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THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND  
AUSTRALIA

**A Comparative Study of the Internationalization of Higher  
Education Policy in Australia and China (2008-2015)**

Min Hong  
LL.B; M.Ed

*A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at  
The University of Queensland in 2018  
School of Education*

## **Abstract**

In an era of globalization, internationalization of higher education (IHE) has been constructed as an almost inevitable trend and has become a common pursuit of many nations in their higher education (HE) policies. This study focuses on two nations, China and Australia, in terms of this trend. The broadest aim of this research was to find out the interactive relationships between global and national pressures in policy development by comparing the international HE policies in China and Australia, for the period 2008-2015. There are two justifications for this timeframe: one relates to political leadership across the period; the other to significant policy developments in both nations in this period. This comparison will facilitate better understanding of how globalization has affected and been responded to in IHE policies, and enable better understanding of their path dependent mediation through a focus on two specific sets of national policies.

The research questions framing this study are: What were the policies of IHE in China and in Australia from 2008 to 2015, and what were the purposes of these policies (i.e., what were they seeking to achieve?); What were the similarities and differences in relation to the policies on IHE in the two countries? How were these policies linked to the contexts of contemporary globalization and the politics and policy making approaches in each country?; What were the differences in relation to the IHE in the two countries, and what do these differences tell us about the impact of globalization on HE policy, and about path dependence in HE politics and policy making in each country?

Drawing upon theoretical resources within the research fields of educational policy convergence and divergence, path dependence and soft power, I combine two comparative education study methods, namely Bereday's (1964) model and Phillips and Schweisfurth's (2014) work. As such, I have designed a comparative analysis method and framework for this study based on a synthesis of that work, mainly using document analysis as the data base for the research. A large number of pertinent government policies, reports and data from government websites and international organizations were collected and analysed using inductive and deductive approaches.

There are three data analysis chapters (4, 5 and 6), the first (Chapter 4) deals with the relevant policies in China, the second (Chapter 5) with those in Australia, and finally a comparison of the two sets of policies is provided (Chapter 6), to offer answers to the research questions. In each section of the analysis chapters, the three categories,

overarching meta-policies at the macro level (nation), institution focused policies at the meso level (universities), and people focused policies at the micro level (individuals) are documented and analysed. Similarities and differences are identified in the comparison chapter. Similarities include promoting and deepening IHE as one important agenda in national policies at the macro level in the two nations, promoting transnational cooperation in the provision of HE at the meso level, as well as increasing international student numbers and encouraging an outflow of student learning and exchanges at the micro level. Differences include China's soft power initiatives and Australia's appeal for sustainability of international HE as a national priority in the area of IHE at the macro level; the focus on "World Class Universities" construction in China and strengthening the overall HE system in Australia; and different issues in relation to people mobility – specifically, encouraging more outflow of students and attracting more inflow of "talents" and international students in China, and over-reliance on international students financially in Australia.

It is suggested that different responses to the global trends reflect the specificities of each nation and the ways path dependent factors mediate global pressures. Driven by the logics of capitalism, Australian internationalization policies tend to stress economic rationales and economic interests, that is, there is heavy focus on the funding benefits to the nation and to universities from full fee-paying international students. In contrast, under the logics of (market) socialism, China does not emphasize this aspect and internationalization is related more to a soft power strategy and policy is much more government directed and controlled. These differences also reflect the different stages of development of internationalization in the two nations, with Australian IHE being more developed. Both nations have different purposes for internationalization. Australia expects to expand its international education industry (i.e., developing transnational HE) and gain economic benefits (i.e., by recruiting more international students). On the other hand, China expects to introduce advanced technology and knowledge (i.e., by sending students to study abroad and cooperating in running universities with foreign partners), to strengthen national development, and to exert its influence and enhance its soft power worldwide (i.e., by constructing World Class Universities, attracting more international students, and building more Confucius Institutes).

## **Declaration by author**

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

I have clearly stated the contribution of others to my thesis as a whole, including statistical assistance, survey design, data analysis, significant technical procedures, professional editorial advice, financial support and any other original research work used or reported in my thesis. The content of my thesis is the result of work I have carried out since the commencement of my higher degree by research candidature and does not include a substantial part of work that has been submitted to qualify for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution. I have clearly stated which parts of my thesis, if any, have been submitted to qualify for another award.

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### **Publications during candidature**

Conference abstracts

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### **Contributions by others to the thesis**

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### **Statement of parts of the thesis submitted to qualify for the award of another degree**

None

### **Research Involving Human or Animal Subjects**

No animal or human participants were involved in this research.

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### **Keywords**

comparative study, internationalization of higher education, globalization, policy convergence, policy divergence, people mobility, World Class University, path dependence, soft power, Chinese characteristics.

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## List of Abbreviations (listed alphabetically)

AEG	Australia – Educating Globally
ANQSATE	A National Quality Strategy for Australian Transnational Education and Training
APERAA	Asia-Pacific Educational Research Association
ASA	A Smarter Australia: An agenda for higher education
AUQA	Australian University Quality Agency
CDWUFDOP	Coordinate Development of World Class Universities and First-class Disciplines Overall Program
CI	Confucius Institute
CPC	Communist Party of China
CSC	Chinese Scholarship Council
DET	Department of Education and Training
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
HE	Higher Education
HECS	Higher Education Contribution Scheme
HEIs	higher education institutions
IHE	Internationalization of higher education
ISSA	International Students Strategy for Australia
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOF	Ministry of Finance
NCP	New Colombo Plan
NEDTFP	National Educational Development: Twelfth Five-year Plan
NSIE	National strategy for international education
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONMLERDP	Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)
PR	Permanent Residence
PSS	Plan for Study in China
PWME	Priority Work of the Ministry of Education
RAHE	Review of Australian Higher Education 2008
RCFCRS	Regulations of the People’s Republic of China on Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools
RPGE	The Recruitment Program of Global Experts (1000 Plan)
RSSPSAP	Regulations of State-Sponsored Postgraduate Study Abroad Programs
SRSVP	Strategic Review of the Student Visa Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UR	University Research: Policy Considerations to Drive Australia’s Competitiveness
WCU	World Class University
WTO	World Trade Organization

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

According to dominant narratives surrounding global processes beginning from the late 1980s, the tide of economic globalization has gradually spread to many areas of life in nations, including politics, culture, and education. Human society had moved into the 'globalization' era. In the past 30 years in the context of globalization, the internationalization of higher education (IHE) has also undergone tremendous changes. From the 1990s, IHE has become a central issue in higher education (HE) in many nations around the globe. IHE in both China<sup>1</sup> and Australia has been set against globalization and its multiple effects in politics, culture, and the national economy, and in particular, the rise of knowledge economy discourses that were first articulated by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development in 1996 (OECD) (OECD, 1996). Marginson (2016b) suggested all universities across the globe and national HE systems have been affected by three broad sets of changes in the context of the effects of globalization, namely, growth in participation towards mass HE, spread of research capacity within a 'one-world science system' with English as its *lingua franca*, and restructuring through quasi-business organizational structures and practices (p. 292). IHE is set against and reflects such changes. However, these changes are always played out in vernacular ways in different nations, so that different nations respond in their own ways to global pressures and to globalized educational policy discourses. This is the case with the two systems of HE that are being compared in this research. Both have responded to global pressures, but have done so in their own ways, and of course they both have different political structures and ideological framings.

This research works with two broad concepts, namely globalization and internationalization. These need to be defined and differentiated here. Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, and Perraton (2000) offered a widely acknowledged and used definition of globalization. For them, globalization is,

A process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power (Held et al., 2000, p. 55).

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<sup>1</sup> In this study, China refers to mainland China, excluding Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan.

This definition of globalization emphasizes the expansion and ‘speeding up’ of intercontinental and transnational flows of social relations and transactions. It is in this context that higher education systems and universities have sought to internationalize their policies and practices and to attract increased flows of international students.

Internationalization in one definition refers to patterns of interaction and interconnectedness between two or among more nation-states, irrespective of their specific geographic locations (Buzan, 1998; Nierop, 1994). J. Knight (2003) pointed out that IHE at the national/sector/institutional levels can be defined as, “the process of integrating international, intercultural or global dimensions into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education” (p. 2). This definition implies a number of different outcomes of the IHE, which depend on the actions and policies employed by nations/sectors/institutions.

As to the relationship and differences between these two concepts (globalization and internationalization), J. Knight (2004) proffered an interesting observation: “Internationalization is changing the world of HE, and globalization is changing the world of internationalization” (p. 5). Globalization is a factor that influences most aspects of life across the world today, including HE. IHE enhances the flows of students and academics across the globe as part of the multiple ‘scapes’ associated with globalization – here an ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1996).

J. Knight (2014) suggested that there are two aspects of IHE, that she referred to as “at-home or campus-based” approaches and “abroad/cross border approaches”. J. Knight (2014) argued that cross-border education referred to the “movement of people, knowledge programs, providers, ideas, curricula, projects, research and services across national or regional jurisdictional borders” (p. 44). She (2014) summarized three generations of cross-border education and pointed out that “academic mobility has moved from people (students, faculty, scholars) to program (twinning, franchise, MOOCs, virtual) and provider (branch campus, bi-national universities) mobility and now to the development of international education hubs” (p. 43).

This doctoral research will deal with both elements of internationalization, at-home /campus-based and abroad/cross-border. Internationalization refers to the policies and actions that nations make and take in their HE in response to globalization. In this research, in the area of HE policy, globalization is taken to be the context and background against which two countries, Australia and China, make and implement policies of



internationalization in HE. Each is affected by global contexts, but each responds in its own vernacular way. IHE is thus both a response to pressures from globalization and a manifestation or expression of it.

## **1.2 Historical Background to the Research**

IHE is a world development trend of contemporary times and also an important evaluative criterion of a given nation's level of incorporation and participation within the global economy. In the round of world education reforms across the last two decades, every country has been trying to expand HE participation and enhance the level of IHE, in order to develop its HE, serve its own social and economic development purposes, and enhance its potential competitiveness within the global economy. This is a human capital framing that accepts "investing in human beings is a way of increasing the overall economic productivity of a nation" (D. Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014, p. 86).

IHE is primarily a development process, and its essence is the cross-border configuration of education elements and transnational reconstruction of education and teaching. Its main purpose is to seek the maximization of the benefits of HE for individuals and nations (provider and receiver nations) and to do so as efficiently and effectively as possible. To a body (such as a country, school or person), there are two possible modes of IHE: active participation or passive involvement. For a closed system, the process of participating in the globalization of HE or being globalized in an economic sense is mainly to open up the market and adapt to external changes sequentially. That means that the nation-state should adjust policies and strategies to enhance the openness of the HE market. This would increase the flows in and out of education resources, including students, researchers, programs and ideas in order to balance the supply and demand of HE under the pressure of the internal market, and in response to the needs of the external market. This opening up of global trade has affected the IHE. Membership of the World Trade Organization (WTO) encourages such open cross-border flows in HE with its emphasis on liberalization of trade relationships. China became a member of the WTO in 2001, while Australia has been a member since 1995.

Australia and China, the two nations that are the cases of this doctoral research, are both countries that have sought to internationalize their HE systems. This began in earnest in Australia under the direction of then federal Minister John Dawkins in the late 1980s/early 1990s, and began in earnest in China after 2001 when China joined the WTO. But, of course, both nations have different histories, cultures, economics and politics, and thus

have implemented different policies and measures for the IHE. At the same time, both systems have been affected by globalization. The one thing both have in common is that they have “national systems” of HE framed by government policy. This differs, say, from the situation in the USA, where it would be much more difficult to talk of a national system of HE with the prestigious universities being historically older private institutions (B. R. Clark, 1986), and differentiation between institutions being more marked. Both China and Australia basically have public universities, which are, to varying and changing degrees, under the policy framings set by national governments.

### **1.2.1 IHE: A global view.**

With the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, international geo-political tensions were easing and changing, with varying impacts on different nations, including on economic policies as well as HE policy. The international and domestic environment of this period provided facilitative conditions for the development of HE. There were also discursive effects resulting from certain globalized educational policy discourses that were circulating (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010) or what Ball (2007) has referred to as “policyscapes”.

IHE is currently a “hot topic” in nations around the globe, including in both China and Australia. There has been a lot of research into the IHE. J. Knight (2001) provided a conceptual and organizational framework for understanding and researching IHE and discussed various approaches and strategies to internationalization. She pointed out that there were four basic approaches (activity, competency, ethos and process) underlining the various definitions attributed to internationalization. Here, an activity approach refers to categories or types of activities used to describe internationalization, such as student/faculty exchanges, while a competency approach refers to “the development of new skills, knowledge, attitudes and values in students, faculty and staff” (J. Knight, 2001, p. 16). The ethos approach refers to “programs that emphasize the creation of a culture or climate on campus which promotes and supports international/intercultural initiatives”, while the process approach refers to “integration or infusion of an international or intercultural dimension into teaching, research and service through a combination of a wide range of activities, policies and procedures” (J. Knight, 2001, p. 16). Later, she updated the definition and pointed out today’s changes and challenges to IHE at institutional/national/sector levels (J. Knight, 2003, 2004, 2007). The challenges include quality assurance and accreditation of programs and providers, problems of intersection of international and intercultural relations, the emergence of new private sector for-profit

companies, the recognition of academic and professional credentials, the effects on regional integration, and “brain drain”. These issues need to be thought through further in research and policy development.

P. G. Altbach and Knight (2007) pointed out that globalization and internationalization are related, but different. They analysed the motivations for internationalization and described the growth processes of IHE in different regions, and then indicated the existing problems (such as quality assurance and the national and international recognition of providers, programs, credits, and qualifications) to be solved and provided further directions for internationalization (P. G. Altbach & Knight, 2007). Some literature has focused on critical reviews of the IHE in one specific country (e.g., Caruana & Spurling, 2007; Chand, 2014; De Witt, 2009; Fang, 2005; Harman, 2005; Viers, 1998). The influences of internationalization and globalization are also highly research topics worked on by many scholars (e.g., Denman & Welch, 1997; McBurnie, 2000; McBurnie & Pollock, 2000; McCabe, 2001; Meek, 2007; Pratt & Poole, 1999, 2000; Yang & Welch, 2001). The detailed literature review for this doctoral research will be provided in Chapter 2.

### **1.2.2 Australian IHE: An historical overview.**

Before the Second World War, Australian universities were not really internationalized. To a large extent, there were just unilateral outflows – graduates went abroad to gain research higher degrees. Australian universities did not offer doctoral degrees until immediately after the Second World War in 1949 – first at the Australian National University. The process of Australian IHE has moved through three phases subsequently: foreign aid; export industry; and from trade to internationalization (Adams, Banks, & Olsen, 2011; Universities Australia, 2009, pp. 9-10). This transition will be briefly outlined below.

**Period one: Foreign Aid.** During this period, according to the Colombo Plan<sup>2</sup>, IHE was linked to aid-based scholarships for overseas students from the Asia-Pacific. Aid to foreign students from British Commonwealth nations to study in Australian universities was linked to Australia’s foreign policy interests. Since the 1950s, with the rise of the worldwide upsurge of demand for HE from international students, Australia has carried out several major adjustments regarding international education policies. For example, two important Australian government reports on internationalization prior to expansion from the early

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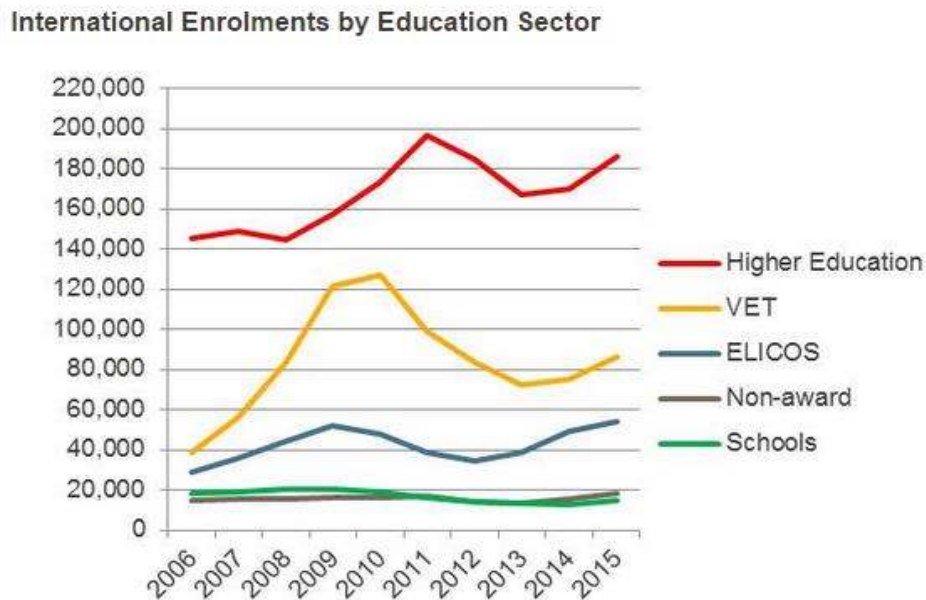
<sup>2</sup> The Colombo Plan was a regional organisation amongst British Commonwealth nations that embodied the concept of collective intergovernmental effort to strengthen economic and social development of member countries in the Asia-Pacific region. The Colombo Plan was not intended as an integrated master plan to which national plans were expected to conform. It was, instead, a framework for bi-lateral arrangements involving foreign aid and technical assistance for the economic and social development of the region. Australia participated in the Plan from 1950.

1990s were the Jackson Report (1984) and Goldring Report (1985). These gradually helped form distinctive development strategies of IHE in Australia.

**Period two: Export Industry.** The rapid globalization of the national economy from the early 1990s through free trade agreements and the like, following the end of the Cold War, placed further pressure on universities, linked to expanded provision and internationalization with an ongoing concern for equity. In that context, the Australian government regarded HE as an export industry. Australia moved into the phase of mass HE in the late 1980s and Australian HE has undergone a process of rapid development and changes since the Dawkins reforms of HE in the early 1990s. Expansion of the number of full-fee international students was linked to the need for alternative funding sources for universities as the so-called “unified national system of HE” was created through amalgamations of colleges of advanced education and universities. This entailed the creation of 36 public universities. This unification alongside more intensified internationalization increased university income by a large amount through the expansion of numbers of self-funded international students. This ensured that the government could reduce public expenditure and public investment in HE relative to the number of students attending university, while at the same time supporting the move to massification. This was linked to the broader question faced by most nations today: how to fund mass participation in HE, given its increasing cost. In an effort to manage the costs to the public purse, the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) was introduced in this context. HECS was an income-contingent loan scheme for prospective domestic HE students. This meant that HE in Australia was no longer free, but the fact that the contribution could be repaid after graduation was an attempt to ensure equity. Funds from full-fee paying international students and domestic fees were central to the massification of Australian HE; they contributed substantially to the costs entailed in the move to mass HE.

**Period three: From trade to internationalization.** In 1992, the Australian government reoriented the key points of IHE, retaining the standpoint of recognizing HE as an export industry, but proposing a new policy “from trade to internationalization”. The new policy focused on the value and quality of HE. Taking the Asia-Pacific region as the target zone, it worked to further expand the activities of internationalization of Australian HE worldwide, including four aspects of IHE: mobility of international students; transnational mobility of staff and academics; internationalization of curriculum; and international cooperation and alliances of governments/institutions. Since then, the number of international students has increased rapidly as illustrated in Figure 1.1 below.

Figure 1.1 International Enrolments by Education Sector



Source: Australia Trade Commission, *International Student Data*, 2015.

It can be seen that HE enrolment had increased rapidly from 2008 to 2012, then dropped in 2013 and has increased again since then. In addition, the visa fees from the increasing number of international students are an important source of income to the Australian government, and international students also spend significant amounts of money while living in Australia. There are considerable economic benefits that accrue to Australia and to HE from internationalization.

### 1.2.3 Chinese IHE: Changes through time.

Since the reforms and opening up of the economy during the 1980s, China has moved towards an open and progressive integration into the global capitalist economy. Nonetheless, the Communist Party of China (CPC) had still insisted on the claimed that China was socialist in nature. Undoubtedly, the socialist ideology in China is always changing under different leadership of the CPC. Thus, the ideology “socialism with Chinese characteristics” has been proposed and developed gradually (Deng, 1993; Jiang, 2006, p. 1). The socialist market has been built since then, and combines the features in a hybrid blend of market economies and planned economies (Aversa, 2013).

Meanwhile, at that time, China's HE sector also had gone through unprecedented development and changes, for example, mergers of universities and colleges and enrolment expansion. China became a member of the WTO in 2001, and joined the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) in 2001, and this accelerated China's

integration into the global capitalist economy as well as affecting the processes of the IHE. During this period, the main strategy within HE in China was to learn from and refer to others. The IHE then mainly referred to the introduction of foreign educational resources. It fundamentally belonged to “borrowism” (拿来主义), which meant borrowing everything useful – like policies, systems, methods and so on from foreign countries and using them in one’s own country in a recontextualized way. This included sending personnel to study abroad (including study abroad and participation in overseas training), self-funded study abroad, Sino-foreign cooperation in running schools, hiring foreign teachers and experts, the use of foreign materials and technologies, drawing on foreign educational ideas, foreign language learning, teaching methods, management and evaluation techniques, and encouraging comparative study of education.

With the rise of China's middle class and the “one-child” policy<sup>3</sup> in particular, Chinese parents are now more willing and more able to invest in their child's education, including HE. They have the ability and are also willing to pay the fees for their children to study abroad. As a result, the number of Chinese students studying abroad has rapidly increased. The Ministry of Education (MOE) revealed that from 1978 to 2015, China had sent a total of 4.04 million students abroad, 90 percent of those after 2000 (MOE, 2016). From 2000 to 2015, it had seen an annual growth rate of 18.9 percent in the numbers of Chinese students studying abroad, even as the growth had slowed down since 2013 (MOE, 2016; 王辉耀, 苗绿, & 郑金连, 2016).

The number of foreign students studying in China who transferred from non-degree education to degree education has also increased. Additionally, the countries where Chinese students can study abroad have become more diversified. Exchanges between teachers and scholars have increased and have taken many diverse forms. Chinese universities have also cooperated with foreign HE providers, mainly in the way of Sino-foreign cooperation in running schools<sup>4</sup>. Universities in China now cooperate with universities abroad to provide transnational education at a lower cost, through branch campuses, and 2+2/1+3/3+1 degree models<sup>5</sup>. Students can get the degrees of both the university at home and/or the university abroad, spending the first few years in China and the remaining years abroad. One can now even access foreign universities’ courses and

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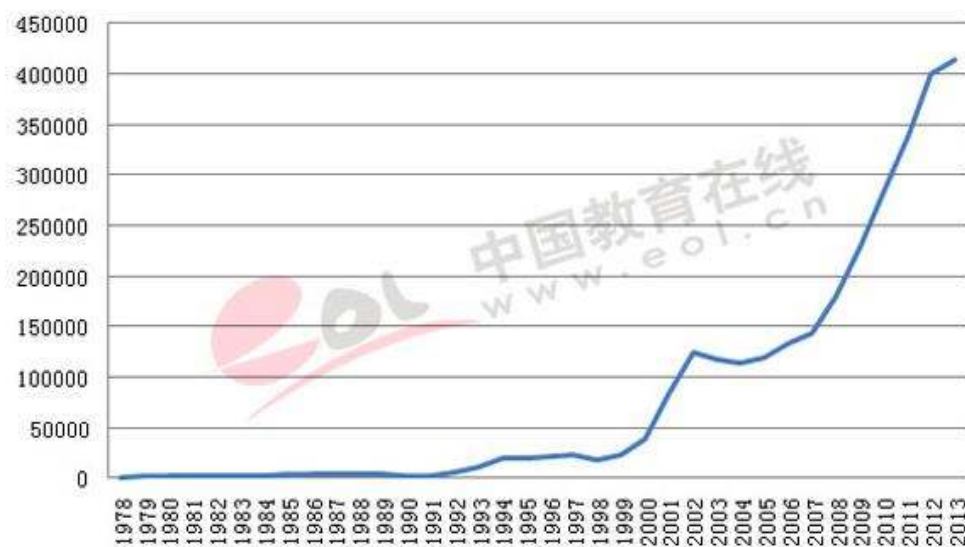
<sup>3</sup> The one-child policy was a population planning policy of China, limiting each couple to one child; it was introduced in 1979 and phased out in 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Here ‘schools’ mean universities as with American usage.

<sup>5</sup> 2+2/1+3/3+1 degree model means studying the first 2/1/3 year(s) in China and then studying the remaining 2/3/1 year(s) abroad.

qualifications without leaving home. This is much cheaper than spending the whole four years studying in foreign countries. In addition, as part of the IHE courses, there has been positive exploration and attempts to set up a large number of international majors and usage of international curriculum.

Figure 1.2 The Total Number of Chinese Studying Abroad, 1978-2013



Source: Ministry of Education, China. [www.eol.cn](http://www.eol.cn).

China has taken advantages of its late-starting advantages re IHE: it has observed keenly; adjusted innovatively; integrated actively; and vigorously promoted the IHE. Coming to the IHE relatively late has meant China has been able to learn from others, but internationalization has still always been implemented with Chinese characteristics. However, compared with powerful education nations worldwide, and comparing the goal of construction of a “country of strong human resources, country of powerful education” (人力资源强国, 教育强国), the IHE in China currently still has many problems. For example, there are more students studying abroad than coming to study in China and many international students go to China just for language study, not for a degree. The dominance of English in IHE is an important factor here.

#### 1.2.4 IHE: A comparative perspective.

There is very limited policy research of a comparative kind on IHE involving China and Australia. Many scholars’ research focuses on one aspect of comparative IHE, such as, for example, university comparisons, internationalization of curricula, strategic choices and so on. Well-known scholars J. Knight and Wit (1995a), drawing on historical and conceptual perspectives, pointed out different strategies for IHE and compared the experiences of

Australia, Canada, Europe and the United States of America. Some researchers made the comparison at the university or institutional level (eg. Howe, 2009; Ji & Baier, 2009; Oyler, 2009; Salas, 2014; Solga & Powell, 2008; Weldon, 2006). For example, Oyler (2009) assessed the internationalization of an American and an Australian university by reviewing current practices of internationalization at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia and the University of South Carolina in South Carolina, USA. He identified the similarities and differences between the processes of internationalizing of HE in the two countries. Ji and Baier (2009) conducted a comparative survey of foreign students at the Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus and other German universities, and examined the learning and social situations of foreign students, and also analysed the problems existing in the internalization of HE. Through a historical analysis of the policy implications on the international flow of students at different periods, Hsia (2004) provided a comparative study of the policies adopted by the European Union, the Netherlands, Australia, Japan and Malaysia. But comparative study of government policy on comprehensive IHE is rare.

In this context, research and international comparison of national policy on IHE is necessary as well as valuable, as it can provide national systems some reference points for thinking about and developing their policies. D. Phillips and Schweisfurth (2014) gave a list of purposes for the comparative study of education systems, and point out that:

...[w]here we believe that “learning lessons” on the basis of the informed understanding of other systems is a fundamental purpose of comparative education, we see dangers in taking a law-making (“nomothetic”) approach to the outcomes of comparative research and so would warn against any reading of the text that gives undue credence to such an approach. (p.17)

This means that policy makers must be wary of simply emulating the successful policies and practices of other countries to gain benefits. Rather, there is a need to recontextualize all reforms because context, that is, history, culture, politics and so on, always plays a role in national policymaking. Yet, world polity theorists, such as the Stanford School led by John Meyer (e.g., Meyer & Ramirez, 2000), suggested that this is exactly what occurs most of the time. This might be so at the highest levels of generality in relation to modernity spreading across the globe (Wagner, 2012), but not at the level of specific policies. Path dependence theorists (e.g., Simola, Rinne, Varjo, & Kauko, 2013), have argued in favour of the specific national (including historical) mediation of such global, world polity and modernist pressures. At one level, this research seeks to understand the interweaving of global and path dependent national factors in the IHE policy in China and



Australia. The comparative element of the study is a way of isolating the two set of factors; both systems are affected by globalization but affected in path dependent ways and as such globalization is articulated in different ways in the two HE systems, as this doctoral research demonstrates.

Based on the above understandings then, I chose to compare IHE policies in my research. By comparing the two countries regarding policy on IHE, this research attempts to explore the mutual influences between global and national pressures, as well as the policy path taken in each country concerning the IHE. It will also provide comparative references on related HE policy making for other countries worldwide. This latter focus represents the fact that, as has suggested, there have been common trends in HE policy development across the globe. The research will also provide detailed accounts of the development of IHE in both Australia and China for the period, 2008-2015.

### **1.3 Research Topic**

This research attempts to reveal the interactive relationship between global and national factors in HE policy by comparing the IHE policy of the two countries, as well as understanding of IHE policies in both Australia and China for the period, 2008-2015. This comparison will facilitate better understanding of how globalization has impacted and been responded to in IHE policies through specific national policy approaches.

This study focuses on the HE level and the policy documents researched and analysed are those produced, released or adopted by the central/ federal governments of the respective countries that focuses on IHE. This doctoral research is thus a comparative study of policy texts on IHE in Australia and China.

#### **1.3.1 Selection of China and Australia to research.**

This research focuses upon HE policies in Australia and China as the research objects. These countries have been chosen as both have manifested a strong need to internationalize their HE systems and they have both been subject to, and productive of, internationalization processes in varying ways. Besides, China and Australia both have national systems of public universities. Additionally, because of their different histories and politics, they have done this in different, or vernacular, path-dependent ways. The huge population in China means demand for HE exceeds the supply in the domestic HE market. The rise of China's middle class also means more Chinese families have the ability to pay the significant fees entailed in studying abroad. So China needs to exploit international

education to import education resources. Meanwhile, as a major HE exporting country, Australia strongly emphasizes the importance of the global HE market in the context of the massification of HE and the costs imposed on the government. IHE, thus, has broader significance within the Australian economy.

Despite the big differences of context in the two countries, both Australia and China have taken active policy stances to promote the IHE. Australia demonstrates advantages of being early adopter. It came to the international education market quite early, has gained lasting competitive advantages and holds a significant and powerful position in the worldwide higher education market. According to a report released by the OECD (OECD, 2014), Australia ranked third (6%) in the international education market of foreign students in tertiary education, just behind the United States (16%) and United Kingdom (13%). Given Australia's small population (24.29 million) (ABS, 2018), this is an impressive situation, educating six percent of all international students globally (p. 347). In contrast, as a later adopter, China has made full use of its late-starting advantages and borrowed policies from other successful countries, which have been implemented in vernacular ways. In this way, China has quickened the pace of IHE. So this doctorate research will compare an early adopter with a late adopter nation in respect of the IHE. Further, language is an important issue here with English becoming, in some ways, a global language with real impact in HE, particularly in the one world science system. This is an issue for the IHE in China, where English is not the language of instruction.

### 1.3.2 Rationale for study period selection.

The period to be studied is 2008-2015. The table below shows the terms of office of the top political leaders of the two countries during this period.

Table 1.1 Terms of Office of the Top Leaders of Two Countries

<b>Prime Ministers of Australia</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Term of office</b>	<b>President of China</b>	<b>Term of office</b>
<b>John Howard</b>	Liberal (Coalition)	1996.3-2007.12	<b>Jiang Zemin</b>	1993.3-2003.3
<b>Kevin Rudd</b>	Labour	2007.12-2010.6	<b>Hu Jintao</b>	2003.3-2013.3
<b>Julia Gillard</b>	Labour	2010.6-2013.6	<b>Xi Jinping</b>	2013.3-
<b>Kevin Rudd</b>	Labour	2013.6-2013.9		
<b>Tony Abbott</b>	Liberal (Coalition)	2013.9-2015.9		
<b>Malcolm Turnbull</b>	Liberal (Coalition)	2015.9-		

As the main makers and issuers of policies, different governments have different interests and take different paths and adopt different methods in handling issues of the nation, so the policies of one party's tenure may differ from another's. Given this, I chose the period 2008-2015. This was a period of significant reforms within the HE sectors in each context. Australia was governed by the Australian Labour Party from 2007 to 2013 and then there was a change to an Australian Liberal Party government from 2013 to 2015, in coalition with the National Party. China was led during this period by President Hu Jintao (2003-2013) who was then succeeded by President Xi Jinping in 2013. Their presidential policies, as the research will show, were relatively consistent across this period.

Australia and China have both paid more and more attention to international HE since 2008. Three major policies were released in this period in Australia: *International Students Strategy for Australia* (2010), *New Colombo Plan* (2014), and *the National Strategy for International Education 2025* (2015). China also released some major policies during this period: for example, *National Educational Development: Eleventh Five-year Plan* (2011-2015), and *Coordinate Development of World Class Universities and First-class Disciplines Overall Program* (2015).

Additionally, it can be seen that the total number of students studying abroad in China and the numbers of international students enrolled in Australia from 2008-2015 have risen sharply (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2). The reasons are quite complex, which for China may relate to the holding of the Beijing Olympics, the grim situation in relation to domestic employment, pressures of the RMB<sup>6</sup> appreciation, easier access to visas and so on. Since 2007, the decline in difficulty of obtaining U.S. student visas and the new immigration policy and the scholarship policy in Australia have also affected the increasing numbers of Chinese students studying abroad and increasing numbers of international students enrolled in Australia.

So for the period (2008-2015), there is political continuity and considerable activities in both nations regarding the IHE. Furthermore, this time period allows for the comparison of an early adopter (Australia) of such policies with a late adopter (China). These are the justifications for the selection of the time frame for this doctoral research.

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<sup>6</sup> RMB: Renminbi, official currency of China.

### **1.3.3 Global context of this period (2008-2015).**

Policies today can be seen as reactions to both global and domestic contexts. So in order to better understand the policies in the period, 2008-2015, we need to understand these contexts. Undoubtedly, globalization in all its complexity has been the trend in the world across the period in question. And thanks to the globalization of the economy facilitated by the WTO and GATTs, the market economy has developed much faster than in the past, including in China. There are several common trends and changes faced by all nations in this changing, globalizing world. Along with the rapid development of a market economy, neoliberalism has risen in many areas, including the HE policy domain. The marketization of HE has generally become more and more popular with governments as a way of handling massification and related financial pressures. As a result, public funding towards HE has declined in most wealthy 'Western' nations and universities have been forced to look for other sources of funding. Besides, the three common trends in HE globally concluded by Marginson (2016b) are also the main drivers of changes and transitions in HE.

#### ***1.3.3.1 Rising neoliberalism and marketization of HE.***

The ascendancy of neoliberalism, as well as "new public management", together have produced a fundamental shift in the way universities and other higher education institutions (HEIs) have defined and justified their institutional existence during the 1980s and 1990s (Pierson, 2000). Apple (2017) argued that neoliberalism is a movement that is not unitary and may have contradictory tendencies and takes various forms under different contexts.

Under neoliberalism, education becomes a product that can be bought and sold like other goods in the market. This is the commodification of HE. The shift to governance based on new public management has reshaped relations between government, private enterprises and society. The economic imperatives of the private sector have become the priority and underpin government economic and social policies. Public institutions, like schools and hospitals, were previously regarded as providing public goods, but now are reconstituted under neoliberalism as part of the market (Aufrecht & Bun, 1995). Neoliberalism and economization are witnessed in the marketization of HE. Transforming HE from a public good to a private good, means parents and students, as the "customers" of HE, need to be more rational and self-interested in making choices in HE, while at the same time the competition amongst and between HEIs around the world for students has been growing

rapidly. This phenomenon, as will be shown in this research, has worked very differently in China and Australia.

