP* were released by Office of the CCCCCP in 1990, in which it implied specific policies should be made for attracting more excellent top talented Chinese people to return to China after their studies abroad. It even required the SEC to make use of

20% of the total budget for the settlement of returned overseas Chinese students and staff, financially supporting their research and solving their accommodation problems (1990). The Section of Overseas Students of the SEC issued the *Notice on Issues of Making Use of Subsidies for the Work of the Returned Overseas Students and Staff* and set up the program of “回国留学人员科研资助费” (subsidies for the scientific research of the returned overseas Chinese students and staff) in 1990 (CHISA; Zhao, Miao, Wei, & Cheng, 2010). According to Zhao, et al. (2010), the SEC first offered a total of 2.651 million RMB to eighty returned overseas students who obtained a doctoral degree abroad in November 1990. This government-funded program was renamed as the Project Sponsored by the Scientific Research Foundation for the Returned Overseas Chinese Scholars, SEC (The Project-sponsored by SRF for ROCS, SEC) in 1997. The government’s financial support to the returned overseas Chinese students did attract a number of talented students with doctoral degrees to come back to China and helped them start their scientific research in China.

Ideological and Political Education

After the Tiananmen Square movement, ideological and political education was further strengthened during this period. In particular, patriotism, Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and Deng Xiaoping Theory were emphasized in China’s HEIs. Ideological and political education was included in the Higher Education Law of the P.R.C.

In 1990, the then president Jiang Zemin gave a speech in memory of the May Fourth Movement on *Patriotism, the Mission of Chinese Intellectuals, and the CCP’s Work on Intellectuals*. His speech drew upon patriotism and highlighted the important role of intellectuals in China’s modern history and socialist construction. This to a certain degree relaxed the tension between the intellectuals and the CCP party after the crackdown on the Tiananmen Square protest. In the *Notice on Passing and forwarding the State Education Commission’s Opinion on Speeding up the Reform and Development of Higher Education*,

the State Council and the SEC (1993) opined that education on Marxist theories and ideological and political education should be further strengthened. “Students should be armed with the theory on establishing the socialism with Chinese characteristics. Education on the CCP’s fundamental principles, patriotism, collectivism, and socialism should be offered to students” (1993). Ideological and political education was further fortified by implementing the Higher Education Law in 1998. The law legitimizes the guiding role of Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and Deng Xiaoping Theory in developing China’s higher education. Other than that, the Chapter 12 of the MOE’s *1998 Action Plan* also urged HEIs to hold the great banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory high and strengthen the CCP’s ideological and political work at HEIs in order to make them important frontiers of the socialist spiritual civilization construction.

2000-2012: Towards Globally Engaged Higher Education

Driven by the demand from state construction and supported by the state policy and increasing national investment in higher education, the degree of international engagement of China’s HEIs significantly deepened during this period. This mainly reflects in the dramatic increase in dispatched public-funded students and staff abroad for study, self-financed students pursuing studies abroad, and foreign students pursuing studies in China, frequent academic exchanges with foreign HEIs, research collaboration with foreign institutions, jointly-run programs and the establishment of Sino-foreign schools. Other than that, the new element that emerged is that China is trying to establish foreign campuses in other countries. TCFL as a cause has been supported by the Chinese government for promoting Chinese language and culture to the outside world.

Policies on Chinese Student Mobility Abroad

The Chinese government continued dispatching public-funded students and staff abroad for further study or visits during this period as the government contemplated making

good use of foreign abundant educational resources to train talented people for China. Beyond paying attention to the number of dispatching students and staff abroad, quality issues and benefits from dispatching students and staff have been highlighted. For example, the MOE and the MOF released “国家建设高水平大学公派研究生项目” (the Chinese Government Graduate Student Overseas Study Program for the State’s Construction of High Level Universities) with the approval of the State Council in 2007. As the CSC articulates, the implementation of this program was driven by

the strategy of revitalizing the state through developing science and education and the strategy of strengthening a country through talented people, the demand for talented people from constructing an innovative country, the construction of high-level universities and expectation for improving HEIs’ ability in serving the construction of an innovative country, enhancing the communication and collaboration between China’s high-level universities and foreign well-known universities, and training top talented people in all walks of life for state construction. (CSC, 2007, para. 1, trans. by author)

In particular, the government officials thought that sorting out top students in China, sending them to the first-class foreign universities, and letting them be trained by distinguished supervisors should be an important way to train top innovative talented people for China (CSC, 2007). According to the CSC (2007), China sent a total of 3,952 students abroad in 2007, most of whom were studying at world well-known universities and research institutes. A plan to send 5,000 graduate students pursuing studies in the field of energy, resources, environment, agriculture, manufacture, information, life science, space, maritime, nano and new material, humanities and applied social sciences abroad was made for 2008.

Beyond that, the administration on overseas public-funded Chinese graduate students was optimized and tightened during this period as the Chinese government expected all

public-funded overseas students to return to China after they finished their studies and to serve the state. The MOE and the MOF (2007) issued *Regulations on Administering Public-Funded Overseas Chinese Graduate Students for Trial Implementation* (hereafter *Regulations 2007*) in order to reinforce the administrative work on dispatching and administering public-funded overseas Chinese graduate students. The *Regulations 2007* include the general principle, five chapters and supplementary principle. Specifically, it clarified the procedure of selecting and dispatching Chinese students for further study abroad, overseas administration of Chinese graduate students and the contact between overseas Chinese graduate students and the motherland, returning to China and serving the motherland, and compensation for breach of contract. It suggested that the selection of students for graduate studies abroad should follow the principle of “individual application, the recommendation from the work unit, the evaluation of experts, and enrol the best by selection”. In order to make all public-funded students come back to China to serve the state, the CSC has taken the administrative method of “signing a contract before study and compensation for breach of contract”. Students to be dispatched abroad must make a deposit for their further studies abroad (MOE & MOF, 2007).

Other than the progress made in public-funded overseas studies, the MOE has taken various measures to encourage self-funded overseas studies. In 2002, the MOE simplified the review process of applications for self-financed overseas studies and cancelled the higher education cultivation fee to be paid by students who wished to study abroad. In the MOE’s *Annual Work Highlights of 2009*, the MOE clearly stated that it would support Chinese citizens’ self-funded overseas studies (2009 a). A Chinese government award for outstanding self-financed students abroad has been established and open to self-financed overseas Chinese students since 2003. A total of 2,907 students have received this award. “国家优秀自费留学生奖学金” (Chinese Government Award for Outstanding Self-financed Students Abroad) program was designed to offer 500 overseas Chinese doctoral students with

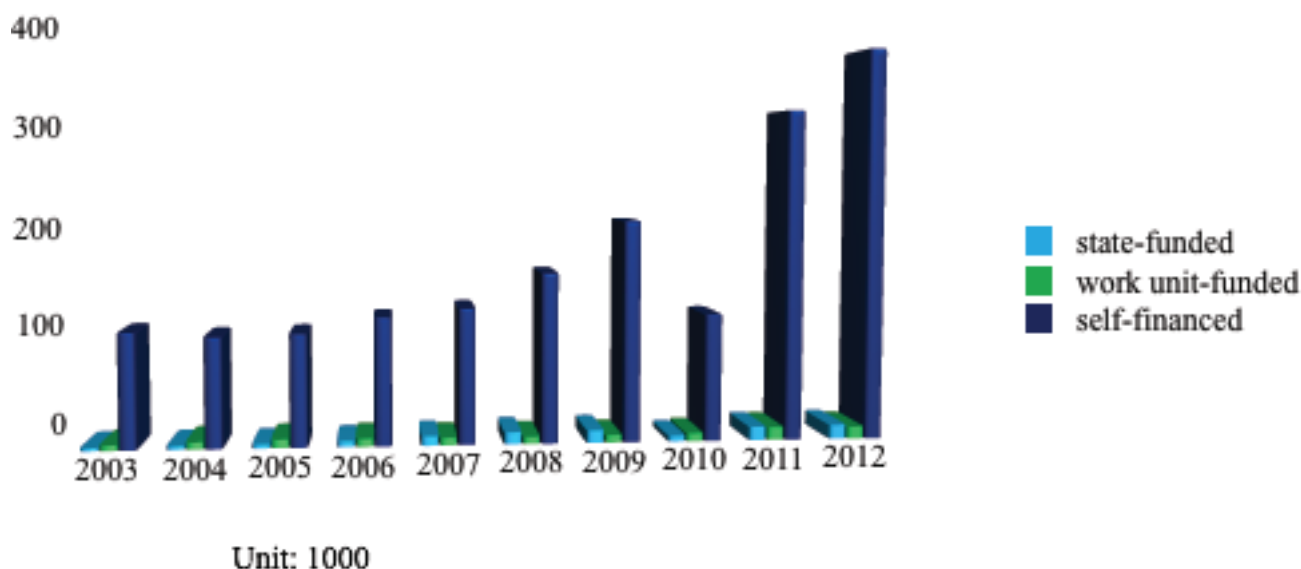
scholarships based on their academic achievements each year in 29 countries that host many students from China, such as the US, the UK, and Canada. Chinese consular offices abroad can also assist in building up a connection between students who have received this award and Chinese domestic work units in case those students would like to work in China after graduation (CSC, 2012). In the same vein, in order to attract self-funded excellent overseas Chinese students to come back to China after they finish their studies abroad, the Chinese Government Graduate Student Overseas Study Program has been open to self-funded overseas Chinese students since 2012. First year doctoral students enrolled in foreign HEIs are eligible to apply to funding from the CSC to support of their costs of living and study. They can enjoy the same financial support as public-funded doctoral students do.

The Chinese government also strengthened the administration work on self-funded overseas studies given that some students had been defrauded by foreign educational agencies and intermediaries. The Foreign Information Guardian Network of Ministry of Education has become the exclusive website to announce all kinds of foreign educational activities, and to provide integrated information about overseas studies, mainly serving self-funded overseas studies.

According to the MOE's yearly statistics, a total of 373,500 self-funded Chinese students went abroad for studies in 2012, showing an increase of 342% compared to 2003. There is a significant yearly increase in the number of dispatched state-funded and work unit-funded students except for 2010. In particular, the number of state-funded students rises quickly from 2007 after the implementation of the Chinese Government Graduate Student Overseas Study Program for the State's Construction of High Level Universities. In 2012, the number of dispatched public-funded students reached to 13, 500 (See Figure 6-1).

Figure 6-1 The Number of Chinese Students Going abroad for Studies (2003-2012)

(Ministry of Education, 2003-2012)



Policies on Foreign Student Mobility to China

With China's unremitting endeavour to construct and improve the quality of China's higher education, HEIs in China have increased their capacity to recruit foreign students. The recruitment of foreign students has also been documented. For instance, *Administrative Regulations of Higher Education Institutions on Accepting Foreign Students* ("Regulations 2000") were issued by the MOE, the MOFA and the MOPC in 2000. The regulations are composed of the guiding principles, chapter of administrative system, chapter of the type, recruitment and admission of foreign students, chapter of the scholarship system, and supplementary provisions. According to the regulations, the MOE should be responsible for the macro coordination and administration of foreign students' study in China, making guidelines and policies and doing educational evaluations for foreign students' study in China. The CSC assigned by the MOE has taken charge of the recruitment and specific

administrative work on foreign students, while HEIs would be responsible for the details of recruitment, and daily life administration of foreign students. HEIs were required to establish an administrative system for foreign students, having specific unit and staff administer foreign students. In terms of educational service offering to foreign students, “HEIs offer both diploma and degree education to foreign students. As for degree education, HEIs offer undergraduate, masters’ and doctoral studies to foreign students. HEIs also accept foreigners for continuing studies and foreign research scholars.” (MOE, MOFA, & MOPC, 2000, Article 10, trans. by author). Several means of financial support are available to foreign students. Besides the Chinese government scholarship, the MOE establishes other special scholarships in support of foreign students’ research and training.

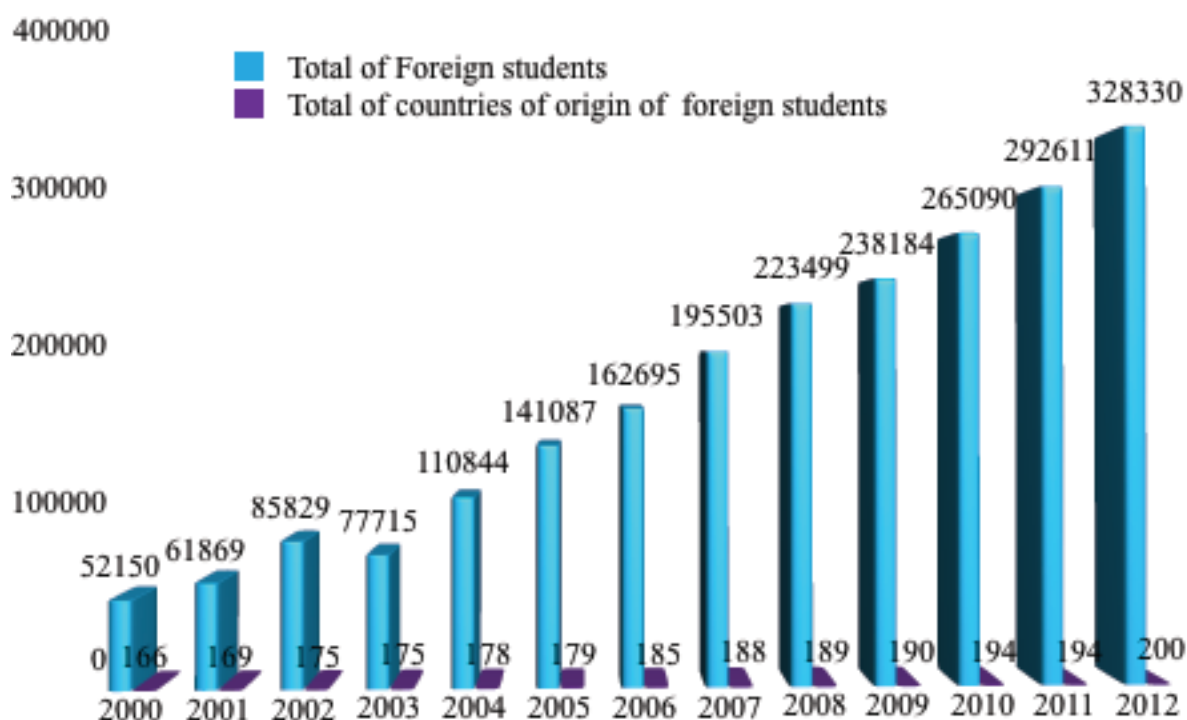
Decentralization of higher education can also be found in the *Regulations 2000* since the local HEIs have certain autonomy in recruiting foreign students, which is different from accepting foreign students assigned by the MOE and the government before. For example, HEIs can make their own decisions on recruiting self-funded foreign students and accept exchange students, but cannot open new specialization without the MOE’s review.

Regulations 2000 states that, “HEIs should make and publish regulations on recruiting foreign students. The quota for recruiting foreign students is not constrained by the planned national recruitment quota” (2000, Article 11 & 12, trans. by author). “Foreign students can only be admitted to study in those specializations opening up to foreign students. New specializations for foreign students must be reviewed by the MOE before recruiting students” (2000, Article 14, trans. by author). “HEIs are authorized to offer admission to foreign students. Beyond the planned national intake of foreign students, HEIs can accept exchange students and self-funded foreign students” (2000, Article 17, trans. by author). Curriculum requirement was also stated in the *Regulations 2000*. For example, “Chinese as the basic language of instruction should be used in class. Political theories must be taken by foreign

students in the area of philosophy, political science, economics, and so forth” (2000, Article 16). Visa application process and the type of visa application were detailed in the document.

The work on foreign students has been emphasized by the MOE during this period. For example, in the *Annual Work Highlight of 2003*, the MOE proposed to work to “actively facilitate administrative work on foreign students in China, reform and improve the system of teaching and learning, and system of daily life management for foreign students” (2003). According to MOE statistics, a total of 328,330 foreign students from 200 countries and regions came to China for studies in 2012, over six times than in 2003 (2012) (see Figure 6-2).

Figure 6-2 Statistics on Foreign Students in China (2000-2012) (MOE, 2000-2012)



Policies on International Exchange and Collaboration

International exchange and cooperation of China’s HEIs are deepened step by step by following the Chinese government policy and positions on this matter. For instance, the MOE has been working on the mutual recognition of credentials between China and foreign

countries and establishing a steady negotiation system with foreign countries. At the policy level, the Chinese government intended to strengthen cooperation with international organizations, such as the UNESCO, the WTO and other multi-lateral organizations. The Chinese government considered that joining in the WTO would create more opportunities for China's HEIs to engage in international academic exchange and cooperation, so that China's HEIs must make good use of these opportunities. In 2003's MOE annual work highlights, furthering international cooperation in education in a broader field and at a higher level was put on schedule. A Sino-foreign joint model of cooperation between China's HEIs and foreign HEIs and a Sino-foreign joint model of collaborations in certain fields were also proposed, to be facilitated by the MOE. The MOE suggested China's HEIs to develop close communication and cooperation with HEIs in Hongkong, Macao and Taiwan. In the *Annual Work Highlights of 2004*, the MOE pointed out that joint-training graduate student programs should be continued in order to train high-end talented people for state construction. China also started to hold international conferences or symposia in China, such as the second China-foreign university president symposium (2004a). After that, China held the UNESCO Fifth High Level Group Meeting on Education for All in Beijing in 2005. In 2007, the MOE expressed that China should work on the platform construction in order to enhance China's influences on the international education platform. It insisted that China's international cooperation and communication in education with foreign countries should be further developed. Specifically, it encouraged China's HEIs to create high-level scientific research collaborations with foreign countries and supported eligible HEIs to participate in global and regional science and technology collaborative programs, to establish joint labs and research and development institutes with foreign science and research organizations, for training high-level creative talented people for China (2007). The MOE stated that the government's education department should further its international communication and cooperation with

foreign education departments as well as develop a comprehensive and multi-layer educational cooperation with international organizations such as UNESCO in the *Annual Work Highlights of 2008* (2008). It encouraged eligible HEIs to develop high-level scientific research collaborations with foreign counterparts and cultivate high-level talented people through joint-training programs. It also fostered China's HEIs to participate in the 7th Framework Programme of the European Union. The MOE decided to improve the negotiation system (dialogue/communication) with foreign government, the UNESCO, the EU international organizations. It also worked on building up a regional education communication and cooperation platform for facilitating international communication and cooperation (2009a). Further, in order to develop the bilateral and multilateral communication and cooperation in education, the Chinese government worked on advancing dialogue between Russia and China, between US and China, UK-China, Europe-China in the humanities and the communication platforms of Association of Southeast Asian Nations-China, Northeast Asia-China, Arab-China, Africa-China, the UNESCO-China, and Shanghai Cooperation Organization-China. For instance, the MOE is facilitating "three ten thousand program"³⁹ on China's side and the plan for 100,000 American students studying in China on the US side. According to the statistics, the MOE confirmed that a total of 6,535 people participated in the program of the US-China exchange in humanities by 2012. The CSC has dispatched a total of 6,807 students to the US for pursuing doctoral studies or through joint-training doctoral programs under "the state-funded program of dispatching 10,000 Chinese students to the US for doctoral studies. Hanban had invited 9,601 Americans to take continuing studies in the language of Chinese in China by 2012.

³⁹ According to Chinese Embassy in the US, China offers ten thousand American college students scholarships for their study in China; The program of Chinese Bridge supports ten thousand American people to study Chinese in China; China dispatches ten thousand government-sponsored students to the US in pursuit of doctoral degrees (<http://www.china-embassy.org/chn/zmgx/gxjk2/>).

According to the MOE, by the end of 2012, China had established educational communication and collaborative relationships with over 200 countries and regions all over the world and more than 40 international organizations like UNESCO (Chen, Wang & Yan, 2014, p. 319). In order to facilitate the opening up of education and bring in more excellent foreign educational resources, the Chinese government allows and encourages the model of Sino-foreign universities. The University of Nottingham Ningbo, the first Sino-foreign university in China was established in 2004. It is run by the University of Nottingham in the UK and the Zhejiang Wanli Education Group. After this pilot run, a megamerger model of joint running schools and programs was proposed by the Chinese government. The Chinese government encouraged top and elite universities in China to establish and run schools in cooperation with prestigious foreign HEIs. Under such circumstances, Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University was established in Suzhou, China in 2006, run by Xi'an Jiaotong University and Liverpool University in the UK; New York University Shanghai was established in 2011, run by New York University and East China Normal University, and Duke Kunshan University was established in Kunshan in 2012, run by Duke University in the United States and Wuhan University. China's Xiamen University started to establish a campus in Malaysia in 2012. This is the first Chinese university in Malaysia.