### ***1.3.3.2 Decline of public funding for HE and diversified university finances.***

The 2008 global economic crisis not only affected the international financial and economic systems, but also had a profound impact on HE worldwide. The most direct impact of the financial crisis on HE has been in relation to funding of colleges and universities. It also severely affected scholarships, student loan schemes, and student support systems. A sharp decline in national economic growth also resulted in the reduction in the supply of jobs and employment opportunities for university graduates. After the economic crisis, the decline of public funding in HE became a world-wide tendency. Despite special funding injected in universities in order to construct World Class Universities (WCUs) in emerging countries, with China as a special case, most nations have cut public funding and forced universities to diversify their financing sources, and thus pushed the universities into the marketplace. Full fee-paying international students become important in that fiscal context. The situation in China is that there has been more government investment in a small selective group of elite universities with a decline in funding for the remainder.

### ***1.3.3.3 Higher participation in HE: The massification of HE.***

Expansion of HE is one common trend in HE systems globally, along with the diversification and stratification of HEIs, driven by the growing population, especially the middle class population and the knowledge economy. The transformation from elite HE to mass HE has occurred in different periods between developed countries and developing countries. Although the massification of HE in the two nations being researched occurred at different periods, mass HE has resulted in several challenges in university governance.

Massification of HE not only means higher participation in HE, but also a greater diversity of suppliers and providers of HE. In a globalized society, choice in HE now flows across borders. Increases in the numbers in HEIs worldwide have increased competition for student enrolments, which requires high quality programs to attract students and maintain reputations. Furthermore, the need for quality control in university systems is emphasized. The main drivers for quality and efficiency in HE are the competition for students and decline in public funding (Santiago, Tremblay, Basri, & Arnal, 2008).

#### **1.3.3.4 Spread of the WCUs and one-world science system.**

As the result of globalization along with related political, economic and cultural factors, the universalization of research science located in the top layer of HE systems has become a common global trend. Marginson (2016b) argued this change included “(a) partial subsuming of national science systems into a single world science system, with publication in English, coupled with (b) the spread of indigenous science capacity to an ever-growing number of countries and individual WCUs” (p. 299). Due to the dominant one world science system and dominant English language as well as emergence of global metrics for the ranking of universities, other non-English language knowledge and non-research universities are excluded and further subordinated (Marginson, 2016b).

#### **1.3.3.5 Quai-business organizational structures in universities.**

With expanding enrolments, university systems have not only expanded in relation to the number of students, but also in relation to professional staff and faculty. This has posed a challenge for efficient governance and management of the HEIs. As a result, new public management (NPM) has widely been applied in HE systems putatively to achieve the goal of higher efficiency in a tight fiscal context (Agasisti & Catalano, 2006; Christensen, 2011).

Under globalization and neoliberalism, the trends of marketization and privatization have been seen in the HE sector, in order to relieve the state’s financial burdens and putatively to improve effective and efficient management (Bray, 2000; Chan & Mok, 2001; K. H. Mok, 2003). Marketization of HE is in one sense a direct result of declining public funding so that HEIs are forced to look for supplementary funding sources. Marketization of HE includes market-oriented strategies like the introduction of tuition fees, decentralization, institutional autonomy and strengthening relationships between HE sectors and industrial and business sectors (Johnstone, Arora, & Experton, 1998; K. H. Mok, 2003).

These global and international common trends (Marginson, 2016b) work as common forces on the national level, institutional level as well as individual level. This research is concerned with how they affect internationalization policy in HE in China and Australia.

### **1.4 Research Aims**

#### **1.4.1 Overview.**

This research compares the policies on IHE of two countries, Australia and China, from 2008 to 2015. The research involves identifying the nature of HE policy *vis-à-vis* internationalization in each country, and exploring the mutual influence between the global

context and national policy making. This comparison will broaden understanding of how global pressures are taken up in specific national HE systems in relation to HE policies of internationalization, with possible implications for other national policy makers in HE in nations around the globe.

#### **1.4.2 Research questions.**

I list below the research questions that will frame this research and its data collection and analysis.

#### ***Research questions***

1. What were the policies of IHE in China and in Australia from 2008 to 2015 and what are the purposes of these policies (i.e., what were they seeking to achieve?)
2. What were the similarities and differences in relation to the policies on IHE in the two countries?
3. How were these policies linked to the contexts of contemporary globalization and the politics and policy making approaches in each country?
4. What do these differences tell us about the impact of globalization on HE policy, and about path dependence in HE politics and policy making in each country?

#### **1.5 Structure of the Thesis**

This introductory chapter has outlined the focus of the research, backdrop to it, and the research questions framing the study. Chapter 2 is the Literature Review. This chapter reviews the literatures and studies on IHE policy and particularly in relation to relevant studies in Australia and China. The chapter also discusses the comparative study of HE policy and comparative policy study of the IHE, which will situate this research in the cognate literature. Chapter 3 provides the theoretical framework and methodology for the research, explaining the theories and methods applied in this study. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 are the empirical, data analysis chapters. Chapter 4 analyses IHE policy in China, 2008-2015, while Chapter 5 proffers analysis of IHE policy in Australia, 2008-2015. Chapter 6 offers comparisons of the Chinese and Australia policies, and notes similarities and differences in their policies, and answers questions about the balance between global pressures and national policy path dependence. Chapter 7 provides the conclusion to the research, succinctly and summatively answering the research questions that framed the research study. The contribution to knowledge of this research is also documented.





# Chapter 2: Literature Review

## 2.1 Introduction: IHE Policy

Globalization has affected all aspects of life in nations around the world, including education policy. Policy sometimes can be regarded as an expression of the specific effects of globalization, and also as the way countries and their policy makers manage and rearticulate global pressures, balanced against competing national and local pressures and interests (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 21). To adapt to a globalizing world, the policy of HE in any given country also changes to adapt to these trends and dynamics. To reiterate, IHE policy can be seen as simultaneously a response to globalization and an expression of it.

### 2.1.1 Understanding policy

Rizvi and Lingard (2010) examined the ways global processes are transforming education policy worldwide, and sought new deparochialized ways to analyze policies. As part of this process, we also need to consider researchers' positionality and the significance of such positioning to policy analysis (which I elaborate in Chapter 3). Deparochialized approaches ask us to notice the multi-layers of policy processes in the context of globalization and deconstruct the "taken for granted" assumptions of the contemporary policy system in education.

There is a wide variety of definitions of policy that have changed and developed over time. The definition of policy is usually taken as that provided by American political scientist Easton (1953) as "the authoritative allocation of values". Here, authority can be seen as legitimate power of the state to make policy; allocation can be seen as the way policy is to be implemented through state structures and implementing institutions; values refer to the underpinning politics framing state action and also an imagined future to be achieved by the policy. Some have argued that policy includes both processes and products (e.g., Taylor, 1997). For example, Ball (1993) observed that "policy is both text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended" (p. 10).

However, there is very often a gap between policy text and policy practice because policy purposes and targets are not always achieved in practice, in policy implementation or enactment (Ball et al, 2012). As Ball (1993) pointed out, "policies are always incomplete in

so far as they relate to or map onto the ‘wild profusion of local practice’”(p. 10). Policy is also about changes (Weimer & Vining, 2017). For example, governments use policy to conduct and carry out reforms in educational systems. “Policy desires or imagines change – it offers an imagined future state of affairs, but in articulating desired change always offers an account somewhat more simplified than the actual realities of practice” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 5). The research reported in this thesis cannot comment on the gap between policy texts and policy practice, as the focus of the research is only on policy texts in both the Chinese and Australian contexts.

Drawing on Foucault, Ball (2005) made a distinction between policy as text and policy as discourse, and argued that policy texts are framed by broader discourses. Policy texts and policy ensembles are framed by discourses that enable us to better understand and grasp the actual policy text and its intentions (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 8).

### **2.1.2 Globalization and IHE policy.**

Many scholars have studied IHE. Perhaps the most eminent scholar on this topic is Jane Knight, who has written about many aspects of internationalization, including concepts, approaches, rationales, challenges and development history, future direction and so on (J. Knight, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2014). Knight and her colleagues have also studied HE in Latin America and Asia Pacific countries in relation to the international dimension (De Wit, 2005; Jowi, Knight, & Sehoole, 2013; J. Knight & de Wit, 1997; Teferra & Knight, 2008). As noted earlier, J. Knight (2014) pointed out that there have been three generations of cross-border education: people mobility; program and provider mobility; and education hubs. People mobility refers to the movement of students and staff to foreign countries for educational purposes; program and provider mobility refers to movement of programs or institutions/companies across jurisdictional borders for the delivery of education; education hubs refer to a critical mass of education/knowledge actors (universities, companies, factories) located together in a part of a city (a zone) so as to strengthen education and knowledge transfer (J. Knight, 2014).

Along with the changes of development of cross-border HE, many issues and challenges have emerged, including quality assurance, student access, appropriate curriculum and so on. For example, Zolfaghari, Sabran, and Zolfaghari (2009) concluded several regional and national challenges due to IHE, such as lack of financial facilities, limited capacity of universities in accepting students, resource safeguarding and structural inflexibility of HE, and so forth, and implied that these challenges are related to broader national economic,

social and cultural problems. Teichler (2004) examined the changing debates on IHE and described increasing knowledge transfer, physical mobility and cooperation and international education and research as the characteristics of internationalization. Moreover, he explored the changing future possible orientation of globalization of HE as a manifestation of “turbo-capitalism” because of the increased managerialism in HE and arguments about the necessity for “global understanding” (Teichler, 2004). As noted already, Marginson (2016b) described three common tendencies in HE around the world today in the context of globalization: (1) the growth of higher participation, that is, the move to mass HE; (2) the spread of the concept of WCUs, related metrics and a one world science system; and (3) the application of quasi-business organizational principles to the organization and management of HE institutions. Of course, these tendencies play out in specific vernacular ways in different nations and affect the policy decision making and policies in HE framed by local histories, cultures and politics. This interaction of global and local dimensions of internationalization and the global effects on local policies have been explored by some scholars (e.g., Cloete, 2006; Farrell, 1999; Foskett, 2010; K. H. Mok, 2000b; Ng, 2002; Rumbley & Altbach, 2016; Zhi, 2004). To understand these continually interacting global, national and local elements that have been shaping HE in the context of globalization, Marginson and Rhoades (2002) proposed a “glonacal” analytical heuristic in which glonacal equals “global + national + local”.

Educational policies and practices are living entities both in their national and international dimensions, and they are forged under national and organizational frameworks, goals and beliefs (Power, 2007). Power (2007) examined the impact of globalization on education research, policy and practice. He indicated that the quality of educational goods and services has grown in importance in this context. The performance and the international ranking of HE systems and institutions connect closely with the distribution of limited research funds, student enrolments and other related benefits. Meanwhile, educators and educational researchers are sidelined in the development of educational policy due to the dominant role and leadership of economic factors, when education policy is framed by human capital conceptions of the benefits of education and research to nations and individuals. However, Power (2007) also indicated that there are some contradictions between marketization, quality and equity in HE. Whitty (1997) and Samoff (1994) showed that development of marketization is “unlikely to yield major overall improvements in the quality of education and will almost certainly have damaging equity effects” (Whitty, 1997, p. 34).

In response to global influence and pressures, many Asian-Pacific countries have carried out reforms through their education policies (Maclean, 2002). However, great difficulties, frustrations and failures have been seen in the education reforms since the 1990s, even though they all began with good will and confidence (Y. C. Cheng, 2005b). Indeed,

[s]uffering from ignorance to the complex nature of education reforms and paradigm shifts, policy makers and educators often adopt a piecemeal, fragmented and traditional approach to implementing changes and finally fall in disappointment (Y. C. Cheng, 2005b, pp. 12-13).

Williams (2010) researched the effects of globalization of education policy on developing countries and cited the assumption “the only suitable development strategy for the Third World is to imitate the industrialized countries at their present level of development” (Fagerlind & Lawrence, 1989, p. 44), and indicated that the objectives of Third World leaders and the needs of developing nations may be ignored as education becomes a preparation for international rather than national development. These facts leave researchers and academics with many issues and topics to study.

Power (2007) indicated that there is much research focused on the impact of globalization and restructuring and other shifts in national education policy in Asia-Pacific Educational Research Association (APERA) (e.g., Y. C. Cheng, 2005b; Fien, Yencken, & Sykes, 2002; Huong & Fry, 2002; Mokhtar, 2005; Xu, 2005).

Rizvi and Lingard (2010) discussed the major characteristics of good policy analysis and various ways of globalizing studies of education policy. Good or critical policy analysis here means getting rid of many taken-for-granted and rejecting epistemological innocence, and demands:

Recognition of the significance of the positionality of the education policy research, the type of policy being analysed and the location of the site of policy production, and an awareness of the broader historical constitution of the context or ecology the policy is articulated (p. 69).

Such an approach to policy analysis draws upon resources from critical, post-structural and post-colonial theories instead of traditional rationales and interpretivist approaches. K. H. Mok (2000b) also studied globalization effects on national policy, specifically in Taiwan, focusing on how the HE sector in Taiwan has transformed itself under the global tide of marketization and decentralization. He also examined the methods and strategies the Taiwanese Government has adopted to reform its HE systems in response to the changing local socio-economic political context and regional-global environments, particularly

focusing on provision (a mixed economy in HE), regulation (academics autonomy and empowerment of HE institutions) and financing (multiple channels of HE financing). Finally, K. H. Mok (2000b) concluded that “policy formation is driven by local forces instead of solely the reactions to external or global pressures” (p. 656).

In this context, there are many works concerned about the analysis methods or framework for education policy study in the context of globalization. Y. C. Cheng (2005a) provided a comprehensive framework, with which scholars, policy makers, educators, and those concerned with the topic may have a comprehensive scope in reviewing and analysing current education policies and related issues in ongoing education reforms. More details will be provided and discussed in relation to the methodology of the study (in Chapter 3).

### **2.1.3 IHE policy in Australia.**

Harman (2005) provided a critical review of literature and research on internationalization of Australian HE since 1990 and pointed out that various scholars have written many papers on the topic of Australia’s international development of HE (e.g., Borsheim Stundal, 1999; Harris & Jarrett, 1990; Marshall, 1993; Smart, Volet, & Ang, 2000). As noted earlier, the process of internationalization of Australian HE has been concluded as subsequently moving through three phases: foreign aid -- export industry -- from trade to internationalization (Adams et al., 2011; Universities Australia, 2009, pp. 9-10).

Two important government reports (Goldring, 1985; Jakobson, 1984) showed the changes and the factors that affected policy development in universities in respect of internationalization. Significant policies focusing on the IHE include the Bradley Review (Bradley, Noonan, Nugent, & Scales, 2008), the Chaney Report (Chaney, 2013), *A Smarter Australia: An agenda for higher education* (Universities Australia, 2013) and *National Strategy for International Education 2025* (Australian Government, 2016), which provided strategies and set targets for the development of international HE in Australia for different periods. These policies will be discussed and analysed further in later chapters.

Many scholars and researchers have provided numerous reviews, comments and evaluations of the results and influences of different policy initiatives and practices from different perspectives. For example, Auletta (2000) used an historical perspective going back to the Colombo Plan scheme (1950) and discussed possible reasons for Australia’s involvement in the scheme, the initial administration of the program, and policy attitudes towards overseas students at the time. Back, Davis, and Olsen (1997) discussed the

internationalization strategies that have been employed by HEIs in Australia. Grigg (1996) provided an evaluation of the Overseas Postgraduate Scholarship Scheme, while Baker and Rhall (1996) assessed the influence of overseas students' presence on the demand and supply of the labor market and its efficiency. Collins, Lee, Hawkins, and Neubauer (2016) reviewed the reforms of Australian HE, and pointed out that internationalization is one of the prominent characteristics of Australian HE. They argued the funding from the government had been constantly decreasing, which has forced the HEIs to recruit more international students to subsidize their revenue (Collins et al., 2016).

Additionally, there are numerous relevant papers that have been produced for annual International Development Program Education Australia conferences (e.g., Davis, Olsen, & Australia, 1998; Olsen, 2001). De Wit and Adams (2010) offered an integrated detailed description of internationalization and competition progress and policy changes over time in Australia's history and compared these policies and practices with those in Europe.

Further, Harman (2004, 2015) highlighted the policy issues and potential problems in Australia's development as an exporter of HE services, such as sustainable demand for international students recruitment due to the Asian nations' expanding and strengthening their own HE system, balancing development and integration between domestic and international students and quality assurance, and so on.

#### **2.1.4 IHE policy in China.**

Western countries, including Australia, have relatively longer research traditions in IHE than Asian countries (Yang, 2002). With the strengthening of their HE system and enforcement of IHE, the research on IHE in Asian countries began a decade or so ago. Yang (2002) analysed China's experience of IHE in relation to its cultural complexity and unique social contexts based on case studies of several universities in Guangzhou, a southern city of China, and revealed the specific significance of China's experience of internationalizing Chinese universities for non-western countries.

Huang (2003) commented on the historical changes of China's IHE. The changes, he noted, are from activities concerning traditional outflows of international scholars, faculty members, and students before 1992 to those relating to transnational HE and internationalization of curricula more recently. These processes have been deeply influenced by academic patterns adopted from Europe, Asia, the Pacific regions and America. And they contain attempts to realize mutual communication or exchange, largely

oriented and regulated by the government. He also described the characters and development of the IHE in China and pointed out the issues arising, such as brain drain and balance between benefitting from transnational education and maintaining a national character of Chinese universities.

In the historical context of educational changes, Xu (2005) explored the impact of globalization on reform of China's HE sector and indicated the trend of decentralization in both rights and responsibilities in terms of structural adjustment, human resource exploitation and retention, curriculum development, and education provision, and further discussed some continuing problems and new challenges. Also from an historical perspective, L. Chen and Huang (2013) described the development of IHE in China from ancient times to modern times dividing their analysis into four historical periods: the Emergence of International Connections in Chinese HE (from Ancient Times to 1840); Development of International Connections in HE (from 1840 to 1911); further Development of Internationalization of China's HE (from 1911 to 1976) and regularization of the Internationalization of China's HE (from 1976 to the Present). They analysed the regulations and policies of internationalization of China's HE in a chronological order. By analyzing official statistics and documents, they found that China has made great progress in IHE, but still needs improvement in its HE system to keep pace with the advanced education systems in more fully developed countries.

## **2.2 Comparative HE Policy Study**

Comparative cognitive work is important to being human: "thinking without comparison is unthinkable. And in absence of comparison, so is all scientific thought and scientific research" (Swanson, 1971, p. 145). HE policy comparison is common in comparative education research. There are a significant number of works and papers on comparative IHE policy. Some are historical analyses of policy changes of one country or region. For example, Silius (1987) described Finnish HE policy and analysed the changes during the last two decades in the four policy areas (quantitative planning and regionalization, social recruitment, governance and teaching and studies) and discussed the trends in Finnish HE in respect of consistency and change.

Some studies focus on one or some aspect(s) of HE policy in different regions or countries. For example, Papier (2010) explored local and global vocational teacher education (VTE) policies and curricula in an attempt to highlight the agreed-upon elements of curricula that could pave the way for South African policy on vocational lecturer development to be

implemented. Iyengar and Surianarain (2010) studied institutional differences that affect policy implementation in two mega cities of India (Mumbai and Delhi), and argued for a more reciprocal relationship between policy and practice, identifying the need for practice to influence policy in a mutually reinforcing process and that innovation at the local level of policy implementation is a critical mechanism by which such a reciprocal relationship can be established. Gazizova (2012) provided a comparative analysis of prospects, constructive ideas, and six strategies in the HE development of Turkey and Russia.

Various types of international comparisons between Australia and other countries have also been conducted. According to (Harman, 2005), they were mainly concerned with government funding for project work. For example, D. Anderson and Johnson (1998) studied university autonomy, while Bourke and Butler (1995) and Matthews and Johnston (2000) analysed international research links and trends in public support for research and development. Additionally, there are also many works concerned with methods, approaches and analytical frameworks in comparative education (e.g., C. A. Anderson; G. Z. Bereday, 1957, 1966; Bray, 2005; Goedegebuure & Vught, 1996; Kazamias, 1961; King, 1975).

Through the comparative study of educational policy, many scholars go further and discuss issues about education policy borrowing and lending. On this topic, there are various materials and papers studying different aspects of practice. For example, Halpin and Troyna (1995) drew upon the cases of the USA, England and Wales, and argued the feasibility of education policy borrowing and political legitimation. They concluded that effective policy borrowing and lending are more likely to exist between different education systems that share some synchrony in characteristics and the dominant political ideologies promoting reform within them. Auld and Morris (2014) explored how the “New Paradigm” (as they call it) in comparative education operates, identifying its inherent features and the strategies used to overcome the methodological issues associated with policy borrowing. They noted the enhanced influence of comparative data produced by international organizations, like OECD, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), World Bank, think tanks and edu-businesses upon this new paradigm in comparative education, which have real impacts in policy making. In their book, Steiner-Khamsi and Waldow (2012) pointed out that the study of travelling reforms is nested in the intersection between two large and ever-growing academic fields (comparative education and policy studies), so it draws on both research traditions. This is the intellectual location



of this doctoral study. These two research traditions are “interdisciplinary in orientation” (Steiner-Khamsi & Waldow, 2012, p. 3).

While, they also indicated the significant gap between these two fields, they suggested “while comparative education is transnational in orientation, policy studies is trans-sectoral” (Steiner-Khamsi & Waldow, 2012, p. 4). That means the focus on understanding local policy contexts occurs against the backdrop of larger transnational or global development, and these should be considered prominent features of comparative education. Further they indicated that there were no clearly defined sets of standards, policies and practices that were universally shared and borrowed. They emphasized the importance of understanding local policy contexts, and the political and economic dimensions and reasons for the policy borrowing.

As well, Steiner-Khamsi and Waldow (2012) summarized the foci and topics of three generations of researchers working across these fields and proffer four promising research areas for the forthcoming generation of scholars. They are: “1) the shift from bilateral to international reference frames; 2) understanding the logic of systems and cases; 3) methodological repercussions of ‘policyscapes’; 4) deciphering projections in cross-national policy attraction” (Steiner-Khamsi & Waldow, 2012, p. 9). “Policyscapes” here refer to the flows of policy ideas across the globe, what has also been referred to as travelling policy and as globalized policy discourses. Ball (1998) also indicated that these various policyscapes of global changes adumbrated the problems and challenges in education and social policy, and discussed the ideological and “magical” solutions to these problems and the means of the dissemination of these solutions. Carney (2009) attempted to create a concept of policyscape around processes of hyper-liberalism in education and explored it by working across different levels of the education systems in Denmark, Nepal and China. He tried to “provide glimpses from ongoing studies of education reform in Denmark, Nepal, and China as a contribution to redefining a comparative education fit for a world shaped by the increasingly shared imaginative landscapes of globalization” (p. 84).

### **2.3 Comparative Study of the IHE Policy**

D. Phillips and Schweisfurth (2014) argued that “comparative education and international education have been called twin fields, and the two fields are indeed closely related” (p. 53). Comparative and international education research is booming today, having been boosted by globalization and its effects on education systems within nations. However, narrowing the realm, works focusing on the topic of comparative studies of IHE policy are

relatively limited. For example, Luijten-Lub, Van der Wende, and Huisman (2005) focused on the comparison of national policies on IHE, but the selected seven countries are all Western European (Austria, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom), where Europeanisation is usually regarded as the version of either internationalization or globalization in that region (Teichler, 2004).

IHE can be expressed in many different ways and considered in relation to many aspects. HE policy of internationalization itself also a variety of contents. Many papers refers to specific element of internationalization and do not deal with the phenomenon in a broader sense. J. Knight and Wit (1995b) described and compared the historical aspects of IHE in the USA, Europe, Canada and Australia, and provided four basic approaches to IHE, namely activity approach, competency approach, ethos approach and process approach, among which policy as one part of organizational strategies is discussed. Warwick and Moogan (2013) also discussed the internationalization strategies in the UK, but they focused on the university rather than system level

Some studies focus on the internationalization of curriculum of HE. For example, Van der Wende (1997) studied the internationalization of curriculum in Dutch HE using an international comparative perspective. Huang (2006) discussed and compared the development and character of internationalization of curricula in HEIs in three non-English speaking countries (China, Japan and The Netherlands). He describes the similarities and difference of the methods concerning how these three countries internationalized their university curricula. Ardakani, Yarmohammadian, Abari, and Fathi (2011) studied and compared the different approaches and plans for the Internationalization of curriculum of HE in different countries (America, Canada, Australia and Japan) using a qualitative content analysis approach.

## **2.4 Conclusion**

This chapter has reviewed the literature and studies on education policy, globalization and internationalization, IHE policy, and relevant studies in Australia and China on IHE policy. This chapter also discussed comparative HE policy study and comparative policy study of IHE. Through this literature review, I found that, though comparative and international education research is booming today, comparative study of government policy on IHE is still quite rare. Many papers and much research involves specific aspects of internationalization, rather than dealing with the phenomenon in a broader sense. And there is no comparative policy study on comprehensive IHE between Australia and China,

two countries located in different geographical positions at different socioeconomic development phases with distinct social and political ideologies. So this thesis research aims to fill this gap in the research field and thus make a contribution to the knowledge.

In this doctorate research, I focus on “policy as text” (Ball, 1993). Ball’s distinction between policy as text and policy as practice is dealt with in the literature review chapter. As such, this doctoral research is a comparative policy document study. In the next chapter, the theoretical framework and methodology for this research study are outlined.

# Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework and Methodology

## 3.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline the theoretical framework which informs the research. The chapter will also outline the methodology for the study and the methods used for data collection and data analysis. This will entail some consideration of approaches to comparison within the field of comparative education. The methodology and theoretical frameworks are aligned in epistemological and ontological senses and will produce data that will enable empirically based and theorised responses to the research questions that structure the research.

In what follows, I first introduce the theoretical framework and then move to the research methodology and methods. Finally, I outline the methods and comparative analytical framework for this study.

## 3.2 Theoretical Framework

### 3.2.1 Educational policy convergence and divergence.

In the processes of globalization and internationalization, it is now difficult to say the policy making of one nation has not been affected by other nations worldwide. Policy making has also been affected by policy discourses originating from and circulated by international organisations. This is even more so the case today with globalization and strengthened computational capacities enabling global metrics and opportunities for travel for policy makers and politicians. This is what Appadurai (1996) has referred to as the flows of ideas across the globe (ideoscapes) and flows of people (ethnoscapes). Verger (2014) indicated globalization is changing the education policy landscape. Specifically, he observed,

due to transnational influences of a very different nature, education reforms are more and more often externally initiated, and multiple scales interact in the dynamics through which these reforms are negotiated, formulated, implemented, and even evaluated (Verger, 2014, p. 14).

These influences include introducing new problems into education agendas, compressing time and space in policy processes, and revitalizing the role of a range of international and supra-national players (e.g., OECD, UN, World Bank, EU) in educational reform. This deterritorialization of education policy processes has important theoretical and epistemological implications. This has led comparative education scholars to pay more

attention to the politics and dynamics involved in the policy adoption stage in respect of travelling policies. It means a need to focus empirical research on the processes, reasons and circumstances that explain how and why policy makers select, embrace, and/or borrow global education policies, and aim to implement them in the context of their own educational realities within the national space. In their book, Verger, Altinyelken, and Novelli (2018) provided in-depth theoretical perspectives (including neo-institutionalism, constructivism, international political economy approaches and social movement theory) and methodological approaches (mainly qualitative, e.g., comparative analysis, the vertical case study and discourse analysis) to analyze the reasons, agents and factors behind the globalization of educational policy. They also reflect on the structure, processes and events through which a global education policy landscape is being constituted today.

One prominent phenomenon of globalization of educational policy is the policy convergence which has also been found widely in other public policy areas as diverse as environmental policy (e.g., P.-O. Busch & Jörgens, 2005b; Holzinger, Knill, & Sommerer, 2008; Knill & Lenschow, 2005), agricultural policy (e.g., W. Coleman, 2001; W. Coleman & Grant, 1998) and economic policy (e.g., W. Coleman, 1994; MacDonald & Taylor, 1991). Convergence is referred as “the tendency of societies to grow more alike, to develop similarities in structures, processes and performances” (Kerr, 1983, p. 3). According to Bennett (1991), policy convergence, as the subfield of comparative public policy, should be seen as “a process of ‘becoming’ rather than a condition of ‘being’ more alike” (p. 219). Therefore, he thought the critical theoretical dimension should be temporal, not spatial in comparative research. Knill (2005) compared several related concepts such as policy transfer, policy diffusion and isomorphism (see Table 3.1) and proposed the definition of policy convergence as

any increase in the similarity between one or more characteristics of a certain policy (e.g., policy objectives, policy instruments, policy settings) across a given set of political jurisdictions (supranational institutions, states, regions, local authorities) over a given period of time (p. 768).

Therefore, he suggested that the policy convergence refers to “the end result of a process of policy change over time towards some common point, regardless of the causal processes” (Knill, 2005, p. 768). In this study, I will use Knill’s definition and description of policy convergence.

Table 3.1 Policy Convergence and Related Concepts

	<b>Policy convergence</b>	<b>Isomorphism</b>	<b>Policy transfer</b>	<b>Policy diffusion</b>
<b>Analytical focus</b>	Effects	Effects	Process	Process
<b>Empirical focus</b>	Policy characteristics	Organizational structures	Policy characteristics	Policy characteristics
<b>Dependent variable</b>	Similarity change	Similarity change	Transfer content, transfer process	Adoption pattern

Source: Knill (2005)

Further, to deepen the understanding of complex and multidimensional policy convergence, Bennett (1991) constructed five dimensions of policy convergence, namely convergence of *policy goals* that intend to solve similar policy problems; convergence of *policy content*; convergence on *policy instruments* including the regulatory, administrative and judicial institutional tools to implement policy; convergence on *policy outcomes*, consequences and impacts that are the results of policy implementation; convergence of *policy style* regarding how the policy responses are formulated. Any of these five dimensions might imply the existence of policy convergence, while making this concept more complex. Bennett's classification is helpful to ensure cross-national equivalence in conducting comparison and has been widely used in later empirical studies (e.g., W. Coleman, 1994; W. Coleman & Grant, 1998; Jordan & Liefferink, 2003). Additionally, Holzinger and Knill (2005) added scope and direction in consideration of policy convergence rather than just degree (see Table 3.2). The degree of convergence relates to the changes of diversity in some period; convergence direction is related to the extent of state intervention or to the strictness of a regulation; and convergence scope is related to the number of countries and policies which are influenced by a certain convergence mechanism (Holzinger & Knill, 2005). In this study, I will focus on the convergence and divergence of policy goals and policy contents in policy documents. This is a policy document study.

Table 3.2 The Indicators of Policy Convergence

<b>Indicators</b>	<b>Research questions</b>	<b>Reference point</b>	<b>Operationalization</b>
<b>Degree of convergence</b>	How much similarity increase over time?	Subgroup of countries and policies affected by a certain mechanism	Decrease in standard deviation over time
<b>Convergence direction</b>	In what direction (upward or downward shift of the regulatory mean?	Subgroup of countries and policies affected by a certain mechanism	Mean change
<b>Convergence scope</b>	How many and which countries and policies are converging?	All countries and policies under investigation	Number of countries and policies

Source: Holzinger and Knill (2005).

The mechanisms that lead to elements of policy convergence vary. Bennett (1991) concluded four types of pathways leading to convergence from the comparative policy literatures, namely emulation (copy action), elite networking and policy communities, harmonization by international regimes and penetration by external factors and interests. Hoberg (2001) emphasized four key forces of convergence, namely parallel domestic problem pressures, emulation, international legal constraints and international economic integration. Holzinger and Knill (2005) further concluded from the literature that there were five key causes of policy convergence (see Table 3.3). Holzinger et al. (2008) classified the factors in cross national policy convergence as the international factors (e.g., international harmonization, transnational communication and regulatory competition) and domestic factors (e.g., cultural similarity, similar economic structure and development). Further, Drezner (2001) discussed the sources of convergence pressures and pointed out that the primary pressure for convergence is economic and another main one is ideational. Economic and ideational factors are both related to international factors. For example, Hackl (2001) reviewed the policy convergence in European HE and pointed out the motivation behind convergence relates to the competitiveness and national pride, a kind of ideational pressure.

Table 3.3 Mechanisms of Policy Convergence

<b>Mechanism</b>	<b>Stimulus</b>	<b>Response</b>
Imposition	Political demand or pressure	Submission
International harmonization	Legal obligation through international law	Compliance
Regulatory competition	Competitive pressure	Mutual adjustment
Transnational communication		
<i>Lesson-drawing</i>	Problem pressure	Transfer of model found elsewhere
<i>Transnational problem-solving</i>	Parallel problem pressure	Adoption of commonly developed model
<i>Emulation</i>	Desire for conformity	Copying of widely used model
<i>International policy promotion</i>	Legitimacy pressure	Adoption of recommended model
Independent problem-solving	Parallel problem pressure	Independent similar response

Source: Holzinger and Knill (2005).

Ball (2003) pointed out that most policies “project images of an ideal society” (p. 3), so through various mechanisms, especially through transnational communication like emulation in policies from “ideal” foreign countries and applying them to other countries, shortcuts to development seem achievable. In comparative education, these foreign countries, are known as “reference societies” and the usage of such references is referred to as “externalization”, whereby nations use developments in other nations as a

justification for national reforms (Schriewer & Holmes, 1992). However, there are complexities here, as context cannot be emulated and this includes history, politics and culture. All policies within nations thus have some degree of path dependence about them (Simola et al., 2013), that is, they are situated within the specificities of their national contexts (path dependence is discussed below). This is not to deny, of course, that today there are also global pressures towards broad policy convergence (Mundy, Green, Lingard, & Verger, 2016) and the emergence of a global education policy field (Lingard & Rawolle, 2011). These convergence pressures, however, always come up against the specificities of the national and local, thus resulting in vernacular or hybrid expressions of convergence pressures. The analogy made by Sadler (1900) (a founder of comparative education) between a “flower” and a national system of education that the flower and leaves picked from other bushes in other places cannot live in the soil at home is used here. The processes of policy transfer involved are quite complex as context cannot be transferred. Some time ago, eminent comparative educator Kandel told us

in order to understand, appreciate and evaluate the real meaning of the educational system of a nation, it is essential to know something of its history and traditions, of the forces and attitudes governing its social organization, of the political and economic conditions that determine its development (Kandel, 1933, p. xix).

This is where path dependence comes in. In China, talk of various policies with Chinese characteristics is showing such mediation, showing path dependence and vernacularisation at the same time as the effects of global pressures and policy discourses.

So even though there are considerable examples and evidence of policy convergence, policy divergence remains the case, which has been well documented by research as well (e.g., Mundy et al., 2016). Some research suggests that there is sometimes a convergence of policy outcomes and divergence on policy processes (e.g., Hoberg, 1986; Vogel, 1986; Waltman & Studlar, 1987). Policy divergence means different consequences from the process of policy convergence and is defined as “dissimilarity between one or more characteristics of a certain policy across a given set of political jurisdictions and over a given period of time” and “an end result of a process of policy change over time towards an uncommon point” (De Rynck & Dezeure, 2006, p. 1019). Like policy convergence, policy divergence can have several dimensions and causes: due to the different policy goals in different nations, different policy instruments used or the different settings of instruments (De Rynck & Dezeure, 2006). As to the causes, the divergence may relate to the stability of specific national characteristics such as national policy styles (Richardson,



2013), the stability of institutional arrangements and the importance of path dependence (A. Busch, 2002; P.-O. Busch & Jörgens, 2005a).