Policies on Curriculum Design and Development

The MOE also called upon curriculum design to make adjustments to adapt to the new social environment during this period. The MOE launched another *Project of Reforming Teaching in Higher Education in the New Century* in 2000, which is an extension of "1994 Reform". For example, one of its aim is to facilitate comprehensive research on the training model of higher education, the content of teaching, curriculum design, pedagogy, and etc. (MOE, 2001b). The MOE issued *Suggestions on Improving the Quality of Teaching and Learning for Undergraduate Studies* in 2001. In its *Annual Work Highlights of 2002*, the

MOE encouraged China's HEIs to compile, use and bring in high quality foreign textbooks which reflect the development frontier of a discipline. The MOE also emphasized practice and cultural and quality education in college education. In addition, the MOE strengthened the supervision on textbooks in order to guarantee the quality of textbooks used in HEIs. It offered the contents of regular higher education national planning materials from which HEIs could make a selection.

Along with China joining the WTO, the MOE encouraged China's HEIs to develop the urgently demanded specializations by the state, such as information technology, biotechnology, and economics, law, and accounting for adapting to the new situation such as China's WTO accession. New high-tech specializations should be given priority when recruiting graduate students. The MOE also required the improvement of the quality of professional degree education (MOE, 2002).

Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language and Confucius Institutes

Reviewing the policy documents related to China's higher education and IHE, TCFL as a specialization has emerged at the beginning of the 21st Century and now has been developed and supported as a cause by the Chinese government. Promoting TCFL and establishing Confucius Institutes all over the world are expected to enhance China's international influence and mutual understanding by introducing Chinese language and culture in international communication to the world.

Alongside China's economic development and wider international exchange and communication, there is an increasing demand from people in other countries for learning Chinese. In order to introduce Chinese language to the world and improve the international influence of Chinese language and culture, China started to borrow the UK, France, Germany, and Spain's experience in promoting their native language in 2004 and established non-profit Confucius Institutes with the purpose of teaching

Chinese and promulgating Chinese culture abroad. (Hanban, 2010, para. 1, trans. by author)

Driven by this motivation, the MOE has been working on the policy, regulations, and methods for promoting Chinese language and culture. Early in 2003, the MOE announced that “it would speed up the construction of the base for TCFL and work on the pilot run by establishing a centre of TCFL in foreign countries. It would facilitate China-US internet language education co-operation” (MOE, Article 19, trans. by author, 2003).

The MOE (2004b) issued *Measures for the Accreditation of Teachers for their Ability to Teach Chinese as a Foreign Language*. For the sake of promoting TCFL and improving the quality of teaching Chinese as a foreign language, the MOE started to check teachers’ ability to teach Chinese as a foreign language and accredit teachers with primary, junior, and senior ability certificates in line with their qualifications. In order to make Chinese well-known to the world, the MOE (2006) called upon Chinese and international civil society and states. The MOE (2007) decided to send more teachers and volunteers abroad to teach Chinese as a foreign language. The MOE made a decision about speeding up the construction of Confucius Institutes and expanding the scale of training teachers of TCFL and administrators for Confucius Institutes so as to promote learning Chinese language abroad. It made a point of dispatching more teachers and volunteers to teach Chinese language abroad, developing textbooks for Chinese language, and multi-media textbooks for overseas learners. It promoted Chinese language to be included in foreign formal school education systems. The MOE (2008) worked on promoting Chinese language via Confucius Institutes. Beyond keeping working on the construction and layout of Confucius Institutes and administration, the MOE paid more attention to teachers, textbooks, and administration for teaching Chinese as a foreign language. It aimed to improve the quality of TCFL and promote Chinese language in foreign HEIs, high schools and primary schools. The MOE also sought to make

good use of the opportunity of China's holding Olympics in Peking to push learning Chinese to a new climax in 2008. The MOE made a promotion plan for Chinese language between 2008 and 2012. According to the *Annual Work Highlights of 2009*, the MOE (2009) issued *Mid-Long Term Plan for Promoting Chinese Language Abroad* and formulated an overall plan for the global layout of Confucius Institutes. It aimed to improve the quality of teaching Chinese as a foreign language, encouraged innovation in teaching Chinese as a foreign language, and facilitated an equal collaboration with foreign countries. By the end of 2014, a total of 370 Confucius Institutes and classrooms had been opened in 39 countries (Hanban, 2014). China's official position towards Confucius Institutes lies in that "they have become a platform for cultural exchanges between China and the world as well as a bridge reinforcing friendship and cooperation between China and the rest of the world and are much welcomed across the globe" (Hanban, n.d.).

Policy on Retaining and Attracting Overseas Talented People

The supportive policy towards retaining and attracting talented people was further fortified and implemented during this time period. In its *Annual Work Highlights* from 2000 to 2012, the MOE repeatedly underlined the importance and significance of attracting overseas high-end talented people. China aims to own a number of leading scholars at the frontier of scientific research either through domestic training or recruiting overseas distinguished professors or scholars. For example, the MOE indicated that, by continuing facilitating the implementation of

"Changjiang Scholar plan" and financial supporting plan for key academic staff members in HEIs, national lab and open national lab visiting scholar system, awarding excellent young academic staff members at HEIs for their research and teaching, sorting out excellent doctoral dissertation, and expand the intake of post-doc numbers, the MOE aims to train, attract, and retain a number of excellent talented

people. (MOE, 2000, Article 6, trans. by author)

Then in the following years, the MOE reiterated further opening up education in its annual work highlights. In 2001, it articulated that China should take multiple measures to attract and hire overseas high-end talented people and encourage overseas students and staff to serve the motherland in a proper way (MOE, 2001c). In 2002's work highlights, the MOE pinpointed that,

China should make good use of the opportunity of joining in the WTO, further expanding international communication and cooperation in education. Taking more flexible measures to attract excellent overseas talented people to come back and work in China and start up their own business or serve the state via different channels.

(MOE, 2002, Article 23, trans. by author)

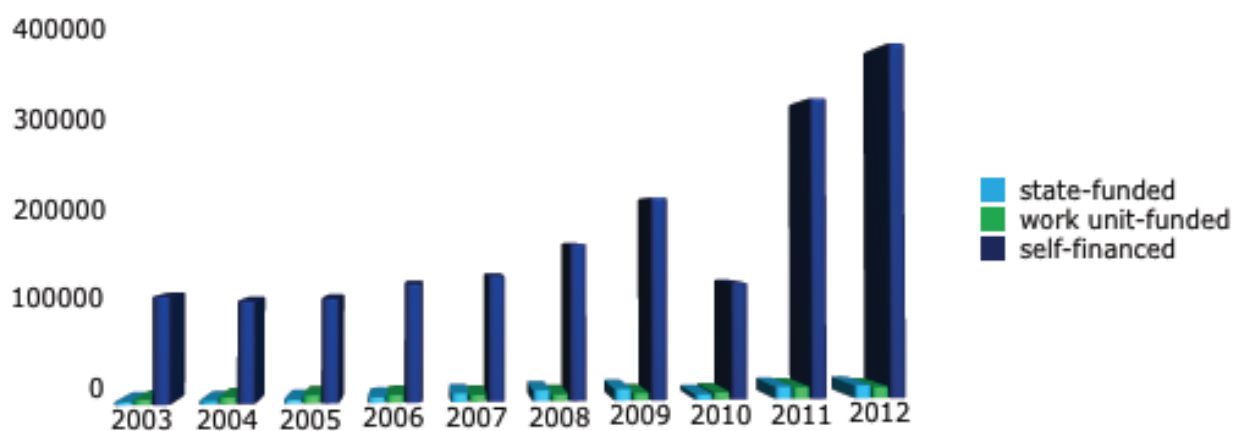
The MOE decided to completely facilitate revitalization of HEIs through talented people and implement the *Plan for High-Level Creative Talented People* in 2006. It proposed dispatching more key faculty members abroad for continuing education and attracting more excellent overseas students to come back to China (MOE, 2006). Besides the MOE, other ministries like the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security of China also launched a plan for supporting the selected returned overseas Chinese students and staff at the beginning stage of establishing their own business from 2006 in order to encourage overseas Chinese students and staff to come back to China. Thereafter, the work on recruiting talented people for China's development was upgraded and received higher attention at the national level. The Office of the CCCCPC in 2008 forwarded *Suggestions on the Implementation of the Plan for Bringing in High-Level Talented People Abroad* from the Coordinating Group for Talented People of the CCCCPC to all government units, in which recruiting high-level talented people has been recognized as an important and urgent strategy for state construction and the plan for recruiting high-level talented people can be carried out through a stratified

implementation by the central government, ministries, and local governments. For example, the plan for recruiting overseas high-level talented people issued by the central government (also known as the thousand talents plan) focuses on the goal of state development, aiming for bringing in leading strategic scientific groups and talented people in science and technology, who can make breakthroughs in core technology, develop high-tech industry, and emerging academic disciplines. Specifically, the central government plans to recruit a number of high-level overseas talented people in five to ten years for the national key innovation programs, key disciplines and key laboratories, state-owned key enterprises and state-owned commerce and financial institutions, and all kinds of high-tech zones from 2008. Besides working on recruiting talented people meeting the urgent demand for state construction and development, a long-run consideration for retaining talented people for future state construction and development can also be found from Chinese government policy. The Coordinating Group for Talented People of the CCCCPC passed the *Detailed Regulations on Bringing in Young Overseas Talented People* in 2010. A new plan for recruiting 400 overseas young talented people under the age of 40 every year from 2011 to 2015 was initiated. The recruitment mainly focused on talented people in natural science and engineering and technology with a doctoral degree from a distinguished foreign university and three years and above overseas working experience. The rationale for launching this plan was mainly for China's continuing development in science and technology in the next ten to twenty years. Beyond that, other programs of recruiting talented people such as "Changjiang Scholar plan" of the MOE, "Hundred Talents Program" of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and "the National Science Fund for Distinguished Young Scholars" have been consistently implemented. Special plans for recruiting overseas high-level talented people for certain skills could also be made upon the request of development.

According to the statistics, 4,180 high-level overseas talented people were recruited

under the central government’s “thousand talents plan” by the end of May 2014. These people are playing an active role in science and technology innovation, breakthrough in technology, academic discipline construction, training talented people, and high-tech industry development (“1000 plan,” n.d.). By and large, the Chinese government in these twelve years issued much more flexible and supportive policies towards retaining and attracting talented people than ever before in order to speed up and strengthen state construction and improve China’s comprehensive national power and international competitiveness. According to the MOE, in 2012, 13,500 state-funded overseas Chinese students returned to China in 2012, 11,600 work unit-funded overseas Chinese students returned to China, and 373,500 self-financed overseas Chinese students returned to China (See Figure 6-3).

Figure 6-3 The Number of Returned Overseas Chinese Students (2003-2012)
(MOE, 2003-2012)



Ideological and Political Education

When the Chinese government propelled the reform of higher education system and urged China’s HEIs to catch up with western well-known universities, ideological and political education on college students has never been stopped but been further fortified in this decade. For example, the State Council and the Central Committee issued *Suggestions on Further Fortifying and Improving the Ideological and Political Education of College Students* in 2004. In this document, the government stressed that strengthening college

students' ideological and political education must be guided by Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, and "three representatives." Ideal and belief education, patriotism, and ethics and moral construction should be outlined in higher education in order to mould the socialist cause builders and successors in the interest of nation building. Then in the *Annual Work Highlights of 2006*, the MOE proposed to completely implement the new curriculum design for ideological and political theory in HEIs. Besides compiling textbooks on ideological and political education, it requires HEIs to work on training teachers of ideological and political education and reforming ideological and political theory class for graduate students. Meanwhile, the MOE requires HEIs to develop CCP members among college students and strengthen the construction of CCP branches in HEIs. The MOE also suggested strengthening the education of policy and national situation in HEIs. Assistants for political and ideological work in HEIs were also be trained.

After a review of policy shifts towards IHE in different historical periods, I demonstrate my critical reflections on IHE policy-making and the study of IHE practice after I present key findings from the study of IHE at the University of Plains in Chapters seven and eight.

Chapter Seven: A Case Study in China: University Administrators and Faculty

Members' Views on IHE at the University of the Plains

Following my review of China's official policy documents on IHE in different periods since the establishment of the People's Republic of China (P.R.C), I turn now to the case study I undertook at a Chinese university in response to the call for a dialogue between policy and practice, between the global, the national, and the local. It explored university administrators' and faculty members' perspectives on the current wave of IHE at the University of the Plains and its School of Foreign Studies.

Qualitative research methods as indicated in the preceding chapter were used in this case study and data were collected from seven individual in-depth/key informant interviews. These data reflect participants' personal experience with IHE and their observations of IHE, from which emergent themes are identified and discussed. Research findings are presented in two chapters. In this chapter, university administrators and faculty members' views on IHE at the University of the Plains are explored and the main themes are listed in Table 7-1. In the following chapter, the views of university administrators and faculty members on IHE at the School of Foreign Studies are investigated.

Table 7-1 Initial/Final Coding of University Administrators and Faculty

Members' Views on IHE at the University of the Plains

Final Coding Framework/Themes	Initial Coding Framework
Contrasts and contradictions (General views on IHE)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Views on IHE• No consensus on IHE• IHE specifically related to specific needs instead of abstract ideas• Clear view on IHE• Uncertainty about IHE as a requirement• Neutral perspective on IHE• Rationale behind IHE

Implementation of state policy on IHE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governance and administration on IHE • Strategies for IHE • Academic staff mobility • Student mobility • Academic relationships • Joint-training programs • TEFL
Social, cultural, financial, and technological challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Application of theories and model in higher education, • Cultural, political, and ideological conflicts (academic freedom, dilemma in TEFL), • Shortage of funding and investment, • Gaps between policy-making and practice, • Defective administration
Issues in higher education in China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality control • Uneven development of academic disciplines • In/appropriate Choice of higher education model

General Views on IHE

Although IHE has been conceptualized by many scholars in the west, scholars and educators in China have their own understanding of IHE from a Chinese perspective. P6 opined that, “IHE is a hot topic but there will not be a consensus on it” (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author). Some participants argued that IHE should not only be an abstract idea, but specific needs be addressed. P3 stated that from his point of view, two macro aspects of IHE were the internationalization of resources and the internationalization of experience. He specified that,

My view on IHE is kind of clear and there should be two things at the macro level. One is the internationalization of resources. For instance, we wish we could hire professors who have high academic attainments of English but not just instructors teaching general oral English and listening classes. As a matter of fact, many years ago, a lot of universities like us had done this, but the people we brought in did not

have a high level of academic achievements. This apparently is not a good internationalization of resources. We should hire at least associate professors or people with a PhD degree who can teach our core courses. In the same vein, professors and people with a PhD degree can also teach abroad. That way, the international sharing of resources can be realized. The other aspect is the internationalization of experience. This is mainly through holding international conferences, inviting people to discuss and explore something together. This is very important. If the international sharing of resources and experience can be fulfilled in a real sense, I do not think IHE is an abstract concept but means many specific things that we can work on. (P3, interview, July 9, 2012, trans. by author)

Some, like P4, who is still not sure whether there should be IHE in China's universities, highlighted the importance of maintaining their "own knowledge" and addressed equity issue in IHE, "If IHE is a must and two-way, then it means we accept something from abroad but our local things should not be underestimated. IHE must be facilitated based on equality, otherwise it will be against" (interview, June 29, 2012, trans. by author).

Instead of considering IHE as a requirement, P7 thought it depends on the specific situation. He talked of many influences that globalization is bringing to the world, like the movement of people, the exchange of ideas and goods, the diminishing borders, and the expansion of using English. He considered that IHE came with globalization.

If we see the world-wide trend, I suppose with the movement of people, the exchange of ideas and goods globalization in a very, very broad sense, we've seen that happen. We've seen borders diminish particularly in the IT world. So as this happens, as we see the expansion of using English as a lingua-franca. We have to say the IHE just goes with globalization. Here we go. And this country wants to shut down their borders for trying to find what they want to. There are probably more benefits than

negatives in globalization. That is my personal view. There is going to be an issue. You know? With overpopulation, the planet really worries me. Things are like that. (interview, July 9, 2012)

Some participants talked of the rationale for IHE. Driven by the demand from China's further opening-up, state development and state construction, the university makes its effort to promote IHE. As P1 argued,

The biggest reason that China is doing IHE, I think, comes from China's further opening-up and development of economy and technology. The ultimate goal of education is to enhance the comprehensive national power and the quality of human resources. Education plays a fundamental role in the whole state construction. (interview, June 25, 2012, trans. by author)

Implementation of State Policy on IHE at the University of the Plains

Governance and Administration on IHE

The previous chapter shows that most of the national key universities are directly administered by the MOE and financed by the MOE or other ministries and the local governments in China. The key administrators of a university, such as the president and the secretary of the party committee of a national key university are mainly appointed by the CCCCPC and the State Council or the MOE. Within the governance structure of the president responsibility system under the leadership of Party committee, key state policies are usually well facilitated and implemented by the national key universities, Project 211 and Project 985 universities as these universities are directly administered by the MOE or other ministries or provincial governments or Chinese Academy of Science, or under a joint supervision of provincial governments and ministries. As a national key university administered by the MOE, the president and secretary of the party committee of the University of the Plains are appointed by the MOE. Being a member of the project of 211 and the project of 985

Innovation Platform for Superior Discipline, the university is currently financed by the MOE, the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology, and the local government.

At the University of the Plains, International Affairs Department (IAD), International Education College, Hongkong, Macao and Taiwan Affairs Office are in charge of foreign affairs of the university. The IAD closely supervises all foreign affairs of the university. Individuals or work units are not allowed to send an invitation to foreign individuals and delegates without the IAD's permission. A strict review process is conducted in facilitating foreign affairs and activities. For example, the school and other work units are not allowed to hold international conferences without going through the State Council and the provincial and ministerial review processes. The host must submit their plan for holding an international conference to the IAD before the end of September and one year earlier than the expected date of the conference. Then the IAD will forward the plan to the MOE for the first time review. If passed, the host needs to submit a written request to the IAD four months before the opening of an international conference. After the university offers a signature, the IAD will submit the request to the Division of International Exchange and Cooperation of the MOE. The host can only start preparatory work for an international conference with the MOE's approval. International higher education activities are encouraged, but supervision and administration of foreign affairs are strict and vigilant.

IHE is facilitated by following China's recent *Twelfth Five-Year Plan for the National Economic and Social Development (2011-2015)* (hereafter, the *Twelfth Five-Year Plan*) at the University of the Plains.

In fact, our university will be busy with IHE in the period of China's *Twelfth Five-Year Plan*. We will be working on two tasks. One is for our teachers. We think we should hire three kinds of foreign teachers: those who have overseas credentials, or have rich research experiences, or have rich field working experiences like in a

factory or a corporation.... (P2, interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

P2 further reckoned that,

during the period of the *Twelfth Five-Year Plan* we have funding and several programs on our list. We will report this to our president with details in our plan. The university is expected to invest ten million Chinese Yuan in facilitating its international cooperation and communication with foreign schools. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author).

With an increasing national investment in higher education, the financial situation of the University of the Plains has also improved. One participant talked about the national financial support for IHE at the University of the Plains and he illustrated that,

The office of international affairs has received much more funding than before from the government. Besides, the office of international affairs has obtained the qualification so that they can recruit foreign students directly. The conditions for doing IHE in our university is improving, after all our university is a member of the project of 211, a national key university, and a “985 platform” university. (P3, interview, July 9, 2012, trans. by author)

Strategies for IHE

It should be noted that once a new state policy comes out and a national call for IHE occurs, the university implements it within its own setting. P3 had just attended a meeting where university administrators and department chairs met to deliberate on foreign affairs of the University of the Plains. He shared this information with me,

The university is going to make some big progress in IHE. Just a few days ago, the university held a large meeting called the meeting for the university’s foreign affairs. It specified issues surrounding IHE in this university and proposed a couple of strategies which centre on two things: One is “Go-out” strategy and the other is

“Bring-in” strategy. (P3, interview, July 9, 2012, trans. by author)

In terms of the “Go-out” strategy, P3 conveyed that it would be mainly applied through sending academic staff and students abroad either for teaching or study and running international cooperative programs or the so-called exchange programs. He mentioned that,

The “Go-out” strategy refers to when we send our scholars abroad to let them teach or study further, and we run Sino-foreign cooperative programs with foreign HEIs. For example, for undergraduate students, there are, 1+2+1, 1+3 or x+y programs. For graduate students, there are also programs like 1+2+1. (P3, interview, July 9, 2012, trans. by author)

By following the China’s recent *Twelfth Five-Year Plan*, the university currently focuses on academic staff and student mobility as well as academic exchanges with foreign schools.