In this study, the concepts of educational policy convergence and divergence will be used as analytical tools for comparison of IHE policy in China and Australia. Policy convergence can be used to explain similarities in two nation-states' policies, while policy divergence can be used to explain the differences in two nation-states' policies through path dependence.

### **3.2.2 Path dependence.**

The concept of path dependence was first proposed by the American economic historian Paul A. David, and later developed by other scholars (e.g., W. Brian Arthur and Douglas North). Path dependence is defined as “a property of contingent, non-reversible dynamic processes, including a wide array of biological and social processes that can properly be described as evolutionary” (David, 2001, p. 15). Path dependence offers explanation for how the decisions in any given circumstance are affected by the past decisions, even if past circumstances may be not relevant any more (Praeger, 2007). Path dependence emphasizes the important role of time and history in analysis of the evolution of socio-economic aspects in any given society.

The concept is widely used in historical study, political science, sociology, economics, management science and other disciplines. It has been very influential within the field of comparative and international education, stressing the significance of the history of education, education's cultural assumptions and dominant practices over time as factors mediating all new policy pressures, including those flowing from global discourses and reference societies.

According to the dependence intensity, Liebowitz and Margolis (1998) divided path dependence into three levels: first-degree path dependence to indicate instances in which persistence of prior conditions or decisions exists, but with no implied inefficiency; second-degree path dependence - persistence of prior conditions or decisions leads to outcomes that are regrettable and costly to change; third-degree path dependence - persistence leads to an outcome that is inefficient – but in this case the outcome is “remediable”. Similarly, Roe (1996) distinguished three different kinds of path dependence: weak (the efficiency of the chosen path is tied with some alternatives), semi strong (the chosen path

is not the best but not worth fixing, or strong (the chosen path is highly inefficient, but we are unable to correct it).

David (2001) believed that path dependence is a dynamic property of allocative processes, which is strictly subservient to the domination of the infrequent events in history. The strength of dominant approaches is not the result of market choices. Therefore, so-called “path hierarchy” does not exist in this process. David (2001) divided path dependence into positive and negative path dependence. Positive path dependence is a stochastic dynamic process. This dependence is the result of the gradual process of its own historical distribution. Negative path dependence is a non-ergodic process, and therefore it cannot get rid of the constraints of history, and is said to yield path dependent outcomes. From the view of historical sociology, Mahoney (2000) argued path dependence takes place when a contingent historical event produced a subsequent sequence with a relatively deterministic pattern. There are two dominant types of path dependence sequences, namely self-reinforcing sequences and reactive sequences. Self-reinforcing sequences are “characterized by the formation and long-term reproduction of a given institutional pattern” (Mahoney, 2000, p. 508) while reactive sequences are “chains of temporally ordered and causally connected events” (p. 509).

It needs to be acknowledged that there are some criticisms of path dependence. For example, Kay (2005) argued that path dependence doesn't offer a clear and convincing account of decision making over time; it only offers an explanation for stability rather than changes; and its normative influences remain unexplored. Nonetheless, as he also argued, “none of these criticisms are fatal to the validity or utility of the concept of path dependency in policy studies” (Kay, 2005, p. 569). Thus, path dependence is still “a valid and useful concept for policy studies” (Kay, 2005, p. 553).

Path dependence is also applied in comparative education research. Indeed, it has been an important concept in the field. Simola et al. (2013), for example, pointed out that many current comparative studies lack historical perspective and contextualisation; yet they argued that conducting a cross-national comparative study cannot ignore specific national context and history. This is where path dependence works. The transnational trends interact with local existing practices and priorities under path dependence. And they (Simola et al., 2013) regarded path dependence and policy convergence as dual pressures and tensions within all comparative studies. The former refers to major national specificities, while the latter refers to international tendencies. Eriksson, Majkgård, and

Sharma (2000) argued the need to integrate these two dimensions, path dependence and contingency, to conduct reflexive and sophisticated comparative studies. Here, contingency has two meanings: coincidence or free will (Peck & Zhang, 2013, p. 209).

In this study, path dependence will be used to analyze how history shapes and influences each country's policy-making and how a country reacts in context specific ways to the convergence pressures of globalization and internal influences of path dependence.

### **3.2.3 Soft power.**

Soft power is a concept developed by Joseph Nye from Harvard University to describe the ability to attract and co-opt rather than coerce (hard power), using force or giving money as a means of persuasion. So in a sense soft power is defined in contrast to hard power and has been utilised in international relations literature. Soft power is the ability to shape the preferences of others through appeal and attraction. A defining feature of soft power is that it is noncoercive; the currency of soft power is culture, political values, and foreign policies. Recently, the term has also been used in relation to changing and influencing social and public opinion through relatively less transparent channels and lobbying through powerful political and non-political organizations (Joseph S Nye, 2009).

Soft power has been a hot research topic in recent years, particularly in relation to the growing demand for the construction of soft power by the Chinese government (e.g., Gill & Huang, 2006; Hartig, 2011; Manzenreiter, 2010; Mingjiang, 2008; Joseph S. Nye, 1997, 2012; Yang, 2007). Y. Wang's (2008) research on China's use of soft power noted the Chinese government's limited understanding of public diplomacy and listed key aspects of traditional Chinese culture and politics that created obstacles for Chinese public diplomacy. These misunderstandings, including simply taking national strength as an index of international image, and China's humility, which makes it reluctant to promote itself while overly focusing on its long history and past civilization, impede its implementation of soft power in international society. As well, Y. Wang (2008) explored the effective public diplomacy strategy for China to integrate Chinese hard power and soft power to create a soft rise for China. His research focused on public diplomacy and how public diplomacy is utilised to promote the national image through soft power. Yang (2010a) examined Chinese Confucius Institutes (CIs) and investigated China's projection of soft power via the conduit of the establishment of CIs, and also focused on the ways top Chinese universities interacted with their international peers through CI projects for international exchange and cooperation in HE as another mode of soft power. H. Wang and Lu (2008) compared

China and Taiwan's usage of soft power and figured out the policy implications of such usage. They found that the conceptions of soft power in mainland China and Taiwan mainly drew from Nye's theoretical framework, but the meaning is broader than Nye's. Soft power in Taiwan then has components of not only foreign policy but also national morale, popular identity, good governance as well as economic development. They also discussed the reasons this concept has become so appealing to China, such as China's desire for great power, avoiding international suspicion and concern about China's rapid rise, and soft power is a form of compatibility with Chinese traditions. They also pointed out the limitations of this concept for guiding practices of diplomacy because it doesn't have reliable ways of being measured.

Joseph S. Nye (2010) compared American and Chinese soft power after the global financial crisis and concluded that the misperceptions about the financial crisis could lead to policy miscalculations in both Beijing and Washington. He thinks that China still has a long way to go in enhancing its soft power as its domestic realities are still inconsistent with the image the country wants to create through soft power. However, soft power is still an important factor that influences policy-making in China and shapes HEIs' cooperation with foreign countries, especially the construction and improvement of the Confucius Institute project, which will be discussed in a later chapter.

### **3.3 Research Methodology and Methods**

This study is a comparative research study of policy, more specifically policy texts, thus document analysis and comparative research methods was used. According to Theisen and Adams (1990), comparative education research can be classified as involving analysis, description, evaluation and exploration. The methods used in this study contained all these aspects. Comparison itself means the research topic involves two or more nations/regions and such research is usually conducted in relation to various aspects and dimensions of the subjects studied; in this case, IHE policy in China and Australia, but set in a global context.

In the following section, first I provide approaches to policy document analysis that include both inductive and deductive approaches. Then second I move to describe my approach to comparative study, which draws upon Bereday's (1964) stages of analysis method and Phillips and Schweisfurth's (2014) structure of comparative study. This involves a synthesis of the approaches to comparison and document analysis that are outlined below.

### **3.3.1 Inductive and deductive approaches in document analysis.**

One of the main data collection methods used in this doctoral research was document analysis, especially policy document analysis. This works with Ball's (1993) concept of policy as text. Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents in printed and electronic formats (Bowen, 2009). Bowen (2009) figured out that documents can provide context, background information and historical insights, as well as trackable changes and developments, and document analysis has the advantages of efficiency, availability, stability, exactness. Document analysis is conducted through skimming, reading and interpretation and combines elements of content analysis (arranging information into categories) and thematic analysis (identifying themes for analysis) (Bowen, 2009).

General inductive and deductive approaches are widely used in qualitative research. In this research, the inductive and deductive approaches are applied in documents analysis. According to Thomas (2006)'s definition, inductive analysis refers to approaches that "primarily use detailed readings of raw data to derive concepts, themes, or a model through interpretations made from the raw data by an evaluator or researcher", while deductive analysis refers to "data analyzes that set out to test whether data are consistent with prior assumptions, theories, or hypotheses identified or constructed by an investigator" (p. 238).

By using inductive analysis, key themes and categories are identified from the raw data.

Thomas (2006) concluded five main features of these categories resulting from the coding:

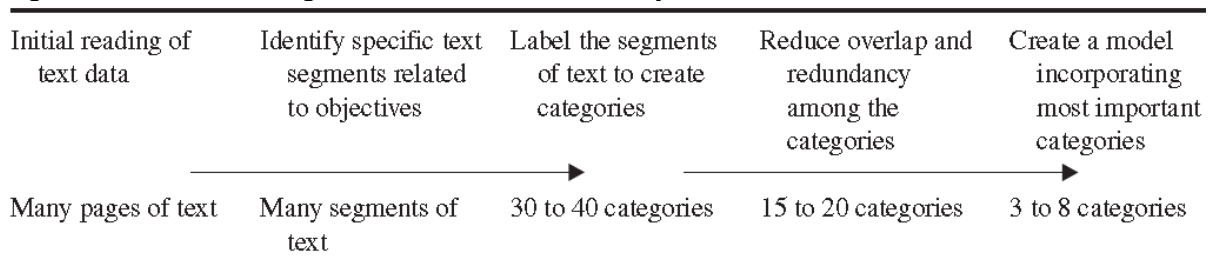
1. Category label: a word or short phrase used to refer to the category. The label often carries inherent meanings that may or may not reflect the specific features of the category.
2. Category description: a description of the meaning of the category, including key characteristics, scope, and limitations.
3. Text or data associated with the category: examples of text coded into the category that illustrate meanings, associations, and perspectives associated with the category.
4. Links: Each category may have links or relationships with other categories. In a hierarchical category system (e.g., a tree diagram), these links may indicate superordinate, parallel, and subordinate categories (e.g., "parent, sibling" or "child" relationships). Links are likely to be based on commonalities in meanings between categories or assumed causal relationships.
5. The type of model in which the category is embedded: The category system may be subsequently incorporated in a model, theory, or framework. Such frameworks include an open network (no hierarchy or sequence), a temporal sequence (e.g., movement over time), and a causal network (one category causes changes in another). To be consistent with the inductive process, such models or frameworks represent an end point of the

inductive analysis. They are not set up prior to the analysis.

It is also possible that a category may not be embedded in any model or framework. (Thomas, 2006, p. 240)

Further, Thomas (2006) adapted the coding process of inductive analysis from Creswell (2002) work and this is demonstrated in Figure 3.1 below. He showed that the aim of the coding process is to identify several categories (fewer than eight) that can conclude the critical aspects of the themes that are proposed in the raw data (Thomas, 2006).

Figure 3.1. The Coding Process in Inductive Analysis.



Source: Thomas (2006).

Taylor (2004) pointed out that analysis of actual policy texts includes analyzing and documenting the discourses within which the texts are located. This is Ball’s (1994) argument that policy is both text and discourse. In their book, Rizvi and Lingard (2010) outlined some of the questions that can be used in taking a textual focus, which includes three aspects – contextual issues, policy and textual issues and implementation and outcomes issues. In this study, implementation and outcome issues were not included in the study. Rather, the analysis was conducted around contextual issues and policy and textual issues (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4 Dimensions for Analyzing Policies

<b>Context</b>	Historical, political and bureaucratic origins
<b>Policy and text</b>	Discursive formation
	Textual consideration
	Interests
	Policy structuration resource

Source: Rizvi and Lingard (2010) pp. 54-56.

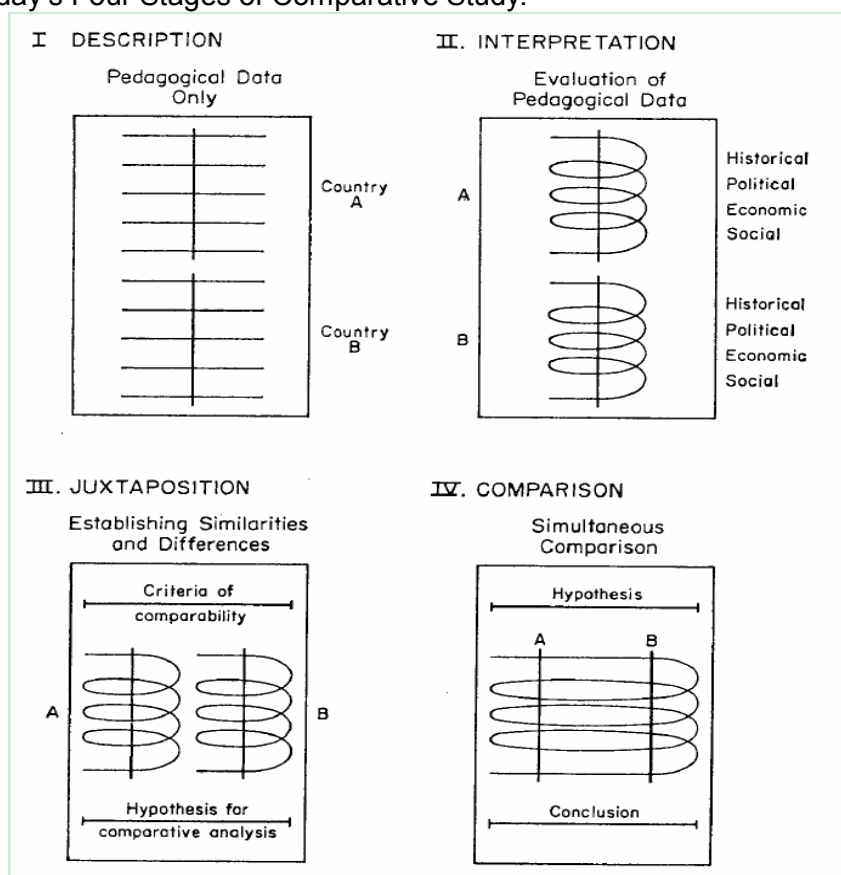
NVivo Software was used in the policy text analysis. The data size is eighteen documents (nine for each nation) as shown in Table 3.5 below, more than 1000 pages in total. NVivo was used as a tool in inductive analysis following the coding process as stated in Figure 3.1. Specifically, NVivo was used to classify related policy documents into several

categories, for example, into three comparison levels (macro, meso and micro) and to identify the important themes (refer to 4.6 and 5.6) induced from the policy documents and deduced from literature review. Other ways such as frequency check and matrix coding are also used in this research (e.g., pp. 143-144, pp. 145-146)

### 3.3.2 Comparative study.

This study adopted the stages of analysis method drawn from cognate comparative education literatures. In his famous book on comparative education, G. Z. F. Bereday (1964, pp. 22-23, 28) outlined four stages of comparative study, namely description, interpretation, juxtaposition and comparison.

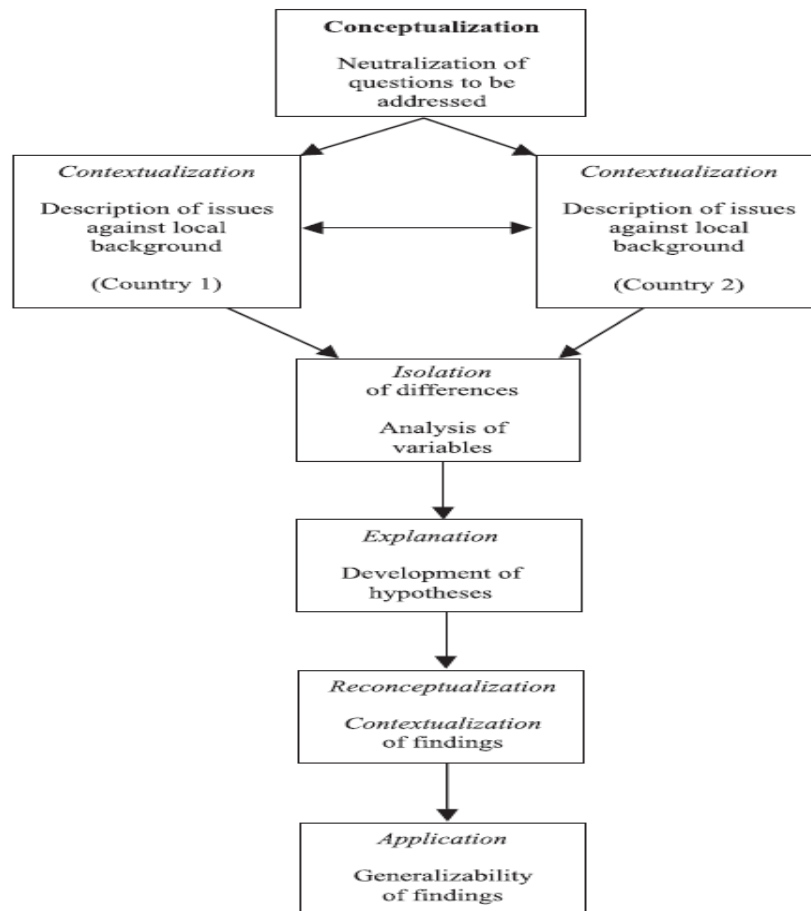
Figure 3.2. Bereday's Four Stages of Comparative Study.



Source: Bereday (1964), p. 28.

D. Phillips and Schweisfurth (2014, pp. 118-120) developed Bereday's model further and proposed six stages of comparative analysis, including the juxtaposition stage. The six stages are conceptualization, contextualization, isolation, explanation, reconceptualization and application. In their book, they explained the details of each stage. The process is shown in Figure 3.3 below:

Figure 3.3 A structure for Comparative Study.



Resource: D. Phillips and Schweisfurth (2014, p. 119).

This study followed this research structure and process, but combined it with the approach to textual analysis outlined above.

Additionally, because this comparison involves two languages – Chinese and English, translation has to be done to ensure the policy texts could be compared. The common definition of translation is “a transfer of the message from one language to another”, but translation is actually more than simple linguistic transformation (Sakai, 2006). Three types of translation are proposed by Jakobson (1959). These are: as “1) intralingual translation or *rewording* [which] is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language; 2) interlingual translation or *translation proper* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language; and; 3) intersemiotic translation or *transmutation* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems” (Jakobson, 1959, p. 233). The translation in this study is interlingual translation. In respect of translation, Jakobson (1959) argued there is no full equivalence between two language systems, while Sakai (2006) pointed out there always exists some ambiguity in translation due to the translator’s positionality. Thus, the differences and discontinuities in



translation and the limitations of translation due to the researcher's positionality need to be acknowledged. In the Chinese policy analysis chapter and in the comparative analysis chapter, translation is provided when specific sentences in the policy documents are mentioned, while the original Chinese sentences are also offered for reference. Additionally, translation of the content related to the other two categories of policies in China's meta-policies is also provided in Appendix 1.

It also needs to be noted here that after the selection of Chinese policies to be analysed (dealt with below), these policies then had to be translated into English to facilitate the comparative analysis. This required considerable intellectual work that was time consuming, as the first step in the analysis of Chinese policies on the IHE policies. This is a step in such comparative studies that often goes unmentioned and unacknowledged. I did all of these translations and note how time consuming and complex this was. I would argue that consideration of translation in cross-national comparative policy research is a topic that requires much more focus in contemporary comparative education.

### **3.4 Research Design**

Referring to this method and taking context into account, I decided not to conduct interviews for this doctoral research because of the difficulty of gaining access to the policy makers in the two countries. Rather, I collected a wide range of other materials (e.g., news reports and statements of policy makers) as supplements to the policy analysis. The focus was on significant policy documents and this study was conducted based on document analysis.

The research design for this study was according to the previous discussion. In the following section, the rationale for the selection of policies to be the focus of the research then provide the analytical framework and methods designed for this study. Finally, I describe the data analysis processes used in this study.

#### **3.4.1 Selection of policies.**

The documents that were the focus of this research are related to the IHE during the period 2008-2015, in both China and Australia and include government reports, policies, regulations, projects, plans and so on. The comparison of practices and policy documents shows the influence of the policies on practices; however, it needs to be stressed here that this study only focused on policy texts and was not empirically interrogating policy implementation or enactment. There is a plethora of relevant HE policy documents for this

period in both countries. Thus, I provide a rationale for the selection of the policies that form the focus of this research and also provide a categorization of them.

As mentioned elsewhere in Chapter 2, J. Knight (2014) described three generations or developments of cross-border HE, namely people mobility, provider mobility and the creation of international hubs. So I think the IHE can be seen as involving people and provider mobility, organizational communication and transnational cooperation. In the next sections, I will discuss and analyse the important policies of IHE in China in the period in question, which is one focus of the research, in three sections: overarching meta-policies, people-focused policies and institution-focused policies. These are the categories I have developed to deal with the large number of relevant policies for this research.

There are numerous policy documents related to IHE in both Australia and China. It is difficult to analyse every one of them. Thus a selection needed to be made for this research to make it manageable. The selection focused on the major policies and provides a justification for their selection. The selection of policies was based on their importance and influence in each of the policy categories noted above. Table 3.5 below lists the selected policies for both HE systems.

Table 3.5 Major Internationalization Policies in HE in China and Australia

Australia	China
<b>Overarching meta-policies</b>	
Review of Australian Higher Education 2008	Outline of the National Medium and Long-Term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)
A Smarter Australia: An agenda for HE (2013–2016)	National Educational Development: Eleventh Five-year Plan (2006-2010)
Australia – Educating Globally 2013	National Educational Development: Twelfth Five-year Plan (2011-2015)
National Strategy for International Education 2015-2025	Priority Work of the MOE 2013
<b>People focused policies</b>	
International Students Strategy for Australia 2010	Plan for Study in China 2010
Strategic Review of the Student Visa Program 2011	Chinese Scholarship Council 2007
New Colombo Plan 2014	Recruitment Program of Global Experts 2008
<b>Institution focused policies</b>	
Research Performance of Australian Universities 2012	Regulation of the People’s Republic of China on Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools 2003
University Research: Policy Considerations to Drive Australia’s Competitiveness 2014	Coordinate Development of World Class Universities and First-Class Disciplines Overall Program 2015

Selection was made from the full list of policies (“policy pool”) pertaining to IHE. Classified into three sections, the overarching meta-policies refer to macro and instructional policies in HE for a period (one year, four/five years or ten years). Institution focused policies refer

to policies that are applicable to organizations such as universities and other education providers. People-focused policies refer to policies that are related directly to people and include targeted and applicable groups such as students and academics.

Another factor in the selection of policies to analyse was the period of IHE that is the focus of this research. In Chapter 1, the selection of the time period, 2008-2015, was justified on two grounds. The first was the consistency of IHE policies in both nations, perhaps a reflection of the continuity of political leadership in both nations across this time. This was also a period of increased significance of internationalization in HE in both nations, but for different reasons. The most significant IHE policies for this period in each nation were chosen. This entails a judgement, but I would argue that scholars would agree that these policies were particularly significant in relation to IHE in both countries across this time.

### 3.4.2 Analytical framework and methods designed for this study.

I use the six-stage analysis structure of D. Phillips and Schweisfurth (2014) and designed the comparison at three levels (macro, meso and micro levels) as an analysis framework for the study. My approach and research design is represented in Figure 3.4 below.

Figure 3.4 Analytical Framework for this Study

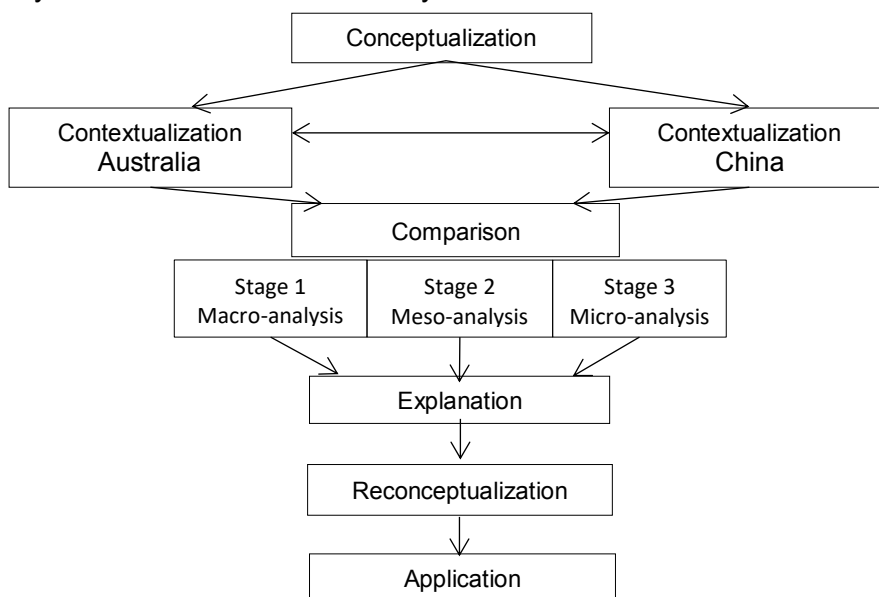


Table 3.6 below outlines the alignment in this research between the framing research questions, the data to be collected, and the approach to data analysis.

Table 3.6 Detailed Methods for the Research Questions

Research questions	Data	Research	Goal
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		<b>method</b>	
What are the policies of IHE in China and in Australia from 2008 to 2015 and what are the purposes of these policies?	Policy pool: a selection of the most significant HE policies for each country will be made.	Inductive and deductive approaches in document analysis	Analysis of reports and policies from each of the two countries. Determine any shifts in foci/purposes over time.
What are the similarities and differences in relation to the policies on IHE in the two countries?	Policy pool: a selection of the most significant HE policies for each country will be made; and policy timeline policy intertextuality	Document analysis; Comparative method	Identify the similarities and differences of two nation's policies on IHE
How are these policies linked to the contexts of contemporary globalization and the politics and policy making approaches in each country?	Literature review: globalization, globalization and policy, globalization and HE policy, IHE ; Contexts: social, cultural, political and ideological context through a literature review and document analysis; these contexts are both national and global	Critical literature review	Through literature review and historical analysis of social, cultural, political and ideological forces that have shaped the education systems over time.
What are the differences in relation to the IHE in the two countries, and what do these differences tell us about the impact of globalization on HE policy, and about Path dependence in HE politics and policy making in each country?	Data developed in relation to the three previous research questions	Comparative method	Based on data and policy documents comparison, explore the interactions between international factors and national/local factors.

### **3.4.3 Analysis process.**

Combining the research methods mentioned above and adjusting to the specificities of my study, I designed the analysis process for this research as outlined below. It includes six steps. First, I conceptualized the IHE policy. This conceptualization pertains to: (1) HE, (2) central or federal government (China-policy documents issued from Ministry of Education; Australia-policy documents issued or adopted by the federal Department of Education and Training); and (3) attention to the IHE. Second, I identified the changes and factors influencing education policy in respect of globalization at the three levels in each country.

In the next step, I moved to comparison. This part involved cross – case analysis. First I compared the two countries' HE systems and then moved to the policy documents comparison, based on relevant texts. This included comparison again at three levels – macro level, overarching meta-policy; meso level, institution focused policy; and micro level, people focused policy. In the fourth step, I explain the differences in IHE policies in Australia and China and explain the key factors that affect the commonalities and differences. In the fifth step, I outline the factors and dynamics that affect policy making,

and how decisions are made to develop the IHE. The final step refers to the potential generalizability (or otherwise) of the research findings.

Additionally, it should be acknowledged that due to my own positionality as a researcher – a Chinese undertaking research into HE in Australia – in understanding both sets of policies in their contexts, related to their history, tradition, political regimes and status quo, it may be easier for me to situate Chinese policies in their path dependent contexts than the Australian policies. I also recognize that as a Chinese researcher situated in an Australian university, I occupy something of an “outsider” positionality in relation to the Australian context. At the same time my research, informed by western epistemologies and insights, might also be construed as “outside” the realm of dominant knowledge epistemologies from a Confucian and Chinese context more broadly. Yet, meanwhile, as an “international student” studying in Australia, I embody some of the very tensions, challenges and opportunities that engagement in HE in international and transnational contexts affords.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has outlined the theoretical framework and methodology for this research study. Policy convergence and divergence, pertaining to similarities and differences across nations’ policies, were addressed. Path dependence was outlined as used to explain how the historical and cultural background affect the contextualized and vernacular ways a nation deals with global influences. The chapter outlined how this study was conducted within the theoretical framework of policy convergence and divergence, path dependence and soft power, and as such, is broadly situated within the field of comparative education.

Document analysis followed six processes (conceptualization- contextualization- comparison-explanation- reconceptualization-application) in two dimensions (context; policy and text). Contextualization and comparison sections both include three stages (macro-analysis, meso-analysis and micro-analysis). Comparison is based largely on comparison of policy documents from the two nations after they have first been analysed in their national contexts separately. The comparison is framed by the design and various steps as outlined in the previous section of the chapter.

Thus, combining all the statements above, the basic analytical structure of this thesis is shown in the figure below. It should be noted that Figure 3.5 below should not be read to imply that all similarities across HE systems and their policies only result from global

convergence pressures. Rather some similarities also stem from universal constructions of HE and from path dependent factors. Additionally, it should not be assumed that differences in HE policies are only the product of path dependent processes. The hybridity of policy frame needs to be acknowledge as the global and the local interweave in idiosyncratic ways.

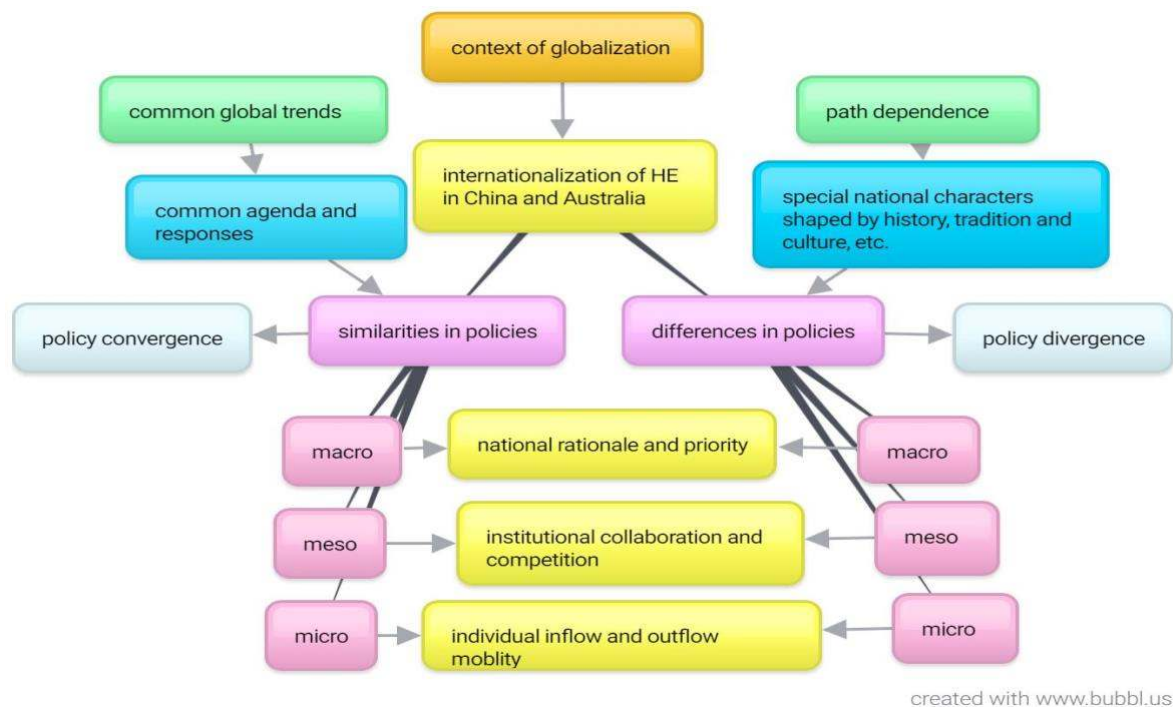


Figure 3.5 Mindmap of the Whole Structure of the Thesis.

The next chapters, especially the comparison chapter, conform to this structure, but with acknowledgement of the nuances in the previous paragraph.

## **Chapter 4: Analysis of IHE Policy in China (2008-2015)**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter focuses on IHE policy in China. The analysis will deal with three kinds of policies: overarching meta-policies, institution focused policies and people focused policies.

In a sense, there is an historical element to the analysis presented. This implicit history of IHE policies needs to be situated against the broader history of Chinese HE and indeed China's broader political history. This is the path dependence aspect of this research. The chapter thus begins with a brief overview of policy and practice of IHE in China.

### **4.2 A Brief History of Policy and Practice of IHE in China**

The context and reforms of IHE in China have been widely discussed by scholars (e.g., L. Chen & Huang, 2013; Xu, 2005) (see 2.1.4 in literature review section). According to the research of 李均 (2015), the history of China's HE policy post 1949 can be divided into six periods as follow: foundation period (1949-1956), transforming the old education system (education under the semi-feudal and semi-colonial regime before 1949) and learning from the Soviet model; exploration period (1956-1966), getting rid of the Soviet model and exploring China's own road; destruction period associated with the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), negating the former education route, revolutionizing education and politicizing HE; reconstruction period (1976-1984), order out of chaos, restoring and rebuilding the order of the Chinese HE; reform period (1985-1997), reforming the system and exploring the development road of China's HE in the new era; promotion period (1998-2009) and development period (2010-2015), deepening the reform of HE, and overall revitalizing HE.

Based on Huang (2003) study, IHE practice in China has changed from activities of traditional outflows of people before 1992 to activities of transnational HE and internalization of curricula, to today's comprehensive IHE, including people inflow and outflow mobility, institutional collaboration and cross-broader education provision. In this process, Chinese HE has referenced and been affected by many other nations' patterns, including Japan, Europe, the Soviet Union and the USA. In China, IHE has been mainly led and conducted by the government. Combined with Huang (2003) division on the

development phases of policies concerning IHE, the IHE policies can be divided into following phases:

**The first phase (1978-1992).**

After China's long (more than 20 years) isolation from the Western world, policies and regulations of the government concerning IHE mainly focused on sending students, scholars, and academic staff abroad to study advanced science and other fields, inviting foreign scholars and experts to come to China, teaching and learning English and other foreign languages. Generally, the policies in this period were concerned with people mobility, which implied the urgent demand for professionals and experts from overseas, who had advanced knowledge, science and technology, to serve Chinese economic development and modernization.