Academic Staff Mobility

The university has been working on the improvement of teacher education for the in-service teaching staff. It offers much more funding opportunities to in-service teachers than before. P2 further indicated that,

As a matter of fact, the university reserves a certain amount of funding for the in-service teachers and encourages them to go abroad. For example, if teachers in the School of Foreign Studies never go abroad, how can they teach English? As we have been improving funding conditions in recent years, many teachers have got an opportunity to go abroad visiting foreign schools for one to three months. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Beyond dispatching academic staff abroad for a visit or studies, the university was trying to improve their work on attracting foreign scholars. Previously there was not a unified recruitment requirement for hiring foreigners as university teachers. However, certain criteria

for hiring foreign teachers were posted in recent years. This reveals that a demand for high-end academic staff has emerged at a non-elite university which has taken the quality of higher education into account. P2 revealed that,

In fact, our university will be busy with IHE in the period of China's *12th Five-Year Plan*. We will be working on two tasks. One is for our teachers. We think we should hire three kinds of foreign teachers: those who have overseas credentials, or have rich research experiences, or have rich field working experiences like in a factory or a corporation.... (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Student Mobility

Somewhat differently from the previously dominant one-way mobility of dispatching academic staff and students to foreign schools, the University of the Plains responds to the state's "Bring-in" policy and works on foreign students' recruitment. With the financial support both from the government and the university, the university attempts to recruit foreign students. The university is taking both the students' demand and its own situation into account in order to facilitate IHE. Particularly, they plan to use the existing teaching resources to start a new program in economics to recruit foreign students who are interested in China's business regulations and rules, provided that the university has received funding from the government to do something international.

[...] we are now planning a program given that China's prosperous international business and booming economy might be attractive to some foreign students who want to know China's business rules and regulations and learn economics in China. We have a program of economics and international trade. We plan to offer another program of economics while using English textbooks and English as the language of instruction. Teachers in the Department of Economics are younger and they might have a higher proficiency in using English as the language of instruction. We can also

hire teachers who are able to teach such courses and then foreign students can come and study. (P2, interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

According to the University of the Plains, foreign students from 33 countries were studying there.

Academic Relationships with Foreign Schools and Joint-Training Programs

The University of the Plains has established academic relationships with over 30 foreign schools in the past few years. Some academic relationships were built up with the help of alumni. P2 revealed that,

We have many exchange programs with foreign schools for both teachers and students. We also have R & D collaborations with foreign schools. For example, the School of Mechanical and Automotive Engineering is doing research collaborations with foreign schools. We have established a partnership with dozens of universities in the UK, the US, Germany, etc. I am not able to name all of them. For instance, our former president has always been doing research collaboration with the University of Stuttgart in Germany and each year we sent people there. Like professor *** obtained his doctoral degree in Germany. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Joint training programs are offered by the International Education Institute of the University of the Plains. Specifically, the 1+3 international foundation program has been offering China's high school graduates one-year study of international foundation curricula in English since 2008. As long as they meet the requirement and obtain admission from the foreign universities that the University of the Plains collaborates with, they can continue their undergraduate studies at the collaborative foreign university. Later, in order to bring in foreign excellent education resources and train skilled people meeting the urgent demand from the state, and foster education collaboration and communication between China and the UK, the University started to offer the 3+2 program in 2011. Students should complete the

first three year undergraduate studies at the University of the Plains, including the first year's foundation curriculum study, the second and third year's core courses study. After they obtain the diploma of the UK higher education, they can continue their fourth year undergraduate studies at a collaborative university in the UK and then continue their master's studies at a university in the UK if they meet the admission criteria.

In addition, within the frame of the Program of Sino-American Cooperation on Higher Education and Professional Development (also called the 1+2+1 program), the University of the Plains has signed cooperation agreements with over ten HEIs in the United States for undergraduate and master's studies in 2011. In particular, the University of the Plains selects excellent first-year undergraduate students and sends them to study at HEIs in the US for their second and third years. Students then come back to the University of the Plains to complete the fourth year. Graduates will be awarded a degree and graduation certificates by both the University of the Plains and the US HEIs. The University of the Plains selects excellent first-year master's students and sends them to study at HEIs in the US for two to three terms. After that, students come back to the University of the Plains, completing their master's thesis. Student can be awarded a master's degree and graduation certificates by both the University of the Plains and the HEIs in the US if they complete their studies within three years. The University of the Plains has been sending four groups of students to Northern Arizona University, Troy University, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, George Mason University, and so forth since 2008. Beyond that, the University of the Plains participates in Summer Work & Travel USA Program and the program of Sociological Research in American, sponsored by the US government, which offers its students an opportunity to explore and experience a different culture and society in the US.

The University of the Plains also cooperates with HEIs in Asia. For instance, it signed an agreement on exchanging students with a few HEIs in Taiwan. Hence, it can dispatch a

certain amount of students to Taiwan, studying in those HEIs in Taiwan for one term (2009, the University of the Plains). The University of the Plains has also been cooperating with Chungnam National University in South Korea, run a Korean Language and Culture College at the University of the Plains and has offered an opportunity for Chinese students to study further in Chungnam National University.

Given that the university has received funding for facilitating international cooperation and communication, P2 further reckoned that,

During the period of the *Twelfth Five-Year Plan* we have funding and several programs on our list. We will report this to our president with details in our plan. The university is expected to invest ten millions of Chinese Yuan in facilitating its international cooperation and communication with foreign schools. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author).

Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) in the University

TEFL is not new at the University of the Plains. The School of Foreign Studies, formerly known as the Department of English, was established in 1985. It has been offering English language studies not only to students majoring in English but also to students of other subjects. It also provides English training to staff members and people from other academic institutes. In this regard, P5 recalled the history of English teaching and spoke of the dynamic missions of TEFL at the University of the Plains in the 1980s and 1990s.

Going abroad was quite hot in the 1980s and 1990s. Meanwhile there were some domestic exams for professional competence tests. The Department of English in each university took over the task of English training for people who needed to take those tests. People from other departments than the department of English, and people from other universities administered by the same ministry also came here for English training. The main purpose of English training is to help them prepare TOEFL or pass

domestic professional competence test of English. Some people did come here for English training with the purpose of going abroad. While now these trainings are offered by social actors, which are exam-oriented. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

P4 has been in charge of English teaching and learning work for non-English majors at the University of the Plains for years. He identified that *College English Curriculum Requirements* which was issued by the Office of the MOE in 2007 indicates significant changes to the objectives of English teaching and learning and a response to internationalization.

There was a unified nationwide guideline for English teaching and learning. From 1979 to 2004 or 2005, it had been oriented to strengthen student's reading ability, to cultivate students' ability in reading literature and documents in English. However, it [*College English Curriculum Requirements*] now emphasizes the training of students' overall English language ability and prioritizes listening, speaking, followed by reading and writing. Of course, it was just proposed in 2007. It is debatable. If you search the website, there are basic requirements concerning college English teaching and learning. It has a clear teaching objective which is to improve students' overall English ability in applying English, including language knowledge, cross-cultural communication knowledge and adaptability in internationalization. (P4, interview, June 29, 2012, trans. by author)

Alongside the current wave of globalization and IHE, the MOE called for a reform of TEFL in China's universities in order to strengthen students' ability in using English. In this regard, P4 commented on recent reform in teaching English for non-English major students in the university, from which I find TEFL had been given more attention by the MOE than before and the focus of English teaching and learning had been shifted from training

students' ability of reading or comprehension to training students' other abilities, for instance, listening and speaking.

In the past years, the MOE let us follow an old syllabus, but in 2003 it suggested a new syllabus called College English Curriculum Requirements which took effect in 2007. The MOE felt it was hard to foster such reforms in improving students' overall ability in English listening, speaking and ability in applying English by itself, so it just encouraged universities to do it. Some good universities were chosen as pilot-run places. ...At that time, a total of 180 universities were chosen as candidates. But in the end, only 65 universities have become pilot-run places. The MOE provided funding to these universities, but these places must offer a reception to teachers from other places for a review, showing their new strategies in teaching. In another words, you must show them a complete reform in teaching English. In the past, we offered 4 times of class of English every week. But because we emphasized reading, three of them are reading classes. While among these three reading classes, one is listening class and one is speaking class. But now there are lots of changes. (P4, interview, June 29, 2012, trans. by author)

The positive thing from P4's perspective was that he thought a sharing of resources had been realized among universities in this reform of TEFL.

The reform in English teaching is radical, but one concept [of sharing resources] might be the same as that adopted by foreign universities. Many Chinese universities were very self-closed, lacking a sharing of resources. While [now] we are using all available resources, including computers, network, computer labs, network centres, university servers, and electronic reading rooms in the library in order to serve students better. This [sharing of resources] is a nice idea because the university sets itself free from the conventions and restrictions. (interview, June 29, 2012, trans. by

author)

Social, Cultural, Financial, and Technological Challenges from IHE

Research participants reflected upon social, cultural, financial, and technological challenges from IHE during the interviews.

Facilitating IHE: Whose Theory, System and Model Should We Take?

Driven by the MOE's call for establishing many world-class universities and making significant improvement of higher education international competitiveness by the end of 2020, national key universities in China are busy with all kinds of reforms and pilot projects in order to achieve that goal. However, borrowing western universities' experience and following the model of western universities have caused some participants' concern on whose theory, system and model China's higher education should take. Doubts and questions on higher education model were puzzling administrators and faculty members at the University of the Plains. One participant in particular discussed the scenario of applying a western education model like the US one in China's higher education in terms of IHE. He listed many practical problems if China follows a US higher education model, such as college entrance exam, autonomous enrolment, free-choice of credits, and supervision. He thought it would be very difficult to realize IHE in a Chinese university by following what a US university is doing.

Widely speaking, I can only participate in our university's international collaboration. Actually IHE means more than that [international collaboration]. Educational theories, educational models and education systems matter. How can we deal with the discrepancies between ours and foreign ones? Some people say there is no college entrance exam in the U.S., but there is one in China. Actually there are also exams in the U.S. The differences lie in how we give an exam to students and how often we give an exam to students. Exams for students are held several times per year in the

U.S., however there is only one per year in China. [Some years ago,] China's universities tried offering college entrance exam in spring which means doing college entrance exam twice per year, but that did not make much sense and they finally gave it up. Some people suggested that there should not be a [unified] college entrance exam in China and college entrance exam should be arranged by each university or each province. However, autonomous enrolment by university is still dancing in the cage of the existing system. It has a problem because it originally intended to solve the problem that the existing system could not handle. It planned to help students with special gifts or talents to access higher education if they could not pass the unified college entrance exam. But what does the current autonomous enrolment do? It just brings you back to the system. For example, our school also has autonomous enrolment, but students will not be offered admission unless they have achieved the required marks for attending the first class universities in China. In this sense, autonomous enrolment is not operating as expected. (P2, interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

P5 questioned China's current higher education model and compared it with previous ones in the 1980s and 1990s. He designated that a blind duplication of the U.S. higher education model had a negative influence on China's HEIs and led to an unbalanced development between research and teaching.

There are both positive and negative aspects in higher education reform. As for the positives, there is an adoption of western education system, but it seems to be just a formality. For example, universities are now putting an emphasis on research [rather than teaching]. However, in the 1980s and 1990s, teaching was the main task of the university. The quality of student-centred teaching was emphasized and facilitated within a very strict educational system. But now, not only our university but also

other institutions overemphasize research and [the importance of] teaching has been underestimated. This results in teachers having to spend more time on research. It is hard for them to do well in both research and teaching at the same time. Accordingly, students are also affected. [I feel] students don't have a strong learning ability compared to the past. People seldom pay attention to these things and totally neglected [those problems]. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Cultural, Political, and Ideological Conflicts in IHE

Some participants were aware that the impact of globalization goes beyond economic interaction between countries but has extended to other fields and the ideological and cultural difference might be a barrier in facilitating IHE. In particular, politics and cultural penetration are very sensitive to all governments. P2 signified that,

[S]ituated in globalization, there is not only economic interaction with foreign countries but also communication in other aspects such as humanity and education. But there are barriers. One is an ideological and cultural barrier, which is undeniable. It is not about politics but there is always political sensitivity and cultural penetration. The US just wants to popularize its own ideology and values throughout the world. This is for sure and we have to defend. That is why China is very cautious about doing IHE at the current stage. China has established Confucius Institutes abroad but other countries questioned us as they wonder why we call it Confucius Institute instead of the Institute of Chinese studies. It is controversial but reveals that other countries also have [a similar concern about cultural penetration]. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Specifically, P5 mentioned the dilemma in introducing western culture and knowledge to people in China. Critiques centred on patriotism and loss of national identity if people are too close to the West.

Also bringing in and introducing [western culture and knowledge] matters politically. If you follow Western culture closely, then there will be debates on Western and Eastern cultures and patriotism. If you introduce too much Western culture in China, then there will be critiques like that you don't love your country or you lose your identity or even some bad things related to political issues might happen. Some aspects in our culture restrict the development of science. It actually goes without saying that western civilization dominates our life, but we could not say that in China. (P5, interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

P4 had a concern about the local resistance based on an understanding that China's own traditions and knowledge are underestimated while learning and accepting foreign culture and knowledge. As he argued, "if IHE is a must, then we learn and accept something from abroad but our own knowledge could not be underestimated. IHE must be developed upon equality, otherwise there will be resistance" (Interview, June 29, 2012, trans. by author). In addition to that, P6 thought highly of Chinese culture and articulated that, "I feel in the cross-cultural communication, Chinese culture is also attractive. In the past we just underestimated our own culture but followed the West. This is a missing part in our education" (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author).

Foreign teachers' influence on students is also considered by some participants. For example, P7 talked of foreign teacher's influence on students' motivation to study abroad and he did not think it is right to show western culture and way of life in a privileged way which might make it attractive for Chinese students to go abroad. He also had a concern for the impact of globalization on TESL and opined that TESL has become an industry.

Many Chinese students came and said to me that they want to go to the west. They had that sort of idealistic view of the west. Probably English teachers have helped them get that to some extent. TESL and globalization. This value is important. You

know we came to this country to give this kind of exclusively attractive view of western cultures and way of life. Even I found myself making a kind of mistake when students want to see the pictures of my family. You know. I am not going to explain...we still have the same worries as your family do. The younger we worry about money, family, about children, worry about parents, and grandparents. But it raised that danger with the globalization. I mean TESL has now become an industry and English has become a lingua-franca certainly in the academic field and scientific and technical fields. You know? Students are going to learn English. It is not going away. It just gets bigger and bigger. What we've seen now is internationalization of higher education is going to be huge with globalization. It has taken a part of globalization. Globalization is not going away and IHE is going to get bigger with it. They are going to grow together. (P7, interview, July 9, 2012)

Academic freedom. Academic freedom was also canvassed by some participants. The political environment of China is much more relaxed, though the freedom of speech and academic freedom are still limited. The improvement in academic freedom can be revealed from what P5 shared,

Previously if you introduced something from the West, you must consider political issues, but even though, you still need to introduce something from the West because you teach English. Now we have more freedom than before. I talk about western culture and western perspectives and sometimes I compare them with Chinese culture [in my class]. There is no problem about that. Students also understand. (P5, interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Nonetheless, he also pinpointed that “the environment is much more open than before. You can be vocal but you are not authorized to change the reality. For example, I am unsatisfied with the right to vote and the right to stand for election, but I could not announce that”

(interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author). The limited academic freedom causes a bottle neck for attracting foreign students and scholars especially from the West or other liberal countries to study or teach in a Chinese university.

Dilemma in TEFL. Teaching English as a foreign language is considered to be one variation of measuring IHE. However, there has been a debate on whether English should be popularized to all students irrespective of their specialization. Further, P4 pinpointed the current dilemma in teaching English in China as there is a discrepancy between the state policy and the institutional need.

China is a big country but ideologically it is comparatively self-closed. So theoretically it is hard to popularize English nation-wide. But strategically, the state enforces certain compulsory English exams, such as college entrance exam, and professional certificate evaluation. Many people's critiques on this can be found in the newspapers and other mass media. It seems the country forces us to learn English and that feeling is not good. Some very famous professors even publicly disagree to let their students take English classes because they think it has taken students too much time to learn English and learning English has affected students' study of their specialized courses. Thus I think there should be an adjustment considering that IHE in China is facilitated top-down but not bottom-up. (P4, interview, June 29, 2012, trans. by author)

Also in response to the MOE's College English Curriculum Requirements, P4 specified that it was hard to meet those expectations. He drew attention to the students' willingness,

...but practically there is a divergence and not every student likes English. It is just an overall requirement. It is not difficult for students with good ability in English to meet [the requirements], but hard for students with poor ability in English to get there.

(interview, June 29, 2012, trans. by author)

Shortage of Funding and Investment

Some participants indicated that a shortage of funding and investment in higher education and teacher's welfare would be a bottleneck for IHE. It is hard for the university to recruit talented people abroad with limited funding.

Though China's economy has obtained a booming development, there is limited investment in funding HEIs and teachers' welfare. We should make it clear that there is an unbalanced development between China's economy and other fields. The policy of opening-up and reform has been implemented for 30 years, but it seems that the reform and improvement in education only have a history of 15 years, because the government prioritized economic development in the past. While among these 15 years, the real improvement in education is just around seven to eight years. Some people criticize that China's higher education develops very slowly, but how can you observe a great leap in education and make China's HEIs better than other foreign institutions in just seven or eight years? Also the investment in teachers' welfare, including salary, is insufficient. Teachers in the United States are paid for 10 months and they will make money by themselves in the remained two months. If you hire foreign teachers and pay them well, why don't they want to come? (P2, interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

P3 simply pointed out that "funding is the fundamental thing to carry out IHE" (interview, July 9, 2012) at the university level. At a recent meeting for foreign affairs that he attended, he found that "the university leaders promised that they would invest more in facilitating IHE during the national *Twelfth Five-Year Plan* time period, but it is hard to predict what they are going to do" (P3, interview, July 9, 2012, trans. by author).

P2 argued that due to a lack of faculty staff and funding, it would be difficult for the

university to follow the US model, such as having smaller classes, and giving attention to the cultivation of students' hands-on ability.

If one teacher only supervises a few students in China, then the number of our faculty should be doubled up to 10, 000. If we follow the States and let students pay tuition as much as their students pay, like each student pays 100,000 RMB per year, then we can also do something like what the American HEIs does. But now we cannot let students pay that high tuition as the higher education we offer has not reached that high level and degree, so right now we only aim to meet students' aspiration for study. Of course, there are some insufficiencies in our work, such as how to train students' hands-on ability, and how to improve faculty members' direct supervision of students. If I want to give you a test, I won't give you a written one, but let you do an experiment. However, there should be something to start with. But how can we start it right now? If you buy a Robot and it does not work, then it might cost you over tens of thousands of RMB to repair it. How much can you afford? How much should you let students pay for their tuition? (P2, interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Gaps between Policy-Making and Practice

Some participants addressed issues between state policy-making and real practice at the university. The state officials' preference for a western higher education model and pursuit of high educational goals overlooks the real capacity of China's higher education. In response to the impact of state policy and national development plan on the University of the Plains, some participants pointed out a lack of democracy in China's policy-making processes. Owing to this, a top-down approach was employed in policy-making and hence resulted in a neglect of the local reality. P4 thought that the current policy-making process in China is problematic. He argued that,

[R]ight now there are problems in terms of policy-making. Policy makers would like

to refer to either the U.S. or the UK's experience, but not to take China's reality seriously into account. They normally go abroad and see what other countries are doing and then select one of the plans that leaders are in favour of. There certainly lacks democracy in the process of policy decision making. (interview, June 29, 2014, trans. by author)

This mode of policy-making sometimes results in a gap between policy and practice. Borrowing other countries' experience in quality control of higher education, the MOE also conducts educational evaluation at the MOE-administered HEIs. For example, according to the participants, there is an evaluation on higher education given by the MOE and the university is driven by this evaluation. However, they questioned the significance of doing this evaluation. P1 talked about the MOE's evaluation of faculty members and thought that there was no difference between what they and colleagues in foreign schools are doing.

The pressure on teachers is not less than teachers in foreign universities. There are requirements for publications, research projects or at least participation in research projects. There is an evaluation of teachers. There is a ratio. 75% of us might be promoted to an instructor and 25% will not pass the evaluation. In such a case, the number and quality of publications are highly evaluated. It is much more difficult to be promoted to a professor, at least 2 articles in the designated well-known academic journals. It is quite similar to the academic promotion abroad. (P1, interview, June 25, 2012, trans. by author)

P5 also talked of the huge pressure they receive from that evaluation and pointed out the dark side of such an evaluation. He considered that China's higher education was still under development, so that it could not totally follow the western model of evaluation of higher education. Also it is unreasonable to require all faculty to produce something merely based on limited resources or even nothing. He had a concern that plagiarism and academic

misconduct might happen if academic staff were driven by the evaluation harshly.

We have a huge pressure from the evaluation. We should submit a summary of our work every three years. Publications and applications for research projects will be checked. In this aspect, we are kind of catching up with international standards. But the situation here is different from foreign universities because we are at a different starting point. We have to produce something without any content. Thus there are many fake things in academics. In social sciences, if we do not spend time delving into research but only take it for granted, then plagiarism or stealing others' research results might happen. It is hard to figure out the meaning of doing this [evaluation].

(interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Defective Administration

When speaking of administrative work on IHE, P3 mentioned two issues, one of which is about centralization. He and other attendees at the meeting on foreign affairs argued that the academic departments of the University of the Plains do not have full autonomy in facilitating direct communication with foreign schools. This is because the office of international affairs controls all pipelines related to internationalization. As he elaborated,

One is that the office of international affairs takes over all the affairs concerning internationalization so that anything that has an international tinge would be processed by them. This is not a good thing because it bars each school's international communication with foreign institutions. At the three-day meeting for the discussion about the university's foreign affairs, many of us raised this problem and proposed that the university should open up and let each school or department have direct communication with foreign HEIs. (interview, July 9, 2014, trans. by author)

Having lived and taught in other countries, P7 felt there was something missing in the administrative work at the University of the Plains though he and his wife had a great

teaching experience there. For instance, there was no close contact with Chinese staff or a foreign teacher coordinator who can bridge the communication between foreign teachers and Chinese teachers or the local society.

Um..., I suppose it at a micro level, well I took, um...yeah...It would be helpful for me [when people] first arrive, to [set up] some assimilation or orientation program.

We've been to China before. But other than that point, you know. Um...I know from some of the other teachers that when they arrive [in China], they just have to find their own way from the train station, you know. We just had a student meet us. She met us there. It was a little bit messy and you expect things for university at this side to be a little bit more streamlined. You know, we were taken out for dinner by the dean and a professor, which is wonderful, but it would be nice to have a closer contact with some Chinese person we can really contact without that fear... (interview, July 9, 2012)

P7 thought that a coordinator, an orientation program and a handout in English would be helpful for a foreign teacher who first comes to this university.

Yeah, yeah, coordinator... and also to have a western teacher. If they pay just maybe a small extra amount for one of the western teachers. Then you feel you can communicate with. That is part of their role with to be the English teacher or a foreign teacher coordinator. ... Yeah, you do need a coordinator, you need an orientation program and you give us a handout in English, you know? what we can do, what we do not or we should not do, even simple things for new teachers who never taught here before. (P7, interview, July 9, 2012)

In addition to that, P7 considered even a small social event would be nice for people who come from another country.

Yes. We do have an international office here with ***, other staff there. You know? They are helpful but I think they cannot [take] so many responsibilities. You know?

In terms of engagement between ... Honestly, I am really unclear and [it] pushes me a consciousness not being a pest, bring them up. But most other teachers just try to keep or follow, just doing my job, not being a nuisance. And my wife and I lived in China twice before, so there are no issues for us, but I have noticed that some of the other teachers who haven't been here before, kind of scratching with their heads. They walked into the department and we would expect you have [orientation] in the department. They are doing very well and you would love the department, but maybe I just said people come from another country just to have some coffee there communicating [or providing snacks] wouldn't cost the university. You know? A couple of hundred you want, just a small couple of home comforts when they get there. You know? Or even just buy cheap mobile phones they have immediate contact with ... wouldn't cost the university that much. It would be a small thing which will mean a lot. So especially get someone's number when they need to call someone if there is a problem. (P7, interview, July 9, 2012)

Further Reflections on issues in Current China's Higher Education

Participants also reflected on some noticeable problems in higher education in China, such as quality control, unbalanced development of disciplines, and the choice of higher education model.

Issues of quality control. Some participants discussed the quality issue along with the expansion of China's higher education. Because of the expansion, China's higher education has lost the balance to keep a reasonable constraint on the intake of students, so that teachers of English are facing a great challenge as they have to teach a bigger size class without additional support. In such a case, it is hard to guarantee the quality of teaching and learning.

Before the expansion of higher education, higher education in China kind of served

for the elites, but that also makes some sense. The current teacher-student ratio has become larger than it used to be which means one teacher has to teach a larger class compared to a smaller class in the past. Because of my insistence, there are only around 30 students in my class of Advanced English. But there are 50, 60-70 or even 80 students in other classes. Teaching assistants are always available if you teach a big class at a foreign HEI, but we don't have that system here. Teachers work based on their ethics. They can work harder but they can also work less hard. The situation is different from before. There are many negative aspects. (P5, interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Unbalanced development of academic disciplines. The University of the Plains did not take humanities and social sciences into great consideration as these are not its prominent academic disciplines. Many priorities were given to the disciplines in hard sciences, which has resulted in an unbalanced development of academic disciplines. Financial support for each academic discipline varies dramatically. Disciplines which closely respond to the demand of the state receive more funding than others.

[G]enerally speaking, humanities and social sciences are not the priority of the state's development strategy. The investment in the support of research programs in natural sciences is increasing each year which is much more than that in humanities and social sciences. Government can invest millions of dollars in natural science projects, but only hundreds of thousands are allocated to humanities and social sciences. In addition, among humanities and social sciences, government would rather support economics, international trade, and law a lot because they are tied to China's development. Facilitating communication among English departments with its foreign counterparts is really restricted by funding.... Even research on Chinese literature gains more financial support from the government than us because research on

Chinese culture serves China's cultural construction. (P1, interview, June 25, 2012, trans. by author)

The choice of higher education model. Discussing China's higher education model, P2 responded to the reality of students' application for their specializations in China's HEIs and argued that,

In such an IHE, can we fulfil American education theories? If we can, then when and how? Students in the US can change their major after they get in the university, but can we do that as well? We have around 60 specializations. If most of our students rush to mechanical engineering, can we deal with that? That would be a big mess. The US could meet up with students' demand. Students can choose to learn what they want to learn or even change the school to study what they like to study, but we cannot realize that here because China is doing a one-shot deal. (P2, interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

P2 overestimated the advantage of the US higher education system in that there are also limitations to what courses and credits that students can choose and earn. The limited freedom that US students enjoy is based on the fact that students have to pay high tuition fees by themselves with little support from the government. However, the Chinese higher education system is fixed by using a top-down approach. P2 finally suggested that China's own situation must be taken into account during the process of IHE as debates on whose education theories and which educational models are better always exist. It is hard to make a judgement by just saying that it is good to follow a particular educational model.

Everything we are doing must take China's situation into account. Of course, we should think a little bit further. We also should compare with other [foreign schools] and know our weaknesses. However, whose education theory is right? Which educational model is better? The American model or our Chinese model? It is too

contested to tell. For example, many students in the US could not do well in mathematics, but the level of Chinese students' mathematics is very high. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

P5 reflected on the limitations of China's current educational system and claimed that a lack of foundations in the humanities, such as philosophy in China's higher education has affected the quality of students they educated. "The section of humanity is quite weak and this weakness could not be made up just by increasing investment. It is caused by the defects of the whole educational system" (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author). He clarified that,

It will still be problematic if there lacks a foundation in the humanities [in our education]. I remember a report said that a well-known Chinese scholar of computer science in the States found that international students from China are very smart and good at professional skills like computer science, but they always lack something. They could do well in technical things but could not handle big things. Later on, when he came back to China, opening a class in Tsinghua University, he did not follow the university's regulated curriculum design, but did a pilot-run, doing something different. However, the power of one person is too invisible [to make a big change]. Through my own kid's studying abroad, I have seen no matter which specialization the student is in, critical thinking is cultivated. Critical thinking not only contributes to social science studies but is also good to stimulate students' creativity in natural sciences. While in our educational system we are only able to cultivate engineers who at best can specialize in small tasks but who are not capable in doing a greater thing.... (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

He took his own teaching as an example, "I am in the area of linguistics, while actually there are philosophical origins. If you could read those philosophies then you will understand

linguistics [much better]. They are actually related. If our students can learn in this way, then they can also be creative. But right now creativity sounds like a slogan” (interview, June 26, 2012). Further, P5 expressed the view that he was not optimistic about IHE and felt it is easy to say but hard to carry out without a philosophical concern and several generations’ academic accumulation.

What is behind you, is education itself. You don’t have those fundamentals. So even if giving you one million dollars, can you produce something striking? If you have funding, you still could not work it out. You don’t have that foundation. Also there lacks a network for interdisciplinary collaboration and resources sharing. So these are big problems. We could not communicate with foreign HEIs as the level of our research is very low. In linguistics, I have no methods because all [theories] were created by foreign scholars. They have that through several generations’ accumulation. Also there lacks an introduction to the background and foundation of other disciplinary like philosophy in our curricula. So internationalization formally is easy to facilitate, but who knows what is behind.... (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Discussion

Driven by the global competition for talented people and the rise in domestic demand for improving the quality of higher education, China has now adopted an open policy regarding IHE and encourages HEIs to join up with international knowledge networks and improve their global engagement. The impact of globalization on university teaching and learning is significant. However, the degree of internationalization varies among HEIs. At the University of the Plains, internationalization has been put on the agenda but the degree of internationalization is low. IHE is mainly present in student and academic staff mobility abroad, joint-training programs, and TEFL, although the university has started to work on the

“Bring-in” strategy.

Research participants adopt varied perspectives on IHE. Some participants doubt whether there should be a comprehensive IHE and what kind of higher education model China’s universities should adopt. If there should be IHE, then what is taught, pedagogy, and the traditional role of higher education should be further reflected upon instead of blindly following a western higher education model, producing privileged knowledge and a group of privileged students, and increasing the hierarchies of society. However, policy-making and implementation in China is top-down. As long as the MOE promulgates a new policy on IHE, all the universities administered by it must implement it. In such a case, a top-down policy-making model is problematic, and the necessity of doing IHE should be carefully examined. Further, as some participants found that there are problems in China’s policy-making processes, such as a lack of democracy and a neglect of local reality, the voices of university teachers, students, and administrators must be taken into account in the process of policy-making. In fact, there is an awareness of international engagement from all participants as a demand for decentralization has emerged given that all participants expressed their institutional aspiration for direct academic exchanges with foreign schools. However, all international affairs are controlled by the International Affairs Office of the university, which prevents academic units from communicating directly with their foreign counterparts.

Educational policy regarding IHE in China right now is open, but practically, there are many problems and difficulties in facilitating IHE. One typical hindrance at the institutional level is a lack of funding sources to do something international. As some participants revealed, the University of the Plains is much better than some other HEIs because at least it is a member of the project 211 and the platform 985. Though it is not an elite HEI, the university still receives more financial support from the government than other local institutions and has funding to facilitate IHE. Yet facilitating IHE at the University of

the Plains is limited by many factors.

Infrastructure is imperfect and not ready for IHE at the University of the Plains. On the one hand, only limited administrative support is available for foreign teachers. A lack of orientation program, foreign coordinators, and an international centre that are commonly seen in universities in North America might be barriers in recruiting foreign faculty members. On the other hand, many of the programs offered by the University of the Plains, including English studies by the School of Foreign Studies are not competitive and hence not attractive to foreign students. Even if foreign students would like to come and study, there is another concern as the university needs to find suitable staff members who can teach them in English. These are great challenges to facilitate IHE at the university and the School of Foreign Studies.

The role of English has been uplifted by globalization and internationalization as English has now become the commanding language for global communication and international cooperation. Some participants pointed out that the top-down policy of promoting TEFL in HEIs by the Chinese government has been critiqued by domestic scholars because students' own willingness to learn English has been ignored. College English as a compulsory course has been offered to all university students for many years. However, there was an overemphasis on English teaching and learning in the university after China joined the WTO. Voices against English teaching and learning in other majors than English have appeared as a large amount of time spent on learning English has affected students' study of their own majors. Also in term of TEFL, pragmatism affects English teaching and learning as the new English syllabus emphasizes the training of listening and speaking ability of students instead of reading and comprehension.

The problems of the current higher education system have been observed by some participants. For example, due to the expansion of higher education, teachers of English have

to teach large classes without additional support. The quality of teaching and learning is hard to guarantee, which might lead to quality issues. Also some participants pointed out the problem of unbalanced development of academic disciplines. Disciplines in hard science have always been prioritized in developing China's higher education, whilst humanities and social sciences are underdeveloped. Some participants straightforwardly pointed out that a lack of foundations in the humanities in China's higher education has affected the quality of students it educated and addressed the high importance of educational foundations in higher education.

Chapter Eight: A Case Study in China: University Administrators and Faculty

Members' Views on IHE at the School of Foreign Studies

After the initial coding and thematic content analysis, the main themes and findings coming out of the analysis of university administrators and faculty members' perspectives on IHE at the School of Foreign Studies are presented in this chapter. The key themes are listed in Table 8-1.

Table 8-1 Initial/Final Coding of University Administrators and Faculty Members' Perspectives on IHE at the School of Foreign Studies

Final coding framework/Themes	Initial coding framework
National and global influence on IHE	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Focus of the program and curriculum• Academic collaboration• International movement of people
Challenges from IHE and Problems in higher education	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Underfunded foreign language studies• No platform for academic collaboration• Limited academic staff and student mobility• Issues in curriculum development and program offerings• The challenging use of English as language of instruction• The fading art of pedagogy• Challenges from social change on teacher education• Educational equity and social justice

National and Global influence on IHE at the School of Foreign Studies

The impact from the state's policy on IHE is visible at the School of Foreign Studies, but as some participants found out, IHE had been less significant compared to other academic departments in the university. P6 argued that,

I feel disciplinary fields which have an absolute advantage did a good job in IHE, such as Chinese language, history, science and technology. A university of technology like us wants to promote the programs that have an advantage in science. Some of our teachers in the school of Foreign Studies have been selected to work for international affairs, working on the recruitment of foreign students. But most of our international students are from Africa. There is not too much communication with the west, like America and Europe. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

He further indicated that “the university actually cares a lot about facilitating IHE. However, it put a high value on academic disciplines in natural science rather than in social science. Thus not too many students in our school can participate in an exchange program. IHE is not that significant in our school” (P6, interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author). Yet some international activities had happened there according to his observation.

Many administrative leaders and professors in our school participate in international activities in higher education. Since the establishment of the School of Foreign Studies, five or six faculty members have been dispatched abroad each year as visiting scholars. There are international communications indeed. Students only go to Taiwan or Hong Kong. Some graduates applied to schools there by themselves though it does not concern with our teaching and learning. (P6, interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Nonetheless, specific impacts from the state’s policy and global forces on IHE on School of Foreign Studies are reflected by other participants who have served the university for a long time.

Focus of the Program and Curriculum

Some participants talked of the impact from the state on the focus of the program, from which a significant orientation towards serving the state construction and meeting the

state's dynamic demand can be found. One participant looked back on the history of the School of Foreign Studies and said that,

As a school of foreign studies of a university of technology, it differs from other schools of foreign studies [of a comprehensive university] in terms of the macro environment of higher education, as it attaches great importance to practicality and rigorous scholarship. The Department of English [now the School of Foreign Studies] was established in 1985 but first recruited students in 1977. It started to offer the program of English for Science and Technology (EST) in 1988 in line with the then social demand of English learning and China's national policy of "reform and opening-up". Many people were eager to read foreign materials at that time. (P1, interview, June 25, 2012, trans. by author)

But as the traditional program of English for Science and Technology could not meet new demand from the state when China furthered its opening-up in the 1990s and later on joined the WTO, the program that the school offered was changed into English (International Trade). The country demanded graduates who knew both English and international trade. P1 detailed that,

The EST program was stopped in 1993 and it was changed into English (International Trade). In 1998, the National Education Commission of the People's Republic of China unified the name of English program offered by different universities in view of the existence of all kinds of confusing names like business English, and tourist English. It requires us to just name the program as English. However, based on our own situation, we have been offering courses like international trade since 1998. We put international trade in brackets when we recruit students, on the one hand to show our speciality, on the other hand to let students know the direction of their study. (interview, June 25, 2012, trans. by author)

Similarly, in response to the question of why the change of the focus of the program happened, P3 attributed it to the changing macro social environment and the influence from the WTO.

This is mainly because that time and the macro social environment have changed. The program of EST was offered in response to the then China's situation and national emphasis on the development of science and technology. There was a huge demand for talented people in China who have interdisciplinary knowledge in both English and science and technology. If I am right, when we designed this program of English in the late 1980s, we just used the name of EST. Whereas China's situation changed, in particular in recent decades; China has made a quick development in international trade, especially since its entry into the WTO. Thus there was an enormous demand for the talented people who have interdisciplinary knowledge in both English and international trade. It was under such circumstance that we changed our program to fit in with the changing national demand for talented people. This brings a large scale of reform mainly in undergraduate studies and also a big reform in our teaching and learning of foreign language studies here. (interview, July 9, 2012, trans. by author)

Further than that, P1 analyzed the reasons why they developed an English program for international trade, from which a response to state educational goals can be identified.

The reason why we keep an international trade direction is that we must follow China's national education committee's guideline. There was a revised syllabus for teaching English for English majors in all universities issued by national education committee in 2000. It required that the curriculum for English majors should have departmental core courses, skill training courses, and courses related to specialization included. The core courses no doubt include English and American literature, linguistics, and so on. Skill training courses encompass listening, speaking, reading,

writing, translation and interpretation. Courses related to the specialization can be international mass media, law, etc. while here [the school of foreign studies] highlights economics and international trade. This also responds to the educational goals of the national education committee. (P1, interview, June 25, 2012, trans. by author)

Beyond that, P3 talked about graduate programs they offer, which also reveals that the university caters to the national demand for personnel who can work in a particular area or certain industry.

As for graduate programs, we have been authorized to offer a master's degree from 2002. Then we started to offer a second master's program in 2005. These two degrees are research-oriented and we aim to train students' research ability. In the meantime, as the situation changed, there was an increase in the demand for graduates with an MA in translation. The MOE also realized this. Then from 2010 more than 110 universities were authorized to offer masters in translation, while before 2010, there were only around 30 universities which offered that program. That is to say, ten years later, over 140 universities can offer masters in translation and we are one of them. (interview, July 9, 2012, trans. by author)

With respect to the curriculum, the School of Foreign Studies does have some flexibility with adding specialized courses by taking its own situation into account, but there is a guideline from the MOE which the school must follow. As the person who is in charge of curriculum planning and time allocations, P6 narrated that,

There is a special syllabus for English majors offered by the MOE and made by the higher education committee. We have to follow that guidance. Other than that, we need to take the school's situation into account, such as class hours, course registration and tuition. Then we develop curriculum based on that. (interview, June

26, 2012, trans. by author)

Academic Collaboration with Foreign Schools

Academic collaboration with foreign schools was also discussed by some participants. They thought many factors were affecting their academic collaboration with foreign schools. They thought that dialogue would not be fruitful if there is a big gap in quality between China's HEIs and foreign HEIs. By improving the quality of China's higher education, these participants contended, there would be a more even platform for the dialogue with foreign schools.