**The second phase (1993-2004).**

Policy changes since 1993 have meant that rather than simply sending students, scholars and staff abroad, mutual mobility of people was introduced. This included encouraging Chinese scholars to return and foreign students to study in China. In addition, transitional HE and internationalization of university curricula was carried out. In this period, domestic HE also experienced rapid reforms, such as reorganization and merging of HEIs, expansion of HE enrolment, and the introduction of tuition fees and fees-sharing policy.

**The third phase (2004 to the present)**

In this period, IHE has become more comprehensive. Activities have been expanded to mutual or multilateral mobility of people, various forms of cooperation and collaboration between HEIs, and exerting Chinese culture and influence and pursuing soft power around the globe. For example, Confucian Institutes have been established worldwide since 2004 and foreign students have been encouraged to study in China.

Moreover, in this process, the other trend that is worth noting is the rising neoliberalism in Chinese HE nowadays (see Chapter 1.3.3). Neoliberalism, represented in the forms of decentralization, privatization and marketization in Chinese HE, has taken place since the economic reforms of the late 1970s. Public universities have gradually gained more autonomy and have become more flexible in market competition. Meanwhile, private colleges (Minban colleges and independent colleges) have appeared and expanded. Furthermore, market mechanisms have been introduced into the HE sector and funding resources have been diversified (Turner & Yolcu, 2013). Since the late 1990s, HE has witnessed a transition from heavily relying on public funding from local and central



governments, to increasingly relying on private sources in Chinese HEIs. In respect of social and economic dimensions, neoliberalism has also resulted in the growing prominence of neoliberal thoughts, strategies and policies adopted in the public sector, including the HE sector, which have gradually clashed with socialist ideals and produced issues of social justice and social equality (K. H. Mok & Lo, 2007). There has been the emergence of a socialist market as outlined briefly in Chapter 1.

In this chapter, the analysis is situated across the “promotion” period to the “development” period (2008-2015). The year 2008 was chosen for the beginning of the period to research IHE comparatively in China and Australia, because that year was particularly significant for IHE in both nations, with the Bradley Report released in Australia, and a policy on recruitment of global experts released in China (*Recruitment Program of Global Experts*). So deepening the reforms of HE and overall revitalizing HE are the main topics and targets of this 2008-2015 period’s broad HE policy. From 2008 to 2015, there were three important trends that could be seen in China: (1) the rise of the pursuit for soft power, represented by the rapid development of the Confucius Institutes project around the world; (2) the close relationship between nations in relation to cooperation in HE, for example the establishment of Shanghai New York University and Ningbo Nottingham University; and (3) the popularity of global university rankings and rising importance of global prestigious universities. China has played an important role here, especially in respect of the latter (e.g., the Academic World University Ranking).

In the following section, three kinds of HE policies in three levels are analysed, namely overarching meta-policies, people focused policies, and institution focused policies. Then, an analysis and conclusion will be proffered in relation to IHE policies in China.

### **4.3 Overarching Meta-Policies**

As mentioned above, three categories of IHE policies are used to frame the analysis provided in this and subsequent chapters. Meta-policies mean “policies about policies” and also refer to overarching framing policies. They make the rules and assumptions of the policies explicit and they coordinate the interaction of multiple policies. These meta-policies provide the guidelines and rationales for other policies (David, 2007). While policies often have an inter-textual relationship with other policies, meta-policies attempt to suture these together in an overarching manner.

Across the past three decades, following the end of the Cold War and prevailing free trade worldwide, globalization and internationalization have become more evident and significant. In this context, China has also formulated, promulgated and implemented a series of laws, regulations, policies and measures related to international exchanges and cooperation in education, and promote the development of the IHE. The *China Education Reform and Development Program* (1993) clearly stated its aims as to “strengthen exchanges and cooperation between China’s universities and foreign HEIs, and cooperate with foreign experts to carry out joint training and joint scientific research” (CPCCC & SC, 1993). The *Education Law* stated “The state encourages educational exchanges and cooperation” (NPC, 1995). The *Higher Education Law* expressly stated, “The state encourages and supports international exchanges and cooperation in HE” (NPC, 1999). These laws, regulations and policies all articulate the intentions and targets to participate actively in IHE. However, there are no specific policy documents on the national IHE in China, except in some regions such as Shanghai and Guangdong where there are some relevant policies (e.g., *The Shanghai Education Internationalization Project Twelfth Five-year Plan of Action*). It should be noted that the Chinese government also wants their universities to compete globally with those in the UK and USA, which are construed as the ‘home’ of leading international (Anglo) universities that have such currency both historically, and in relation to current university ranking systems.

There are four important overarching meta-policies selected on the IHE in China in the period of 2008-2015: *The Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)*; *National Educational Development: Eleventh Five-year Plan (2006-2010)*, *National Educational Development: Twelfth Five-year Plan (2011-2015)*; and the *Priority Work of the MOE* (see Sections 1.3.2 and 3.4.1 for the rationale for this selection).

*The Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)* is the first educational planning document produced since the beginning of the 21st century, and is a programmatic document to guide national education reforms and development for the period, 2010-2020. The main contents include ten aspects: promoting quality education pilot reform; the balanced development of compulsory education pilot reform; schooling model of vocational education pilot reform; lifelong education system pilot reform; top elite innovative personnel training pilot reform; examination and enrolment system pilot reform; modern university system pilot reform; deepening educational system pilot reform; promoting safeguarding local investment in

education pilot reform and provincial government educational harmonious comprehensive pilot reform. In Chapter 16 of this document, it mentioned the requirement of expanding education's openness: strengthening international exchanges and cooperation; introducing high quality educational resources from developed countries; improving the level of exchanges and cooperation (State Council, 2011).

The *National Educational Development: Eleventh Five-year Plan (2006-2010)* was released in 2005 by the MOE. This plan was formulated to fully implement the concept of scientific development<sup>7</sup>, adhere to the priority of education development, give full play to the fundamental, pilot and overall significance of education in modernization, and was made in accordance with the *People's Republic of China National Economic and Social Development: Eleventh Five-Year Plan*. Its main tasks included nine elements: fully implementing the Party's education policy, fully implementing quality education; implementation of the Compulsory Education Law, popularizing nine-year compulsory education; accelerating the development of vocational education and improving the quality of workers; focusing on improving the quality of HE, enhancing innovation and service capabilities of colleges and universities; strengthening the construction of teachers, improving the quality of teachers; strengthening school leadership team construction and Party construction work; speeding up the construction of the modern education system, and actively promoting the learning society; strengthening international cooperation and exchange in education, and enhancing the level of openness of education; establishing a sound financing system and ensuring the access of students from poor families to HE. The *Eleventh Five-year Plan* mentioned the tasks of strengthening international cooperation and exchange within education and raising the level of openness of education. They were articulated in the eighth part which emphasized: insisting on education's openness; expanding the scale of studying abroad programs; promoting Sino-foreign cooperation in running schools; and strengthening the international promotion of Chinese language (MOE, 2007). As well, the majority of the *National Educational Development: Twelfth Five-year Plan (2011-2015)* focused on domestic education issues, such as innovating country education system (Chapter 4), expanding and guaranteeing fair access to education (Chapter 6) and promoting the coordinated development of education in regional and rural areas (Chapter 8). Chapter 9 of the *Twelfth Five-year Plan* stipulated related measures to implement the opening up of education strategy in three aspects, namely carrying out

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<sup>7</sup> The concept of scientific development refers to one of the guiding socio-economic principles of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and was the central feature of former Party General Secretary Hu Jintao's attempts to create a 'harmonious society'. This is quite a difficult concept to define in the Chinese context, a difficulty compounded by the necessity of translation.

education exchanges and cooperation in a wider range of levels and areas, improving the international influence of Chinese education, and improving the capacity of the service to open up to the outside world. It set the aims, thus,

By 2015, the education system will be more open and with new patterns in international cooperation, regional cooperation and inter-school cooperation. International and regional influence and competitiveness of education have been greatly enhanced. Initially build Asia's largest study abroad destination and influential international education and training center (到 2015 年, 我国教育体系更加开放, 国际合作、区域合作、校际合作呈现新的格局, 教育的国际、区域影响力和竞争力大幅度增强, 初步建成亚洲最大的留学目的地国和有影响的国际教育、培训中心) (MOE, 2012).

The *Priority Work of the MOE* is released annually. Under the specific background and events for each year, the *Priority Work* gives the general requirements, main tasks, targets, direction and emphasis for policy for that year. Concerning international HE, the *Priority Work of the MOE 2013* stipulated the requirements for that year as:

...improve the quality and efficiency of state-sponsored overseas study, and strengthen the management of self-funded overseas study services. Measures should be taken to attract overseas students to study in China and expand the scale of study in China. Introduce a number of overseas universities to cooperate in running schools. Increase efforts to introduce foreign experts. Implement the strategy of "going global" and fully implement the *development plan for Confucius Institutes (2012-2020)*, research and formulate guidelines for universities to run schools abroad. Strengthen cooperation with UNESCO and other international organizations and actively participate in the formulation of education's international rules. (提高公派出国留学质量与效益, 加强自费出国留学服务管理。采取措施吸引境外学生来华留学, 扩大来华留学规模。引进一批境外高水平大学来华合作办学。加大引进国外专家工作力度。实施“走出去”战略, 全面实施《孔子学院发展规划(2012-2020年)》, 研究制订高校赴境外办学的指导意见。加强与联合国教科文组织等国际组织的合作, 积极参与教育国际规则制定。加强与港澳台地区的教育合作与交流) (MOE, 2013).

These policies are separately the long-term plan (10 years), mid-term plan (5 years) and short-term plan (1 year). The main contents of these policies can be summarized as follows: promote the openness of education; strengthen communication with other countries and international organizations; bring in more foreign students and send out more Chinese students; spread the influence of China and promote the teaching of Chinese worldwide. Openness is seen as the main rationale for IHE (detailed analysis is offered in a later section). The attraction of foreign students, spreading the influence of China and Chinese teaching are all forms of soft power (Joseph S Nye, 2009; Joseph S. Nye, 2012).

From the positions of the IHE policies in these documents, it can be argued that the government has, perhaps of necessity, paid more attention to domestic issues such as education equality, compulsory education and so on. But the importance of IHE has been

granted more and more emphasis over time. For example, in the five continuous years of *the Priority Work*, the content related to IHE has grown considerably. So we see the international outreach element becoming more significant.

These policies are quite abstract, without any specific targets. Besides, many discourses in the policies are quite similar. These are the characteristics of meta-policies. This can leave more space for explanation and discretionary power. Eriksson et al. (2000) pointed out that meta-policies deal with the characteristics of the policymaking system and deal with master policies. They include structures, process patterns, strategies, overall goals and similar intertextual policy directives. Each time an important meta-policy is released, it is usually accompanied by many complementary documents, such as officials' speeches and interpretations in China. Further, the targets of these policies will be clarified in the specialized policies of lower level organizations and departments within the political hierarchy. These are also what Hosmer (1992) called the functions and benefits of meta-policies; these include coordinating policies and sub-policies, resolving ambiguities, increasing policy flexibility and allowing multiple policies in a system. Such meta-policies are an example of top-down policies and, as such, issues of implementation or enactment remain. Their top-down character also most often means gaps in implementation or enactment. It also should be noted that there is a lack of special laws and regulations for internationalization. Most of the existing policies or regulations concerning internationalization are ambiguous, abstract and lack operability (Yuan & Fu, 2012).

The three main types of meta-policies give direction and guidelines for other policies. Appendix 1 shows the coverage, discourses and translation in meta-policies related to the two types of sub-policies (people focused policies and institution focused policies) as generated by NVivo. These meta-policy discourses are expressed in short, simple sentences, which just give the general requirements or targets of each aspect, but do not outline the specific tasks or implementation instructions.

As mentioned in these meta-policies many times, the main purposes of these IHE policies are to extend the openness of China's education, to strengthen international exchanges between China and other countries, to advance the internationalization of education in China, to enhance its attractiveness to international students and to send more people overseas to learn more advanced technology and knowledge. These main purposes have remained similar through time, which implies the gaps are still existing between China and

developed countries in the development of IHE. These are also the “problems” represented in the meta-policies (Bacchi, 2009).

In fact, these meta-policy documents deal with issues of different levels of education in China. What I discuss here are the contents focused on HE level and on international education. There are also some other specific policies focusing on one or two issues of international HE. According to the different related subjects, the policy documents can be classified into people mobility and institutional cooperation. Meta-policies deal with the issues of IHE at the national and macro levels. Institutional focused policies deal with the issues of HEIs’ internationalization at the institutional and meso levels, which include both collaboration and competition between universities. People focused policies deal with people mobility in IHE at individual and micro levels. Next, I will analyze these two groups of policies on IHE, beginning with institution focused policies.

#### **4.4 Institution Focused Policies**

Here, I will discuss two aspects of institution focused policies, one on the collaboration and cooperation between universities and the other one, which is competition between universities. In the Chinese case, the dominant example of collaboration between universities is the policy on Chinese-Foreign cooperation in running schools (where “school” here means “university” as in US usage). On the other side, the policy dealing with competition between universities is aimed to enhance the international competitiveness of Chinese universities and thus create more WCUs in China. Additionally, there is a unique soft power initiative in China to exert Chinese influence worldwide at an institutional level, namely through Confucius Institute (CI) Project.

##### **4.4.1 Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools.**

To learn good practices from foreign universities, the Chinese government has encouraged local HEIs to cooperate with overseas universities to develop education and academic programmes together in China. As a result, transnational HE cooperation has developed quickly after China joined the WTO and signed the GATS agreement (Huang, 2005).

In order to integrate into the new environment after joining the WTO in 2003, China issued regulations regarding Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools (CFCRS), which entails partnerships in providing HE programs and aimed to introduce high-quality educational resources and standardize schooling management practices. There are three

forms of CFCRS currently: first are individual universities, such as Shanghai New York University and Ningbo Nottingham University; second are institutions affiliated with local universities, such as the Institute of Michigan in Shanghai Jiao Tong University; third are Chinese and foreign cooperation programs. CFCRS are designed for the public good. As one form of transnational HE, these institutions and programs of CFCRS are important components of the IHE in China.

Yang (2010b) concluded three social and policy contexts for CFCRS: educational reforms and economic reforms since 1978; commercialisation of education; and China's ambition to enhance its international competitiveness in the globalized world. Besides, the growth of the middle class in China also has resulted in a large increase in the number of self-funded Chinese students studying abroad. S. Li (2009) classified the history of CFCRS into four stages: the first stage was from 1970 to the mid-1980s when activities were limited to international exchanges and limited to several famous Chinese universities (e.g., Fudan University and Nanjing University); the second stage was from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s when problems arose with the gradual development of CFCRS and the first policy, the *Notice on Individuals from Overseas Institutions to run Cooperative Schools*, released in 1993; the third stage was from 1995 to 2002 when two important policies were issued, namely the *Interim Provisions for Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools* in 1995, which proposed detailed regulations on principles, examination and approval procedures and organizational leadership structures, and the *Notice on Reinforcing the Administration of Degree Accreditation of Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Education* in 1996, which standardized cooperative education at or above the level of university education; the fourth stage, during 2003 to the present, involved further regulations and policies to regulate the CFCRS activities and organizations which provided the management rules and standards for the development of CFCRS. By 2013, there were 450,000 students in HE and more than 1,500,000 graduates from CFCRS (JSJ, 2013). By May 2015, there were nearly 600 Chinese colleges and universities working with more than 400 foreign HEIs from 25 countries and regions, and a total of 2,058 joint programs and joint institutes (DET, 2015a). The majority of CFCRS programs in 2015 were undergraduate courses (2000), although Master programs (40), as well as some PhD programs (8), were also offered. 200 courses across 12 major disciplines were offered, including science, engineering, agriculture, medicine, as well as humanities and social sciences (DET, 2015a).

Chinese HE is overseen by the central government. CFCRS is not an exception. Through the history of CFCRS mentioned above, it is easy to see the important role of policies and regulations for the development of CFCRS. This aspect is also mentioned in meta-policies. Related content is identified and picked out from the meta-policies by NVivo (refer to Appendix 1.1). The *Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)* raised policies and measures for expanding educational openness to strengthen international exchanges and cooperation, introducing high-quality educational resources, and improving the level of cooperation and expanding mutual recognition of academic degrees between nations. In general, these meta-policies: addressed the purposes for introducing high quality education resources (e.g., in *National Education Development: Twelfth Five-year plan, Priority Work of the MOE 2010, 2011*); emphasised the necessity of quality supervision and quality assurance on cross-border education and CFCRS (e.g., *National Education Development: 12<sup>th</sup> Five-year plan, Priority Work of the MOE 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012*); encouraged and promoted the establishment of various forms of cooperation between institutions in running schools (e.g., *National Education Development: 12<sup>th</sup> Five-year plan, Priority Work of the MOE 2011, 2012*); and encouraged domestic HEIs to go abroad and run schools (e.g., *Priority Work of the MOE 2014, 2015*) (detailed document texts and translation refer to Appendix 1.1 generated by NVivo).

The most important regulation on CFCRS is the *Regulation of the People's Republic of China on Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools (RCFCRS)*. This regulation was deliberated upon and approved on 19<sup>th</sup> February, 2003. It contained rules of establishment, organization and administration, education and teaching, assets and financial matters, alteration and termination, and legal liability. This Regulation was formulated in accordance with the *Education Law of the People's Republic of China*, the *Vocational Education Law of the People's Republic of China* and the *Law of the People's Republic of China on Promotion of Privately-Run Schools for the purposes of standardizing Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools*, strengthening international exchange and cooperation in the field of education and promoting the development of the educational cause (Article 1, RCFCRS, 2003). The official definition of CFCRS refers to the “activities of the cooperation between foreign educational institutions and Chinese educational institutions in establishing educational institutions within the territory of China to provide education services mainly to Chinese citizens” (Article 2, RCFCRS, 2003). In order to implement *PCFCRS*, the MOE issued measures for its implementation: the



*Implementation Methods for Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running School* (hereafter referred as the *Implementation Methods*), effective since the 1<sup>st</sup> July, 2004. It gave specific rules and requirements regarding construction, management and some other issues of CFCRS.

CFCRS is conceptualized as a component of public welfare and is regarded as a part of Chinese education activity. The *Regulations* stipulated that Chinese cooperation in running universities with foreign countries is adopted for the public interest. In the regulation, it is clearly stated that “CFCRS is an undertaking beneficial to public interests and forms a component of China's educational cause” (see Article 3, RCF CRS, 2004). It aimed to bring more high quality education resources into China, strengthen international exchange and cooperation in education, and benefit individual students and community, as well as the Chinese HE system. According to the *Implementation Methods*, the detailed objectives of CFCRS are to cooperate with prestigious foreign HEIs that have high quality resources and excellent academic capabilities in newly emerging subjects and sectors in urgent need in the Chinese western provinces and remote underdeveloped regions (Qin, 2009).

China's quality assurance system in CFCRS is separated from quality processes for domestic HE. First, there are special procedures required for appraisal and approval for the CFCRS institutions and programs. And there are several strict requirements in Chinese policies regarding cooperation in running universities. In respect of program content, such partnerships cannot offer compulsory education services or special education services such as military, police and political education services (Article 6, RCF CRS, 2004), and religious education (Article 7, RCF CRS, 2004). Second, there are four “One Third”<sup>8</sup> rules, which offer a kind of regulatory regime, required in the operation and management of foreign HE providers. These demand at least one-third of the course content to be developed explicitly by the international providers. Third, in organization management, it stipulated that the Chinese partner should be dominant in leadership and it is a requirement to ensure “the composition of Chinese personnel in the board of directors or the joint management committee shall be not less than half” (理事会、董事会或者联合管理委员会的中方组成人员不得少于二分之一) (Article 21, RCF CRS, 2004). Moreover,

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<sup>8</sup> The official definition of the four ‘One Third’ rules is as follows: ‘the introduced foreign units shall account for more than 1/3 of all units for the Chinese-foreign cooperatively-run education program; the introduced foreign specialization core units shall account for more than 1/3 of all core units for the Chinese-foreign cooperatively-run education programs; the number of the specialization core units of the responsible teaching staff of the foreign education institution shall account for more than 1/3 of all the units of the Chinese-foreign cooperatively-run education program; the academic hours of the responsible teaching staff of the foreign education institution shall account for more than 1/3 of all academic hours of the Chinese-foreign cooperatively run education program.’ (DET, 2015a).

the programs and institutions need to be approved by the MOE before their establishment.

The *Implementation Methods* stipulated in that

foreign education institutions and their Chinese partners in cosponsored programs shall submit an Annual School Administration Report by the end of March to the department for examination and approval, and the report should include key information about students, course schedules, instructor qualifications, quality guarantees, and financial data (中外合作办学机构和举办中外合作办学项目的中国教育机构应当于每年 3 月底前向审批机关提交办学报告, 内容应当包括中外合作办学机构和项目的招收学生、课程设置、师资配备、教学质量、财务状况等基本情况) (Article 52, MOE, 2004).

However, it has been argued that there is no effective operation management for CFCRS and for quality assurance throughout the duration of courses (Iftekhhar & Kayombo, 2016).

Nevertheless, the benefits of this initiative endorsed by the Chinese government are obvious. At the national level, it helps to boost the capacity of Chinese HEIs quickly by accessing the world's advanced education systems and accelerating the development of Chinese human capital, which in turn benefits Chinese economic development. At the institutional level, Chinese universities can access resources and expertise, enhance their ability to provide education, and increase their reputations so as to attract students by establishing partnerships with the overseas prestigious universities. At the individual level, it provides families and students with more choices for HE and access to better educational resources and programs (Yang, 2010b). Meanwhile, even with these policies and regulations, transnational HE cooperation is challenging the management of China's administration because of China's size, various official-level systems and its relatively underdeveloped legal system (K. H. Mok & Ngok, 2008). Legal status of the CFCRS remains a main concern, along with other concerns such as quality assurance and benefit conflict. (This will be discussed further in Chapter 6 when compared with the Australian equivalent.)

This model of running schools (universities) can be seen as an example of what Marginson (2016b) suggested, a global trend in HE, namely the application of quasi-business organizational principles to the organization and management of HEIs. In China, this has come about to some extent by programs supporting cooperation between Chinese and non-Chinese universities.

#### 4.4.2 Construction of WCUs.

International competition between universities can be shown as enhancing their own competitiveness. Thus, the concept of “World Class” has caught the attention of nations and HEIs. What does World Class mean? Actually there is still no agreed definition in the academy. Rather than defining it, some scholars try to identify its basic features, including qualified faculty, excellence in research, high quality teaching, high levels of funding, international collaboration, highly talented students, academic freedom, well-defined autonomous governance structures, well-equipped facilities and rich campus life (Aufrecht & Bun, 1995; Peck & Zhang, 2013; Pierson, 2000). A university that is referred as World Class is called a World Class University (WCU). These shared features can help us identify the WCUs. More directly, with the appearance of a series of well-known global university rankings, the WCUs can be classified according to ranking on these metrics. WCUs, now in a public sense, usually refer to universities that rank highly in the global rankings – in the top 100, top 50 or even top 10.

Possessing more WCUs is a goal that has been pursued by nations and HEIs worldwide and been added to their aspirational agendas. This has become popular worldwide in the past decade and remains so today. Pursuit of WCU status means to pursue a high-ranked position in the global rankings. These rankings usually focus on research quality and not so much on teaching. As noted already, one of the three common tendencies in HE around the world today in the context of globalization described by Marginson (2016b) is the spread of the concept of WCUs. The population and pursuit of construction of WCUs is one phenomenon under these tendencies.

With the development and advocacy for World University Rankings and rising competition in the world education market, the construction of WCUs has become a key development target of China’s HE. The construction of national key universities evolved into the construction of WCUs. The relative content of WCUs construction in meta-policies is also identified by NVivo (refer to Appendix 1). For example, in the *Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)*, it stipulated that China should:

Accelerate the development of the first class universities and first class discipline. Based on the construction of key disciplines, continue to implement the "Project 985" and the superiority discipline innovation platform construction, and continue to implement the *Project 211* (加快建设一流大学和一流学科。以重点学科建设为基础,

继续实施“985 工程”和优势学科创新平台建设，继续实施“211 工程”和启动特色重点学科项目) (Article 22, State Council, 2011).

The *National Education Development: 12<sup>th</sup> Five-year plan* and the *Priority Work of the MOE 2008, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2014 and 2015* all mentioned the need to accelerate and speed up the construction of first class and high level universities.

In fact, realising the lag in performance in world university rankings, China has carried out a number of actions and measures to change this situation. The ARWU was first published in June 2003 by the Centre for World Class Universities (CWCU), Graduate School of Education (formerly the Institute of Higher Education) of Shanghai Jiao Tong University. The appearance of the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) is one of the actions that demonstrates China is actively taking part in the competition and WCU construction. The creation of this influential metric might also be seen as another element of soft power. ARWU uses six objective indicators (see Table 4.7 below) to rank universities. More than 1200 universities are ranked by ARWU every year and the top 500 of them are published. This ranking focuses specifically on research and can be seen from its criteria and weightings.

Table 4.1 Indicators of ARWU

Criteria	Indicator	Code	Weight <sup>9</sup>
Quality of Education	Alumni of an institution winning Nobel Prizes and Fields Medals	Alumni	10%
Quality of Faculty	Staff of an institution winning Nobel Prizes and Fields Medals	Award	20%
	Highly cited researchers in 21 broad subject categories	HiCi	20%
Research Output	Papers published in <i>Nature</i> and <i>Science</i>	N&S	20%
	Papers indexed in Science Citation Index-expanded and Social Science Citation Index	PUB	20%
Per Capita Performance	Per capita academic performance of an institution	PCP	10%

Resource: <http://www.shanghairanking.com/ARWU-Methodology-2015.html>

Furthermore, a series of projects (*Project 985, Project 211 and Double First-Rate*) are the measures to construct WCUs and enhance the rankings of China’s universities. The implementation of *Project 211*<sup>10</sup> is an important initiative of the Chinese government to promote the development of HE, and adapt HE to economic and social development

<sup>9</sup> The weighted scores of the above five indicators is divided by the number of full-time equivalent academic staff. If the number of academic staff for institutions of a country cannot be obtained, the weighted scores of the above five indicators are used.

<sup>10</sup> This is a project of National Key Universities and colleges initiated in 1995 by the MOE of the People's Republic of China, with the intent of raising the research standards of high-level universities and cultivating strategies for socio-economic development.

needs. The aims of this project are to improve the level of national HE, accelerate China's economic development, promote science and technology, social and cultural development, enhance comprehensive national strength and international competitiveness, realize high-level personnel training based on domestic needs, and develop high-level, high-quality talents (definition of talents and talent strategy will be further discussed in a later section of this chapter and Chapter 6) who are extremely important and significant for China's economic and social development.

The general goal of *Project 985*<sup>11</sup> is to build a number of WCUs and a number of internationally renowned high-level research universities. It aims to establish new management systems and operational mechanisms for colleges and universities. It is planned to firmly grasp the first 20 years of the 21st century, an important strategic opportunity period. It aims to centralize resources and exploit the full advantages, adhere to leapfrog development and build WCUs in accord with Chinese characteristics.

Late in 2015, the State Council released the *Coordinate Development of World Class Universities and First-class Disciplines Overall Program (Double First-Rate)* and pointed out that by 2020, a number of the universities and disciplines needed to be world class; by 2030, several universities should have entered the forefront of WCUs; by 2050, China should become a powerful country in HE as a whole. The *Double First-Rate* put forward the idea that the country would encourage and support the development of different types of high-level universities and high-level disciplines by overall planning and hierarchical support. It has begun a new round of construction since 2016 and is synchronous with the national five-year development plan. The *Double First-Rate* also calls for strengthening the organization and management of world first-class universities and first-class disciplines' construction, and orderly implementation. The *Double First-Rate* required relevant departments to make and adjust supporting policies and required colleges and universities to make construction plans scientifically. It also required consultation and argument on the construction plans, taking dynamic monitoring on the construction process and timely tracking, guiding and accepting public supervision. Based on *Project 211* and *Project 985*, it showed the prospect for improving the quality of HE, raising Chinese top universities' positions internationally, and fulfilling the desire for China to be more influential in HE globally. These policies can be seen as measures to accelerate the construction of WCUs.

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<sup>11</sup> A project that was first announced by CPC General secretary and Chinese President Jiang Zemin at the 100th anniversary of Peking University on May 4, 1998 to promote the development and reputation of the Chinese higher education system by founding world-class universities in the 21st century and eponymous after the date of the announcement, May 1998, or 98/5, according to the Chinese date format.

Though the Chinese government is enthusiastic and ambitious to build more and more WCUs in China, concerns and criticisms still exist. The pursuit of WCUs has resulted in unbalanced development between universities and regions because of uneven funding. There is an obvious university hierarchy in the Chinese university system, which is evident in the classification into C9 League<sup>12</sup> (C9), 985 universities (excluding C9), 211 universities (excluding 985 universities), and non-985 and non-211 universities. The large amount of special funds for building WCUs has been injected into the 211 and 985 universities, especially into C9. In fact, C9 receive about 10% of national research expenditures every year<sup>13</sup>. Due to the Matthew Effect, “the rich get richer and the poor get poorer” (Rigney, 2010, p. 10), the differentiated funding and other support policies have resulted in increasing development gaps between different universities.

#### **4.4.3 Confucius Institute project.**

The Confucius Institutes (CIs) are non-profit public educational organizations affiliated with the MOE, who aim to promote Chinese language and culture across the globe, support local Chinese teaching internationally, and facilitate cultural exchanges across the globe (Eriksson et al., 2000). The CI project began in 2004 and is overseen by Hanban (National Chinese Language International Promotion Leading Group Office). The project is governed by a council whose top-level members are drawn from the CPC leadership and various state ministries. The CIs cooperate with local affiliated colleges and universities around the world, and financing of CIs is shared by Hanban and the host institutions.

By 2017, there were 525 CIs in 146 countries and regions around the world (Hanban, 2017). Hanban’s aims are to establish 1,000 CIs by 2020 (Gong, 2006). CIs act as the main medium to promote Chinese language worldwide and to extend its use globally. The policies here are about recruiting Chinese teachers, their training and management, construction of the institutes, preparation of teaching materials, language tests and so on.

Using NVivo, the content related to the CI project has been identified in meta-policies, for example, its goals, aims, work instructions and priority works. These policies emphasized improving the quality of CIs’ education, strengthening their development, applying Chinese international promotion materials, training and selecting Chinese volunteer teachers (e.g., *Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan*

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<sup>12</sup> Colleague 9 refers to an alliance of 9 prestigious Chinese Universities selected by the government, including Tsinghua University, Peking University, Zhejiang University, Nanjing University, Fudan University, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, Xi’an Jiaotong University, University of Science and Technology of China and Harbin Institute of Technology.

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/eastern-stars-universities-of-chinas-c9-league-excel-in-select-fields/415193.article?storyCode=415193&sectioncode=26>

(2010-2020), *National Education Development: 12<sup>th</sup> Five-year plan, Priority Work of the MOE 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2013*). Also, the focuses of the work have shifted in each year's policy. For example, in *Work Priority of the MOE 2008*, it mentioned that China should make full use of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games and other favourable conditions to further enhance Chinese international influence and enact the *Chinese International Promotion Plan (2008-2012)*. In 2010, the work priority focused on the training of Chinese teachers and improvement of teaching materials, while in 2012 the priority work focused on the releasement of *Confucius Institution Development Plan 2012-2020*.

The CI project is guided under a series of policies, among which the most important and influential one is *Confucius Institution Development Plan 2012-2020*. This Plan was released in 2013 by the MOE. Before releasing this Plan, the CI project had made a great contribution to promoting Chinese language and culture worldwide, as well as enhancing communication between Chinese and foreign cultures. But at the same time, there remained several challenges and problems. For example, the CIs were not able to completely adapt to the growth of global demand for Chinese learning, provide highly qualified professional teachers and suitable teaching materials. Meanwhile, education quality needed to be improved, and resource integration needed to be strengthened. These factors constituted the background of that Plan.

The Plan stipulated the overall requirements, main tasks, key programs and supporting measures. In the overall requirements, the Plan outlined the guiding ideology as meeting the needs of China's public diplomacy and cultural exchanges, seizing the opportunity, and organizing well. The Plan also noted that Chinese teaching is the main task, emphasizing improving quality, gradually establishing CIs, giving full play to the role of the CIs' comprehensive cultural exchange platform, making a contribution to the promotion of Chinese language and culture to the world, and helping establish friendly relations between China and foreign countries. The basic rules are (1) adhering to the scientific orientation; (2) insisting on government support and civil works; (3) adhering to the Chinese and foreign cooperation and endogenous development; and (4) serving both local contexts and China – a win-win situation. The Plan also set specific development goals, such as the number of CIs reaching 500 by 2015, the Confucius classes reaching 1000 in secondary and primary schools, student numbers reaching 1,500,000, and qualified teachers reaching 50,000 (20,000 from China and 30,000 from local hiring). The main tasks focused on quality improvement, establishment and improvement of teaching, and the management of the human resources system, international Chinese teaching materials

and resource system, Chinese test examination and service system, and carrying out Chinese and foreign cultural exchange activities.

The Plan implies the problems existing in the development of the CI project relate to educational quality, teaching and human resource management, teaching materials, funding resources and Chinese language test system. X. Cheng (2009) classified these problems into three categories: the difficulty of learning the Chinese language; the absence of high quality textbooks and the shortage of certified teachers and the long-term financial issues; and fierce international competition with other countries like Germany's Goethe Institutes. The expansion of the CIs actually relies heavily on massive financial support by the Chinese Government. Without the Chinese government's support, the CIs could neither be established nor maintained. Since 2009, CIs have met domestic criticism and international objections, including foreign professors' protests opposing the establishment of CIs at their universities and rising concerns about academic freedom (Pan, 2013).

Apart from these problems, the influence of the CI project cannot be underestimated. Lee (2010) argued the CIs are working as a tool to enhance the soft power of China by popularizing the Chinese language and culture worldwide. Enhancing the soft power of China is the highest national goal of China (Cho & Jeong, 2008). Besides, through the CIs, the Chinese government has demonstrated that the priority of its cultural work is to promote China's soft power (S. Chen, 2007). David (2007) regarded the CIs project as state-sponsored and university-piloted cultural diplomacy. Indeed, CIs are used as an element of China's diplomacy and foreign policy to foster international recognition of China as a civilized and harmonious society and to improve its economic and cultural connections in the global community.

#### **4.4.4 Summary of analysis of institution focused policies.**

In this section, three aspects of institution focused policies, Chinese-Foreign cooperation in running schools (CFCRS), construction of World Class Universities (WCUs) and the Confucius Institute (CI) project, have been discussed. These initiatives have different purposes. WCUs' construction is aimed to enhance the strength of Chinese HE internationally, gain higher positions in the global rankings and also have soft power effects. CIs help promote China's soft power worldwide and exert international influence through Chinese and Chinese culture, while CFCRS is aimed to introduce better education resources, enhance education quality and provide more educational opportunities and



choices. They compose the main parts of the collaboration and competition at the institutional level in IHE in China. Promoting soft power is mainly through the construction of WCUs and the CI project in the HE sector.

Next, I will move to a consideration of people focused policies, which relate to the inflow and outflow mobility of students and scholars.

## **4.5 People Focused Policies**

The main content of people focused policies is about “foreigners” or international students studying in China, Chinese studying abroad and global recruitment of talents (talents will be further discussed in section 4.6.2). People focused policies refer to both the inflow and outflow mobility of people. According to these two classifications, the people focused policies will be analysed in the following three parts: inflow – people studying in China; outflow – Chinese studying abroad and; global talents recruitment.