If we want to compete with foreign universities, first of all we must improve our own quality of higher education. Communication must be established on an even platform. Otherwise, the dialogue will be one-way if our platform is too low. Right now our dialogue with overseas universities is restricted by many factors. Our level of education, technology and research decide the level we could communicate with other foreign schools and the resources we could make use of. So at the current stage, we must improve ourselves though there might be a long way to go. But this is a benign circulation. After we improve ourselves, we will have more opportunity to communicate with foreign schools. (P1, interview, June 25, 2012, trans. by author)

International Movement of People

In terms of the international mobility of people, some participants thought there should not be restrictions any more. P1 argued that along with globalization, geographically talented people can move and work anywhere, making good use of their talent and earning a good living. He did not worry too much about the loss of talented people given that many of them might migrate to the western countries for better living conditions because he thought there might also be a reverse flow of talented people to China if China maintains its steady development process. Specifically, he articulated that,

Considering the movement of people, I think it is a natural thing that we should not be surprised at, and there should not be restrictions on, such movement. The trend of globalization is more and more significant, for example, [the emergence of] economic community, and the globalization of economy, finance, and technology. However, talented people [are also international]. In the past, talented people could only move in a closed environment or within a region, but now they can move within an international domain. Talented people intend to work in places where they can bring their special skills into full play and acquire the living conditions they deserve. This is a natural thing. If one day China is developed up to a certain degree, with its education and economy developed and improved, the direction of the movement of talented people will be reversed. I have seen this trend. In the past, people who studied in the West seldom returned to China after they completed their studies, but now many people have chosen to come back. [I take one person as an example.] I could not remember his name. He is a leading administrator at Peking University, who came back from the west and brought in many good educational theories and ideas to China. I think this is a nice start, at least showing the domestic environment has improved. Alongside the improvement of domestic environment, there must be some changes in direction of movement of talented people. (P1, interview, June 25, 2012, trans. by author)

All participants mentioned the necessity of dispatching academic staff abroad for study and would like to see more frequent international academic staff and student mobility. For instance, P5 expressed that, “I wish there is international mobility of teachers and students. This for sure will bring positive influence to our higher education. China should learn from other countries and will benefit from such academic communications, and mutual exchange of teachers and students” (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author).

P4 shared his experience of being a visiting scholar at a foreign institution and highlighted the necessity of sending teachers of English abroad for training and further studies in light of enriching teachers' specialized knowledge in English and improving the quality of teaching and learning. He recalled,

I had been to the UK for 4 months as a visiting scholar. This was good for me to improve my work. I was also allowed to take courses with masters' students in that university. Students there took courses of their interests and the size of classes is smaller than that of ours. Just over 10 students were in one class. Through taking courses and auditing classes, I feel I got a self-improvement. We also have similar classes in China, but those classes put too much emphasis on the theoretical considerations which are abstract and hard to understand. But in [those courses I took] in the UK, linguistic phenomena were seldom outweighed by theories. Thus [in my classes,] I feel very comfortable to use common languages to explain profound theories to students because it helps students to easily understand what you teach. So I think it is necessary to send teachers of English abroad for training or study, improving their specialized knowledge in English. (interview, June 29, 2012, trans. by author)

P5's experience with visiting the US schools as a scholar is very positive as he contributed to the communication between east and west. He introduced Chinese culture to people in the west and also brought in western culture to Chinese people after he came back to China. As he described,

I spent one year in the US as a visiting scholar, mainly for cultural communication. I visited universities and high schools, attending lectures and also presented on Chinese culture there. There were not too many people who could go abroad in the mid-1980s. After I came back to China and shared my experience, people here were very

interested in what I heard and observed in the west. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

P5 also insisted that teachers and learners of language studies should go abroad. “People who teach or learn language must keep learning as the time advances; otherwise you will lag behind, such as internet. Changes happen so fast” (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author).

As a foreign instructor, P7 enjoyed his teaching in China and thought his mobility to China was win-win as he had contributed to English teaching at the university and also gained cultural experience from his work.

Um..and to some extent, I think, well, I have something to work for...you know, if you help somebody... skills ...which most simply based on us speaking English. I am a qualified TESL teacher and I can transfer those skills into this involvement?

Because this is a two-way, I also learn from your guys well, I get a lot back as well at the same time, you know. I get this wonderful cultural experience and I would like to think that, I hope to make some contribution to the students’ education. And my wife is the same and she does enjoy this travel as well and she is a teacher of education. So that is really about... that is not everything. I probably have a self-motivation. I enjoy travelling, I like this expatriate lifestyle. I would like to come to see something different in another country. (interview, July 9, 2012)

In terms of international student mobility, P7 said that students’ financial status plays an important role in pursuing study abroad and students could go to other countries to study as long as they could afford. Nonetheless, he insisted that IHE and education should stay as a public good rather than becoming a money making venture.

IHE and education generally should be a benefit for the people, the public, and the students. They should not just be money making ventures which is what we’ve seen. I think there is a certain level of exploitation, because you look at Australia, England,

and America. If you are a foreign student, if you want to study there, you are going to pay more, you know. There may be major surcharges. Is that righteous? In my opinion, you know, for anyone can study, there is a limitation that as long as they can afford it. His family can afford it. There will be more students who can travel overseas, but you know, it takes all the family saving for years to send the student overseas. I think many of them, could be wrong here, have the hope though if their son or daughter from China goes to Melbourne to study at the Melbourne University or across Canada. The potential model rise[s] for the students to make a li[ving] himself in that country as well. But that is why they still have this glossy view of these countries, you know. (interview, July 9, 2012)

Recruiting foreign students has not been realized at the School of Foreign Studies, but it might be put on schedule as long as the current national policy on IHE persists. P3 considered the possibility of recruiting foreign students. He thought,

It is impossible to recruit students from the UK or the US to learn English here, but we can recruit students from other countries in the Third World, like Pakistan, and other Asian countries to come here learning language. They can not only learn English but also Chinese. This is completely possible. (interview, July 9, 2012, trans. by author)

He also talked about the possibility of offering a new program of teaching Chinese as a foreign language. He explained,

Right now we don't offer a program of teaching Chinese as a foreign language, but the university intends to do so. We are now still in the stage of preparation. If the university decides to do that, the program might be offered either by our school or by the School of Humanity and Social Science. (interview, July 9, 2012, trans. by author)

Problems in Higher Education and Challenges from IHE

Participants reflected on many problems in higher education practice at the School of Foreign Studies in addition to challenges from IHE.

Underfunded School of Foreign Studies

First of all, the University of the Plains did not take humanities and social sciences into great consideration as these were not its prominent academic disciplines. The School of Foreign Studies was underdeveloped especially in terms of IHE compared to other disciplines which are given priority development by the university. However, things did improve a bit from before at the School of Foreign Studies. At least faculty members can apply for a certain amount of funding in support of their research. P5 told me about his application for research funding:

I recently applied a research project in philosophy from Jiangsu Province. The funds available varied from RMB 40,000 to 60,000, much more than before. Every year there are a couple of research projects which require you to finish them up in one and a half years. National projects even offer you hundreds of thousands of Yuan. This is a big improvement, not as good as science but still a big leap. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Although the situation is improving, there are gaps. Some participants talked further about the university's expenditure on the purchase of academic journals and pointed out that the university prefers to invest more in purchasing academic journals in natural science rather than social science. The field of foreign language studies is not given enough attention at the University of the Plains.

As for resources sharing, we can spend money purchasing academic journals.... Our university is more willing to buy journals in natural science instead of social science. Economics is better but linguistics gets less [funding] to buy academic journals as the principal says very few of students will study linguistics. So the university does buy

[journals for us]. After all it is about intellectual property and people must pay for it. Funding is not a big problem, but more investment just goes to other disciplinary fields like economics, political science, political philosophy, and Maoism rather than foreign language studies because those subjects meet current state demands. By contrast, there is less social significance given to linguistic studies here. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Academic Collaborations with Foreign Schools

Many participants anticipated that they could have a meaningful, equal and direct communication with their foreign counterparts; however, there was no platform. Even though the School of Foreign Studies has established an academic partnership with Columbia University in the US, it was actually a one-way communication. P1 confessed that,

We have communication with Columbia University in the States. To be honest, though it is called communication, it is one-way. The dean of East Asian Languages and Cultures was my classmate and he helped us a lot. They usually share five academic journals with us but we could only share one which is the electronic version of the Journal of Social Science with them. In terms of teaching resources, the University of the Plains has bought many databases. (P1, interview, June 25, 2012, trans. by author)

P4 specified some problems in facilitating academic communication with foreign counterparts, such as there is no platform for them to initiate a communication due to the wide gap between higher education systems in China and foreign countries. As he mentioned,

Yes, the university sets up an international education institute, working on student exchange program. Some of our students and teachers can go abroad and there are also foreign students coming to our university, who are assigned by the Chinese Scholarship Council. Department chairs and faculty deans also do research abroad or

cooperate with foreign institutes. [However], there is less similar communication in our department compared to other faculties and departments. This communication happens among equivalent academic disciplines. Nonetheless, we don't have a TESL program and thus we don't have such a platform to communicate with other foreign institutions. It is hard to start communication with our foreign counterparts in discussion of theories as our school of foreign studies specializes in cultivating students' skills in using language, but not [theories]. So there is no equal communication. How can we cooperate with foreign institutions? Comparative English literature or linguistics and probably applied linguistics or TESL could be included in our programs here in order to have more opportunities to communicate with foreign institutions. But we don't have a place to do that domestically because the School of Foreign Studies is just a small unit and is unable to change many things. (interview, June 29, 2012, trans. by author)

P5 considered that there lacks a fundamental humanities education in China's higher education system, such as the cultivation of critical thinking, which makes it hard for them to have academic communication with foreign schools. "I feel internationalization for us in humanities is to bring-in [western knowledge] because right now there is no platform and a fundamental humanities base for communication" (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author).

Academic Staff and Student Mobility

In terms of academic staff and student mobility, some participants pointed out that teachers at the School of Foreign Studies have to wait if they want to go abroad visiting foreign schools as a scholar because of quota limits. As for students, the school only has exchange programs with a few universities in Taiwan, though students who participated in exchange programs do gain positive learning experience. P6 spoke of the dilemma in

facilitating academic staff and student mobility.

As for teachers, the situation here is that you have to line up if you want to go abroad for a training or visit. For students, now we only have exchange programs with universities in Taiwan. We dispatch students to Taiwan but no students from Taiwan come here studying English. The so-called exchange is actually one-way. After all, our university does not have an absolute advantage in offering higher education. Especially the English program does not have a feature to attract foreign students. Our students bring positive feedback after they come back from universities in Taiwan, such as [they enjoy] rich teaching and learning resources and good infrastructure there. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Regarding recruiting foreign students, P6 responded to the embarrassing situation of the School of Foreign Studies.

I feel China's universities have a similar system. So in order to attract foreign students, there must be features of their own. We emphasize characteristics. However, the English program does not have such features. There are over 1,000 universities offering English programs in China. The MOE has absolute authority, so we don't have much flexibility [in changing our program]. We don't have featured programs to attract foreign students. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Issues in Curriculum Development and Program Offering

Some participants suggested that there must be a change in curriculum design if China wants to facilitate IHE. P5 thought that the "curriculum must be changed if we want internationalization. First we need to bring in useful knowledge from the west. If we don't have that advanced awareness but dwell on Chinese culture only, then the development of the society will be prevented" (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author). From what he contemplated, we can find a gap between curriculum design and real teaching and learning

practice.

Teacher education, for example, college English courses still stagger on reciting words, vocabulary, and grammar like teaching at elementary schools. From the other side, if leaders and administrators can understand this and work out a better curriculum design, then... But there are not many good teachers who are knowledgeable in western philosophy and educational psychology that are quite related to English. But can we do that? We don't have that condition, so reform can only be taken slowly. (P5, interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

P5 further identified that curriculum design in China's universities is not as rigorous as that of foreign HEIs. Politics and even military training are included in the required courses of college students.

There is a big problem in curriculum design. Some courses are time-consuming and some courses have the colour of politics. While in foreign universities, you could not design a course too casually as students pay for your classes, but here even military training class is included in the required courses and credited. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

I shared some materials about academic English writing from my doctoral studies at McGill University with P5 before the interview. He read those materials and felt that there is a big gap between domestic language studies and foreign language studies.

The material you sent to me this morning is at a high level and I found even the lowest level of logic could not be reached here. We specialized in the study of language, however we don't know this. How behind we are now, you say? (P5, interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

P4 thought people should take an international perspective when dealing with curriculum design and making teaching plans. Course offerings should reference the

mainstream courses offered at other schools in the world. He also signified that mandatory courses like Marxism and Leninism for all university students would be a problem in facilitating IHE in terms of recruiting foreign students.

There is actually a bottle neck in facilitating IHE. IHE first of all requires an international view. Therefore, the curriculum should be designed similar to the mainstream of courses offered by foreign schools, and the teaching plan also be internationalized. While in China, courses like Marxism-Leninism are difficult for foreign students to understand and to learn. (interview, June 29, 2012, trans. by author)

P6 confessed that unlike teachers in foreign universities, they are not encouraged to use the course package prepared by themselves. The use of textbooks is still under the surveillance of the MOE.

Textbooks are actually a measurement in the evaluation of quality by the MOE. They will evaluate your quality by examining whether you use the textbooks designed and reviewed by the MOE. Under such circumstances, teachers are not encouraged to compile a course package by themselves. We once compiled a set of textbooks for intensive reading classes with Anhui University, but up until now it has not been put into use due to many reasons. I feel teachers should be very confident in doing this and the university should support us as well. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

But when it comes to foreign teachers who were teaching at the University of the Plains, there were no such restrictions. P7 prepared textbooks by himself. It looks like there was no guideline for certain English courses such as oral English.

Ok, yeah, I prepare my own since it depends. So for the English majors, I would, half of the lesson where I prepare something which should be interactive, and a dialogue

and maybe a game. And the other half of the lesson I just focus on, so for one half of the lesson, I intend to use these two books here, vocabulary and grammar, so ... and for the other half of the lesson, I sometimes use ...and knowledge, bible. I think it is good to give them a mix of both TOEFL and IELTS for speaking. I will put them aside. CDs we were discussing. Yes, I copy. I pay for this to be done ...and that is. My wife uses them and I use them and I hand them off to other teachers. Ok [I pay American writers to write lesson] ...I just hand to them. So that is giving you some idea about... (interview, July 9, 2012)

P2 deemed that due to the limited programs that the University of the Plains offered, there are many practical problems in the recruitment of foreign students. As he put it,

We send people abroad with a main purpose of studying advanced foreign knowledge, but we also bring in foreign students. We've been authorized to recruit foreign students now. ... [Financially,] there are three ways to have foreign students recruited. One is national scholarships, one is tuition fee waiving [in order to improve the reputation of the university], and the other is the university-offered scholarship to foreign students. We are now doing these three, but the problem is that foreign students come to China mainly for studying language [Chinese], international business, economics, Chinese traditional medicine, but are not very interested in mechanical engineering, electronic engineering in a university of technology. Since we don't offer a traditional Chinese medicine program, for example, few foreign students come here [for study]. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

The Challenging Use of English as Language of Instruction

Some participants were concerned about the language of instruction assuming that English is a key element in measuring IHE. P6 talked about the challenge of using English as the language of instruction in class.

It depends on each teacher and each class. For example, translation classes are not totally instructed in English, intensive reading classes are mainly taught in English, listening classes are mainly taught in English, and Professor *** teaches English literature classes totally in English. I also teach a class in English literature; however, I still use some Chinese because I feel students have problems with comprehension. In particular, for junior and senior students, English language study is not the most important thing, to provoke them into thinking is much more important. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

P4 also touched on the language of instruction as he assumed there was going to be a language issue when recruiting foreign students. As he revealed,

[T]here is a problem about “bring-in” strategy. However, when international students come, if the language of instruction is English, then it means they probably don’t need to learn Chinese and can save the time and cost for their study. If not, these students have to learn Chinese first before taking specialized classes. As such, they will spend more time and money. The city of the Plains is not very open and teachers’ English proficiency will become a bottle neck. (interview, June 29, 2012, trans. by author)

Besides the language of instruction, P6 mentioned the divergences between his teaching and students’ learning. He explained that,

I found students who do not have a high level of English language proficiency are more active in class discussion. Yet they don’t know much about the western world. For instance, I used to talk of the American dream and so forth, they did not respond a lot because they have not heard of that. This really surprised me. About 90% of our freshmen are very obedient and it is hard for them to ask you a question and challenge you. Sophomores might have their own thoughts but still less reactive as they are obedient. In the past couple of years, I taught intensive reading classes. At the very

beginning I paid more attention to students' intonation, vocabulary and standard grammar. But now I intend to cultivate students' interest in culture and try to bridge the gap between the knowledge in textbooks and reality. I also give them more space for discussion and obviously this is their favourite part. In an 8-hour teaching unit, I might leave two hours for class discussion. As for marking, here is 3 to 7 which means 3 based on your class performance, 7 based on your final exam. But I try to balance this and give a higher ratio to class performance, so to me the ratio is 4 to 6. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

The Fading Art of Pedagogy

P4 indicated that a new trend of applying information communication technology (ICT) in English teaching and learning has emerged in the university, which is promoted by the MOE. He explained,

In the meantime, the MOE encourages you to apply the Internet and multi-media in your classroom. You can also let students learn by themselves as students can use the installed software to train their listening, speaking, reading and writing skills. This software is very sophisticated in the world. A couple of big domestic media groups co-worked with [the educators in] the UK and the States, studying this software for several years. They rely on China's government's support to popularize their software. (Interview, June 29, 2012, trans. by author)

However, some participants like P5 thought "pedagogy is rarely talked about especially now they are using [computers]" (interview, June 26, 2012). Pedagogy now is not taken into great consideration in China's higher education. Things are getting worse with the rise of ICT and its application in teaching and learning. P5 conveyed that, "I feel by using computer teachers can be lazy and students' learning achievement is worse compared to the application of traditional pedagogy [in our teaching]. In our department, language is actually a process of

communication. It is meaningless if we type all the things on a computer screen” (interview, June 26, 2012). He further reflected on the application of the student-centred pedagogy in his teaching and pointed out that,

It is more like a metaphysical thing if you adopt a student-centred pedagogy in class. Behind that is the problematic educational system in China. It is hard to take a western model as we don’t have teaching assistants and we could not reach that. It is difficult to fulfil that. In the west, [the student-centred pedagogy starts] from elementary school, and the educational system and culture are already there, but here... (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author).

P7 used the term of “Confucian methodology” to describe the teaching method in China and pointed out that cultural issues like the hierarchical structure has prevented a communicative teaching and learning between teachers and students. P7 shared his observation as below,

The cultural issue that I find here is about how students interact with teachers. You have this kind of Confucian methodology to your teaching, you know it is a hierarchy structure, teachers are very much in charge, and students let them listen, and teaching is very serious. They look serious. Students need to work very hard. While what I am doing as an oral English teacher... In contemporary practices, like the communicative language teaching, the audience asks us to generate fun in the classroom, and to build up a partnership between us and the students. You know, the hierarchy is not there and there isn’t really so much about hard work and that is kind of orientating their minds to thinking English and speaking English. So I can see some educational institutions have been uncomfortable with that because I have some experience since I’ve been there. I do not have problems at the school and the university has been wonderful, but there are significant cultural differences between what we see.

(interview, July 9, 2014)

Challenges from Social Change on Teacher Education

Driven by the socialist market economy, competition in China's labour market has intensified. University students now care more about their future such as how to get a job after graduation instead of concentrating on their academic study. They want to learn something practical. The change of the student's value orientation does challenge teaching and learning practice in the university.

I found students face greater pressure to find a job. I have been teaching English and American literature in recent years but fewer students could take an in-depth study. Many of them were preparing graduate entrance exam for other majors than English. Ten years ago, students were more interested in pure fundamental knowledge, but now students intend to think highly of practicality and pragmatism. This is related to the social changes in our country. (P1, interview, June 25, 2012, trans. by author)

Globalization and ICT make western culture known to the Chinese society, but this also challenges TEFL teachers' knowledge and wisdom. For instance, P5 compared that,

At that time China just opened its door to the world, there was little communication between Chinese people and foreigners. I was like a cultural transmitter introducing culture to both sides. People were very interested in that, but now people can get to know those (culture) through mass media and the Internet. However, cross-cultural communication only stays at a superficial level. Communication in a deeper sense is missing. Students did listen to me when I introduced western culture to them, even just talking about KFC and McDonald's. But now can you still only introduce that in class? The influence of western culture on us is invasive. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

P5 also found that,

Students learn faster than we do. Their concern is different from what we consider. I tell them historical things, but they are in favour of realistic things. In particular, they can learn things faster than us because of the Internet; this is a challenge to us. If we don't keep learning, we will lag behind. (interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

P1 figured out that with the increasing investment in higher education, it is not difficult to buy hardware, nevertheless, there lacks people who are able to use the hardware. Teacher education should be strengthened.