### **4.5.1 Study in China.**

First, there are discourses in the meta-polities identified by NVivo on the topic of “foreigners” studying in China (details see Appendix 1.4). *The Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)*, *National Educational Development: Eleventh Five-year Plan (2006-2010)*, *National Educational Development: Twelfth Five-year Plan (2011-2015)*, *Priority Work of the MOE (2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015)* all have some descriptions on that theme. From the content, we can see the differences in the three types of meta-policies (10-year policy, 5-year policy and 1 year policy). First, the 10-year policy outlines the most macroscopic goals about expanding the scale of foreign students, optimizing the structure of foreign students and improving education quality. In the 5-year policy, the focus is on the management model and it set more specific targets. For example, it is mentioned in *National Educational Development: Twelfth Five-year Plan* that “the number of people studying in China aimed to reach 360,000 by 2015” (MOE, 2012). One-year policies are more specific and related to special targets, for example, in the *Priority Work of the MOE 2011*, it mentioned that “setting up the first demonstration base of study in China”.

As to the specialized policies, the most important one is the *Plan for Study in China*, which was issued in 2010 by the MOE and has acted as the main guideline for recruiting, managing and other issues regarding foreign students. The plan was made in the context of increasing numbers of people from outside China studying in China, or desiring to study

in China. According to the MOE, this plan is aimed to implement the *Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)*, to strengthen international exchanges between China and other countries, to advance the internationalization of education in China, to enhance China's attractiveness to international students, and to further promote the development of Study in China. The plan put forward a series of demands on the development of ideas, objective measures, and guarantee mechanisms. The detailed content covers twenty items: development goals, main tasks, guiding ideology, approach, development ideas, policy support, management system, working mechanism, publicity promotion, enrolment, training mode, curriculum, faculty construction, quality assurance, educational management, management team, life service, social practice, scholarship system, and connection with alumni. The main objective of this plan is to develop China into the country with the largest number of international students in Asia. To achieve this, it aims to increase the number of international students studying in HEIs, elementary and secondary schools in Mainland China to 500,000 by the year 2020, with 150,000 enrolled in degree programs. The plan stipulates the need to set up a quality evaluation system for Study in China to reinforce the assessment of the conditions, quality, administration and service in these programs for international students (MOE, 2010).

Xiuqin Zhang (the head of the Department of International Cooperation and Exchanges in the MOE), at the National Work Conference on Study in China explained the background, reasons for and influences on releasing this Plan, and he also outlined the main guidelines, measures and production process of this Plan (柯进, 2010). He said the release of the Plan resulted from the need to improve the level of China's internationalization of education; the Plan would further optimize the student structure<sup>14</sup> of studying in China and propose a number of measures to improve the education quality of study in China.

The *Plan for Study in China* provides overall instructions and a management framework regarding international students studying in China. However, there are only two or three sentences in each of the twenty items. For example, when referring to the guideline of the *Plan for Study in China*, there is just one sentence: "the guideline of this Plan is to expand the scale, optimize the structure, guarantee the quality and improve the management" (扩大规模, 优化结构, 规范管理, 保证质量) (MOE, 2010). It is one of the characters of

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<sup>14</sup> The 'structure' here refers to the student composition; for example, the ratio of degree students to non-degree students.

Chinese policy documents. It lacks the standards and directions for implementation but, at same time, it leaves space for further explanation and operation for low-level authorities.

#### **4.5.2 Chinese studying abroad.**

Chinese studying abroad has a long history – since 1847. Generally, Chinese overseas students can be divided into two types based on their funding sources: government-funded and self-funded. The self-funded overseas students are usually funded by individuals and families. The number of self-funded Chinese studying abroad has increased with the growth of the middle class in China. This section of the chapter, though, is focused on government funded Chinese overseas students and related policies.

The State-Sponsored Study Abroad Programs are defined as overseas activities sponsored and supported by the government. To boost the construction of Chinese universities, and approved by the State Council, the MOE and Ministry of Finance jointly established the State-Sponsored Postgraduate Study Abroad Program (SSPSAP) in January 2007. This Program is targeted at postgraduate students. The plan intended to recruit 5,000 students to study overseas from 2007 to 2011, among which half would be PhD students and others would be joint PhD students (CSC, 2010). Joint PhD programs refer to the programs in which PhD students spend parts of the study at home and parts of the study abroad. It is an important measure of the “talents strategy” and an important way to select and send talents to study abroad based on the needs of modernization<sup>15</sup>. The chosen individuals are generally sent to well-known institutions in countries and regions like America and Europe, where they study advanced science, technology and education. The Chinese Scholarship Council (CSC, directly under the MOE, a non-profit legal entity) is responsible for the specific implementation of the SSPSAP and responsible for organizing, financing and managing Chinese citizens studying abroad and foreign citizens studying in China in accordance with national laws, regulations and policies. The Council aimed to facilitate the development of education, science and technology, cultural exchanges and economic and trade cooperation between China and other countries, strengthen friendship and understanding between the peoples of China and the world, and promote China's socialist modernization and world peace. The major priority areas and disciplines are energy, resources, environment, agricultural manufacturing, other strategic

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<sup>15</sup> Socialist Modernization refers to the construction of Four Modernizations. The Four Modernizations were goals first set by Zhou Enlai in 1963, and enacted by Deng Xiaoping, starting in 1978, to strengthen the fields of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology in China. The Four Modernizations were adopted as a means of rejuvenating China's economy in 1978 following the death of Mao Zedong, and were among the defining features of Deng Xiaoping's tenure as head of the party.

areas of information and life science, ocean, nanotechnology and new materials, and applied social sciences and humanities.

Discourses on Chinese studying abroad are also mentioned in meta-policies. As well, the related content is identified and picked out by NVivo and shown in Appendix 1. First, it emphasized adhering to the principle of “supporting to study abroad, encouraging return, coming and going freedom” (支持留学, 鼓励回国, 来去自由) and improving the service and management of Chinese studying abroad (e.g., in *the Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan, National Educational Development: Eleventh Five-year Plan and the Priority Work of the MOE 2009*). Second, it placed the requirements for expanding the numbers and scales of SSPSAP and enhancing the quality and efficiency of studying abroad (e.g., in *the Priority Work of the MOE 2010, 2011 and 2013*). From these meta-policies, foci shifts have been clearly seen from expanding scale and improving management to emphasizing the quality and efficiency of the SSPSAP.

To regulate this program more directly, the *Regulations of State-Sponsored Postgraduate Study Abroad Programs (RSSPSAP) (Pilot) and Annual Plan for State-Sponsored Postgraduate Study Abroad Programs* were released by MOE and Ministry of Finance in 2007. In the RSSPSAP, it stipulated the aims, funding targets, duties of selection, sending and management departments, selection and sending, abroad management and connection, returning and service, default recovery and evaluation. It ruled that the funding of the SSPSAP includes generally roundtrip international travel costs, healthcare fees and living fees (Article 18, RSSPSAP, 2007). It has a set of strict rules on the management of funded postgraduates. For example, they need to make applications and report to the embassies and consulates if they want to come back China or go to other countries (Article 22, 24, RSSPSAP, 2007). Besides, it is required that these state sponsored students come back China and serve China for at least two years after they have graduated (Article 36, RSSPSAP, 2007). If they break these rules, they need to indemnify all the funds for studying abroad and pay a penalty of 30% of the total funds for studying abroad (Article 37, RSSPSAP, 2007). Generally, most state-sponsored overseas Chinese students would come back to China after graduation. According to the reports, the rates of returning students were generally more than 97% (Xinhua, 2012; 中新网, 2009).

According to the CSC annual report for 2010, the CSC had recruited a total of 13,038 candidates for all types of SSPSAP, among which 5,960 were for PhD and joint PhD

programs, accounting for 45.71% of the total sponsorship; 5,677 were visiting scholars and senior research scholars, accounting for 43.54%, and 1,401 for other categories (masters, short-term scholars and undergraduates) (CSC, 2010). Most of the students in SSPSAP are or were studying in foreign prestigious universities and research institutions in the USA, UK, Germany, Japan, Canada, Australia, France and Holland. And 47% of their host universities and research institutions are generally ranked within the top 100 among the main world university rankings (CSC, 2010).

In fact, although it stipulated the Chinese students studying abroad are obliged to go back to China for at least two years and serve China after finishing their study, there are still Chinese students choosing to stay overseas. The brain drain remains an issue in China. The brain drain refers to the unbalanced flow of highly human capital from developing to developed countries (Beine, Docquier, & Rapoport, 2008). According to figures from the China's MOE, the total number of Chinese studying abroad was 459,800 in 2014, among which the number of self-funding students is 423,000. The number of all types of Chinese students returning to China from overseas is 364,800, among which the number of self-funded students was 336,100. Compared with the data of 2013 and 2014, the numbers of students studying abroad and returning to China had increased by 11.09% and 3.2% respectively (Oriental, 2015). So the government has been working to actively make special arrangements and policies to ensure students studying abroad returned to China after completing their degrees.

#### **4.5.3 Policies on global talents recruitment.**

The importance of talent is acknowledged by more and more countries. It is the common way for the world's major developed countries and emerging developing countries to take positive measures to attract overseas talent in order to strengthen their talent pool. Brown and Tannock (2009) pointed out the emergence of a global war for talent and indicated that the global war for talent represents a new phase in neoliberalism, as it seeks to liberalize the global movement not just of capital and commodities, but of highly skilled labor as well. This is a substantial change from earlier modes of migration, which most often was undertaken by those with limited skills, particularly in the post-World War Two period. So how to attract global talent has become a vital migration issue in many countries, and this can also be seen in the policies of IHE. China's policies can be understood against that context. As a result, flexible policies and mechanisms to actively participate in the competition for talent has become more and more urgent for China and are needed to be addressed by the government. Policies of this type have two foci, namely,

introduction of foreign experts and teachers, and a focus on returning talents. Given the large number of Chinese overseas students, China intends to make policies to attract them back to China and contribute to their motherland. Here, I will look at the policies that focus on the Chinese returning talents.

Since the reform and opening up implemented by Deng, the number of Chinese studying abroad has grown rapidly. But for various reasons, many talents chose to work overseas after their graduation. The problem of brain drain is serious for China. Besides, China is a non-immigration country and has a strict immigration policy. Thus in order to absorb more foreign talent, the easier and better way for the government is to attract educated overseas Chinese to return to China. With the deepening of the reform and opening up, China has gained vigorous development, providing unprecedented development space and wide stage for talents in various areas. Therefore, the central government has made a many decisions and policies for the introduction of overseas high-level talents, vigorously encouraging overseas high-level talents to return or come to China.

This aspect of IHE policies is also identified by NVivo in the meta-policies (refer to Appendix 1). The meta-policies mentioned that the goal of this type of policy is to attract excellent overseas talents returning to China to serve China in different ways by instigating particular policy measures. For example, in the *National Educational Development: Eleventh Five-year Plan*, it mentioned the need to “attract more World Class experts and scholars engaged in teaching, scientific research and management work in China and attract overseas outstanding talents returning to serve for China”. Moreover, in the yearly priority work of the MOE, the contents differed a little. Additionally, it made more effort to introduce outstanding overseas talents and also focused on actively recruiting foreign experts. The importance of research work on the foreign teacher’s management system was raised in the *Priority Work of the MOE 2011*. In the *Priority Work of the MOE 2014*, establishing a foreign teachers’ employment management and information service platform was proposed. So the one-year policy closely followed up with the social and economic background and focused on realistic demand and options.

According to the *National Medium and Long Term Talent Development Plan 2010-2020*, several major talent projects have been implemented, one of which was the Recruitment Program of Global Experts (also called “1000 Plan”). This 1000 Plan was released by the central government in December 2008. This Plan aimed to selectively recruit and support a number of high-level overseas talents to China in the state's key innovation projects, key

disciplines and key laboratories, enterprises and financial institutions, and high-tech industrial development zones for 5 to 10 years. Additionally, the provinces (autonomous regions and municipalities) also combined with the demands of the regions' economic and social development and industrial restructuring, made various so-called "100 Talent Plan" in the regions to attract high-level overseas talents. The 1000 Plan is relying on key national innovation projects, key disciplines and key laboratories, the central enterprises and state-owned commercial financial institutions, high-tech Industrial Development Zones and parks and other business platforms to introduce talents. As a result, many overseas talents are located in the key universities, especially in the top 10 universities in China<sup>16</sup>. By the end of May 2014, the 1000 Plan had been introduced in ten batches of more than 4180 high-level overseas talents. In terms of technological innovation, technological breakthroughs, discipline construction, personnel training and development of high-tech industry, they have played active roles, and are becoming an important force in the construction of China as an innovative country (中组部, 2008). Moreover, the talents who enter the key universities have contributed to the construction of WCUs.

Besides the 1000 Plan, there are other various types of talent recruitment plans at both national (refer to Table 4.2) and provincial levels<sup>17</sup>. At present, the 1000 Plan has been expanded to "young thousand"<sup>18</sup>, "foreign experts thousand"<sup>19</sup> and another seven programs<sup>20</sup> focused on attracting a range of other talents covering different areas of expertise, different ages and different levels. Moreover, through these plans and special funds, China has developed into an increasingly attractive environment, which has attracted more and more returning overseas students. In 2015, the number of returning students reached 409,100, increasing by 12.14% compared with the figure in 2014 (王辉耀, 2016).

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<sup>16</sup> According to QS rankings 2015, the top 10 universities in China are Tsinghua University, Peking University, Fudan University, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, University of Science and Technology of China, Nanjing University, Beijing Normal University, Zhejiang University, Wuhan University and Sun Yat-Sen University. The list changes each year. These universities gain the most funding and resources from the government and society.

<sup>17</sup> Refer to [www.1000plan.org/qrih/section/4/list](http://www.1000plan.org/qrih/section/4/list)

<sup>18</sup> Young thousand refers to Young overseas high-level talents introduction plan. It is under the Recruitment Program of Global Experts and targeted at Young overseas high-level talents aged less than 40-years-old.

<sup>19</sup> Foreign experts thousand refers to the foreign expert introduction plan. It is under the Recruitment Program of Global Experts and targeted at foreign experts and talents.

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.1000plan.org/qrih/article/70027>

National 1000 Plan includes: The Innovative Talents Recruitment Program (long Term), The Innovative Talents Recruitment Program (Short Term), The Recruitment Program for Entrepreneurs, The Recruitment Program for Young Professionals, The Recruitment Program for Foreign Experts, The Recruitment Program for Topnotch Talents and Teams, Xinjiang Tibet project, cultural and artistic talent project. National '10000 Plan includes: other programs include Outstanding Talent Project, Science and Technology Innovation Leading Talent Project, Science and Technology Entrepreneurship Leading Talent Project, Philosophy and Social Science Leading Talent Project, Teaching Master Program, Youth Talent Project.

Table 4.2 Talent Recruitment Programs List in National and Ministry Level

National “1000 Plan”	National “10000 Plan”	Other types of talent introduction programs
The Innovative Talents Recruitment Program (long Term)	Outstanding Talent Project	Chinese Academy of Sciences’ 100 Plan
The Innovative Talents Recruitment Program (Short Term)	Science and Technology Innovation Leading Talent Project	MOE’s Innovation Team Development Plan
The Recruitment Program for Entrepreneurs	Science and Technology Entrepreneurship Leading Talent Project	MOE’s Outstanding Teachers Plan
The Recruitment Program for Young Professionals	Philosophy and Social Science Leading Talent Project	Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security’s millions of Talents Project National Candidates
The Recruitment Program for Foreign Experts	Teaching Master Program	Ministry of Science and Technology’s Innovative Talent Recommendation Plan
The Recruitment Program for Top-notch Talents and Teams	Youth Talent Project	HEIs Discipline Innovation Talent Introduction Initiative (“111 Plan”)
Xinjiang Tibet project Cultural and Artistic Talent Project		

Source: <http://www.1000plan.org/qrjh/article/70027>

To regulate and manage these programs, the *Interim Measure for Recruitment Program of Global Experts* was issued in 2008. It outlined the recruitment conditions, application and approval procedures, funding methods and funding management for the recruitment of global experts. It contained instrumental information like the detailed standards and procedures for the introduction of talents and it also mentioned that specific working instructions needed to be made under this policy. These policies emphasize talents and the application of a talent management strategy. It considers the talents to be an important resource. Talent management is to use strategic human resource planning to improve business values and to make it possible for companies and organizations to reach their goals. Talent management is aimed to engage in multiple practices (e.g., recruit, retain, develop and reward, carrying out strategic workforce planning, etc.) that make people perform well (Michaels, Handfield-Jones, & Axelrod, 2001).



#### 4.5.4 Summary of people focused policies.

In this section, people focused policies, namely policies concerned with both the inflow and outflow mobility of people worldwide, were the focus. Specifically, selected policies of these three aspects – foreigners studying in China, Chinese studying abroad and global recruitment of talents – have been discussed and analysed. Attracting and recruiting foreigners to study in China is designed as one of the soft power strategies under the *Plan for Study in China*. The SSPSAP is regulated under the RSSPSAP. The SSPASP shows the Chinese government's endeavors and efforts to invest in human capital. Global talents recruitment, with the 1000 Plan as the main example, implies the importance of talents in Chinese strategies. As shown, the Chinese government is dedicated to attracting global and especially overseas Chinese talents back to contribute to their motherland. These policies have close relations with the institution focused policies which were analysed in the previous section.

#### 4.6 Analysis and Discussion

Hazelkorn (2015) identified four “headline drivers” in the transformation of the HE environment over the last few decades:

- (1) Transition to knowledge-intensive economies, (2) demographic pressures and the global pursuit of talent, (3) critical importance of HE to the development of the economy and society, and (4) informed student choice and consumerist attitudes towards higher education. (p. 3)

These drivers have changed the environment of HE and also shaped HE, which has also been evident in China. Under the first driver, China has put more efforts in innovation and pursued efforts to develop knowledge-intensive economies, which result in the increasing cooperation between universities and industries; as part of this process, diversified funding has been injected into HEIs. In relation to the second driver, China has adopted strategies and programs to attract and retain global talents in HE sector (e.g. *Recruitment Program of Global Experts*), which help China to enhance the competitiveness of Chinese universities and develop more world-class universities. Under the third driver, the importance of HE is emphasized, and more and more people are encouraged to obtain higher education, resulting in the massification of Chinese higher education. Under the effects of the fourth driver, the marketization of higher education has appeared in Chinese HE sector (e.g., CFCRS) and the choice of HEIs has gone beyond national boundaries (e.g., SSPSAP).

Besides the four headline drivers, there are some prominent factors that are necessary to identify and point out, which have also influenced the policy-making and development of

IHE in China in the context of globalization. They are openness, talents strategy, global university rankings, and the recruitment of global talents, soft power and path dependence (which can be seen as Chinese characteristics).

#### **4.6.1 Openness.**

Openness is an overarching concept or philosophy that is characterized by an emphasis on transparency and free, unrestricted access to knowledge and information, as well as collaborative or cooperative management and decision-making, rather than control through a central authority. Openness in this respect can be said to be the opposite of secrecy (Peters, 2010). Openness in HE refers to HE institutional practices and programmatic initiatives that broaden access to the learning and training traditionally offered through formal HE systems. By eliminating barriers to entry, open education aids freedom of information by increasing accessibility (Peters & Britez, 2008). The apparent example of the openness of HE is personal mobility between nations and states.

Openness, together with reform, are the two most important rationales and factors for China in developing its economy, society and culture since the late 1970s. As well, openness also works as the basic rationale for IHE in China. From 1950, the new Chinese government started to send Chinese abroad to study. However, the Great Cultural Revolution halted student participation in overseas education. The Department of HE released the *Notice on delaying selection and sending overseas students* on 20<sup>th</sup> June, 1966. There were then 6 years when China stopped selecting and sending students to study abroad. Until 1977, when Deng Xiaoping came to power, the overseas education focus was very weak. After Deng's speech on 23<sup>rd</sup> June, 1978, moves towards greater openness of China's HE began. This, of course, also paralleled the move towards greater openness in the economy and stronger engagement with the global economy. A series of reports and notices (e.g., 关于增派出国留学生的通知, 关于自费出国留学的规定) were released later aiming to increase the number of overseas students and reduce the limitations on numbers of self-funded overseas students, which provided self-funded Chinese students more opportunities to study abroad (李均, 2014).

#### **4.6.2 Global rankings and WCUs.**

At the institutional level, collaboration and competition are two common relationships between institutions. In the process of IHE, there is both institutional collaboration and competition. CFCRS is one form of the HEIs' collaboration. Here, I mainly discuss one form of competition between universities, namely the competition in global rankings.

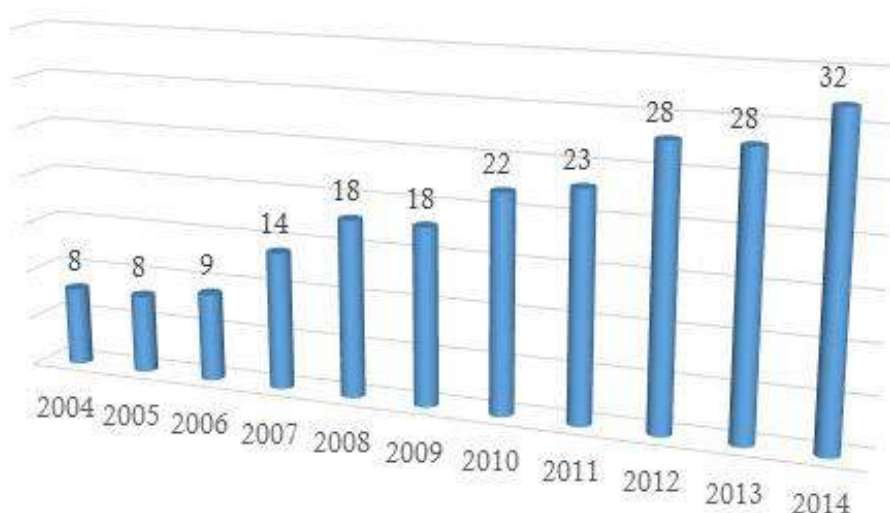
It seems global university rankings are more and more popular nowadays as new rankings metrics continue to appear. Nevertheless, there are many criticisms that have been proffered of these metrics and ranking systems. Marginson and Van der Wende (2007) mention the common problems existing in global university rankings, such as methodological issues, the common failure to take account of teaching quality and so on. Hazelkorn (2015) also described the negative influences of global rankings, like remaking the academic world order, the changing rules of the game through the increased significance of the ranking systems, and the institutional panics precipitated by them. However, the importance of these rankings cannot be denied. These rankings have a huge influence on stratification and diversification of HE, in respect of accountability and quality assurance of national HE systems, and in relation to decisions on the allocation of funding. They can also shape and impact the missions and priorities of organizational and national systems. These effects also have impact in relation to the various forms of the IHE (Marginson & Van der Wende, 2007).

Hazelkorn (2009) summarized the common characteristics of the impact of world university rankings on HE among the OECD countries. He constructed the impact mainly in relation to aspects of student choice of university, strategic thinking and planning, re-organization/re-structuring of HE organizations (e.g., merging discipline compatible departments or whole institutions), HE priorities (e.g., curriculum and rebalancing teaching/research), the academic profession (intense pressure to alter the traditional performance of academics) and stakeholders (ranking consciousness now extends to a wide range of external stakeholders). In fact, the rankings affect the policy choices of HEIs as well as nation-states. Hazelkorn (2015) used the butterfly effect to explain the complicated impact of rankings. Each time the rankings are released, the position of the universities will directly influence related policies. Gaining a high position in the global rankings can bring more than expected funding. Getting more means they are more easily able to attain higher rankings. Rankings are usually used as part of the assessment criteria for international partnerships and collaborations, international scholarships, capital inflow, and resource investment. In turn, these will finally result in an even higher ranking. However, the lower ranked universities would gain less attention as well as fewer resources, which would finally result in poorer performance in the global rankings. Based on an international survey (2006) and extensive interviews in Germany, Australia and Japan (2008), she described the salient transformation as designed to “fund preferentially a small number of top-tier competitive universities or to ensure the creation of a diverse set

of high performing, globally-focused institutions, each with its own clear, distinctive mission” (Hazelkorn, 2009, p. 11). The same strategy has been implemented in China, through the national key university projects known as *Project 985*, *Project 211* and *Double First-Rate* mentioned above.

The outcomes have proven the effectiveness of these efforts. More and more Chinese universities are appearing and get higher and higher positions in the world university rankings (Figure 4.1). According to the ARWU, the number of Chinese universities that have now entered the top 500 universities worldwide has increased to 32 in 2014 from 8 in 2004. Table 4.7 shows the rapid rise in the rankings of the top 7 universities in China. In fact, more than 90% of these 32 universities have been supported by the *Project 985*, *Project 211* and *Double First-Rate*, which show the achievements and positive outcomes of these projects and policies in the construction of WCUs in China.

Figure 4.1 The Number Changes of Chinese Universities Entering the ARWU’s top 500 Universities Worldwide, 2004-2014.



Source: <http://www.shanghairanking.com/>

Table 4.3 The Position Changes of Chinese top 7 Universities in ARWU

Name	2004 ranking	2014 ranking	Ranking rise
Tsinghua University	201-300	101-150	102
Peking University	201-300	101-150	160
Shanghai Jiao Tong University	401-500	101-150	315
Zhejiang University	301-400	151-200	193
Fudan University	301-400	151-200	211
University of Science and	301-400	151-200	165

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Technology of China			
Nanjing University	301-400	201-300	57

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Source: <http://www.shanghairanking.com/>

The rapid rise of Chinese universities in global university rankings shows the achievement of the various projects. Though the current results are good, China's top universities still need to get higher in the rankings and perform better on a global stage. The construction of WCUs is still a key and prioritized goal of IHE in China.

#### **4.6.3 Talent strategy and recruitment of global talents.**

*"Strengthening the Nation on Talent"* (2002) is the basic development strategy of China. The sending out of Chinese students studying abroad and attracting back Chinese overseas talents are both guided under this development strategy. SSPSAP is designed to select and send out excellent postgraduate students to study in the world's famous and prestigious universities and advanced research institutions in prioritized disciplines as the way to cultivate human resource development. Here, I will focus on the recruitment of global talents, especial Chinese overseas talents.

Recruitment of global talents has become the national strategy and the competition for global talents has also become increasingly fierce. "The war for talent" is a term coined by Steven Hankin in 1997 and in a book written by Ed Michaels, Helen Handfield-Jones and Beth Axelrod (Chambers, Foulon, Handfield-Jones, Hankin, & Michaels, 1998; Mahoney, 2000; Michaels et al., 2001). The war for talent is used to imply the increasingly competitive landscape for recruiting and retaining talented employees nowadays. In their book, what Michaels et al. (2001) described is not a set of superior human resources processes, but a mindset that emphasizes the importance of talents to the success of organizations. In knowledge-intensive economies and societies, the knowledge producers – talents become the resource for which countries compete.

In fact, recruitment of global talents has a close relation with the construction of WCUs, too. On one side, constructing WCUs needs more resource investment like funding, equipment, space, and the like. On the other side, constructing WCUs also needs human resources, especially talent. Here, talents refer to the teachers, researchers and HEIs' managers. As a big source of outflow brainpower, China has always been trying to attract their overseas talents to return to China. In recruiting outstanding talents, especially attracting the outstanding overseas Chinese talents to return, the Chinese government spares no effort.

Besides the 1000 Plan, there are many different kinds and levels of policies to offer the best conditions and environments to the talents in order to attract them back. The rationale behind the talent attraction and the introduction of policies and plans is solving the brain drain problems, given the importance of talents in a knowledge economy society. It can be said that China has actively participated in the war for the talent, which speeds up the mobility of people around the world. And the mobility of talents (academics, scholars and HEIs staffs, etc.) is also one of the processes of IHE.

#### **4.6.4 Soft power.**

As mentioned above, soft power is a concept developed in the Western Academy. Currently, the concept of soft power has been widely used by scholars, officers, and media reporters (Gill & Huang, 2006; Hartig, 2011; Joseph S Nye, 2009; Joseph S. Nye, 2012; Yang, 2010a). The *2007 White Paper on Chinese Foreign Affairs* highlighted the importance of soft power, while the 17<sup>th</sup> Communist Party of China (CPC) Congress Report urged China “to enhance culture as part of the soft power of our country to better guarantee the people’s basic cultural rights and interests” (Hu, 2007). It was the first time that a document from the highest authoritative government source had promoted “soft power”. Since then, this concept has been used many times in different policies.

The research of Nye Jr (2004); Joseph S. Nye (1997, 2000); Joseph S Nye (2009); Joseph S. Nye (2010); Joseph S Nye (2012); Joseph S. Nye (2012) mainly focused on America’s soft power and he once worried about the decline of American soft power and the rise of others’ soft power. This also entailed reference to the “China threat theory” among Western countries. In reaction to that, China proposed the “China’s peaceful rise”<sup>21</sup>, by which China clearly stated that its rise would not threaten world peace and security. By implementing the peaceful rise policy, China aimed to harmonize China’s internal society and establish a peaceful external global environment.

Soft power in education, demonstrated in Chinese policies, is very evident in the purposes of the CI project. The CI project attempts to increase China’s “soft power” and to project a good and benign image in international society. Nonetheless, this project is also producing some concerns and questions outside of China, such as the China threat theory mentioned above (Y. Wang, 2008) and the “Trojan horse” effect (David, 2007). These concerns focus on the possible interference in academic life of foreign universities

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<sup>21</sup> This was an official policy in China under the leadership of Hu Jintao, its international strategy is “No alliance, no confrontation, no third country” (不结盟不对抗不针对第三国).

(Peterson, 2017; The Australian, 2018, 22/02). Moreover, as Joseph S Nye (2009) defined it, the soft power approach does not rely on coercion but requires investments of various kinds. Indeed, the CI project is heavily funded by the Chinese government. Thus people think that Hanban will greatly influence teaching and other language and cultural promotion activities, directly or indirectly and by that, China can subtly expand its influence abroad. It should be recognized that the real success of the CI project depends on the attractiveness of Chinese culture. That is what makes it essentially a soft power activity, or an activity with a large soft power component.

The analysis proffered here has demonstrated that the concept of soft power is useful for understanding some of the motivations and ways in which such HE policies work.

Undoubtedly, China's IHE can generate and extend China's soft power abroad and increase the internationalization of China's HE at the same time. Additionally, other parts of China's efforts in developing soft power are to transform its universities into WCUs and promote CIs worldwide (X. Cheng, 2009).

In addition, as noted above, the ARWU and WCUs, and recruiting foreign students have also been seen to have a soft power element. Soft power is also an important factor behind the goal to attract more foreign students and international talents. More talents can help HEIs gain higher positions in the global rankings, which in turn will finally result in the enhancement of soft power. Recruiting foreign students can expand the influence of Chinese language and Chinese culture and construct good relationships and networks through people's connections and between nations. So these factors are not singular, but connect with each other.

#### **4.6.5 Path dependence and Chinese characteristics.**

Soft power and WCUs have become common pursuits of many countries. However, even as they are common pursuits shared by the world, every country does their business in their own ways. That is the reflection of path dependence (David, 2007). This path dependence is strong (Roe, 1996) in the Chinese policies on IHE. This reflects a long Chinese history and a strong one party government. Actually, all polices within nations thus have some degree of path dependence about them (Simola et al., 2013) because they are situated within the specificities of their national contexts. And there are indeed distinct Chinese characteristics in the policies and behaviors of China in dealing with the IHE (Peck & Zhang, 2013). In fact, this concept of "Chinese characteristics" has been

mentioned numerous times in Chinese news, political speeches and policies. This might be seen as referencing path dependence.

To understand Chinese characteristics, we first need to know about the unique features of Chinese thought. Y. Wang (2008) listed some of the typical and common misconceptions that Chinese have of China's international image, including: the assumption that national strength means a positive international image; limited skill in dealing with foreign publics; ignoring the cultivation of understanding through cultural exchange; overly proud of its long history and splendid civilization; and mixing China's historical significance with its contemporary influence (p. 261). Due to these misunderstandings and some take-for-granted understandings, China would find it difficult to communicate with other countries, and vice versa. The difficulty and tardiness in promoting soft power is one of these examples. Thus, though huge efforts have been made to promote soft power, this has not worked as well as expected. Besides, the international institutions also find it is hard to deal with China's organizations; for example, the strict rules regarding the management of China-foreign cooperation in running schools. The unique Chinese logic or Chinese characteristics behind the rules and regulations distinguishes its behaviors and ways from other countries'.

To be specific, the concept of Chinese characteristics stems from traditional views, which have resulted in a Chinese way of thinking. First, inner feelings and core values of subjectivity, harmony and collectivism are emphasized by the Chinese. Second, due to relatively strict government restrictions on the media, an accurate image of China somehow remains unclear to the outside world. Third, the difficulty of Chinese translation, especially political discourse translation, makes accurate meaning of the discourse ambiguous to some degree (Y. Wang, 2008). This, as was noted in the methodology section of this thesis, has been a factor in this doctoral research as well. For example, there was some difficulty at times in translating the language of relevant Chinese policies into English.

In addition, China has learned from Western developed countries in developing its economy and society. China has saved lots of time and cost due to its late-starting advantages. However, Warner (2008) indicated that China's reformers did not merely replicate foreign models uncritically, but did so according to a Chinese "way of doing things". This "with Chinese characteristics" perspective might be compared with de Sousa Santos (1995) concept of "localized globalism": we can always find the local root and a



specific cultural embeddedness in the so-called global condition and globalization always entails localization. In fact, by providing an acceptable and moderate solution through the expression “with Chinese characteristics”, it is possible to respond to some disagreements and doubts expressed by outsiders.

The human capital theory applied in China also manifests explicit Chinese characteristics. One example is the “talents strategy”. The talents strategy refers to taking the talents of people as a strategic resource, and making major, macro, global visions and arrangements about personnel training, and attracting and employing talented individuals, to achieve economic and social development goals (CAPS, 2005). The fundamental purpose of the talents strategy is to enhance talent as a key factor in promoting development. The aim of the talents strategy is to transform China from a large populous nation into a nation that is powerful in human resources, and greatly enhance the core competitiveness and overall national strength. Here talk of talents strategy might be seen as somewhat akin to talk about human capital development in western nations: human capital with Chinese characteristics.

#### **4.6.6 Summary.**

Due to historical and recent circumstances, thoughts and actions, the idea of Chinese characteristics is evident in the policies of IHE: on the one hand, China is hoping to occupy a place on the world stage, to actively participate in the competition and gain international recognition, even at the expense of economic interests. China has gained great success in the economy, but it needs to construct other aspects to strengthen its national power, especially soft power, to get more influence in international society and have its voice heard by more nations. On the other hand, in terms of policy formulation and implementation, it still appears to lack necessary experience. Facing the success of others, it tries to learn and act in its own way. China still has to cross the river by feeling the stones (摸着石头过河<sup>22</sup>). In other words, there are still unknown difficulties ahead and China needs to learn for itself which way is best for China.