Currently, the government highlights the importance of education and buying hardware is not a problem. But teaching people who can use this hardware is much more important. The teachers we sent out did have their horizon broadened. The opening-up is underpinned by talented people. Without them, the mutual communication cannot be realized. However, this is a progressive process and cannot be done in one day. (P1, interview, June 25, 2012, trans. by author)

Not too many TEFL teachers at the University of the Plains have either study or living experience in an English-speaking country. Hence, their knowledge of English is limited by books and might not be able to meet students' demands for knowledge of the western world. P4 commented on this: "Sometimes students will ask teachers about local conditions and customs [of foreign countries], however, teachers' answers are all from books. While what the books summarize are authors' feelings instead of teachers' thoughts. It is sort of a one-sided statement" (interview, June 29, 2012, trans. by author).

Educational Equity and Social Justice

Some participants talked about educational equity. P7 thought that to let those students who seldom attended his class pass the exam was not fair to other students who worked very hard. As a teacher, he felt he should keep a certain commitment to educational equity. He also thought there should be a reporting system, reflecting this problem.

Now I get a little bit frustrated in particular the boys, young men don't come for class, two or three. You know when I make some inquiries and found they were playing computer games and they get so distracted by computer games. And I am not really sure. This is the impression I get. [The university should probably] take it seriously. Last semester I had four students just in one class did not turn up in that semester and they turned up in the last three lessons. Yeah, they missed a lot, so... I am supposed to give English test book. You all failed, I am not going to pass you. ...You're wasting my time. You're wasting your parents' money. But I was surprised that they are adults anyway, but they are responsible for themselves. At some stage, they probably need reporting system, miss three lessons. Leave the university, make your mind up. That is the good side of Chinese people that Chinese people are very forgiving, you know? So I got the impression that is if you can pass them, pass them anyway, but that is not fair on other students. They are working, these kids cannot speak English, they make no effort, they play computer games and sleep in ...We must guarantee the equity in education. ...Yes, that is the impression I got here. Maybe confrontation. I heard that with other teachers that happened....There is certain standard that I need to make commitment. The degree becomes meaningless. ...Then it turns up to 12 [courses] in an entire semester and you can pass anyway, that is not degree and they do not even deserve to be university students. (P7, interview, July 9, 2012)

Some, like P2 opined that family's social and financial status greatly affect students' school studies. For those who come from a higher social class and wealthy family, they can study whatever they want. However, for those from a lower social class and poor families, studying what they are interested in might be an incredible luxury.

Now [many] of the only children in the family do not need to worry about their food

and shelter in the future because their parents have a house or even several houses ready for them. They themselves can get a job and these kids might look down on money [because they don't need to worry about buying a house] and they can pursue their own interests and hobbies. But for other young men [who do not come from a rich family] how can't they be realistic? They couldn't stay there looking at the stars when they don't have money to buy a meal. For example, the son of the section chief of higher education of the provincial education bureau is very interested in ancient Chinese language. He doesn't study anything than that because he has a nice material condition [financial support from his family] to do that. Meanwhile, can you let a farmer's son study only ancient Chinese? They are so poor. How can they make a living by taking a full-time study of ancient Chinese? (P2, interview, June 26, 2012, trans. by author)

Discussion

The focus of the programs and curriculum development at the School of Foreign Studies reflects the dynamic imperatives from state construction and the School has cultivated graduates that the state requires in different periods. However, IHE is not significant at the School of Foreign Studies. The School is underfunded as the University of the Plains highlights the investment and development of hard sciences. Hence, only a handful of students with high academic attainments can obtain an opportunity to participate in the exchange program with Taiwan and study in a HEI in Taiwan for a few months. The School of Foreign Studies does not have the capacity to recruit foreign students even though there might be a possibility of offering teaching Chinese as a foreign language in the future. Academic staff have to wait in line if they want to go abroad due to quota limits. There is little academic communication between the School of Foreign Studies and foreign schools as some participants indicated the big gap in academic achievements. Participants adopted a

liberal attitude towards international student and staff mobility and were not concerned much about a “brain drain” as they thought there might be a reverse flow of talented people to China as long as China stands out in economic development.

The radical reform of English teaching and learning guided by the MOE at the University of the Plains brings in some positive changes, such as the use of ICT. But some participants pointed out that the application of ICT has overshadowed teachers’ attention to the art of traditional pedagogy. ICT and mass media also challenge teachers’ knowledge and wisdom as students can gain knowledge through these media. Some participants disagreed with using Powerpoint slides in their class and highlighted the importance of communication between teachers and students. One participant indicated the conflicts between his communicative pedagogy and Confucian way of teaching and learning. Beyond pedagogy, some participants pointed out the problems of curriculum design in higher education and thought it should be streamlined as some courses are too political and some are irrelevant to the focus of the program. Some thought an overemphasis on the characteristics of Chinese culture would prevent introducing advanced knowledge from the west to students. There must be a reform of curriculum if facilitating IHE at the School of Foreign Studies. Nonetheless, the status quo is that teachers cannot prepare their own course packages but must use the textbooks designated by the MOE.

The change in social values challenges teacher education. Given that the socialist market economy intensifies the competition in labour market, students are facing greater pressure to seek a job. Many students are job-oriented, whilst fewer students are enthusiastic about academic research.

Education equity, education quality and social justice were also addressed by participants. Some participants felt challenged to guarantee education equity and quality and felt puzzled as there is no reporting system to reflect the phenomenon of students’ missing

classes. Also there is not enough supervision of foreign teachers' teaching. This might lead to quality issues. Students' social and financial status affects higher education. Students from a high social class and a rich family have more opportunity to access higher education than those from a low social class and a poor family.

By interviewing administrators and faculty members at the University of the Plains, their perspectives on IHE and problems in current China's higher education system have been identified. A further reflection on this research will be presented in the next chapter.

Chapter Nine Concluding Reflections on Neoliberal Globalization, State Formation and Internationalization of Higher Education in China

Overview of the Thesis

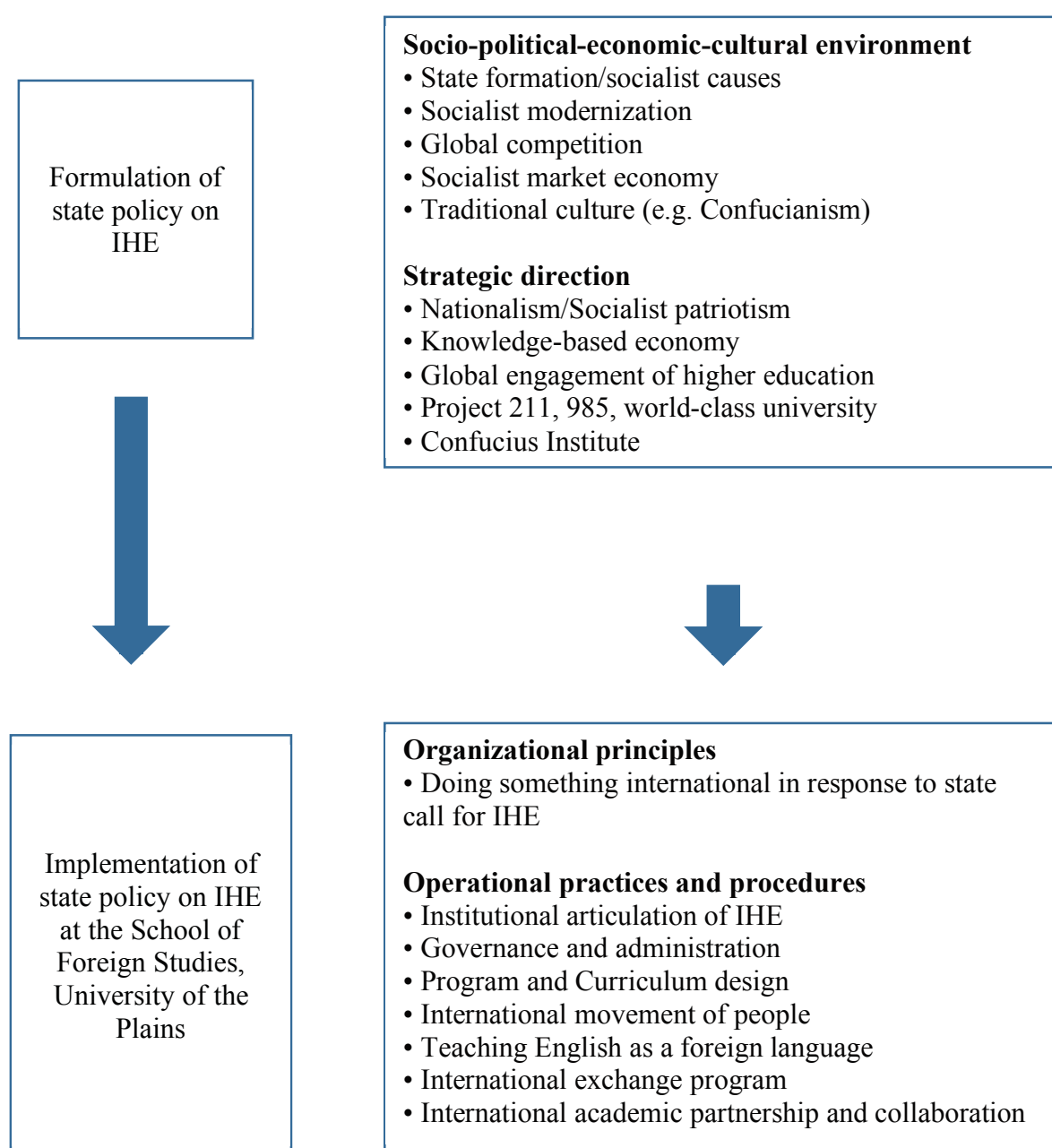
This research explores the state policy on higher education and IHE from 1949 to 2012 and the current reality of IHE at a non-elite public university in China. The research is underpinned by a literature review on neoliberal globalization, IHE, nationalism and state formation, and education policy studies. Through document analysis, government policy documents, the state's position and rationales pertaining to higher education and IHE in each historical period are examined. By using a qualitative case study strategy, university administrators and faculty members at the University of the Plains in China were selected as research participants. The research mainly addressed these questions: 1) How have national and global influences been playing a part in the development/evolution of IHE policy in China? 2) What are the perspectives of university administrators and faculty members on the state policies in relation to IHE? and 3) How might university administrators and faculty members' perspectives inform policy and practice in higher education in China? Based on the findings from government policy analysis and key informant interviews with research participants, this chapter mainly presents my reflections on China's higher education policies and the reality of IHE at a public HEI in China, and possible considerations for future research.

Studying government policy documents and the state's position and rationales pertaining to higher education and IHE mainly involves exploring the context of policy-making, and the drives behind policy-making in higher education and IHE in China. Education policy is high on the agenda of Chinese government. However, the formulation of state policy on higher education in China is not a linear process; it is directed by state rationales for construction for modernization and social citizenship and is impinged upon by

global, cultural, and ideological factors. In exploring the implementation of state policy on IHE at the local institution, I find that the University of the Plains has also been facilitating IHE in areas such as governance and administration, and international movement of people. Figure 9-1(below) shows recent state policy formulation and implementation at the University of the Plains. The Figure 9-1

uses Bell and Stevenson's (2006) analytical model for education policy analysis.

Figure 9-1 Recent State Policy Formulation and Implementation at a Local HEI



From the establishment of the P.R.C through to 1966, China's government adopted a conservative and cautious position towards IHE. It was mainly the government that supervised and facilitated the process of dispatching students and staff abroad for study and accepting foreign students for study in China. The decisions about and regulations for dispatching certain numbers of students and staff for study or continuing education abroad lived up to the dynamic demand from the state construction and development. Students and staff mainly pursued study or training in socialist countries due to the ideological confrontation between the socialist and capitalist blocs. Those who were sent abroad for higher education or training were expected to bring in foreign (i.e., advanced) science and technology and contribute to China's four modernizations and state construction. However, the Chinese government firmly rejected capitalist ideologies and culture. Conflicts within the CCP about governing and left adventurism led to the "Great Leap Forward", which affected the work on IHE. However, the CCP soon found problems and corrected its guidance for education. The Cultural Revolution (1966-76) destroyed China's educational system and put an end to IHE. The dominance of a nationwide worship for Mao, the influence of extreme leftism propagated by Mao and his followers which rejected both Chinese traditional culture and values and foreign influences, and a blind adherence to Mao's policies and wishes finally led to the result that China just closed its door to the rest of the world, entering a period of extreme xenophobia, and the country was in limbo, education-wise, for ten years. Social development and state construction were severely damaged during this period. Chinese traditional cultures like Confucianism had been entirely removed from society. Formal school education was devalued and intellectuals persecuted. Students were encouraged to participate in labour and revolution. This chaos was not suspended until 1976 when the Gang of Four⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Gang of Four namely 四人帮 (Siren bang) was composed of four CCP's officials Jiang Qing (Mao Zedong's wife), Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan, and Wang Hongwen, who came

were stricken down and lost their power in China.

The year of 1978 is normally regarded as a watershed in the history of the P.R.C, as Deng Xiaoping came to the centre of China's political stage. His proposal for reform and opening up the country started to bring in positive influences to the Chinese society from then on. With the implementation of the State policy of "reform and opening-up," China started to establish a socialist market economy and open its doors to the world. Economic prosperity was overemphasized for a long period which has made education equity succumb to economic imperatives and had arrested the development of the humanities. In higher education, the CCP leaders adopted an open vision on international engagement of higher education. Starting in the 1980s, in contrast to the government controlling the sending of students and staff abroad, there were now waves of self-financed study. Beginning in the 1990s, in addition to international student mobility, international academic exchange and collaboration became more frequent than ever. In the 2000s, China began facilitating the establishment of Sino-foreign universities in China, the establishment of branch campuses in foreign countries, and the promotion of Confucius Institutes all over the world. This reflects the degree to which IHE in China has been furthered. The problem of "brain drain" was realized by the CCP leaders. Hence, the CCP has promoted nationalism and ideological and political education and many positive measures have been taken in order to attract more outstanding overseas Chinese people to come back to China, contributing to the development of the State.

The divergence between policy and the reality of IHE must be demonstrated given the case study at the University of the Plains. In contrast to the current encouraging ambitious state policies on higher education and IHE, university administrators and faculty members

to power and dominated Chinese politics by manipulating public opinion during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) but were later charged with a series of treason and other crimes.

affiliated with the University of the Plains from its inception were not optimistic about their work on IHE. Instead, they reflected on many existing problems in China's higher education. They held different perspectives on IHE. Some doubted the necessity of facilitating IHE in China, some emphasized the characteristics of Chinese higher education in facilitating IHE, and some thought facilitating IHE in China required more than simply following a western higher education model as there lacks something fundamental such as philosophical concerns and academic accumulation which prevents China's higher education development. IHE at the University of the Plains and the School of Foreign Studies is not significantly observable due to many reasons, such as financial restrictions, capacity, and administrative barriers. In this chapter, these problems have led me to a critical reflection about my research.

Policy-making, Power, Politics, and State Formation

"Policy-making is often thought about in terms of being rational or incremental in nature" (Trowler, 1998, p. 35). Beyond these features, power and politics play a clear role in China's higher education policy-making process. The ideological drive behind policy-making is significant. As Trowler (1998) articulates, "policy-making is always a political process; competing groups, interests and ideologies continued to fight over the shape of education policy" (p. 35). Even though China politically is under the leadership of one party, historically, tensions between rightists and leftists, conservatives and activists within the party do exist. The vision and position that party leaders in power have for and on education have also dominated the rhetoric of higher education policy-making in each historical period. Consequently, there is not enough evidence about Chinese higher education policy decision-making, either from experiential or empirical research from the field or from local settings. Empirical findings from my interviews with university administrators and faculty members reflect the inconsistency between higher education policy-making and higher education realities. These findings also reflect the lack of democratic participation in China's higher

education policy-making. As some research participants argued, China's policy-makers' own preference for the western higher education model has influenced their policy-making, while the reality of Chinese higher education was not taken seriously into account. Certainly there is a lack of democracy in policy decision making (P4, interview, June 29, 2014).

Political repression also affects freedoms. There is no blanket repression of criticism in the Post-Confucian world, but dissent is expressed in distinctive ways. Issues openly debated or subject to ritualistic angst in the United States are often debated inside the party/state in China, including the universities, which are part of the broad state. (Marginson, 2013, p. 24)

The political party system of China as stipulated in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China is a multi-party cooperative and political consultative system under the leadership of the CCP (CCCCP, 1982). In such a centralized political party system, policy-making is top-down, policy being implemented from central to local. In contrast to the governance model of HEIs in many western countries, most public universities in China are directly administered by the MOE. Public institutions and systems in China do not possess great latitude in dealing with social influences, although "the atmosphere in leading universities [in China] is often liberal and there is more academic engagement in policy issues than in, say, the UK" (Marginson, 2013, p.24). Instead, the guiding principles, policies, regulations and laws for education are facilitated by the MOE under the leadership of the CCP and then implemented by local governments and schools. As Mohrman (2011) reveals, "higher education is seen as a critical component of China's ambitious plan of modernization, economic growth, and national development - too important to be determined completely at the campus level. Universities remain entities of the state" (p. 104). Yet the top-down approach has always been critiqued with an overemphasis on unification and systematization, neglecting differentiation and specialization.

Another typical feature in China's higher education is that ideological and political education has been emphasized and plays a key role in state formation. Ideological and political courses are compulsory in higher education curricula. Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, "Three Representatives," and "the Scientific Development Concept," all part of the current official guiding socio-economic philosophy of the CCP, comprise the main contents of ideological and political education in school. Ideological and political education in China is intended to strongly influence students' political attitudes and awareness of the social and civic responsibility, and to mould successors to steer China's socialist course. In particular, patriotism and nationalism have been widely publicized in China and deeply influenced Chinese people. Some scholars, including Lam (2015) argues that,

A heavy dosage of patriotism - and nationalism - is integral to the Chinese Dream mantra. While every leader since Mao Zedong has played up nationalism, Xi has done so in a way that is more overt and aggressive than that of his two predecessors. (p. 83)

Nonetheless, patriotism and nationalism as a spiritual force plays a key role in unifying Chinese people all over the world and becomes a successful policy strategy in terms of retaining and attracting domestic and overseas talented Chinese people.

Neoliberal Globalization and IHE in China

The impact of neoliberal globalization on the domain of education policy-making world-wide is significant. As Robertson and Dale (2015) argue,

Rather it is possible to detect a 'thin' global policy regime historically, and arguably so in the years following World War 2 until the 1980s and the rise of neoliberal policies. With the advance of neoliberalism as a global political project, there is a thickening of global policy-making activity, on the one, hand, and the transformation of national and regional education spaces, policies and outcomes that are in turn

aligned with globally-oriented agendas more closely tied to, and productive of, new social and economic forms - global economic competitiveness, the creation of knowledge-based service economies, and so on. In short, the form, content and scales at which education policies had become more global. (p. 2)

Neoliberalism as an ideology, political philosophy, economic doctrine, and policy model has been propagated by western countries and multilateral institutions. It has also been embedded in contemporary globalization. Neoliberal globalization has affected Chinese society. After the termination of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, the new CCP leaders such as Deng Xiaoping proposed a focus on economic reform and development instead of political conflicts. As Willis (2005) notices,

By the time of Mao's death in 1976 industrial growth rates were declining and agricultural production was not keeping pace with population growth. Peasants were increasingly allowed to produce and sell their own crops, rather than working within a communal system. The Chinese government also decided to move towards market mechanisms in some sectors by opening up parts of the economy to foreign investment. This was part of what the government termed 'market socialism.' (p. 85)

China adopted the socialist market economy system in order to increase and extend its economic development as the CCP leaders have regarded the market as a mechanism for boosting economic development, and consider it irrelevant to the political ideology. However, CCP leaders have insisted on socialism with Chinese characteristics, leading scholars such as Harvey (2005) to observe that,

By taking its own peculiar path towards 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' or, as some now prefer to call it, 'privatization with Chinese characteristics,' it managed to construct a form of state-manipulated market economy that delivered spectacular economic growth (averaging close to 10 per cent a year) and rising standards of living

for a significant proportion of the population for more than twenty years. But the reforms also led to environmental degradation, social inequality, and eventually something that looks uncomfortably like the reconstitution of capitalist class power. (p. 122)

China had to compromise with the capitalist system of Hong Kong when Britain handed the colony over in 1997 and “the neoliberal rules of international trade set up through the WTO, which China joined in 2001” (Harvey, 2005). The implementation of the state policy of “reform and opening-up” has not only brought dramatic changes to China’s economy, but also stimulated people’s political demand for liberalization. These circumstances led to the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989. Nevertheless, as Welch (2002) observes,

...one of the less well-known effects of the Tiananmen Square was that tens of thousands of university students fled China to study abroad or remained abroad as a result of more liberal student visa policies adopted in the aftermath of the tragedy. (p. 443)

Neoliberalism also influences Chinese people’s views on individual freedom and international mobility. Free international student and staff mobility has not only been allowed by the Chinese government, but has been supported by some research participants in this research, who expressed that there should be no questions about people’s international mobility.