China has witnessed rapid growth and development of IHE. By owning its late-starting advantages, China can learn from the failures and successes of other countries. These indirect experiences help China find more suitable ways at less cost and time. The policymaking of IHE in China is not just based on the domestic situation, but also seeks to

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<sup>22</sup> This was said by Deng Xiaoping and means constantly summing up experience during brave practice. It is one of the three famous experiences in Chinese Economic Reform and the opening up of China to the world. The other two are “不管白猫黑猫，抓住老鼠就是好猫” and “不争论，少说多做”.

accommodate the global environment. China's specific history and culture and Chinese characteristics, working as a form of path dependence, all influence the thinking of policy makers, policy formulation and implementation processes in the HE sector and are very evident in IHE policies in China, as has been demonstrated throughout this chapter.

#### **4.7 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I analysed three types of Chinese HE policies on internationalization: overarching meta-policies, institution focused policies and people focused policies. Each is situated at different macro, meso and micro levels of policy production in China. The first type of policy, namely meta-policies, outlines the basic guidelines and targets at the national level for the latter two categories of policies. Regarding each of the latter two categories of policies, policies for analysis in this research were chosen according to their degree of importance and influence. These policies outlined specific requirements and implementation instructions for the institutional level (institution focused policies) and also for the individual level (people focused policies). In the analysis, the most influential factors have been identified. They are openness, construction of WCUs, recruitment of global talents, promoting soft power and the continuing influence of path dependence (Chinese characteristics) set against global changes. The policy analysis provided has demonstrated how the Chinese government thinks about and conducts IHE in China, as manifested through policies. These factors affect HE policy making, as well as represent the priorities and key targets, and main concerns of IHE policies in China. In next chapter, I move to the analysis of Australian policies on IHE.

# **Chapter 5: Analysis of IHE Policy in Australia (2008-2015)**

## **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter focuses on IHE policy in Australia for the period, 2008-2015. Relevant policies in three categories (overarching meta-policies, institution focused policies and people focused policies) will be discussed. As was demonstrated with the case of China, history matters and has also deeply affected the development of IHE policy in Australia.

To analyze these policies, one needs to look at the broader history of Australia's IHE. Thus, a brief history of Australian HE is provided at the beginning of this chapter. Following this, HE policies of Australia on internationalization in the three categories noted above will be discussed and analysed. Analysis and summative conclusions about the nature of the IHE policy in Australia from 2008-2015 will be provided in the conclusion to the chapter.

## **5.2 Overview of Australian HE under Globalization**

### **5.2.1 The Australian HE system.**

Australia is a country that combines both British history, Asian geography and multicultural migration and most recently most migration has been from Asia. It has a relatively small population in a vast island continent. These national features have deeply influenced its HE.

Affected by the British tradition, Australian HE shares similarities with the model of HE in the UK. In the 1850s, the first universities in Australia were established following the model of established English HEIs, for example the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne established in the early 1850s. Until the end of the Second World War Australian universities focused on teaching. Those wanting to take higher degrees usually went overseas, most often to the UK. At the end of the war the federal government created the Australian National University (ANU) as a research-intensive university. From then research gained in significance in the older established universities and they also began to offer PhDs. From the 1960s there was also another tier of higher education carried out in the Colleges of Advanced Education. Until the late 1980s, Australia thus had a binary system of higher education. In the late 1980s and early 1990s the federal government under Education Minister, John Dawkins, aimed to increase the number of students

studying in university and achieved this by abolishing the Colleges and amalgamating them with established universities and by introducing partial fees. Thus was created what has become the so-called unified national system of universities, though since that time further differentiation has occurred in the system with the so-called Group of Eight being the older, high status research-intensive universities. In 1974, fees for HE had been abolished. In 1988, the Dawkins reforms took place and transformed HE in Australia to a mass system. Fees were reintroduced through the HE Contribution Scheme (HECS) in 1989. To ensure equity, the government allowed for deferred payment of fees after graduation as a tax on income. Another demand of the Dawkins reforms was that universities had to seek alternative sources of funding beyond government funding. Following the reforms, the funding from the government has been constantly decreased which forced the HEIs to recruit more international students to subsidize their activities and augment their revenue (Collins et al., 2016). Thus, internationalization became and remains one of the prominent characteristics of HE in Australia (Collins et al., 2016). International education is Australia's third largest export, only behind iron ore and coal (Universities Australia, 2017b).

By 2015, Australia had quite a small number of universities (43 in total), 40 public universities, two international universities and one private university. Australian universities have a high degree of autonomy and academic freedom, but are under external quality assurance by the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA). Australian universities' internal governance works through university councils or other governing bodies. CEOs, appointed by the governing bodies, designate vice-chancellors (presidents) to deal with the management and academic matters of universities. The details of the Australian university governance will be discussed in Chapter 6 where this form of governance is compared with that in China.

### **5.2.2 Australian IHE.**

Australia has a small domestic market for HE due to the small population, 24.29 million (ABS, 2018), so it needs to expand its HE market globally. It has a long history and strong ability to recruit international students, especially international students from Asia, because of its high quality education, relatively low education cost and convenient geographical position. Today, Australia is the world's third largest destination for international tertiary students.

Before the Second World War, Australian universities were not really internationalized. To a large extent, there were just unilateral flows outward, that is, graduates went abroad to gain research higher degrees and most often went to UK universities. Australian universities did not offer doctoral degrees until 1949, first at the Australian National University. Australian IHE has subsequently moved through three phases: foreign aid, export industry, and from trade to internationalization (Adams et al., 2011; Universities Australia, 2009, pp. 9-10). In the table below, detailed descriptions and the central themes of each period are given.

Table 5.1 Three Historical Periods of IHE in Australia

Time	Period one (Early 1950s- early 1980s)	Period two (mid 1980s- early 2000s)	Period three (early 2000s-present)
<b>Theme</b>	Foreign Aid	Export Industry	From Trade to Internationalization
<b>Details</b>	During this period, according to the Colombo Plan, IHE was linked to aid-based scholarships for overseas students from the Asia-Pacific.	In this period, the Australian government regarded HE as an export industry. It saw a move from aid to trade. Australia transferred surplus educational resources to developing countries to open up new education markets.	In 1992, the Australian government relocated the key points of IHE, kept the standpoint of recognizing HE as an export industry, and proposed a new policy “from trade to internationalization” (Beazley, 1992).

The study period of this research is 2008 to 2015, which is located in Period three in the timeframe outlined in Table 5.1, the “internationalization era”. So from the related policies, we can see characteristics like the emphasis on the global market and global engagement. From 2008 to 2015, the trends in Australia’s HE can be seen as: (1) active recruitment of international students and skilled labour through favourable and attractive immigration policies (e.g., permanent resident policy – elaborated in section 5.5.2 in this chapter); (2) the pursuit of sustainability and expanding the international education market in the face of increasing market competition globally; (3) emphasis on the quality of international education and competitiveness of Australian universities; and (4) cooperation and collaboration between institutions and nations.

### 5.3 Overarching Meta-Policies

In this section, four important overarching meta-policies in HE have been selected because of their impact on IHE in Australia. They are *The Review of Australia HE 2008* by the Australian Government, *Australia – Educating Globally (2013)* by the International Education Advisory Council, *A Smarter Australia: An agenda for Higher Education (2013–*

2016) by Universities Australia and *National Strategy for International Education (2015-2025)* by the Australian Government.

### **5.3.1 Bradley Review: The Review of Australian Higher Education (2008).**

The Bradley Review of Higher Education (*The Review of Australian Higher Education 2008*; typically referred to as the “Bradley Review” after the principal author, Professor Denise Bradley) was a review initiated by the Australian Government in March 2008. The review was appointed after the election of the federal Rudd Labour government in 2007. The purpose of the review was to consider and report on the future direction of the entire HE sector and to offer recommendations for reform and continuing improvement. The panel concluded that, while the Australian HE system had great strengths, it faced significant, emerging threats which required decisive policy actions. To address these, major reforms were recommended to the financing and regulatory frameworks for HE. The aim of this review report on the perspective of international education, was to “capitalise on its considerable strengths in international education and focus on developing a long-term sustainable strategy for global engagement” (Bradley, 2008, p. 87). Global engagement is an important concept and will be returned to later in this chapter.

The Bradley Review’s Section 2.5 and Section 3.6 in specifically related to internationalization of higher education. Several issues concerning international education were discussed. It was noted that Australia has performed well in respect of international education: having the highest proportion of international students to population size of any nation, having good collaborations with global research networks, having a good reputation according to world university rankings and being successful in exporting education as an important industry. However, some risks were also noted: the subject fields, study levels and countries of origin of international students are quite concentrated; some Australian tertiary institutions are over-dependent on the revenues from international students (details will be discussed later in this chapter), and thus they will subsequently be vulnerable to external environmental changes; and the outward mobility rate of Australian students is relatively low. (This is the reverse of the situation in China.) In that context, some specific recommendations were made, such as separating regulatory and other functions of Australian Education International and leaving the regulatory functions to an independent national regulatory body (Recommendation 11); providing up to 1,000 tuition subsidy scholarships per year and providing financial assistance for international students in higher degree by research programs in areas in which there are national skills shortages (Recommendation 13-15).

In Section 3.6 of the Bradley Review, the perceived problems in Australian HE are outlined. This is in acknowledgement of the point that all policies construct the problems to which they proffer putative solutions (Bacchi, 2009). First, the sustainability issue in relation to the international education market in an increasingly competitive global environment was flagged. It was argued it was necessary to take measures to attract more and diverse international students, for example, through offering high quality education, offering a protective and a safe environment and favourable immigration policies (permanent residency policies). This recommendation also concerned the expansion of countries from which international students were drawn. Second, in order to enhance global engagement, the need to promote student mobility and enhance academic collaborations were also mentioned. Third, the shortage of high skilled labour for the knowledge economy was mentioned and it was emphasized that higher degree international research students should be recruited, and that there should be more international collaborations between institutions, researchers and scholars.

Looking closely at the report, it is evident that several concerns underpinned it. First, it suggested that the ways international students were treated were not appropriate. International students were usually charged much higher tuition fees than domestic students. And the international student revenue was mostly used to support services to domestic students and bolster research infrastructure, which also revealed that there were insufficient funds for teaching of domestic students and for research activities as well. Second, it was apparent that the response to HE reflected skills shortages in Australia, the need for international higher degree research students and changes to migration policies. Offering more scholarships would attract more international higher degree research students. As well, connecting migration policies with HE and skills development was another useful strategy. This is a good way to attract an overseas skilled workforce and meet the immediate skilled labour needs of Australia. This is where there are potential links between HE policy and migration policy. Finally, the current development strategy of the international education market was also construed as not sustainable. The international market demand was price sensitive to tuition fees and living costs. It should also be recognised that changing global geo-politics affects international student demand; for example, the 9/11 attacks in New York City and more recently changes to immigration regulations instigated by the Trump Presidency. The report revealed that the over-dependence on international markets made HE vulnerable. This is particularly the case for some regional Australian universities. Any changes in enrolment numbers of international

students would result in a rapid drop in revenue due to changing global political or economic circumstances. Additionally, with the rise of Asian universities in global rankings and rising global competition for international students, the positions of world leading/oriented universities in international education would be potentially under threat. It was also apparent that the student sources were mainly from several specific countries (China, India, etc.) and concentrated in specific study areas (commerce and management, engineering, etc.) and levels (bachelor and master) (see Tables 5.2 and 5.3). It was suggested that each of these needed to be widened (e.g., diverse countries, more disciplines and more degree levels). Thus it revealed that sustainable development of international education needed related strategies to make corresponding adjustments quickly and in a timely manner.

Table 5.2 International Student Enrolments in Australia's HE Sector by Nationality at end of each year (2012-2015)

Sum of DATA Enrolments		Year			
HE Sector	Nationality	2012	2013	2014	2015
	China	146,227	144,348	156,269	173,501
	India	12,622	16,627	26,211	35,362
	Malaysia	89,337	86,009	89,133	97,050
	Vietnam	10,990	11,126	11,918	12,798
	Korea, Republic of (South)	8,236	7,452	6,593	5,821
	Saudi Arabia	5,595	4,963	4,820	4,762
	United States of America	2,418	2,430	2,404	2,463
	Brazil	761	789	858	943
<b>HE Total</b>		<b>230,090</b>	<b>230,440</b>	<b>249,074</b>	<b>272,095</b>

Source: DET (2015b).

Table 5.3 HE Enrolments in Top Popular Fields and Main Levels of Education, 2015

Field of Study	Level of Course		
	Doctorate by Research	Master's by Coursework	Bachelor's Pass
Management and Commerce	1,591	65,435	90,971
Health	2,033	5,111	15,366
Society and Culture	2,592	7,689	14,542
Information Technology	1,169	13,870	11,995
Engineering and Related Technologies	4,418	10,078	10,930
Natural and Physical Sciences	5,000	2,696	9,670
Creative Arts	281	2,543	7,650
Architecture and Building	236	2,762	2,857
Education	869	3,925	1,567
Agriculture, Environmental and Related Studies	1,206	1,123	1,551



Food, Hospitality and Personal Services	0	0	201
TOTAL	19,395	114,411	165,379

Source: (DET, 2015c)

To this end, the sustainability of the international HE market was considered important. The report suggested questions of how to retain Australia's leading position and continually recruit large numbers of international students had become urgent problems demanding solutions.

Meanwhile, a key concept in the report was identified by NVivo according to the word frequency, namely *global engagement*. It can be said that global engagement is produced in the context of globalization. Rumbley and Helms (2012) provided a definition of global engagement, which is about committing to meaningful relationships with international partners and representing movement and activities beyond traditional campus-based international activities and containing deeper and more prolonged commitments to international partnerships for mutual benefit. The report outlined different dimensions of global engagement, which pertained to economic, educational, workforce-related, collaborative-institutional and political issues. Specifically, the contribution of global engagement thought international education was boosting Australia's economy; meeting Australia's medium-to long-term skills needs; preparing Australian students for the global workforce; facilitating well-understood and well-developed notions of collaboration between institutions, researchers and scholars; helping to meet Australia's foreign policy goals, and meeting the educational requirements of neighbouring countries (Bradley, 2008, p. 89). From the discourses above, global engagement in this report was closely connected to Australia's economic, cultural and political interests and emphasized the importance of international education to such global engagement.

### 5.3.2 Chaney Report: Australia – Educating Globally (2013).

*Australia – Educating Globally (2013)*, also known as the Chaney Report, was provided by the International Education Advisory Council, chaired by Michael Chaney, eminent Australian businessman and Chancellor of the University of Western Australia, to the federal government in February 2013. It was said to serve as a blueprint for the future of international education in Australia. The federal government planned to use the Chaney Report to inform its five-year national strategy for the international education sector. Based on the analysis of the data on current international education (amount, study fields,

mobility, etc.), it proposed the vision and nature of future demand for international education. This report looked for the factors that would influence the size and shape of the international education sector over the next five years (2013-2018), and suggested an increase in international student numbers to 117,000 by 2020 – a 20% increase from the figure in 2013.

Based on the history of international education, this report calculated the possible demand and desirable aims to be achieved in the subsequent five years (2013-2018). To achieve these aims, it offered seven key issues and gave recommendations for each, namely coordination; quality; positive student experience; partnerships; Australia's student visa program; data analysis; international education and completion, marketing and promotion. These seven key issues involved various aspects of international education. The policy argued for a coordinated approach to fulfil these aims. As well, it mentioned Australia's student visa program. This was an integral component to attract international student. This will be discussed in a later section of the chapter.

Like the Bradley Review, this report also considered the existing problems in international education, which might affect the sustainable future development of international education in Australia. These included the increasing cost of studying in Australia and rapid development of Asian universities, which would potentially affect the study destination choices of international students. The importance of the Asian market is prominent in the report. According to the data on international student enrolments in Australia, it showed that it is dominated by students from Asian countries (see Table 5.2). This century has also been called the "Asian Century" by various analysts, which relates to the rapid economic and social development of Asia and the rise of Asia on the global stage, including the rise of Asian universities. China is centrally important in the rise of Asia, economically and geo-politically. The rapid rise of Asia's universities in global university rankings means that potential international students from Asia have more choice regarding universities. So how to sustain the international education market in Australia has become the key issue in international education policies. Facing the increasing demand for international education and increasing supply of international education in the future, and maintaining its competitive value position in the global international education market, are very crucial for Australian HE. Thus, high quality education, improved positive student experience and more attractive post-study options and other key factors, as key strategies, were discussed in this report, and based upon a large amount of data.

### **5.3.3 A Smarter Australia: An agenda for HE (2013-2016).**

This four-year policy was developed by Universities Australia in February, 2013.

Universities Australia is the peak body representing the university sector. Although this is not a government policy statement, it has been chosen because it is an attempt by the universities themselves to affect the policy agenda in HE, including in relation to internationalization. The main aim of this report was to call for government commitment to increase sustainable public investment in Australian universities. It outlined the reforms required to underpin Australia's HE system over the subsequent four years, with a view to longer-term changes. The document concluded four trends that were driving change in Australian HE: (1) the emergence of the digital economy and new technology; (2) increasing globalization and the possibilities of the Asian century; (3) economic and industrial restructuring as Australia responds to the resources boom; and (4) the need to improve productivity with universities playing a key role in the national innovation effort (Universities Australia, 2013). To respond to these trends, the document set out principles and actions in respect of the four themes: increase Australia's university participation; develop Australia's globally engaged university sector; create a powerful research and innovation system that drives economic and social progress; and focus on efficiency, investment and regulation (Universities Australia, 2013).

This report is comprehensive. One of the four themes was related to the IHE – develop Australia's globally engaged university sector. In order to fulfil this aim, this report offered suggestions on university actions and government actions separately. As to university actions, it required the universities to: improve welfare and the university experience; improve English language proficiency and opportunities for cultural exchange; extend student housing services; expand provision offshore; continue to globalize the curriculum; stimulate study abroad; and strengthen international research links (Universities Australia, 2013, pp. 31-32). As to government actions, it required the government to refine the regulatory regime to align its policies and further simplify its processes for educational service provision for international students, tuition protection and immigration; broaden advice on international education; support international research collaboration and enhance student mobility (Universities Australia, 2013, p. 33).

The report revealed there was insufficient public investment in Australian universities and emphasized the increasing competition with Asian universities. Australia has the first mover advantages in the development of international education and has gained a large market share in this area. However, late mover advantages have helped Asian countries,

including China, to shorten the period of development. The fast developing Asian countries are “catching up” with these early movers and are now competing with them in the international HE market. Besides, with the deepening of globalization, every country is recognising the importance of global engagement and the global demand for HE will be growing significantly in coming decades. Recognizing those facts, the authors of the report argued it was very necessary to promote sustainable development of international education. The core task then was to maintain the high quality of Australia’s university education. In order to achieve this aim, two things were required: well-funded and well-regulated universities, which needed abundant public investment and strict quality assurance mechanisms (Universities Australia, 2013). This would in turn contribute to enhancing Australia’s international reputation in HE and would attract more international students, which would finally result in the sustainable development of international education.

Besides, this report emphasized the importance of university alumni and pointed out alumni as a form of social capital would benefit Australia in the long term and in indirect ways. Thus, it proposed that by establishing and improving a global Australian alumni network, it would be possible to extend the connections between graduates and Australia and thus contribute further to the sustainable development of Australia’s international education and also potentially have other important benefits.

The keyword/term in this report was *global citizen*, identified by NVivo according to the word frequency. Global citizen is also a concept produced in the context of globalization and is clearly related to the concept of global engagement, which was also heavily used in the report (compare with the Bradley Review; refer to 5.3.1). Global engagement is one necessary process to produce global citizens. A global citizen is typically defined as a person who constitutes his/her identity related to the *global community*, and beyond her/his identity as a citizen of a particular country (Dutta, 2017). Barker et al. (2013) pointed out that a global citizen means a person who identifies with being part of an emerging world community and her/his actions contribute to building the values and practices of this community. The usage of this term here expressed that Australian international education wanted to ensure international students gained a global vision and responsibility and were prepared for global engagement. IHE was a necessity to educate students to think globally, gain global experiences and help them become real global citizens (Gacel-Ávila, 2005). Internationalized HE, that is, studying abroad and international internships, can “enhance students' academic, professional, and personal

development and expand their horizons to prepare them to function effectively in the global world” (Aktas, Pitts, Richards, & Silova, 2017, p. 1).

### 5.3.4 National Strategy for International Education (2015-2025)<sup>23</sup>.

The *National Strategy for International Education 2025* is Australia’s first comprehensive national strategy for international education, issued by the federal government. It was the product of extensive industry and stakeholder consultations and was released as a draft strategy in April 2015 for public comment. The strategy is notable both for its comprehensive vision of expanding Australia’s education exports and for its ambition to redefine and reshape the country’s international education sector.

This 10-year plan for developing Australia’s role as a global leader in education, training and research looked at three aspects in developing its strategy and goals: benefits and opportunities for students; for Australia; and for the world. The purpose of the International Students Strategy for Australia was to support a high-quality experience for international students, in order to ensure a sustainable future for high quality international education in Australia (Australian Government, 2016). This strategy was developed collaboratively by federal government, state and territory governments<sup>24</sup>.

The *National Strategy for International Education 2025* was built on three pillars, strengthening the fundamentals, making transformative partnerships and competing globally. The main goals of each pillar are shown in Table 5.4 below.

Table 5.4 Three Pillars and Their Goals

Pillar 1 Strengthening the fundamentals	Goal 1 Building on a World Class education, training and research system
	Goal 2 Delivering the best possible student experience
	Goal 3 Providing effective quality assurance and regulation
Pillar 2 Making transformative partnerships	Goal 4 Strengthening partnerships at home
	Goal 5 Strengthening partnerships abroad
	Goal 6 Enhancing mobility
	Goal 7 Building lasting connections with alumni
Pillar 3 Competing globally	Goal 8 Promoting our excellence
	Goal 9 Embracing opportunities to grow international education

Source: Australian Government (2016).

<sup>23</sup> Due to the demarcation of the study period, this was originally a draft report. The official version was released in April, 2016, which has some differences from the previous version. The policy studied and analysed here is the updated one. The differences are slight in the structure and give more emphasis on both sides’ mobility and connections with alumni.

<sup>24</sup> <http://monitor.icef.com/2016/05/australia-releases-10-year-blueprint-for-expansion-of-its-international-education-sector/>

Based on detailed analysis of global trends, rising competition and new opportunities, this strategy was designed to foster various actions and measures. It aimed to ensure that Australian International education would help students, communities and industry around the world to meet their expectations. Additionally, it outlined detailed measures of success defined as meeting objectives in relation to: benchmarking against international standards; the employability of graduates; quality of the study experience; increased international collaboration and alumni engagement; and growth in global market share from the current level of 6%.

The concept of *World Class* also appeared in the policy (pillar 1 goal 1). World Class is somehow a “hot word” and is often mentioned in Chinese policies as well, but not mentioned as frequently in Australian policies. In Chapter 4, I have already provided analysis of this concept. The usage of this term here in this Australian policy is a bit different from its usage in China’s policy texts. In the Chinese documents, talk is about WCUs, while in Australia the talk is more about a World Class university system. The Chinese goal might be seen as having a number of so-called WCUs, while the Australian goal is about all the universities in the system being world class. Further comparison will be offered in the next chapter, which provides a cross case comparative analysis.

### **5.3.5 Summary of the analysis of meta-policies.**

These four meta-policies can be classified into two types: general meta-policies that partly involve international (higher) education (*The review of Australia HE* and *A Smarter Australia: An agenda for higher education*) and specific meta-policies focused on international (higher) education (*Australia – Educating Globally* and *National Strategy for International Education*). The specific meta-policies provided detailed description and deep analysis of international education in Australia. Additionally, the Bradley Review and *A Smarter Australia* were specifically focused upon HE, while the Chaney Report and *National Strategy* discussed all levels of education. This doctoral study focuses on IHE so only relevant related content was selected for analysis.

Table 5.5 The Foci of the Four Meta-Policies

<b>Name</b>	<b>By</b>	<b>To</b>	<b>Time</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Content</b>	<b>Level</b>
<b>Bradley Review</b>	Expert Panel	C'wealth government	12/2008	1-year review	General	HE
<b>Chaney Report</b>	International Education Advisory Council	C'wealth government	2/2013	5-year Mid-term plan	Specialized on internationalization	All levels
<b>A Smarter Australia</b>	Universities Australia	C'wealth government	2/2013	4-year Mid-term plan	General	HE
<b>National Strategy for International Education</b>	Commonwealth, State and Territory Governments	All Govern-ments	4/2016	10-year Long-term plan	Specialized on internationalization	All levels

There were many similarities in relation to content across the meta-policies. These four meta-policies all considered these topics: (1) the need for sustainable development of Australia's International education market; (2) the rise of the Asian century and increased competition from other Asian nations; (3) the importance of satisfaction of international students' experience in Australia (study and work, language); (4) the nature of study mobility, including in relation to domestic students; (5) the need for an International curriculum or to internationalize current curricula; (6) the need for greater quality assurance.

Meanwhile, there were still some different emphases in each report. For example, *A Smarter Australia* emphasized the importance of alumni and pointed out "Australia does not leverage its alumni as well as it could" (Universities Australia, 2013, p. 28). Here, alumni can be regarded as social capital, which will be helpful to extend the connections between graduates and Australia and further to support the sustainable development of Australia's international education. The *National Strategy* emphasized national cooperation in developing international education: "the strategy has been developed through a coordinated national effort" (Australian Government, 2016, p. 13). To support the strategy's implementation, the Australian government created the Coordinating Council for International Education and it was stated that a broad cross-section of Australian education stakeholders would work together on this Council to realize these aims and goals. While the Bradley Review was a review that focused on the past development of Australia's HE towards consideration of desirable futures for HE, the Chaney Report was a five-year national strategic plan, which focused on more macro issues and a broad vision of international education development. However, it was not a government policy

statement; instead, it was an attempt by the universities themselves to influence the policy agenda. The Chaney Report and *A Smarter Australia* were both mid-term plans (5 years and 4 years), while the *National Strategy* was a long-term plan (10 years).

There were also some explicit connections between these policies. Some of the case studies in the *National Strategy* referred to another Universities Australia publication named *World-leading research in Australia's universities*, which provided a snapshot of innovative research being undertaken in universities in Australia (Universities Australia, 2016). As well, Universities Australia is also the author of *A Smarter Australia (2013-2016)*. So there are some connections between the *National Strategy* and *A Smarter Australia*. The Chaney Report was mentioned in *A Smarter Australia (2013-2016)* and referred to in respect of its advice on international education. As the Bradley Review provided an overall and detailed review of Australian HE and was released in 2008, the other three meta-policies referred to and used the research results and data in the Bradley Review to varying degrees. We might say then that this set of policies sit in intertextual relationships with each other.

As meta-policies, these reports provided the goals and directions for the latter two types of policies. It might be said that these other policies sit in intertextual relationships with these meta-policies. In the following, I will analyze the other two types of policies on IHE. I commence with institution focused policies.

## **5.4 Institution Focused Policies**

Two aspects, transnational HE and competitiveness of Australian universities, will be considered in this section. Transnational here is seen to be a sub-category of the broader category of internationalization.

### **5.4.1 Transnational HE.**

Australia is a leading provider of quality education and training, both within and outside Australia (DEST, 2005). All sectors of education offer offshore education, including HE, vocational education and training, school education, English language courses and foundation programs. These transnational education programs have been expanding and growing. Developing transnational HE partnership is valuable not only in terms of the revenue generated from offshore education provision, but also in relation to the opportunities to further internationalize universities and develop collaborations and partnerships between Australian universities and overseas universities in research and



teaching programs. Given its importance, this theme is often included in meta-policies and specific policies on IHE in Australia.

#### **5.4.1.1 Discourses of transitional HE in in meta-policies.**

The Chaney Report suggested the need to facilitate offshore education and training provision by participating in foreign aid programs, establishing transnational education partnerships and encouraging institutions to identify and pursue possible partnership opportunities through the development of regional education hubs (Chaney, 2013). By establishing transnational education partnerships, Australian universities offer education programs offshore, which can bring revenue and the opportunities for further internationalizing institutions and developing collaborative partnerships. Chaney (2013) showed the value of developing country-specific strategies to diversify Australia's university partnerships with international institutions. He also highlighted the value of collaboration through regional hubs.

#### **5.4.1.2 A National Quality Strategy for Australian Transnational Education and Training**

*A National Quality Strategy for Australian Transnational Education and Training*, produced by the Australian Government, Department of Education, Science and Training in 2005, was a quality assurance framework that underpinned the offshore delivery of Australian transnational education and training. By developing a national quality strategy for transnational education and training, the Australian Government's goal was to continue to meet the needs of international students, their parents, overseas governments and potential employers. This strategy would ensure that quality assurance arrangements were robust, nationally consistent, easily comprehensible, and that they promoted the international recognition of Australia as a provider of high quality education and training services. The major focus of this discussion paper was on the Australian Qualifications Framework (AQF) and on courses so accredited, rather than non-award courses (Australian Government, 2005).

This *National Quality Strategy* aimed to conduct activities in two key areas: improving communication and promotion of Australia's quality framework domestically and internationally, and strengthening the national quality framework. To do that, this strategy proposed four principles: ensure that Australia's quality assurance framework is well understood and well regarded within Australia and internationally; make clear to providers and consumers the accountabilities extant in offshore education and training; ensure that

accreditation and audit functions are undertaken transparently; and ensure equivalence between courses/programs offered within Australia and offshore (Australian Government, 2005, pp. 1-2) .

Unlike onshore international education, offshore international education involves two or more nations, which makes it difficult to ensure integrated management. In the *Strategy*, it mentioned three models to strengthen the quality framework, namely the augmented current model, advisory board model and national authority model. Augmented current model refers to “maintaining the current arrangements and lines of responsibility for transnational quality assurance but with greater sharing of information and best practice”; advisory board model refers to “establishing a joint industry-government board to develop standards, codify best practice and establish protocols regarding on offshore activities and functions remain in the current quality assurance authorities”; and national authority model refers to “establishing a national authority to delegate quality assurance functions for offshore provision while the governments still remain responsible for quality assurance arrangements” (AEI, 2005, p. 3). Specific descriptions of each model were provided. In the university sector, external quality assurance was conducted by the Australian University Quality Agency (AUQA).

This discussion report was developed in response to concerns about the quality assurance of transnational HE. As a part of the broader category IHE, the quality of transnational HE was the key factor for maintaining a favourable position in multinational competition for student enrolments (D. Coleman, 2003). Quality relates closely to reputation. The majority of universities would consider academic reputation to be the most valuable asset. The reputation of the core universities would extend to the branch campuses or the transnational HE programs. However, according to the Australian Commonwealth Senate, some non-university commercial organizations provided transnational educational services without taking adequate steps to assure their quality. That is, there was concern about the “sale of the universities’ ‘brand’ or ‘reputation’ for profit and associated reputation risks” (Australian Commonwealth Senate Enquiry, 2001, pp. 246-247).

#### **5.4.2 Competitiveness of Australian universities.**

The other relationship between universities is competition. Yet, collaboration between universities, especially between excellent universities, is also construed as helpful for enhancing competitiveness. Competitiveness here refers basically to research

performance and is often measured by global metrics. In particular, Australia emphasizes the need to enhance its international competitiveness through institutional collaboration.

#### **5.4.2.1 Discourses of competitiveness of Australian universities in meta-policies.**

In the Chaney Report, “partnership” was an important consideration. The Report pointed out the collaboration between Australian institutions and overseas institutions was increasingly important to achieve beneficial research outcomes and build the reputations of Australia’s institutions. It argued the need to ensure the national research policy settings encouraged collaboration between institutions to achieve the necessary scale benefits, and to encourage international research engagement and collaboration to build on and enhance Australia’s research capabilities. Further, incentives and specific country strategies were also important ways to develop and support the partnerships between Australian and overseas institutions (Chaney, 2013, p. 6).

As well, the Bradley Review advocated more international research collaborations between institutions. It suggested the government assist universities to develop more effective research collaborations with overseas institutions.

#### **5.4.2.2 University Research: Policy Considerations to Drive Australia’s Competitiveness.**

*University research: Policy considerations to drive Australia’s competitiveness* was a report produced by Universities Australia in 2014, the same body that produced *A Smarter Australia*. This report examined the research performance of Australian universities and provided some policy considerations to drive Australia’s research competitiveness. The skills and knowledge produced and provided by universities were considered vital to the nation’s long-term economic success, and to respond to other aspects of life. Research and innovation have been consistently identified as essential ingredients for improving economic productivity and quality of life, that is, there are both economic and social benefits that flow from both research and innovation. In order to compete internationally, Australia needed to know about its performance and find ways to strengthen the system overall. This report compared the research performance of Australian universities with other universities’ performance in Switzerland, Denmark, the Netherlands, Singapore, South Korea, Malaysia, the United Kingdom and Canada<sup>25</sup>. Several similarities in their

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<sup>25</sup> The reasons for the countries selected are (1) world leading in research and have similar sized economies (Switzerland, Denmark and the Netherlands); (2) the rapidity of their improvement in research performance in the past two decades (Singapore, South Korea and Malaysia); (3) their structural and cultural similarities to Australia (United Kingdom and Canada).

approaches were identified, which the report suggested should be considered in terms of Australia's future approaches. It turned out that there were clear areas of strength across diverse disciplines and Australia's researchers were highly regarded in relation to academic impact. However, there was still room for improvement, especially compared with the best-performing nations and systems. Knowledge exchange and the translation and utilization of research into industry and economic and community life were the main areas that required substantial attention and improvement in Australia.

Another policy, the *Research performance of Australian universities*, produced by the Group of Eight, was released in 2012. It presented an analysis of trends in research performance for Group of Eight (Go8)<sup>26</sup> and non-Go8 universities, but it only compared the Australian universities and did not examine their capacity to compete internationally. By way of contrast, *University Research in comparison* did international research performance comparisons. By comparing with other countries, it helped Australian universities to know more about themselves and encouraged personnel in universities to implement more appropriate strategies to strengthen their international research competitiveness.

#### **5.4.3 Summary of analysis of institution focused policies.**

The two policy papers *A National Quality Strategy for Australian Transnational Education and Training* (2005) and *University research: Policy considerations to drive Australia's competitiveness* (2014), emphasized the importance of collaboration in developing transnational HE and policy strategies so as to strengthen Australian universities' research competitiveness. Both policies advocated the necessity and importance of collaboration between institutions. The former policy, focused on the exploration of external quality assurance mechanisms in transnational HE programs and the latter one, focused on policy settings that would help Australian universities improve their research performance and gain stronger competitive advantage worldwide.

### **5.5 People Focused Policies**

This part of the chapter focuses on people mobility. As dealt with in the previous chapter on China, the main content here relates to international students studying in Australia, international student visa and immigration policies, and Australians studying abroad.

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<sup>26</sup> The Group of Eight (Go8) is an alliance of leading research-intensive Australian universities, comprising the University of Melbourne, The Australian National University, The University of Sydney, The University of Queensland, The University of Western Australia, The University of Adelaide, Monash University and UNSW Sydney. They receive the largest proportion of research funding from the Federal Government and they are highest ranked universities of Australia in world university rankings.

### **5.5.1 Study in Australia.**

International education is Australia's third largest export industry and Australia has the third largest number of international students in the world. Thus the importance of international education in Australia is obvious and undoubted. As mentioned many times in the meta-policies, the sustainable development of international education is a key issue in HE governance in Australia. Students are central in international education. The policies related to international students are also important components in Australia's HE internationalization policy. In this section of the chapter, two important documents are referred to: a review report and a strategic report. To contextualise these documents, discourses on that theme in the meta-policies are first dealt with.

#### ***5.5.1.1 Discourses of study in Australia in meta-policies.***

The Bradley Review provided a comprehensive array of data and analysis on international education. Bradley recommended re-endorsing the Education Services for Overseas Students (ESOS) Act (2000), in the context of a rapidly changing environment.

The ESOS Act (2000) was a legislative framework to control and regulate the education service provision for international students in Australia. In particular, the Act provided tuition protection for international students. The Act had been amended several times to provide an integrated regulatory framework, including consumer protection, and also focusing on education quality and student support services. Amendments to the ESOS Act made in 2010 required all international education providers to re-register under tighter new regulatory criteria by December 2010, and to publish a list of education agents operating on their behalf. This was to ensure greater transparency and accountability of education agencies on- and off-shore. The ESOS Act (2000) and related legislation were designed to protect the interests of students coming to Australia on student visas and to protect and enhance Australia's reputation for quality education. ESOS was widely recognised as among the most effective frameworks for international education regulation in the world, especially for the protection of students' tuition fees.

The Chaney Report mentioned positive student experience as one of the seven key issues and six strategic aims of internationalization. It emphasized the equal and appropriate treatment of international students, for example, to provide them access to transport concessions, hospitals and health insurance and accommodation, access to work experience during and after studies, as well as promote meaningful connections and engagement between international students and local communities. It also supported the

student visa program, arguing for easier visa processing for international students and a more favourable environment for international graduates (Chaney, 2013).

#### **5.5.1.2 Review of the Educational Services to Overseas Students Act (2010) (Baird Review).**

This *Review of the Educational Services to Overseas Students Act* was conducted by the Hon Bruce Baird for the federal government in 2009. It reviewed the Education Services for Overseas Students (ESOS) regulatory framework and reported that changes needed to be made to ensure Australia continued to provide world-class, quality international education. It was brought forward under the background of significant growth in the number of international students, and the changing composition of the international student body and emerging issues in the sector (e.g., attacks on Indian students in Melbourne in 2009). Since then, more attention has been attached to international students' safety and wellbeing.

The Review argued in favour of enhancing the ESOS legislative framework in four key areas: supporting the interests of students; delivering quality as the cornerstone of Australian education; effective regulation; and sustainability of the international education sector. Issues of concerns related to recent provider closures were also examined. The report found that the concerns were numerous but the support for international education in Australia still remained strong (Baird, 2010).

It stated that there was overwhelming acknowledgment of Australia's long-standing reputation for quality education and training. International students were mostly satisfied with their Australian education experience. However, there were still a number of issues affecting international students that had become apparent and needed to be addressed. Students identified issues such as education quality, health and wellbeing, and the quality and accessibility of information as particularly important. Thus, Baird (2010) asked all governments, providers, peak bodies, students, agents and the broader Australian communities to work together to achieve these goals rather than only through ESOS. By doing that, Australia's reputation for offering World Class quality, international education could be restored and enhanced.

This report proposed a number of recommendations that aimed to strengthen, simplify and streamline ESOS, which would in turn provide greater support for international students in Australia and protect Australia's reputation for quality education. Changes were also required beyond ESOS around student safety, access to transport concessions,

accommodation and community engagement — key factors that contributed to a student's overall experience in Australia.

Specifically, the review discussed issues relating to supporting students, protecting Australia's reputation for quality education, and the importance of looking beyond regulatory frameworks (such as ESOS) alone. In relation to supporting students, the recommendations included improving information provided before students came to Australia and supporting them to study and live in Australia during their stay, developing an enhanced process to address the role of education agents, and building stronger consumer protection mechanisms. In relation to protecting Australia's reputation for quality education, whilst recognising the primacy of domestic education quality frameworks, the review recommended a need to rebuild and assure Australia's reputation for quality education. This might be achieved via improved regulation of providers, enforcement of clear minimum standards and support for better integrated and automated systems for information sharing. Finally, beyond ESOS, Australia's international education reputation depended on how well the community more broadly provided for the wellbeing of international students and their whole experience of studying and living in Australia. Wellbeing included their safety, appropriate health insurance, and adequate and appropriate accommodation.

#### **5.5.1.3 *International Students Strategy for Australia (2010-2014).***

The *International Students Strategy for Australia* was developed by the Council of Australian Governments (COAG), consisting of the Prime Minister and all state and territory government leaders, in 2010. The development of COAG's strategy for international students was an important step following the Baird Review. The strategy aimed to support a high quality experience for international students by improving student wellbeing, assuring the quality of education, strengthening consumer protection for international students and providing better information to current and future students, and then ensuring a sustainable future for quality international education in Australia. It built on efforts already undertaken at all levels of government to improve the safety and wellbeing of international students.

As one of the complementary processes of the Baird Review, this strategy outlined twelve initiatives to address four key areas: international student wellbeing; quality of international education; consumer protection; and availability of better information for international students. Here, student wellbeing included personal safety, good physical and mental

health, community engagement and representation in policies and activities. From the view of international students, it aimed to provide high quality education and provide tuition protection and financial support and also provided complaint and dispute solutions vis-à-vis consumers' rights. As well, the strategy advocated accurate and updated information and access to it for prospective international students.

These policy documents, especially the review report and strategy report, all placed international students' needs as being of primary importance. They considered their wellbeing and their study experiences very important for potentially attracting more prospective international students, and contributing to the prosperity of international education in Australia.

Economic factors were clearly apparent within this strategy. International students are construed as consumers and international education as an educational product, which is in accordance with the original purpose of building an international HE market. It helps to ease the pressure of diminishing government funding and provides more financial resources. These discourses represent the opinions of key players. In this respect, the emphasis on consumer satisfaction is a key part of the economic discourse. Therefore, Australia construes providing HE as a service, which necessitates the provision of accurate information before decision making, safety and health during study, good experiences of gaining skills for work preparation and after completion of studies.

### **5.5.2 Student visas and migration policy.**

The relationship between overseas student programs and skilled migration programs is close. The connection between education and migration policies was initiated in 1998. Influenced by neoliberal discourse and marketization of education, the government designed a policy landscape to achieve the goal of sustainable economic growth through the migration of young, overseas, students educated in Australia (Kemp, 1998; Ruddock, 1998). Since 2001, overseas students have been permitted to apply for permanent residency while onshore, within six months of completion of their course (Devereaux, 2009).

According to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), Australia established the first immigration portfolio in the world in 1945 (J. Phillips & Simon-Davies, 2016). Independent occupation immigration policy is the main way Australia attracts highly skilled workers. Independent occupation immigration is conducted under a scored or point system.



Most Skilled Visas for immigration to Australia require applicants to score a minimum number of points on the Points Test, which includes categories of age, English language ability, skilled employment, educational qualifications, Australian study requirements, credentialed community, language qualifications, study in Regional Australia, partner skill qualifications and professional years in Australia. Through these requirements, the main target group is people between 18 and 45 years who can speak fluent English, have some work experience and expertise, and can adapt to the technical personnel needs of Australia in high demand skill areas like science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM), medicine, accounting and nursing. In particular, foreign students are not only more familiar with the national conditions than the directly introduced foreign talents/applicants, but can also save employers/the state the training costs in the compulsory education stage. Therefore, many countries, including Australia, are beginning to recruit international students as an important way to supplement their human resources, and strive to retain the skilled workers they need, and provide incentives in many aspects such as through visas to enable immigration. According to interviews conducted by Blackmore et al. (2014) with employers, academics and international graduates, it turns out that it is unlikely and extremely difficult for international graduates to get a job in their field in Australia without permanent residency (PR) and the visa status of international graduates becomes the major barrier in their search for employment. Consequently, they need to change strategy to gain PR first in order to find a job. In 2008, a temporary working visa, the Temporary Graduate (subclass 485) visa was introduced for international students after two years of study in Australia. It gives international students an opportunity to extend their stay after graduation to gain work experience in Australia. Furthermore, it increases the potential of international students to gain permanent residency.

However, it is not an automatic pathway for international students to obtain PR in Australia. But many international students hold incorrect ideas about that possibility. Some studies have found that many international students wish to stay permanently in Australia after graduating and that “post-study migration opportunities” become a major factor that affects the choice of international students on study destinations (Blackmore et al., 2014; Devereaux, 2009; Hamilton, 2017). This has resulted in the growth in international students who make educational choices solely to secure Permanent Residence (PR) (Devereaux, 2009, pp. 18-20). Issues and concerns emerged as the result of these intentions.

Actually, there were changes in the relationship between the skilled migration programs and overseas student programs in different government periods. Table 5.6, below, provides an overview of these changing relationships.

Table 5.6 The Relation between International Education and Migration in Three Governments

	<b>Howard Coalition Government</b>	<b>Rudd-Gillard Labor Government</b>	<b>Abbott Coalition Government</b>
<b>Time period</b>	1997-2007	2008-2013	2013-2015
<b>relation</b>	Explicit link	Decouple	Restore Encourage VET students.

This important issue has been discussed in many meta-policies. Here, discourses in meta-policies (Bradley Review and Chaney Report) and two other important reports, namely, *Strategic Review of the Student Visa Program 2011* by Michael Knight and *Overseas students: Immigration policy changes 1997-2015* by Harriet Spinks will be reviewed.

#### **5.5.2.1 Discourses about student visas and immigration policy in meta-policies.**

Immigration issues relate closely to international HE in Australia and are significant in a diverse range of policy documents. The Bradley Review pointed out the need to better align immigration policies with education and skills development and to ensure policy coherence. It took the changing visa classification as an example, and noted its significance for attracting prospective international students (Bradley et al., 2008, p. 97). As well, it emphasized protections for international students beyond academic matters and including the related evaluation of the existing legislative framework.

The Chaney Report made some recommendations on the regulatory framework for education providers, services and support required by overseas students, such as extending streamlined visa processing to high quality non-university providers with a low immigration risk (Chaney, 2013, p. 57). As well, some recommendations on the international student visa framework were made, including the need to raise the value of Australia education qualifications in skilled migration points to encourage more potential international students and expediting the visa processing for prospective international students (Chaney, 2013, p. 58).

### **5.5.2.2 Knight Review: Strategic Review of the Student Visa Program (2011).**

The *Strategic Review of the Student Visa Program* was conducted by Michael Knight in 2011 for the federal government. The review was tasked to consider the quality, integrity and competitiveness of the student visa program.

Knight Review made 41 detailed recommendations regarding visa processing and post-study work rights for international students in the university sector. It included streamlined visa processing for universities, offering post study work rights, giving students with higher degrees by research more favourable rights, language requirements and providing various appropriate funding for international students and providing and developing transitional education and forming a new consultative mechanism (M. Knight, 2011, pp. xiii-xix). The Knight Review recommended some minor changes to the student visa program across other education sectors, and to the integrity measures applied by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) in monitoring and enforcing student visa compliance. Later, after this Knight Review, these recommendations were implemented by the Australian Government and there have been several key changes to the overseas student program as a result of this Review.

### **5.5.2.3 Overseas Students: Immigration Policy Changes (1997-2015).**

The Report *Overseas students: Immigration policy changes (1997-2015)* was conducted by Harriet Spinks, one of the research paper series from the Department of Parliamentary Services in 2016. This paper provided a chronology that drew on ministerial press statements to trace changes in Australia's immigration policy in relation to overseas students between 1997 and June 2015. Immigration policies introduced in this period had fundamentally changed the nature of migration to Australia. Policy changes in this period were pivotal in facilitating the rapid growth of overseas student education in Australia by forging links between the temporary overseas student programs and permanent skilled migration. Later reforms to both skilled migration and overseas student policy were also central to the decline in overseas student enrolments beginning in 2009-2010. The studied period started in 1997 as that year was when the Howard Government commenced making announcements about overseas students as an immigration issue (Spinks & Koleth, 2016). It traced the key immigration policy changes under three federal governments: Howard (1996-2007), Rudd-Gillard (2007-2013) and Abbott Governments (2013-2016).

It mentioned the unintended and problematic issues generated by the relation between the overseas student program and general skilled migration. These issues and concerns included the focus of international students enrolling in vocational education programs to largely obtain PR, and the failure of some former international students' employment outcomes due to their qualifications and the failure to reach adequate levels to meet Australia's skill needs. As well, some private education providers and agents exploited international students by the promise of PR and put migration outcomes before the quality of education.

Additionally, *Overseas Students* referred to the conclusions of the Knight Review. In discussing the student visa program, *Overseas Students* mentioned the strategic review of the Knight Review in regard to the quality, integrity and competitiveness of student visa programs. It stated several changes and arguments had been produced because of the Knight Review, such as long-term temporary migrants, which was welcomed by education providers while criticized by some researchers. *Overseas Students* cited these arguments as the research background and situated them in the broader history to determine the trends in overseas student policies.

### **5.5.3 Australians learning abroad.**

Next, I will move to the discussion of Australian students studying abroad. Learning abroad in the Australian context refers to short-term (generally less than one year) international education experiences undertaken as part of an Australian university degree. Learning abroad may also be referred to as outbound mobility, study abroad, international learning mobility, and student exchange or credit mobility. Learning abroad has become the preferred term as students seek a growing diversity of experiences that take them beyond the traditional classroom, into communities, workplaces and other experiential environments in other national settings (Harrison & Potts, 2016).

#### **5.5.3.1 Discourses of Australians learning abroad in meta-policies.**

Learning abroad has been identified as one of the key priorities over the years in a number of Australian Government reports, for example, *Engaging the World through Education* (2003), *Review of Australian HE* (2008), and the *Australia in the Asian Century White Paper* (2012). In 2006, the National Roundtable on Outbound Mobility brought university practitioners and strategy makers, government officials, consular staff and industry groups together to improve opportunities for Australian students to study overseas (Malicki, 2006). In the 10 years since the National Roundtable on Outbound Mobility, universities have

worked closely with governments to continue to develop and expand a range of activities and funding to support learning abroad (Molony, 2011).

In the meta-policies, the Bradley Review mentioned “international education and global engagement”. The global engagement included promoting student and staff mobility. It was an important aspect for Australian students to participate in global engagement through the experience of studying abroad. However, the proportion of outward mobility of Australian students was relatively lower than was the case in other OECD countries and the scholarships and schemes to encourage overseas movements were very limited (Bradley et al., 2008). The Report also pointed out the problems and limitations in this area, which included the factors that affected overseas study options. Recommendations were given based on these documented problems. The Report suggested removing the loan fee for students who want to exchange or work overseas on a short term basis, relaxing the eligibility criteria and broadening the scope to postgraduate students (Bradley et al., 2008, pp. 104-105).

In the Chaney Report, there were also some descriptions of Australian domestic students studying abroad and it provided detailed data on outbound mobility. These data included the proportion of Australian students studying offshore and the top five host countries (see Table 5.7) (Chaney, 2013, p. 18). It mentioned the AsiaBound Grants Program<sup>27</sup> which provided more than 10,000 additional grants over three years to encourage Australians to engage in short term study and exchange in Asia (Chaney, 2013, p. 20).

Table 5.7 Top Five Destination Countries for International Study Experiences by Australian University Students (2011)

Destination	No of experiences	% of all experiences
United States	3,159	15.3%
China	2,009	9.7%
United Kingdom	1,812	8.8%
Canada	1,080	5.2%
Germany	1,050	5.1%

Source: Olsen (2011).

### 5.5.3.2 New Colombo Plan (2014).

There have been two Colombo Plans. The original Colombo Plan was established in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in January 1950 as a Commonwealth of Nations initiative. It was a

<sup>27</sup> The AsiaBound Grants Program was launched in 2013 as a \$37 million initiative to provide support for Australian undergraduate and postgraduate students undertaking short and longer-term study, internships and practicums in Asia.

regional initiative that embodied the concept of collective intergovernmental effort to strengthen economic and social development of Commonwealth member countries in the Asia-Pacific region. Australia has been a member of the Colombo Plan since 1950. Participation in the Plan has grown from a group of seven Commonwealth nations – Australia, Britain, Canada, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), India, New Zealand and Pakistan – into an international governmental organisation of 27, including non-Commonwealth countries. Now, this plan mainly focuses on the human resource, social and economic development in that region (TCP, 2018). In the original Colombo Plan, the provision of scholarships to Commonwealth students from poorer nations to study in Australia was part of Australia's aid and foreign policy.

Different from the original Colombo plan, the New Colombo Plan, established in 2014, is an initiative of the Australian Government which aims to promote knowledge mobility between the Indo-Pacific and Australia by supporting Australian undergraduates to study and undertake internships in the region. Instead of the common term "Asia-Pacific", the new term "Indo-Pacific", which means the Indian Ocean Asia Pacific regions, has appeared more often in more recent Australian policy documents. It implies bringing India into Australia's strategic frame and reflects India's crucial position and greater involvement in East Asian affairs (AHC, 2016). The Plan encourages a two-way flow of students between Australia and the rest of the Indo-Pacific region, complementing the thousands of students from the region coming to Australia to study each year. The New Colombo Plan is intended to be transformational, deepening Australia's relationships in the region through the individuals and through expanding universities' and other organizations (NCP, 2017). The original Colombo Plan was an international organization for cooperative economic and social development in Asia and the Pacific, whereas the new Colombo plan is Australia's initiative to encourage and support the mobility of Australia HE students to nations in this region. The new Colombo Plan is more about Australian higher education students studying for a time in other nations of the Indo-Pacific, unlike the original Plan provided scholarships for Commonwealth students to study at Australian universities. There are two types of programs in the New Colombo Plan. One is a scholarships program for study of up to one year and also for internships or mentorships and the other provides a flexible mobility grants program for short and longer term study, internships, mentorships, practicums and research.

Learning abroad is now a key component of universities' internationalization strategies in Australia. It is considered as an important contributing factor to enhancing the student

experience and employability. Universities are also using learning abroad in their promotional and recruitment campaigns as they attempt to differentiate and strengthen their market positioning (Harrison & Potts, 2016). Besides addressing this issue in various meta-policies (Bradley Review, Chaney Report, etc.), the New Colombo Plan is the special project on learning abroad which contains different programs and scholarships to encourage Australian students' mobility.

#### **5.5.4 Summary of people focused policies.**

In this section, three kinds of people focused policies were discussed and analysed, namely policies on people studying in Australia, on student visas and migration, and on Australians studying abroad. The discussion involved people mobility, inflow and outflow.

Through these documents, we can see that Australia is caring more and more about not just the quality of international education, but also the wellbeing and positive experiences of international students. Supports here are beyond academic and study aspects and include physical and mental health, personal safety and good quality, affordable accommodation and transport services. Moreover, the integrity of the international student visa program and the pathway to PR have been frequently discussed. Reforms and changes in the visa program are continuing with ever changing internal and external environments. More factors, not only economic considerations, are affecting the overseas student policymaking, mixed with cultural, societal, humanistic and administrative aspects.

Compared with the numerous study papers and reports on international students, there was relatively less attention on the outflow mobility of Australian students. However, in a globalized society, global experience and engagement of *all* students are now recognized as crucial. The existing overseas study programs in Australia are characterized as short term and mainly at graduate level. These are framed by the New Colombo Plan.

#### **5.6 Analysis and Discussion**

Additionally, there are some issues and keywords identified in NVivo to be analysed further, which appeared frequently in each of the three kinds of policies. In this section, Asian Century, sustainability, research collaboration and International students and PR policy will be discussed in some detail. Insufficient attention to Australian students' international mobility and exchange will also be emphasized.

### 5.6.1 Asian Century.

The “Asian century” appeared in many policies mentioned above (e.g., Chaney, 2013; Universities Australia, 2013). The phrase Asian Century arose in the mid to late 1980s. In a meeting of People's Republic of China (PRC) leader Deng Xiaoping and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1988, where Deng said that “in recent years people have been saying that the next century will be the century of Asia and the Pacific, as if that were sure to be the case. I disagree with this view” (Deng, 1993, p. 281). Before this, the term appeared in a 1985 US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations hearing (Committee on Foreign Relations, 1985). It has been subsequently reaffirmed by Asian political leaders, and is now popularly referred to in the media and in policy documents in consideration of policy contexts.

Regarding this, the Australian government released the *Australia in the Asian Century White Paper* in October, 2012. It discussed how to respond to and maximise Australia’s engagement of all kinds with Asia in the Asian century. In this White Paper, it talked about the five key areas that Australians needed to address to succeed in the Asian century. These included the importance of international education and research collaboration with Asian countries, as well as the obstacles in these areas that needed to be solved. This *Asian Century White Paper* was mentioned in the Chaney Report, which argued that the strategy for Australia’s international education must focus on “how best to manage the challenges and take advantage of opportunities created by Asia” (Chaney, 2013, p. i).

Rizvi (2012) pointed out that the idea of an Asian century showed not only Asia’s rapid economic growth in recent years, but also its increasing geopolitical impact, especially with the rise of China and India, and moreover it implied the comparative decline of the power of Europe and the United States. Australia is a unique nation located in the Asian region while having deep historical, cultural and ideological bonds and links with the UK, Europe and the United States. In that context, Australia has attached great importance to Asia-Australia relations and argued for a better cultural understanding of Asian cultures. As Sheridan (1995) put it, for Australia “going global meant going regional” (p. 69). Though a bit exaggerated, this observation showed the economic and strategic importance of engaging and embracing the Asian region for Australia and acknowledgement that this importance would increase in the Asian century.



### **5.6.2 Sustainability.**

Sustainable development of the international education market is one of the core issues discussed in each policy. Concerns arose because of the rapidly changing global world. Several references were made in these policies that suggested competition between nations in international HE would intensify. These policies mainly focused on the economic aspect of international HE in Australia. As one of the most important export industries, how to sustain the position of Australia's international HE in a competitive global market is crucial. So it is important to develop key and core competencies for sustainable development of the international HE market. As mentioned in the previous chapter, one of the four headline drivers proposed by Hazelkorn (2015) was "consumerist attitudes" towards HE. In that sense, in order to attract and sustain "consumers", providers must offer quality services. Thus, in these policies, the quality of the international HE and safety of international students was mentioned many times, as well as the need for and the significance of favourable visa and permanent resident (PR) policies.

### **5.6.3 Research collaboration.**

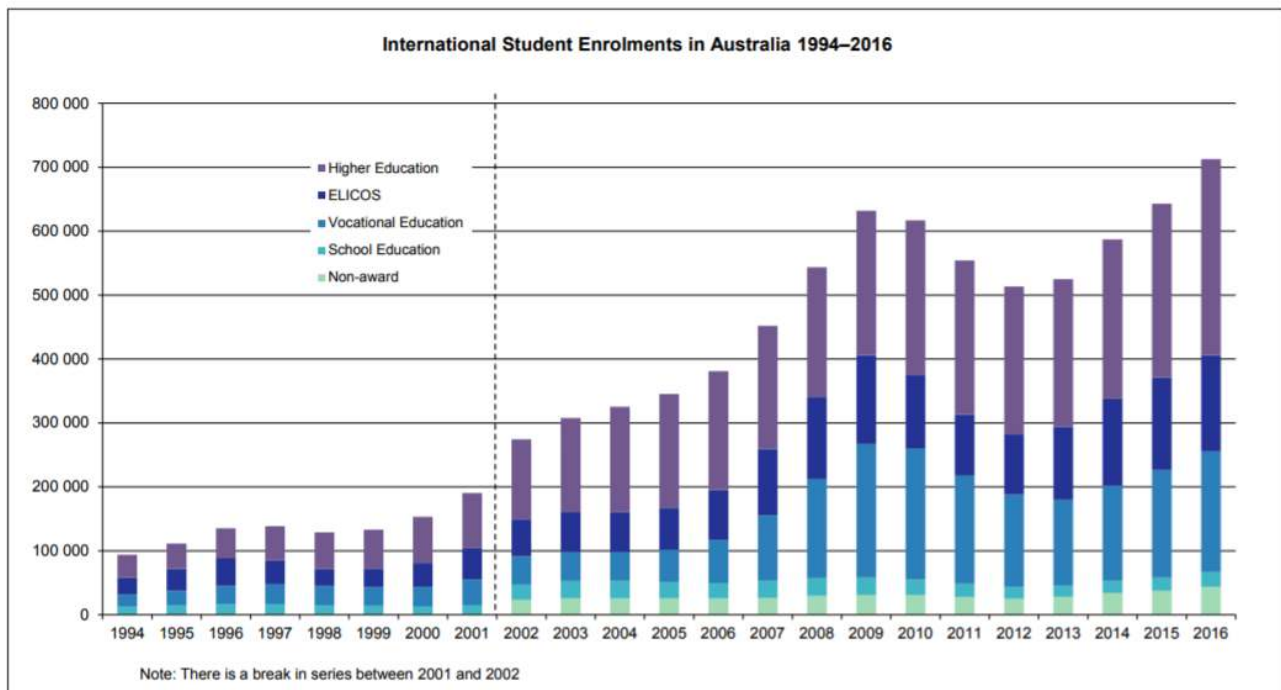
Regardless of some research on the limitations of research collaboration (e.g., Ponds, 2009) and the doubt about the correlation between research collaborations and productivity (e.g., Abramo, D'Angelo, & Di Costa, 2009), policy makers still regard research collaboration as a good thing. It is normally accepted that knowledge sharing can increase knowledge production and productivity (Abramo et al., 2009). In fact, the effects of international research collaboration are also apparent, including how such work makes it easier to obtain public financing, fosters greater prestige and visibility from collaboration with renowned research groups, as well as contributing to higher productivity (Belkhdja & Landry, 2007). Such collaboration is also boosted by information and communication technologies and declining transportation costs (Katz & Martin, 1997). Nowadays, international research collaboration is also regarded as an important index to measure the internationalization of one institution or a nation's HE system (e.g., in world university rankings). So in the policies, international research collaboration is regarded as important for developing Australia's global engagement and universities' competitiveness.

### **5.6.4 International students and PR.**

In these policies, the association between the overseas students program and the migration visa program is obvious. According to the historical figures, each time there were changes in PR policies, it resulted in changes in the international education market in

Australia. International students are sensitive to changing PR policies (see Figure 5.1). There was an obvious decline around 2010 when the Rudd-Gillard Labour Government changed the migration policy and decoupled the relationship between the overseas student program and the migration program. The numbers increased again around 2013 when the migration policy changed again under the Abbott Coalition Government.

Figure 5.1 International Enrolments by Sector 1994-2016.



Source: AEI international student data.

Balancing the relationship between the overseas students program and the migration visa program is always a challenge for the Australian government. It has seen changes several times in history (refer to Table 5.6). The three Governments referred to here had different ideas on this relationship.

Skilled migration and overseas student programs are both designed to contribute to the economic growth of Australia. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the opportunity to migrate is a significant reason for the increase in number of international students over recent years. But immigration is still different from international education. They are two different and separate processes and have different purposes and there is “no connection between getting a visa to reside in Australia and to study in Australia” (Devereaux, 2009, p. 18). Linking or decoupling them completely appears to have been construed as problematic to the economic growth of Australia (Hamilton, 2017). This recognition in itself helps reinforce the nature of the complex relationship between the two domains.

### **5.6.5 The positioning of International students and their rights.**

What is the position of international students in Australia? International students were once regarded as “cash cows”. President of the International Education Association of Australia and Deputy Vice-Chancellor at RMIT University, Stephen Connelly, said “We are treating it (internationalization) like a cash cow” and argued there was insufficient concern about the welfare of students (Craig, 2010). The Bradley Review pointed out the universities have relied too heavily on international students to compensate for reducing public funding in real terms. International students need to pay a lot of money to study and live in Australia. Besides high tuition fees, they have to buy expensive health insurance and many stay in overpriced university accommodation. Moreover, international students are a highly vulnerable, exploitable workforce because of their relatively poor English language skills, lack of family support and cultural knowledge and inadequate non-wage income support. At the same time, the existence of discrimination worsens this situation. Much of this exploitation is “perpetrated by employers from similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds” (Evans, 2016).

On the other hand, students were also portrayed as “strategic opportunists” who made use of the system to enter and stay in Australia. The purpose of the student-migration pathway in migration policy was to bring young, Australian-educated and English-proficient international student graduates to fill the specific skills shortage areas. However, it has also been suggested that these “opportunists” come to study in Australia just to attain PR (Robertson, 2011).

Under neoliberalization and marketization of education, international students often are treated as “customers” as well who received customized educational products and services. As such, they ought also to have customer rights. That means they should be offered high quality education and ensured wellbeing during their stay in Australia. And discourses to this effect are evident in recent HE policies. After the establishment of education-migration nexus, international Students are thought of as potential and “future migrants” and potential members of the Australian work force (Hamilton, 2017).

“Cash cows”, “opportunists”, “customers”, “learners” or “migrants” – the attitudes will be different based on varying perspectives and beliefs about international HE students. As well, different treatment of international students affects policy approaches. We can see an obvious shift in the policy documents that more and more attention is attached to the wellbeing and welfare of international students. Positive study experience, safety and

quality accommodation, transport concessions, community and global engagement are emphasized.

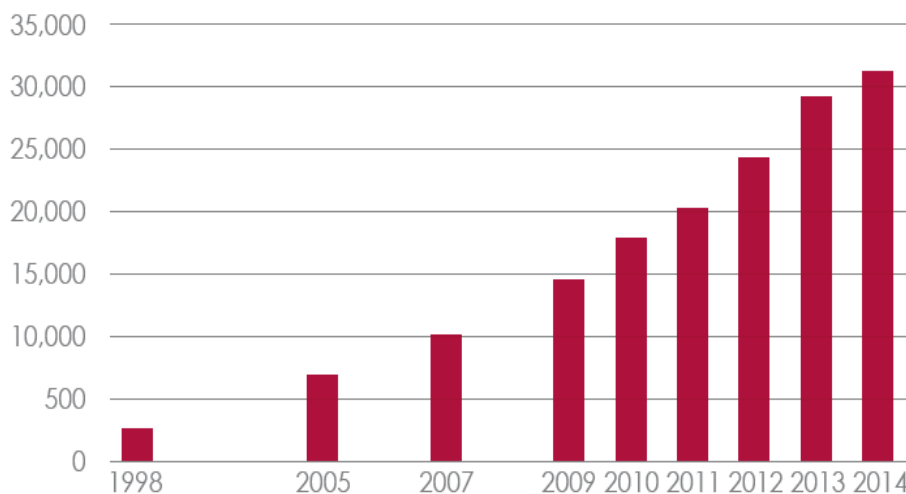
In respect to the future, if international students stay and work in Australia after they graduate, they can become human capital and contribute to the growth of the Australian economy and society directly. However, on the other side, this will result in the brain drain in their originating nations. If they leave Australia after they graduate, they also become important social capital which will benefit Australia in indirect ways (Universities Australia, 2013). No matter how, they have lasting and valuable bonds and relations with Australia. This is a conception of international student alumni as social capital. Nowadays, it is very common for the skilled talents to flow freely worldwide. Competing for excellent talents has gone across the national borders. In that situation, the developed countries attract and recruit talents from overseas, while the developing countries try to use favourable policies to attract their overseas citizens to return “home”. The details of the situation in China and Australia will be discussed in the following comparative analysis chapter.

#### **5.6.6 Insufficient attention to Australian students’ international mobility and exchange.**

Living in a globalized society, international experience and global engagement capacity can help one gain more competitiveness in the employment market nationally and globally, and an improved comprehension of one’s own social and cultural relations and understandings. International mobility and exchange programs are effective means for students to gain international experience, and to equip them with international skills and competencies. Compared to the large discussion and analysis on international students, the domestic students’ global mobility and experiences in Australia seems to have been given considerably less attention.

The following figure shows the number of Australian students learning abroad during the past three decades. According to the data, there were 18,736 Australian undergraduate students learning abroad in 2014, representing 16.5% of the graduating domestic undergraduate cohort (AUIDF, 2015). The participation rate was 14.8% in 2013, 13.1% in 2012 and 12.3% in 2011 (Olsen, 2011). Of these Australian undergraduate students, just over one third (35%) participated in an exchange program at a host university, 26 per cent participated in a faculty-led study tour and 17 per cent participated in an internship or other practical placement (AUIDF, 2015).

Figure 5.2 Participation in Learning Abroad in 1998, 2005, 2007 and 2009–2014.



Source: Harrison and Potts (2016).

Compared with the large amount of inflow of international students (249,990 in 2014), the outflow number (18,736 in 2014) of learning abroad students is strikingly low. Compared with other nations, Figure 5.3 provides an overview of learning abroad participation rates and policies in Australia and 13 other countries. It shows there is still space for further promotion of participation in learning abroad for Australia.

Figure 5.3 Learning Abroad Participation Rates and Policies.

Country	Current participation	Target participation	National policy/ strategy	National scholarships
Australia	16.5% (UG) <sup>i</sup>	–	New Colombo Plan	Yes
UK	1.2% (of UK-domicile enrolments) <sup>ii</sup>	20% by 2020 <sup>iii</sup>	UK Strategy for outward mobility	Yes (Erasmus) Other
USA	14.8% (UG) <sup>iv</sup>	Double (600,000 by 2020) <sup>v</sup>	Generation Study Abroad (not Government)	No
Canada	10-12% (estimated) <sup>vi</sup>	–	International Education Strategy	Yes for research through Mitacs Globalinks program
NZ	–	–	Prime Ministers Scholarships for Asia	Yes
Germany	33% (estimated 2009/10) <sup>vii</sup>	50% <sup>viii</sup>	DAAD Strategy 2020	Yes (Erasmus) DAAD
France	–	Double by 2025 <sup>ix</sup>	National Strategy for Higher Education	Yes (Erasmus)
The Netherlands	22% (2012) <sup>x</sup>	–	Government's vision on the internationalisation of higher education	Yes (Erasmus)
China	–	10-100% (leading institutions) <sup>xi</sup>	China Scholarship Council + World Class University 2.0	Yes
Japan	60,000 <sup>xii</sup>	Double by 2020 <sup>xiii</sup>	Go Global Japan	Yes
Singapore	70-90% (3 institutions) <sup>xiv</sup>	80% (institutional targets) <sup>xv</sup>	Young Talent Program for Students	Yes
Brazil	–	–	Science Without Borders	Yes
Colombia	–	–	Nexo Global	Yes
Mexico	–	–	No	No
ERASMUS	4.9% (average) Range 2.5% - 26% <sup>xvi</sup>	20% by 2020 <sup>xvii</sup>	Erasmus +	Yes

Source: Gribble and Tran (2016). <sup>28</sup>

The Australian government is seeking to increase the numbers of university students studying abroad, and actively promoting such programs. However, we note that the percentage of undergraduate Australian students studying abroad is already much greater than is the case in the UK for example, but much fewer than in Singapore, for example. We deal with the Australian government's support for more students to study abroad in

<sup>28</sup> i Australian Universities International Directors Forum (AUIDF), 2015

ii Universities UK, 2016

iii UK Higher Education International Unit, 2016

iv Institute for International Education (IIE), 2015

v Institute for International Education (IIE), 2015

vi Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 2014

vii DZHW/DAAD, 2015

viii DZHW/DAAD, 2015

ix French MOE and Research, 2015

x NUFFIC, 2012

xi Institutional web sites

xii Japanese Government, 2014

xiii Japanese Government, 2014

xiv Institutional web sites and direct confirmation with university representatives

xv Institutional web sites

xvi European Commission, Eurostat, 2013

xvii European Commission, 2015

Section 5.5.3. With the changing outside world and domestic situation, policies related to IHE are changing accordingly. The issues discussed above flag how HE is currently understood in the Australian context, and gesture towards areas for future consideration and engagement.