IHE is not a new phenomenon, but as some scholars like Mok point out, “what is really new today is the intensity and the extent of internationalization activities taking place in contemporary universities” (2007, p. 435). “Proactively responding to globalization challenges, governments in different parts of the world have started to make ‘international understanding and cooperation’ more central to university teaching, research, and service”

(Mok, 2007, p. 435). Yang, Vidovich, and Currie (2007) observe that “in the 1980s and 1990s, supranational organizations, such as the World Bank, began to influence Chinese higher education policy. More recently with China’s entry into the World Trade Organization, market ideologies are permeating their universities” (p. 577). To be specific, “international understanding and cooperation” has been highlighted in China’s higher education especially after the implementation of the opening-up and reform policies as well as China’s entry into the WTO. Intensified global competitiveness also drove the Chinese government to review its higher education system which led to radical reforms in higher education in the 1990s and 2000s. More recently, the project of 211, the project of 985, and the world-class university as a strategy have been proposed and adopted to enhance the degree of internationalization at some elite universities in China. A number of public universities in China receive significant funding from the government, whose support is designed to develop these institutions into world renowned universities. As Huang (2007) writes,

The goal of establishing world-renowned universities indicates that the internationalization of higher education in China is no longer confined to personal mobility and joint programmes in co-operation with foreign partners. Rather, it shows that China is trying to build up its own centres of excellence and to participate in global competition.

In China, the government intends to quicken the pace for building up a few world-class universities. In 2015, the State Council has issued a notice on the *General Plan for Facilitating the Construction of World-class Universities and World-class Disciplines* in 2015. It requires

[M]any a Chinese university and many an academic discipline to achieve world-class status by 2020; more Chinese universities and disciplines achieve world-class status

and the whole capacity of China's higher education obtains a significant improvement by 2030; the number and quality of world-class universities and academic disciplines approach the top world standard and make China a powerful country underpinned by education by the mid 21st century. (State Council, 2015, para.5, trans. by author)

Some scholars regard the new scheme as “world class 2.0” and think it just replaces China's previous C9 project, though the new scheme does not indicate which universities are expected to obtain world-class status and “has not officially put out a figure of how much funding it will pour into the best of the best under the new scheme” (Sharma, 2015, para. 3). Furthermore, China's Shanghai Jiao Tong University has been working on a global comparison and ranking of universities since 2003, with the financial support from the Chinese government. Each year, the University's Centre for World-Class Universities releases the results of its Academic Ranking of World Universities. However, as Rostan and Vaira (2011) argue,

Rankings are social constructions largely reflecting political interests and power.

They assume a rather traditional conception of excellence by which institutions and their activities are measured and evaluated. They tend to reproduce previous formal and informal hierarchies. They use indicators and methods that are not only disputed, but also not appropriated if not fallacious (e.g. the weight and sum method). They are used more as a rhetoric device to legitimise systems' reform and restructuring policies than as real tools to improve systems' and institutions' performance. (ix)

In addition, given the magnitude of Chinese students pursuing study abroad in recent years, the government has adopted an accepting attitude while taking positive measures to attract outstanding overseas Chinese students and scholars to come back to China. In the meantime, in contrast to the years when China accepted foreign students purely for their offers of humanitarian and technological aid and to enhance mutual understanding with other

countries, in the past decade the government has been working to recruit foreign students, charging international student fees. China's Shanghai Jiao Tong University became the first Chinese university to offer programs abroad and has been operating its Graduate School of Singapore since 2002, introducing MBA programs at the Nanyang Technological University. China has been playing a small part in the formation of the global international student market and the higher education export service. "The challenge is recognizing the complexities and nuances of the global higher education context - an academic world fraught with inequalities in which market and commercial forces increasingly dominate" (Altbach, 2007, p.138).

Cultural Globalization and IHE

Western culture has exerted a significant influence on Chinese society since China adopted its state policy of "reform and opening-up." Even though the Chinese government maintains a highly cautious attitude towards western culture, society at large is getting to know western culture via information and technology. Zheng (2010) argues that "the impact of cultural globalization on higher education can be perceived from the absolute American and European academic authority, the western dominance of [the] knowledge network, the dissemination of western culture and value and the English language" (p. 20). In my research for this thesis, some participants also indicated the ways in which the western higher education model affected China's higher education reform, for example, using the model of western higher education evaluation and assessment measurement, faculty members are pushed harshly. The government's policy and strategy of establishing several world-class universities in China and pursuing prestigious western higher education standards also reflects the influences of the western dominance of the knowledge system. The environment for introducing western culture to students at the University of Plains is more relaxed than before. However, introducing too much western culture to students is still a sensitive issue,

due to political concerns. Teaching English as a foreign language has been reformed upon a request from the MOE, since the MOE insists that student's adaptability to internationalization should be strengthened. It is not only universities that have offered English language teaching and learning; other social actors have been offering exam-oriented English training as well. English language training has become an emerging education industry in China. It must be noted that, in addition to emphasizing English language teaching and learning, the government has highlighted Chinese language and culture in recent years.

In the context of cultural globalization, there are conflicts in cultural aspects in facilitating IHE in China as China has its own traditional culture. On the one hand, the Chinese government encourages HEIs to fulfil IHE. On the other hand, the government is cautious of the penetration of western culture. That is why ideological and political education has always been emphasized in China's higher education. Also, some research participants pointed out that in the past, when learning from the west, Chinese culture was underestimated and not a focus of government-mandated curricula. If IHE is facilitated in China, the country's own culture should not be overlooked if facilitating IHE in China. On this point, the promotion of the Confucius Institutes can be regarded as a measure of the Chinese government's effort to disseminate Chinese traditional culture and enhance mutual understanding between China and other countries.

It must be pointed out that traditional Chinese culture has influenced Chinese society for centuries. Concepts like "self-cultivation," proposed by Confucius, and other philosophies like "read ten thousand books, travel ten thousand miles" are popular and widely accepted by Chinese society. Not only the government but also emerging middle-class families are willing to invest more in higher education and financially support overseas studies. State-funded and self-financed student and staff mobility abroad are quite common in China nowadays.

Implications of the Study for Policy-making in Higher Education

This study has generated a number of implications of interest to policy-makers and stakeholders of higher education in China. Several of these implications are discussed below.

Education Policy-making, Institutional Autonomy and Participation

In view of the top-down policy-making model in education and problems that have been identified through this research, there is a call to more widely incorporate stakeholders' differing points of view into policy-making. As Bell and Stevenson (2006) argue, "policy must be seen as a dialectic process in which all those affected by the policy will be involved in shaping its development" (p.2). This also means that enough experiential and empirical research from the field and local context should be conducted and taken into account instead of having policy formulated by a small group of experts or CCP leaders. This can also contribute to enhancing the democracy and transparency of policy -making in China. In addition, as Bell and Stevenson (2006) articulate,

Educational institutions are now, more than ever before, required to produce students with the appropriate skills and capabilities to match national priorities. Education also is now seen to be important in developing national identity, citizenship, social cohesion and social justice. (p. 74)

In studying Chinese national policy on autonomy, Li and Yang considers that the state-controlled model has been employed in Chinese higher education system especially in early periods of the P.R.C. Government-university relationships had not been significantly altered until the 1980s when China adopted the socialist market economy and the open-door policy. After the implementation of market mechanisms, "the central government has become a 'market manager' and its role is shifting from that of state control to state supervision" (2014, pp.24-25). However, education policy-making has been typically aligned with China's national development plan. Although the decentralization of higher education has been

facilitated in China and many HEIs are under the joint supervision of ministries of the central government and provincial governments, “China’s system of dual university leadership, where the party secretary sits alongside the president, has ambiguous potentials for institutional autonomy” (Marginson, 2013, p. 23). This research shows that academic departments still do not possess the authority to invite foreign individuals and delegates by themselves but have to ask for permission from the IAD. Holding international conferences and other academic activities also has to undergo State Council, provincial, and ministerial review. To better facilitate international communication, administration can be further simplified, and academic departments should have more space and freedom to work on international activities, such as inviting foreign distinguished scholars and guest speakers and holding their own, independent international conferences.

This research reflects another problem with higher education policy-making and institutional autonomy in terms of curriculum design and choosing textbooks. There has been a tendency to cater excessively to the needs of social and economic development. The forcible requirement introduced by policy-makers and curriculum designers neglects the local reality and students’ personal interest and to some extent dampens students’ enthusiasm for learning. This requirement does not stimulate students’ aspiration to study, but rather, it limits their opportunities to develop their own potential. The required comprehensive English learning is a typical example of this problem. HEIs in China were encouraged to bring in foreign original textbooks. However, the MOE is now very cautious about using foreign textbooks in HEIs in China. Specifically, the MOE sent questionnaires to many HEIs asking about using foreign textbooks. Because of political sensitivities, the MOE now keeps a very close watch on both the humanities and social sciences in China’s HEIs in case faculty members use these textbooks without first seeking permission from the university (2015, MOE). Under such circumstances, HEIs do not possess much freedom in curriculum design

and the use of foreign textbooks as they must follow the guidance from the MOE and are under the MOE's surveillance.

I would argue that to counter these problems in higher education policy-making, HEIs should take a much more active role in negotiating with the government to obtain more control over international academic activities and curricular content, such as specialties and syllabi, while working within the government-provided guidelines regarding teaching hours and other basic requirements. Students, as the principal beneficiaries of education, should also be given a voice to share their opinions. As for policy-making for curriculum design, it is better for educational policy makers and curriculum designers to initiate a dialogue with students and take students' concerns into account during the policy-making process. They can then ascertain enrolment projections that concern both the students' personal research interests and the need for a rising social demand in certain popular areas. In this regard, Oakes, Rogers, and Lipton (2006) elaborate that Dewey called for "a public sphere in which experts and citizens engage together in participatory social inquiry in information gathering, exchange, interpretation, and debate" (pp.16-17). Dewey's proposal might be an ideal way to improve higher education policy-making in China.

Model of Higher Education and Contextualization in China

In this research, participants debated higher education models. Some participants argued that simply copying a western higher education model, especially the US model, does not make sense in a Chinese context. Some highlighted the positive aspect of western higher education, such as developed humanities and social sciences programs and an emphasis on fundamental knowledge such as educational foundations, philosophy, etc. The research signifies the importance of contextualizing higher education in China.

Higher education and research in East Asia and Singapore are a complex, open and moving hybrid. They have been shaped by many locational cultural and political

elements, and closely affected by the Western imperial intervention and more contemporary models, especially the US research university. (Marginson, 2013, p. 29)

In exploring the dynamic evolution of higher education and research in East Asia, Marginson (2013) further termed this “Post-Confucian,” despite the differences between China, Hong Kong SAR, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore because the higher education systems in those regions and countries share something in common. Specifically, he pointed out that Post-Confucian higher education systems share “a common heritage, in the comprehensive role of the Sinic state (as distinct from the limited liberal state of the English-speaking world) and Confucian educational traditions in the family and examination system” (2013, p.9) together with “an accelerated response to Western modernization” (2013, p.9). Unlike the orientation of traditional Chinese education to cultivate noble human beings, contemporary Chinese higher education succumbs to economic reductionism and state formation. On this point, Marginson (2013) states that “the economic instrumentalism common to all Post-Confucian systems (and many others) weakens the humanities and humanistic social sciences viz a viz the applied sciences and technologies” (p. 24).

Over many years, China’s higher education had focused on the cultivation of talented people needed for state construction, especially in natural sciences and technology. Humanities and social sciences were underdeveloped and overshadowed as China focused on almost exclusively on economic development and other constructions needed for modernization. Contemporary Chinese higher education lacks educational foundations. The orientation of traditional Chinese education is much more liberal, which historically gave priority to high culture and literature. However, in the past decades, when policy makers accentuated science and technology, the development of humanities and social sciences was neglected and retarded. The lack of balance in the development of academic disciplines in higher education – specifically between hard sciences and social sciences is problematic: it

does not lead to well-rounded students, and indeed, it limits their education. As we know, humanities and social sciences concentrate on culture, history, sociology, and language, all of which plays a key role in maintaining the identity and culture of a country and people. The underdevelopment of humanities and social sciences may cause a great loss of culture and history. Given that, it is incorrect to follow the global trend in higher education that puts a high value on the blind pursuit of hard sciences and a pursuit of high-technology. As with every theory that has a scope of application, blindly introducing western models of higher education cannot solve the problem that modern higher education in China faces. Thus, in China, education policy-makers need to focus on what will work in their own cultural context. Only when the policy, content and goal of education are applicable to China can education truly be beneficial to its people. Nevertheless, there has been a positive change in education policy-making in recent years, in that the Chinese government has recognized the problem of an imbalanced development between hard sciences and humanities and social sciences and has been increasing the investment in constructing programs in the humanities and social sciences. However, more efforts should be made to build China's humanities and social sciences programs, with emphasis on the culture's own characteristics.

Pursuit of Excellence, Building up World-class Universities and the Reality of Higher Education in China

China's aim to build world-class universities is apparently tied to imperatives related to economic development and state construction as well as driven by global competition. Rostan and Vaira address the pursuit of excellence in higher education and national policy-making this way:

The largest part of, if not all, developed and developing countries has been more and more engaged in promoting policies aiming at making respective systems and institutions to attain and/or to maintain top-level, or world-class, quality. Excellence

as a policy issue reflects the institutional and competitive pressures exerted by the global rankings movement on national systems and institutions. Further, national policies for excellence incorporate definitions, measures, and methods provided by rankings, and on that basis are framed and pursued. (2011, viii)

The study of policy documents on IHE shows that the Chinese government encourages China's HEIs to actively facilitate international activities of higher education and to enhance global engagement. China's new scheme for building up several world-class universities within the given deadline involves a grand blueprint for Chinese higher education. However, it is unknown whether the big goal will guide another "Great Leap Forward" in higher education and shape a small group of elite world-class universities in China or whether it could contribute to the improvement of the quality of Chinese higher education in a broader sense. Borrowing from and introducing a western higher education model has resulted in some conflicts with the reality of Chinese higher education. Mok (2007) discusses some scholars' research findings that "academics in Chinese universities are not happy about the evaluation measurements and performance and assessment criteria imposed from the top and borrowed from the West" and "criticizing the Chinese government for taking it to extremes in performance assessment only in light of the imposed Western standards..." (p. 442). Similarly, in examining excellence and comparing mass higher education in China and the United States, Mohrman (2011) asks,

What then is the definition of excellence in Chinese universities today? For many academics, research is key. Chinese professors, like their American counterparts, gain individual prestige through scholarly publications more than other activities.

Administrators gain recognition when their institutions rise in international rankings and citation indices. And since the Chinese government has chosen to provide financial rewards to those universities most likely to succeed in global competition,

there is real money involved in advancement of research. Many academics feel that they have no choice but to embrace western standards of quality, at the same time that they speak ruefully of this new form of Western hegemony. (p. 104)

My research echoes these findings, as some participants critiqued China's top-down policy-making model and a focus on the pursuit of a Western higher education model. Following the standard western evaluation measurements and performance and assessment criteria means that academic staff must shoulder a heavy load. Some participants criticized the Chinese government's call for "creativity" as being a slogan, and a mandate that would be hard to realize at Chinese universities. Some stated that there is a lack of foundation for the study of the humanities and that something fundamental is missing in the move toward academic accumulation in China's higher education. Academic dishonesty such as plagiarism and fabrication is one negative by-product of blindly following the evaluation and assessment measurements of western higher education without taking into account the reality of China's higher education system. In this regard, Mok (2007) calls for a proper contextualization given that "the adoption of such global strategies or global reform measures may become counterproductive" (p. 442) and reminds us of the social and political costs of globalization.

Education Equity, Social Justice and Higher Education Policy-making

In unpacking the realities of globalization and IHE, Altbach (2007) points out that "the world of globalized higher education is highly unequal" (p. 121). In particular, he discusses the "centres" and "peripheries":

The powerful universities and academic systems - the centres - have always dominated the production and distribution of knowledge. Smaller and weaker institutions and systems with fewer resources and often lower academic standards—the peripheries—have tended to be dependent on them. Academic centers provide leadership in science and scholarship and in research and teaching. They are the

leaders with regard to organizational structure and mission of universities, and in knowledge dissemination. (p.124)

The same is true of China. “China’s key universities are significant producers of research, mainly for internal consumption, while at the same time serving as links to the wider world of higher education” (Altbach, 2007, p. 125). China’s world-class university project is a strategy for IHE which helps its elite universities jump into the pool of the so-called world-class university league. The Chinese government’s aim to develop several world-renowned universities is helping elite universities in China to reach international standards faster, with government support. However, at the same time, the large scale of funding and education resources flowing to elite universities further stratifies of universities and leads to unbalanced resources allocation among HEIs. This assessment was reinforced by my research participants. The University of the Plains does not belong to the top elite line of China’s universities, but as a member of the project of 211 and platform of 985, it still receives some funding from the Chinese government for working on IHE. Nonetheless, other HEIs like those which are not members of the project of 211 and platform of 985 might be less able to work on IHE even though there might be an institutional aspiration for IHE. Scholars from China, including Ha, discuss the side effects of the project of 211 and platform of 985 and points out that,

It is no surprise that there is so much criticism of the two programmes [211 and 985]. Some are saying we are creating entitlement programmes for these elite universities and stifling competition. Others are saying when universities receive so much funding from the government directly, they are put on a short leash by the government and there is no autonomy. (Ha, as cited in Sharma, 2015, para. 16)

Beyond an intensified stratification in HEIs, the stratification of social class has also affected higher education. Students from a higher social class and wealthy family have more

opportunities to receive an elite education while students from a lower social class and poor family have less or no opportunity to access elite education. As Ha argues, “When China still has millions of people in poverty, is it justified in spending on universities that serve the children of elite Chinese families?” (as cited in Sharma, 2015, para. 14). Privilege still exists in HEIs. Though China’s HEIs offer admission based on the national entrance examination, some students from privileged families, who might not do as well on the exams, are accepted anyway, and the result is that students with poor qualifications can study with those qualified students in the same class. Some students won’t attend classes but still can gain credits as they have special relationships with the key figures in the university or with higher officials. The existence of nepotism and corruption is not fair to those students who have good academic backgrounds but are from an underprivileged social class. Some of them won’t receive an admission letter from the university because those with privilege have occupied the remaining places. In order to guarantee education equity and social justice, higher education policy makers in China must pay more attention to the allocation and sharing of education resources and make an effort to build a sound system that maximally diminishes the effect of social status and family background on a student’s access to higher education.

Concluding Reflections on the Research Experience

Having spent many years studying at different institutions of higher education, I have observed and experienced different systems. This might be an impetus for me to maintain my curiosity and consistent research interest in higher education. Also because of my own identity as a foreign student, I pay more attention to foreign student mobility, foreign campuses, academic staff mobility and distance education, all of which many scholars think should be studied under the umbrella of IHE. In my master’s study, I primarily explored Chinese graduate student mobility to Canada. However, when I examined international student mobility (ISM), I had to rely on the literature surrounding IHE because I could not

find rich literature on ISM, even though this was a time when some scholars proposed viewing ISM as part of IHE. Nevertheless, one and a half years later, as I moved into the second year of doctoral studies, reading newly published articles about globalization, internationalization, and higher education, and learning others' research results in those areas at recent academic conferences, I reflected on my previous thoughts about globalization and IHE. I found I could not agree with my previous understanding of globalization as a historical process in which the interconnectedness of nation-states and regions has been strengthened through international economic, social and cultural intercourse and flows across borders. I also revisited my understanding of IHE as a process of "integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution" (Knight, 1993, p.21) and a nation-state's or institutional response to globalization. In order to conduct my doctoral research on educational policy studies of IHE in China, I felt inspired to undertake a critical literature review of globalization, internationalization, and higher education based on my assumption that IHE has been intensified by globalization but also driven by other forces. Thus, drawing on literature on globalization, internationalization, and education policy and state formation, I examined the policy and reality of IHE in the Chinese context.

It is not easy to obtain access to Chinese HEIs for research, especially if the researcher is not in China. I finally decided to conduct my research at the University of the Plains because this university falls into the criteria of justification for this research and I have known some university administrators and faculty members there for years. My identity as an international student in Canada for many years was challenged by some participants. They did doubt whether I was a reliable researcher that they could share their views with or a Canadian spy who wanted to gather information from them. In order to eliminate their concerns about my identity, I provided enough evidence to them before I came to visit them.

This included my Chinese passport, McGill student ID card, McGill ethics approval, terminology used in this research, and so forth. Finally, with the assistance of my acquaintances at the University of the Plains, I gained those participants' trust and completed the interviews with them smoothly.

The other tension that I encounter is the difficulty of obtaining data on international student and staff mobility mainly the number of Chinese students and staff going abroad for study or training each year and the number of foreign students studying at the University of the Plains each year from an office in the university. Even though I failed to access those numbers, the research was not affected given that it emphasizes qualitative inquiries instead of quantitative studies. Other than that, I have enjoyed the entire research process, as it provided me with a chance to learn different perspectives on and concerns about China's higher education system, and debate with the participants about many issues related to that system.

Considerations for Future Research

This qualitative case study focuses on the Chinese government's policies and positions on IHE from 1949 to 2012 and university administrators and faculty members' perspectives on higher education and IHE in China. The research combines a social and historical study of education policy and an exploration of a local HEI's responses to China's higher education policies and IHE reality. In terms of future research, some directions and foci can be explored: first, there has been a rising wave against English language teaching and learning in higher education in the past decade, the result of too much emphasis being put on English language teaching and learning in higher education. Change is coming, however, English as a compulsory exam in China's college entrance examination will be cancelled from 2017. As the Chinese government works to revitalize Chinese traditional culture, the government has promoted the study of Chinese culture and language worldwide through

Confucius Institutes abroad. The change in the government's policy and position on Chinese traditional culture and the Chinese language and English can be studied by exploring globalization and IHE in China from a cultural perspective. Second, in light of a large number of twinning programs worldwide, Altbach (2007) observes that,

...the university in the North provides the basic curriculum and orientation for an institution in the South. In such arrangements, academic degrees are often jointly awarded. Twinning has the advantage of aiding institutions in the South in developing new curricular offerings, with the stamp of approval of an established foreign university. Again, the higher education "products" come from the North, often with little adaptation to local needs.

A close look at the emerging phenomenon of multinationalization and multinational academic enterprise, which includes joint-running/twinning programs and schools in China, would enrich the critical study of neoliberal globalization and higher education as it might find issues related to the divergence between education policy and practice, knowledge transfer, language of instruction, and cultural conflicts. Third, as the number of international students pursuing studies in China has increased dramatically in the past decade, research about international student mobility to China can be conducted to examine foreign students' rationale for studying in China and the experience with their studies there. Fourth, as Marginson points out, the downsides of the "Confucian"/"Post-Confucian" model, such as "social equity in participation, and in the potential for state interference in executive autonomy and academic creativity" (2011, p.587) as well as "possible limits to the effectiveness of the Post-Confucian systems in relation to research quality, university autonomy and academic freedom" (2013, p. 22), a critical study of issues related to education equity and social justice, the quality of higher education, academic freedom alongside IHE could become a new topic of future research.

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Appendix 1 A Description of Research Participants

Research Participants	Occupation	Years working at the University until 2012
P1	Dean and Professor	Twenty-three years
P2	University Administrator	Twenty years
P3	Vice Dean and Professor	Twenty-one years
P4	Vice Dean and Professor	Fifteen years
P5	Associate Professor	Twenty-seven years
P6	Lecturer	Ten years
P7	Foreign lecturer	Under 6-month contract

Appendix 2 Questions for Interviews

1. Could you please give me some ideas about your working environment and your involvement in any international activities of higher education if applicable? What do you think of your current role in internationalizing higher education?
2. What is your vision/perspective on the national or institutional policy regarding internationalization of higher education? Do you aware of any policy shifts and key development in internationalizing universities based on your learning and working experience? If you evaluate the importance of internalizing higher education, then which aspects of higher education do you think should be encompassed in internationalization?
3. What do you think of the national and institutional rationale to internationalize higher education? what is driving IHE? Do you think globalization has impacted internationalization of higher education?
4. If you were to name ONE “big reason” for internationalizing higher education, what would it be? From your point of view, who is benefitting from internationalizing higher education?
5. What is your response to those who say the discourse of internationalization of higher education is unfair given that universities in the west benefit more through recruiting talented students from the rest, establishing foreign campus and offering distance education, while higher education institutions in developing countries are suffering the loss of talented students? If you were to think of just TWO criticisms of internationalization of higher education, what would they be?
6. Could you please share any insights from your work related to the prevailing internationalization of higher education?

Appendix 3 Key Policy Documents Related to Higher Education and IHE (1949-1959)

Issuing Authority	Year	Documents
中央人民政府政务院 Administrative Council of the Central People's Government	1950	中央人民政府政务院关于处理接受美国 津贴的文化教育救济机构及宗教团体的 方针的决定 Decision on processing the cultural and educational organizations and religious groups sponsored by the US
	1951	中央人民政府政务院关于改革学制的决 定 Decision on the reform of the educational system
	1954	政务院文化教育委员会同意关于东欧来 华留学生入学条件及手续的统一规定及 1954-1955 年度我高等学校对其开放的专 业 Administration Council's agreement on a unified requirement for admission, procedure of registration, and opened specializations for foreign students from East Europe
教育部党组 CCP Party Group of Ministry of Education	1955	关于实用主义思想在中国教育界中的影 响和批判实用主义教育思想的初步计划 On the influence of pragmatism on China's education and Preliminary plan for criticizing educational thoughts of pragmatism
中共中央，国家科委党 组教育部党组、外交部 党委 Central Committee of the CCP, CCP Group of the National Council for Science and Technology, CCP Group of Ministry of Education, & CCP Committee of Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1959	关于留学生工作会议的报告 Report on the work meeting for dispatching students abroad

中华人民共和国第一届 全国人民代表大会第一 次会议 First Conference of the First National People's Congress	1954	中华人民共和国宪法 The Constitution of the P.R.C
中国人民政治协商会议 第一届全体会议 First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference	1949	中国人民政治协商会议共同纲领 The common program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
郭沫若（国务院副总理） Guo Moruo (Vice Premier of the State Council)	1950	关于处理接受美国津贴的文化教育救济 机构及宗教团体的方针的报告 Report on processing the cultural and educational organizations and religious groups sponsored by the US
李富春（国务院副总理兼 国家计划委员会主任） Li Fuchun (Vice Premier of the State Council and Director of State Planning Commission)	1955	关于发展国民经济的第一个五年计划的 报告 Report on First Five-Year Plan for economic development
教育部 Ministry of Education	(n.d.a)	教育部 50 年大纪事（1949 年至 1959 年） Chronology of main events in education (1949-1959)
高等教育部 Ministry of Higher Education	1955	高等教育部制定的对于我国与各友好国 家互派留学生的几项做法 Several ways of dispatching students between China and other friendly countries issued by the Ministry of Higher Education

	1956	高等教育部，外交部关于接受资本主义国家派遣留学生来我国学习的修改意见 Revised advice on accepting foreign students dispatched by capitalist countries
全国人民代表大会 National People's Congress	1954	中华人民共和国宪法（1954） The Constitution of the P.R.C 1954
外交部教育部 Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Ministry of Education	1956	关于向资本主义国家派遣留学研究生的请示报告 Request on dispatching students for graduate studies in capitalist countries

Appendix 4 Key Policy Documents Related to Higher Education and IHE (1960-1965)

Issuing Authority	Year	Name of Documents
中共中央 Central Committee of the CCP	1961	关于 1961 年和今后一个时期文化教育工作安排的报告 Report on the arrangement for the work on culture and education in 1961 and the near future
	1963	中华人民共和国教育部直属高等学校暂行工作条例（草案） Temporary work regulations for higher education institutions administered by the MOE (draft)
中央批转国家科委党组，教育部党组，外交部党组 Central Committee of the CCP, CCP Party Group of the National Council for Science and Technology, CCP Party Group of MOE, & CCP Party Committee of MOFA	1960	关于今后一个时期的留学生工作的意见 Proposals for Future Work on Overseas Chinese Students
中共中央，国务院外事办公室，教育部，对外经济联络总局 Central Committee of the CCP, Foreign Affairs Office of the State Council, Ministry of Education, & General Bureau of International Economic Liaison	1962	外国留学生工作试行条例（草案） Regulations for the work on foreign students (draft)
中共中央，教育部 Central Committee of the CCP & Ministry of Education	1961	教育部直属高等学校暂行工作条例（草案） Temporary work regulations for higher education institutions administered by the MOE

国务院外事办公室，国务院文教办公室，国家计划委员会，高等教育部，教育部 Foreign Affairs Office of the State Council, Culture and Education Office of the State Council, State Planning Commission, Ministry of Higher Education, & Ministry of Education	1964a	外语教育七年规划纲要 Outline for Planning the Seven-Year Plan for Foreign Language Education
	1964b	关于外语教育七年规划问题的请示报告 Report on the Problems in Planning Foreign Language Education in Seven years
教育部 Ministry of Education	n.d.b	教育部 50 年大纪事（1960 年至 1969 年） Chronology of main events in education (1960-1969)

Appendix 5 Key Policy Documents Related to Higher Education and IHE (1966-1976)

Issuing Authority	Year	Name of Documents
教育部 Ministry of Education	n.d.c	教育部 50 年大纪事（1970 年至 1979 年） Chronology of main events in education (1970-1979)
	1976	教育部关于 1976 至 1977 年度派遣出国留学学生的通知 Notice of dispatching students abroad between 1976 and 1977 by Ministry of Education
教育部，外交部 Ministry of Education & Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1967	教育部，外交部关于国外留学生回国参加文化大革命运动的通知 Notice for overseas Chinese students on returning to China for joining in the cultural revolution
国务院科教组 Group of Science and Education of the State Council	1972a	国务院科教组关于向法国派遣学习法语进修生的通知 Notice on dispatching students to France for continuing studies of French
	1972b	国务院科教组关于向英国派遣 25 名英语进修教师的通知 Notice on dispatching 25 English teachers to the UK for continuing studies of English
外交部，国务院科教组 Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Group of Science and Education of the State Council	1973	外交部，国务院科教组关于 1973 年接收来华留学生计划和留学生工作若干问题的请示报告 Request report of 1973 on the plan for accepting foreign students and issues about the work on foreign students

	1974	外交部，国务院科教组关于 1974 年接收和派遣留学生计划的请示 Request report of 1973 on the plan for accepting foreign students and dispatching Chinese students abroad for study
对外经济联络部 Ministry of International Economic Liaison	1972	我对外经济联络部就来华留学生事致函坦桑尼亚，赞比亚驻华大使馆 A letter to Embassy of China in Tanzania and Zambia from the Ministry of International Economic Liaison
中共中央 Central Committee of the CCP	1969	关于高等院校下放问题的通知 Announcement on decentralizing higher education institutions on October 26, 1969

Appendix 6 Key Policy Documents Related to Higher Education and IHE (1977-1989)

Issuing Authority	Year	Name of Documents
中共中央 Central Committee of the CCP	1985	中共中央关于教育体制改革的决定 CCCCP's decision on reforming educational system
	1987	中共中央关于改进和加强高等学校思想 政治工作的决定 Decision on improving and strengthening the ideological and political work of higher education institutions
邓小平 Deng Xiaoping	1978	邓小平同志谈清华问题时关于派遣留学 生问题的指示 Instruction for dispatching Chinese students abroad in discussion with the issues concerning Tsinghua University
教育部 Ministry of Education	1977	教育部关于 1977 年选派出国留学的通 知 Notice on selecting and dispatching students abroad for study in 1977
	1978	教育部关于加大选派留学生数量的报告 Report on increasing the number of dispatching Chinese students abroad for study
	1979	教育部关于 1979 年至 1985 年接受外国 留学生规模和安排外国留学生用房基建 任务的建议 Suggestions for accepting foreign students and arranging construction tasks for foreign students' accommodation from 1979 to 1985
	1984	教育部关于部门，地方自行选派出国留 学人员的通知 Notice on selecting and dispatching students and staff abroad for study by ministries and local governments

	1985	<p>教育部关于部属高等院校自行选派留学人员审批办法的通知</p> <p>Notice on selecting and dispatching students and staff abroad for study by the MOE-administered HEIs</p>
	n.d.d	<p>教育部 50 年大纪事（1980 年至 1989 年）</p> <p>Chronology of main events in education (1980-1989)</p>
<p>教育部，外交部</p> <p>Ministry of Education & Ministry of Foreign Affairs</p>	1978a	<p>教育部外交部关于做好今年接收外国留学生工作的通知</p> <p>Notice on this year's work on accepting foreign students by the MOE and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs</p>
	1978b	<p>教育部外交部关于向国外派遣语言留学生和进修教师等问题的请示</p> <p>Request to the State Council about dispatching students for language studies and teachers for continuing education abroad</p>
	1980	<p>教育部外交部关于 1980 年接收外国留学生工作的通知</p> <p>Notice on accepting foreign students in 1980</p>
	1981	<p>教育部外交部关于 1981 年接收外国留学生工作的通知</p> <p>Notice on accepting foreign students in 1981</p>
<p>教育部，外交部，文化部，财政部，国家计委</p> <p>Ministry of Education, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Finance, & National Planning Commission</p>	1979	<p>教育部外交部文化部财政部国家计委关于扩大接收外国留学生规模等问题的请示</p> <p>A request for the enrolment expansion of foreign students</p>
<p>教育部，外交部，公安部，财政部，国家人事</p>	1980a	<p>关于自费出国留学的请示</p> <p>Request for self-financed overseas studies</p>

局，国务院科技干部局， 国家劳动局 Ministry of Education, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Public Security, Ministry of Finance, State Bureau of Personnel, Science and Technology Cadre Bureau of the State Council, & State Bureau of Labor	1980b	关于自费出国留学的暂行规定 Temporary regulations on self-financed overseas studies
全国人民代表大会常务委 员会 Standing Committee of the National People's Congress	1980	中华人民共和国学位条例 Regulations of the P.R.C on academic degrees
国务院 State Council	1983	关于引进国外智力以利四化建设的决定 Decision on bringing in foreign intelligence for the constructions of four modernizations
	1984	国务院关于自费出国留学的暂行规定 State Council's temporary regulations on self-financed overseas studies
国务院，中共中央 State Council & Central Committee of the CCP	1986	中共中央国务院关于改进和加强出国留 学人员工作若干问题的通知 Notice on the issues about improving and strengthening the work on overseas Chinese students and staff
国务院，国家教委 State Council & State Education Commission	1986	关于出国留学人员工作的若干暂行规定 Temporary regulations on the work on overseas studies of students and staff
国家教委 State Education Commission	1987	国家教委关于与欧洲共同体合作培养博 士生的通知 Notice on training joint PhD with the European Community
	1989	国家教委关于选拔 1989 年国家公费出国 留学人员的通知

		Notice on selecting students and staff for public-funded overseas studies by the National Education Committee in 1989
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Appendix 7 Key Policy Documents Related to Higher Education and IHE (1990-1999)

Issuing Authority	Year	Name of Documents
中国留学基金委 China Scholarship Council	1999	国家留学基金管理委员会章程 Articles of China Scholarship Council
江泽民（国家主席） Jiang Zemin (President)	1990	爱国主义和我国知识分子的使命—在首都青年纪念五四报告会上的讲话 Patriotism and the mission of intellectuals in China – Remarks at the meeting in memory of May Fourth Movement in Beijing
教育部 Ministry of Education	1998	面向 21 世纪教育振兴行动计划 Action plan for vitalizing education for the twenty-first century
中共中央办公厅 Office of the Central Committee of the CCP	1999	中共中央国务院关于深化教育改革全民推进素质教育的决定 Central Committee of the CCP and the State Council's decision on deepening educational reform and completely promoting quality education
全国人民代表大会常务委 员会 Standing Committee of the National People's Congress	1998	中华人民共和国高等教育法 Higher Education Law of the P.R.C
国务院，教育部 State Council & Ministry of Education	1998	面相 21 世界教育振兴行动计划 Action plan for vitalizing education for the twenty-first century
国务院，国家教委 State Council & State Education Commission	1993	国务院批转国家教委关于加快改革和积极发展普通高等教育意见的通知 Notice on passing and forwarding the State Education Commission's opinion on speeding up the reform and development of higher education
国家教委 State Education Commission	1993	关于境外机构和个人来华合作办学问题的通知

		Notice on issues about foreign organizations and individuals running schools with Chinese stakeholders
	1994	高等教育面向 21 世纪教学内容和课程体系改革计划 Reform Plan of Teaching Contents and Curriculum of Higher Education Facing the 21st Century
	1995	中外合作办学暂行规定 Temporary regulations on Chinese-Foreign cooperation in running schools
	1996	全国教育事业九五计划和 2010 年发展规划 The ninth five-year plan for national education development and the development plan for 2010

Appendix 8 Key Policy Documents Related to Higher Education and IHE (2000-2012)

Issuing Authority	Year	Name of Documents
中共中央，国务院 Central Committee of the CCP & State Council	2010	国家中长期教育改革和发展规划纲要 (2010-2020 年) Outline of China's national plan for medium-and long-term education reform and development
中国科学院 Chinese Academy of Sciences	2000	中国科学院派遣研究人员留学计划大纲 草案 Chinese Academy of Sciences' plan for dispatching researchers abroad for studies
国家留学基金委 China Scholarship Council	2007	国家建设高水平大学公派研究生项目实 施工作视频会议 Video Conference on the implementation of the Chinese Government Graduate Student Overseas Study Program for the State's Construction of High Level Universities
	2012	国家优秀自费留学生奖学金项目介绍 Chinese government award for outstanding self-financed students abroad
教育部 Ministry of Education	2000	教育部 2000 年工作要点 Annual work highlights of 2000
	2001a	全国教育事业第十个五年计划 The tenth five-year national education development plan
	2001b	教育部关于实施“新世纪高等教育教学改 革工程”的通知

		Project of reforming teaching in higher education in the new century
	2001c	教育部 2001 年工作要点 Annual work highlights of 2001
	2002	教育部 2002 年工作要点 Annual work highlights of 2002
	2003	教育部 2003 年工作要点 Annual work highlights of 2003
	2004a	教育部 2004 年工作要点 Annual work highlights of 2004
	2004b	汉语作为外语教学能力认定办法 Measures for the accreditation of teachers for their ability to teach Chinese as a foreign language
	2006	教育部 2006 年工作要点 Annual work highlights of 2006
	2007	教育部 2007 年工作要点 Annual work highlights of 2007
	2008	教育部 2008 年工作要点 Annual work highlights of 2008
	2009	教育部 2009 年工作要点 Annual work highlights of 2009
	2011	教育部 2011 年工作要点 Annual work highlights of 2011
	2013	教育部 2013 年工作要点 Annual work highlights of 2013
教育部，财政部 Ministry of Education & Ministry of Finance	2007	国家公派出国留学研究生管理规定试行 Regulations on the administration on public-funded overseas Chinese graduate students for trial implementation

教育部，外交部，公安部 Ministry of Education, Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Ministry of Public Security	2000	高等学校接收外国留学生管理规定 Administrative regulations of higher education institutions on accepting foreign students
国家统计局 National Bureau of Statistics of China	2013	1978 年以来我国经济社会发展的巨大变化 Dramatic changes in China's economic and social development from 1978
中共中央办公厅，中央人 才工作协调小组 Office of the Central Committee of the CCP & Coordinating Group for Talented People of the Central Committee of the CCP	2008	中央人才工作协调小组关于实施海外高 层次人才引进计划的意见 Suggestions on the implementation of the plan for bringing in high-level talented people abroad from the Coordinating Group for Talented People of the Central Committee of the CCP
中共中央组织部，中央人 才工作协调小组 Organization Department of the Central Committee of the CCP & Coordinating Group for Talented People of the Central Committee of the CCP	2010	关于印发青年海外高层次人才引进工作 细则的通知 Regulations on bringing in young overseas talented people
国务院 State Council	2001	国民经济和社会发展第十个五年计划纲 要 Outline of the tenth five-year national economic and social development plan
	2004	关于进一步加强和改进大学生思想政治 教育的意见 Suggestions on further fortifying and improving the ideological and political education of college students

国务院，教育部 State Council & Ministry of Education	2004	2003-2007 年教育振兴行动计划 Revitalization plan for education from 2003 to 2007
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