### **5.6.7 Summary.**

International education, especially international HE, is an increasingly important part of the Australian economy. Under the rapidly changing international environment, competition in the HE market has become more and more fierce. With the rise of Asian countries, their economies and HE, abundant funding has been injected into Asian universities by their respective governments, resulting in a rapid increase in the world university rankings and attracting more international students. How to foster and maintain sustainable development of international education becomes the new topic which raises a number of questions. In the ever-changing globalized world, especially in respect of the emerging Asian century, it is crucial for Australia to care about the sustainable development of its international HE market, given the importance of the international HE market to its economy and society and also to the universities themselves. Multiple drivers will affect the students' choice of overseas destination for HE study, for example, education quality, tuition fees and living costs, safety and student wellbeing, future migration pathways and policy and so on. Thus, these factors need to be further considered in relation to HE policymaking.

Furthermore, on the one hand, the “supplier” needs to strengthen the competitiveness of universities, including realizing the high reputation and ranking on world metrics. This requires better research performance and associated improvement strategies (e.g., World Class university construction) and research collaborations across nations and between institutions. On the other hand, in relation to “demanders”, students and those associated with their education, there is a need to ensure quality for international students in education delivery as well as ensuring their wellbeing and rights. This requires more consideration about the student experience. Policy makers may need to take these concerns into account more, put them at the core of considerations about the international education market and consider appropriate student-migration policies to coordinate between international student needs and governmental and institutional needs. Additionally, compared to the high attention given to international education, the other side – outflow – Australian students studying abroad have received much less attention and

this requires further development to fulfill the target of cultivating global citizens and strengthening global engagements in Australian HE.

## 5.7 Conclusion

To sum up, in this chapter, policies in three categories (overarching meta-policies, people focused policies and institution focused policies) have been discussed and analysed. Four overarching meta-policies, the Bradley Review (Bradley et al., 2008) (a short term policy), the Chaney Report (Chaney, 2013) (a short term policy), *A Smarter Australia: An agenda for higher education (Universities Australia, 2013)* (a mid-term strategy) and *National Strategy for International Education 2025 (Australian Government, 2016)* (a long-term policy strategy), provided strategies and set targets for the development of international HE in Australia for different periods. More or less, they provided descriptions and analysis on the following two categories of policies – institution focused policies at the meso level and people focused policies at the micro level. In people focused policies, the international students and migration policy (inflow) and Australians learning abroad (outflow), were reviewed. Policies on international students, reflecting increased concerns about the wellbeing of international students, suggested the pressing need to place the experiences of international students in the foreground, so as to ensure they are not treated as mere cash cows and are regarded as more than simply consumers of education (Baird, 2010; Council of Australian Governments, 2010). The results of migration policy changes in history show that international students are sensitive to the student-migrant pathway and their choice and preferences change due to changes in the PR policy (M. Knight, 2011; Spinks & Koleth, 2016). The New Colombo Plan is the main national policy and strategy for Australians in relation to learning abroad. However, compared with the large number and rate of inflowing international students, the outflow number and rate are relatively less. Although this situation is due to many factors, there has arguably been insufficient policy and institutional attention to Australian students' international mobility and exchange (Gribble & Tran, 2016; Harrison & Potts, 2016). This is what the New Colombo Plan is attempting to address. However, it needs to be acknowledged that international students in Australia are a source of revenue, whereas the outflow of Australians studying abroad is (at least in the first instance) a cost to the government. The New Colombo Plan is also about global engagement and forming global citizens.

However, the quality concern arises with the development of this kind of transnational education. Quality control affects the reputation and prestige of a university and even reputation of an entire HE system. Measures and evaluation of the quality control of these



overseas universities and institutions working in collaboration with Australian universities are carried out under several Australian policies (e.g., AEI, 2005). Collaboration and cooperation within and without a nation are necessary means to improve the competitiveness of Australian universities. For example, the Group of Eight, an elite research universities alliance in Australia, represents the high performing and prestigious of Australian universities. In China, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, prestige of this kind is evidenced in the so-called C9 group of universities. Membership of each of these two groups is a surrogate measure of quality.

Research collaboration is emphasized in related policies (e.g., Universities Australia, 2014b). Such collaboration helps Australian universities produce more research achievements, produce better performance and progress in research, gain international reputations in the international HE community and reach higher positions in world university rankings. Vice versa, high competitiveness and high prestige make it possible to attract more excellent international doctoral students and researchers.

Several key points emphasized in all of the reports reviewed were discussed and emphasized again in the final section; these included the significance of the Asian century, sustainability of international education development, nature of research collaboration, international students' wellbeing and PR policy and Australian students' mobility programs. Policymaking is a complex process and involves various factors. In the fast changing world, international, national and local practices and developments all affect the strategy and policy of a nation. We can see different considerations and various groups "gaming" the system, as well as residual historical, cultural, economic, and societal imprints from the policy texts. Thus, policy is produced rooted in its own national history and applied to its own national practices and realities. This is path dependence. However, the evidence from the research would suggest that path dependence is not as strong in Australia international education of IHE policies as in the case in Chinese IHE policies (Roe, 1996). At the same time, policy is affected by the external global environment. This is the interplay of global pressures and developments with national path dependent characteristics that always means that global tendencies play out in specific and vernacular ways in any given nation. This and the previous chapter on China have demonstrated this in respect of the IHE. In this interwoven national/global context, there are interesting similarities and differences between the two nations in this globalized and internationalized world. In the next chapter, comparison will be made between IHE policies in China and Australia.



# Chapter 6: Comparison of Chinese and Australian IHE Policies

## 6.1 Introduction

The two previous chapters introduced, documented and analysed HE policy on internationalization in China and in Australia using three analytical categories: overarching meta-policies; people focused policies; and institution focused policies. In this chapter, more detailed comparison will be made between the Chinese and Australian HE policies. Thus, this chapter provides a cross-case comparison. Given the differences in educational history, HE systems and approaches to education policy-making, there are obvious differences in the policies dealing with IHE in the two countries. However, there are also similarities and associations between them, including in relation to the effects of globalization.

In a globalized world, the dynamics that shape HE have their origins in local, national and international dimensions. Marginson (2006) describes the current HE situation as “a single world-wide arrangement” which combines the

(1) global flows and networks of words and ideas, knowledge, finance, and inter-institution dealings; with (2) national HE systems shaped by history, law, policy and funding; and (3) individual institutions operating at the same time locally, nationally and globally (Marginson, 2006, p. 1).

Globalized educational discourses, here IHE, meet path dependent national HE systems and the result is what Appadurai (1996) calls “vernacular globalization,” resulting in hybridized policy outcomes. Here, national dimensions (how the history and culture shape each nation’s specific structure and policies of HE and how path dependence affects its subsequent developments) and the international or global dimensions (how globalization affects a nation’s policy choices and decisions) are the vital, interwoven factors that frame the differences and similarities between internationalization in the two HE systems. What is new here, to some extent, is the impact of globalized educational policy discourses and global trends in HE. On the latter and as noted earlier in this thesis, Marginson (2016b) speaks of three global trends in HE, especially in research-intensive universities, namely, the move to mass provision, the spread of the concept of WCUs and a one-world science system, and the use in HE of business models of organization, management and functioning. These three tendencies exist worldwide, regardless of national political

cultures and different state-university relations. All of these have played out in path dependent ways in both Chinese and Australian HE policies as demonstrated throughout this thesis.

China and Australia are two vastly different countries, with different histories, cultures, economies, ideologies and political structures and frameworks. They are also vastly different in a demographic sense and in terms of their underpinning political values and state structures. First, from an historical and cultural perspective, Australian HE is patterned along English and Scottish systems and resembles the UK sector in broad policy frameworks, academic cultures and faculty promotion processes (Marginson, 2015c). Marginson (2015c) identifies Australia as located in a Westminster system of government (along with UK and New Zealand) and sharing common features in education culture with the UK. However, at this policy moment, its unique geographical location and the upcoming so-called Asian Century fosters Australia's strategic positioning "closer" to Asia, encouraging increased collaboration and relationship-building regionally in Asia.

Chinese HE is rooted in Confucian culture and tradition, even as it is deeply influenced by modern Western HE systems. China shares the four features identified by Marginson (2011, p. 54) in Confucian systems of HE: relatively close national supervision and control, rapid growth of tertiary participation, "one chance" national examination systems for entering tertiary education, and a highly growing public investment in research and science. The two systems, Australia and China, are located in different educational, cultural, and HE financing situations, but both systems have been affected by the multiple processes of globalization. These similarities and differences will be discussed later in this chapter.

From an economic perspective, the two nations are at different developmental stages. Australia is a developed country with a mature and stable economic market and society. Economic logics and rules have a significant influence in the HE market. China is a burgeoning developing country and currently is actively developing and investing in HE. A large amount of special funding (*Project 211*, *Project 985*, *Double First-Rate*) is invested in selected top universities in China (see Chapter 4). This might be seen as part of the world-wide trend to develop some WCUs – a manifestation of broader discourses within the HE sector globally. Arguably, political and societal factors are more influential than economic incentives in international education policy in China. For example, the establishment of Confucius Institutes, with large investment from the Chinese Government, is a kind of

cultural and political means to expand the impact of China in the world – an example of soft power. As mentioned in Chapter 2, China, due to the late-mover advantage in respect of internationalization, can learn from other nations' experience and lessons, and potentially shortening the development period of HE, avoiding possibly problematic practices and reducing the total costs in time and capital investment (Robinson, Fornell, & Sullivan, 1992). However, policy learning would be of little value if it was undertaken in improper ways. China previously experienced a tortuous path of exploration in the past in developing models of HE when learning from Japanese, American and Soviet models until it found its own model – developing universities with what might be seen as universities “with Chinese characteristics”. The last three decades have witnessed rapid development in Chinese HE. Meanwhile, as a late-mover in the international HE market, China needs to compete with the dominant nations who has established good-reputations within that market – notably the USA, UK and Australia. There is also the issue of language of instruction here. English as the global language has provided the USA, UK and Australia with an advantage in the global international student market.

From a political perspective, the two countries employ different HE governance models. There is evidence of transition from state control to a supervisory model in China, while Australia adopts a state supervisory model and the Australian government steers HE at a distance (Kickert, 1995). As well, the governance structure and degree of autonomy in universities varies in the two nations, which will be discussed in the next section.

More detailed comparison will be made between the Chinese and Australian HE policies of internationalization, drawing from the cases outlined in the two previous chapters. Similarities and differences will be identified across national, institutional and personal levels, and in relation to overarching meta-policies, people focused policies and institution focused policies; these were also used as the organizing concepts for the earlier, individual cases outlined in the two previous chapters.

## **6.2 Comparison of HE Systems and Governance**

Specific contemporary policies in HE are affected by the character and history of a nation's HE system and also by its policy-making system and approaches. Simola et al. (2013) argued that conducting a cross-national comparative study cannot ignore specific national context and history. So, in this section, I first consider and compare the HE systems, as well as governance and financing of HE in these two nations.

In Chapter 1, a brief history of HE in both countries was described. It is common in the world to consider that HE is tertiary education coming after both primary education and secondary education. Australia and China are not exceptions in the way in which HE is organized vis-à-vis this definition. In their HE systems, both countries have vocational institutions, colleges and universities. Public universities are the main institutions that carry out HE in both countries. Most HE students are enrolled in the public HEIs in these two nations, even though the numbers of universities and students in China are much greater than in Australia (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Comparison in Overview of HE in Australia and China, 2015

	China	Australia
<b>Main HE form</b>	Public HEIs <sup>29</sup>	Public universities
<b>Number of public HEIs</b>	813 <sup>30</sup>	40
<b>Number of HE enrolment of undergraduate students</b>	15,766,848	319,755

*Source: compiled based on data from the National Bureau of Statistics of China and HE and Statistics from Department of Education and Training, Australian Government.*

### 6.2.1 State-university relationship.

The state-university relationship is an old topic which has been discussed by numerous scholars (e.g., P. Altbach, Gumport, & Berdahl, 2011; I. Austin & G. A. Jones, 2015; D. Braun & F.-X. Merrien, 1999; D. Braun & F. Merrien, 1999; Capano, 2011; Dobbins, Knill, & Vögtle, 2011; Henry & Leydesdorff, 1998; Lazzeretti & Tavoletti, 2006; McDaniel, 1996; Mohrman, Ma, & Baker, 2008; Ordorika, 2003; Rytmeister, 2009; Vught, 1989). The nature of this relationship is influenced by how authority is distributed between the state and universities (Currie, 2003). Many scholars have developed various models to classify this relationship. The first and most classic one is Clark's triangular model. B. R. Clark (1986) classified university governance models as the Continental European, American and British models according to the three factors – state authority, academic oligarchy and the market. Capano (2011) summarised the basic elements of the three models as follows: system-based, strongly hierarchical coordination through state-centred policies, no institutional autonomy, powerful authority of the academic guilds, and faculties and schools constituting confederations of chair-holders (the Continental European model); substantial institutional autonomy, academic collegiality, and limited state involvement (the

<sup>29</sup> In the Chinese case, the data about universities and colleges are mixed. There are no specific data for each sector. So here, I use the data of public HEIs instead of public universities, as in the Australian case.

<sup>30</sup> The total number of Chinese regular HEIs (including public and private colleges and universities and Higher Vocational Colleges) in 2016 is 2560. HEIs offering Degree Programs total 1237, of which the number of the non-Government HEIs is 424, including 266 Independent Institutions. So the number of Public HEIs that offer degree programs is 813. Details refer to the MOE website [http://www.moe.gov.cn/s78/A03/moe\\_560/jytjsj\\_2016/2016\\_qq/201708/t20170822\\_311604.html](http://www.moe.gov.cn/s78/A03/moe_560/jytjsj_2016/2016_qq/201708/t20170822_311604.html)

British model); strong procedural autonomy of universities matched by substantial public monitoring of institutional performance and outcomes, external stakeholder involvement, and academics playing a limited role in determining universities' strategic objectives, but having substantially more power and authority over traditional academic matters such as staff recruitment and course content (the American model) (Capano, 2011, p. 1624). The classic Clark model can show how these three ideal type models have been manifested and changed in one nation over time (McNay, 1999) and also how they can be used to compare national HE systems (D. Braun & F. Merrien, 1999). Australian university governance is closer to the British model and the American model, but Australian universities have more substantial institutional autonomy than is the case in the American model, while they experience more state involvement than evident with the British model. Chinese university governance is closer to the Continental European model, but with relatively more institutional autonomy. The detailed situation will be discussed below<sup>31</sup>.

Subsequently different models have been developed after Clark's model. Vught (1989) proposed a state control model and a state supervising model to describe the relationship between state and university. His classification can relate to four types of systemic governance models constructed by Capano (2011). The state control model is similar to the hierarchical mode and procedural mode, while the state supervising model is similar to the steering from a distance mode and self-governance mode. D. Braun and F. Merrien (1999) described the state control model as characterized by strong authority of the state and relatively strong academic oligarchy within universities which is most often seen in European countries. They described the state supervising model as weaker state authority and stronger academic community. Moreover, D. Braun and F. Merrien (1999) added a new critical factor of belief systems to state-university relations. They used cultural-oriented belief systems and service and utilitarian-oriented belief systems to refine the state-university relationship. Cultural-oriented belief systems are characterized as entailing a greater degree of freedom for universities and are typically found in the UK, while service and utilitarian-oriented belief systems are characterized as a market model and are typically found in the US.

China can be seen to be in transition from state control to a supervisory model, and from a hierarchical mode to a procedural mode (Eriksson et al., 2000). Specifically, China has experienced a decentralizing process from the central government taking all control and

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<sup>31</sup> I acknowledge academic freedom is a quite distinctive issue in the two nations as well but I won't discuss this here. Academic freedom is a complex issue in China.

full responsibility for HE, to distributing power and responsibilities to provincial governments and universities. Provincial governments share more authority and responsibilities for the supervising and financing of universities located within their administrative scopes. University governance has transferred from a government-controlled or state-authority model to government supervised model (M. Li & Yang, 2014). In this process, universities have gained more autonomy, as well as experiencing increased demands to be accountable. Often more demands for accountability accompany the granting of autonomy. Here M. Li and Yang (2014) point out the relationship between greater autonomy and more centralised accountability demands. Although Chinese universities have autonomy and freedom to some degree, the main overall control still remains with the central government, including the appointments of presidents and party secretaries, political ideological education, evaluation, regulations and funding. It means that Chinese universities are in a very different position in relation to the greater independence/autonomy exercised by Australian universities. Chinese universities might be seen to be positioned in a kind of semi-independence model (M. Li & Yang, 2014). So HE in China is in a transition phase and located somewhere between the two models.

Australian HE can be regarded as having a state supervising model, and as being “steered at a distance” (Kickert, 1995). The Australian federal government has significant financial and policy responsibility for HE, while State and Territory governments retain some legislative responsibility, sometimes also involving targeted funding, and have responsibility for making some appointments to university senates, which oversee the governance and workings of individual universities. Australian universities are self-governed and have more freedom and autonomy regarding their own business than universities in China. In a study comparing the institutional autonomy in 45 states and countries in respect of HE, McDaniel (1996) concluded that Australia was a decentralized nation in respect of institutional autonomy. Lazzeretti and Tavoletti (2006) introduced four main governance models (collegium, bureaucratic-oligarchic, market and new managerialism) and identified that Australian universities were in the new managerialism governance model, which was described as involving loose procedural control and tight substantive control within a service belief system. Australian universities have an entrepreneurial spirit and enjoy huge procedural freedom. Procedural freedom means the freedom of alternative ways of functioning and more freedom of choice. Combined with the models mentioned above, it can be regarded as a steering at a distance mode with a relatively strong market orientation.



State-university relationships continue to change over time. Globalization has accelerated the changes, reforms and restructuring in the HE sector. The ideological shift to neoliberalism has been seen in HE governance. As one of three trends proposed by Marginson (2016b), quasi-market principles have been advocated and become prevalent in the HE sector, as well as business operation and corporate management techniques (I. Austin & G. Jones, 2015). Along with neoliberalism, changes in administrative practices like emerging managerialism and new public management have been adopted by universities, including Australian universities. With these changes, globalization has resulted in the common trend that the role of government is reduced, while the role of the market is increasing. However, there would be slight differences between nations depending on the country and its history, traditions, and specific circumstances, especially for developing countries in transition like China.

Due to the history and culture of Confucianism and collectivism, China's HE governance has experienced a slower transition from centralization to decentralization and marketization. K.-h. Mok (2005) concluded this transition as the shift from "interventionist state model" to the "accelerationist state model" and pointed out that the state was not reduced, but strengthened its capacity by adopting the marketization and privatization of HE in China's unique political cultural context. Traditionally, Australian HE entailed a more academic oligarchy with some state authority; there has since been a move away from academic oligarchy, but with a move to market state accountability demands.

Consequently, state-authority has been reasserted, but now works in different ways.

Australia has experienced increased government intervention through new legislation in relation to HE governance (Amaral, Jones, & Karseth, 2002), which can be seen as transitioning from a self-governance mode to more of a steering-at-a-distance mode.

#### **6.2.1.1 Relationships between central/federal government – provincial/state governments.**

Externally, governance in HE in both countries is divided into two levels – central/federal government and provincial/state governments. There are more responsibilities and duties performed by the Chinese central government than the Australian Federal government in HE policy. In Australia, the Federal government is largely responsible for funding and HE policies and state governments take a more minimal role. In China, the central government also takes responsibility for funding and HE policies, while the provincial governments are responsible for the implementation of these HE policies. According to *The National Outline for Medium and Long-term Educational Reform and Development (2010-2020)*, "more

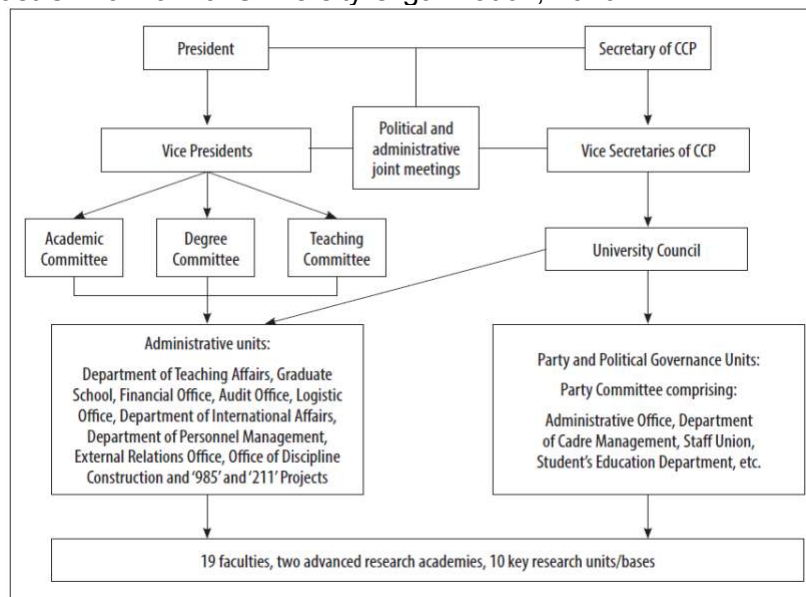
efforts shall be made to further intensify, within a province, the coordination of education of all levels by the provincial government” (State Council, 2011). Additionally, “[t]he local government is responsible for the implementation of national policies, the development of education reform experiments, and for local education reform, development and stability according to the division of responsibilities” (State Council, 2011). So specifically, the provincial and local governments coordinate the overall development of HE within their respective administrative areas, develop the regional HE development plan, manage provincial HE institutions, independent colleges and private universities in accordance with the laws, provide the examination and approval of some higher vocational schools, and carry out the laws, administrative regulations, rules, related decisions and orders by the Central Government (British Council, 2013). Moreover, there are various types of universities in China due to the different management relationships. Some universities are directly under the single leadership and management of the central government or the provincial governments, while some universities have been created and are managed by both the central government and provincial government. With these joint arrangements, these universities are funded by both the central government and their provincial governments

### **6.2.2 University governance, autonomy and accountability.**

Simply, university governance means the way universities are organized, operated and managed. There are detailed descriptions in regulations and laws that rule the board organization structure and responsibilities and duties in respect of university governance in both countries (e.g., university acts in Australia and the HE Law 1998 in China). In the Chinese context, “Presidential responsibility under the leadership of the party committee of the CCP” (党委领导下的校长负责制) is the governance mechanism in Chinese universities (applied in all kinds of HEIs in China actually) ruled by the *Law for Higher Education*. It means that the universities are governed by presidents who are appointed by the party committee of CCP. The president takes overall responsibility for the university’s teaching, scientific research and other administrative work, while the party committee of CCP is the governing board of the universities. As the quote above notes, presidential responsibility sits under the leadership of the institutional party committee. The university council in Chinese universities is regarded as a consulting and deliberative organization under the leadership of Secretary of CCP.

This is very different from the situation in Australian universities and their relationships with government and political parties. Take, for example, the differences in university governance practices between the East China Normal University (ECNU) (see Figure 6.1) and The University of Queensland (see Figure 6.2). In the Chinese case, the clear bilateral leadership system can be seen in the organizational structure. There are different committees and units under each. Connections can be made in several links (see Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1 The East China Normal University Organization, 2010.

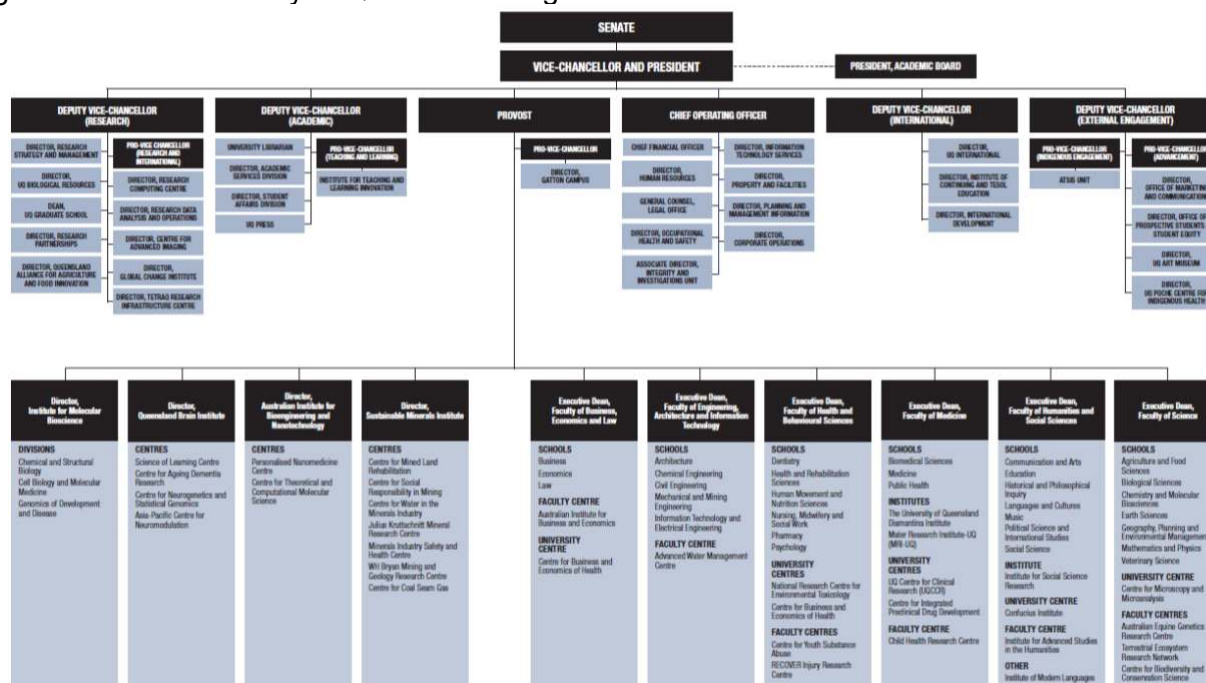


Source: Adapted from M. Li and Yang (2014, p. 33).

Unlike in China, there is no unified form of university governance structure in Australia ruled by the Federal Government; this is due to the historical consistency of efforts to foster autonomous management. The Federal Government just expects institutions to review their own organisational and management systems in terms of the corporate model, including “strong managerial modes of operation”, “maximum flexibility” in policy innovation, “streamlined decision making processes”, training, and shorter lags between decisions and implementation (Dawkins, 1987, pp. 47, 51; 1988, pp. 101-104). Normally, the governance system within Australian universities consists of a Vice-Chancellor (“Chief Executive Officer”), Chancellor (non-executive head) and University Council or Senate (governing body). The state government is represented on each University Council, representing the state government legislative role in the system. This governance structure shows the principle of attempting to balance the public interest and academic interest of the university by using corporate governance mechanisms (I. Austin & G. Jones, 2015).

If we take The University of Queensland as an example of the Australian approach (see Figure 6.2), and according to the description on its official website, The University of Queensland is governed by the Senate, which consists of 22 members. Senate elects the leader of the University – the Chancellor – by itself. The Senate has rights to appoint staff, manage affairs, property and finances of the university. The Vice-Chancellor, acting as the University's chief executive officer, is responsible to the Senate for the overall direction of strategic planning, finance and external affairs. The Vice-Chancellor is supported by an Executive comprising the Provost and six other units (see Figure 6.2). The leaders of each unit are responsible to provide advice on policy and administrative matters within their area of responsibility. The Academic Board acts as senior academic advisory body and consists of broader members from different units and organizations of the university and includes five elected student representatives. The Board is responsible for formulating policy on various academic matters.

Figure 6.2 The University of Queensland Organization.



Source: Issued by the Office of the Chief Operating Officer, December 2016. [www.uq.edu.au/about/docs/org-chart.pdf](http://www.uq.edu.au/about/docs/org-chart.pdf)

When discussing university governance, we cannot avoid the word “autonomy”. Academic freedom and university autonomy are regarded as the tradition and rights of universities in the long history of the institution of the university. Autonomy means the power to govern without controls from outside (P. Altbach et al., 2011). P. Altbach et al. (2011) also discussed three dimensions of autonomy, namely academic freedom, substantive autonomy and procedural autonomy. Academic freedom refers to individual scholars’

freedom in their teaching and research and expression of their views. The latter two concepts define two types of autonomy at the institutional level. Substantive autonomy refers to “the power of university or college in its corporate form to determine its own goals and programs,” while procedural autonomy refers to “the power of the university or college in its corporate form to determine the means by which its goals and programs will be pursued” (P. Altbach et al., 2011, p. 6). Additionally, Ordorika (2003) arranged three analytical components of university autonomy, namely political/appointive autonomy, academic autonomy and financial autonomy (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Three Analytical Components of University Autonomy

Political	Academic/Campus	Financial
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Appointment and dismissal of Rectors, directors, and administrative personnel</li> <li>● Internal conflict resolution</li> <li>● Free speech</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Student access</li> <li>● Faculty hiring</li> <li>● Curriculum and academic programs</li> <li>● Degree requirements</li> <li>● Academic freedom</li> <li>● Free speech</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Funding</li> <li>● Allocation of resources</li> <li>● Accountability</li> <li>● Tuition</li> </ul>

Source: Ordorika (2003, p. 371)

There is government involvement and intervention in the university’s internal governance system in both countries, but in different ways and to different degrees. This also affects the autonomy of universities to varying degrees. In Australia, state governments are represented on each university council, but state governments have relatively little influence. Australian universities have significantly greater freedom and autonomy than those in China. They are self-governing organizations with corporate management structures. A shift towards a corporate managerial approach has been seen in the running of universities in recent years (Meek, 2002). Meek (2002) argued that the shift was encouraged by government policy and because of the demand for diversifying funding. On the contrary, in China, university presidents act as administrators, rather than as professional leaders. They are regarded as the extension of government rather than of the academic body. Presidents in China then are representatives of the government and as a result there is the potential for conflict with the academic culture of the universities. Additionally, Party membership and leadership of the Communist Party are emphasized in university governance (Serger, Benner, & Liu, 2015).

To sum up, in respect of internal university governance, Australian universities are self-governed and enjoy extensive autonomy, while Chinese universities are semi-independent with limited autonomy. In Australia, the university enjoys three levels of autonomy and

have all rights listed in Table 6.2. For example, according to the Queensland parliament's University of Queensland Act 1998<sup>32</sup>, it stipulated that "the university has all the powers of an individual, and may, (a) enter into contracts; and (b) acquire, hold, dispose of, and deal with property; and (c) appoint agents and attorneys; and (d) engage consultants; and (e) fix charges, and other terms, for services and other facilities it supplies; and (f) do anything else necessary or convenient to be done for, or in connection with, its functions" (Article 6) (political and financial freedom); and "the senate has the powers ... (a) to appoint the university's staff; and (b) to manage and control the university's affairs and property; and (c) to manage and control the university's finances" (Article 9) (political, academic and financial freedom). While in China, the universities have appointive, academic and financial autonomy, according to the *HE Law* in 1998, it ruled HEIs' autonomy in eight forms: the status of civil subject and civil rights (political dimension); right to admissions, setting up majors, instruction, conducting research and development and providing social service, conducting international exchanges and cooperation (academic dimension), and right of organizational establishment and personnel including faculty members and administrators and staff (political and academic dimension) and right to use and manage property including infrastructure, public funding and donations (financial dimension) (British Council, 2013). Additionally, HEIs have the right to offer degrees granted by the Education Law and the Regulations on Degrees. However, there are also some limits as they can hire academics and administrators, but the appointment of the president is decided by the Central government. According to Article 39 and Article 40 of the HE Law in 1998, it ruled "the public HEIs carry out the presidential responsibility under the leadership of the party committee of the CCP", "the presidents and vice presidents of universities and colleges shall be appointed and dismissed in accordance with the relevant provisions of the state". In fact, the president is an official position (vice-ministerial level) rather than professional position.

Enhanced autonomy comes with more accountability. During the past two decades, no matter the different degrees of autonomy in Chinese and Australian universities, accountability has increased significantly in both nations' HE systems. Accountability means the "requirement to demonstrate responsible actions to external constituencies" (P. Altbach et al., 2011, p. 5). Accountability means either being held to account or giving an account (David, 2007, p. 14; Ranson, 2003) and both of these meanings are used in

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<sup>32</sup> It needs to be acknowledged that in the Australian context that universities historically (apart from ANU) were established under State Acts of Parliament. In 1974 the federal government "took over" universities from the States and Territories in funding and policy terms.

respect of accountability in HE systems. Eriksson et al. (2000) observed the paradox of increasing autonomy and greater accountability for Chinese universities, which limits the autonomy granted by the government. This means although Chinese universities have gained administrative autonomy to some degree, the increasing financial pressures and other modes of accountability restrict the universities and academics from being more self-governing (M. Li & Yang, 2014).

### **6.2.3 HE finance in the context of globalization and marketization.**

#### **6.2.3.1 HE finance.**

The financial aspect of HE is also a substantial and complex topic. It involves many aspects of HE, including in relation to quality, efficiency and access. In this section, I discuss the ways of financing HE in the two nations. The resources for HE funding have become increasingly diverse over the last several decades. With the decline of public HE funding, universities are forced to find funds from sources other than governments. Bok quotes the assertion that “the recent wave of entrepreneurial [commercial] behaviour is a response to the reductions in government support for HE that began in the 1970s” (Bok, 2009, p. 8). While Bok was writing about the USA, his observation has wider applicability. Funding issues also affect the overall power balance of institutions (Dobbins et al., 2011). University autonomy can be protected and enhanced by diversifying funding sources (Goedegebuure & Vught, 1994), but there are possibly other types of constraints when accepting private funding for universities. We also need to acknowledge that private funding is of various kinds.

The Chinese HE finance system has transformed from singly depending on governmental funding to diversifying and drawing upon various funding sources including governmental appropriations, tuition and other fees from students, private support and other resources. China’s HE system has shifted from a free education system to a cost-sharing system since 1989. Australia has had periods of free HE (1974-1990), but returned to a “user pays” approach with a deferred payment mechanism in 1991. Besides, as mentioned in Chapter Four, full-fee overseas student charges were introduced in 1980 in Australia (Marginson, 1993). In a sense, “foreign aid” was replaced by a “trade” focus in HE policy. There is also a strong economic imperative to HE in Australia; unlike China, international education is the third largest export industry in Australia, behind only iron ore and coal (Universities Australia, 2017a). This means the fees charged from international students constitute a considerable income to universities and colleges, and the economic multiplier effects of

students studying, working and living in Australia are substantial. Phillimore and Koshy (2010) investigated the economic value and implication of international HE students on Australia and figured out that their total value added amount is \$9.15 billion (\$3.5 billion to the education sector and \$5.7 billion to the rest of the economy), which was equivalent to around 0.76% of GDP (\$1.2 trillion in 2008-9).

Table 6.3 below shows the diverse sources of income in the HE sectors in the two nations in 2014. The public funding in the two nations was around 60% and tuition fees and charges were the second largest source of income for HE institutions. Individually, the situation varies across different universities in Australia as the percentages of international students in different universities are also distinctive (see Table 6.4) (Hare, 2017). There are, in the Australian HE context, big differences between the extent of dependence on public funding between different universities.

Table 6.3 HE Income in Different Sectors in Australia and China (2014)

	China (RMB)		Australia (AUD)		
总结 Total	256,135,196	Percentage	Total Revenues from Continuing Operations	27,751,858	Percentage
国家财政性教育经费 government budgetary funds for education	163,979,125	64.02%	Australian Government Financial Assistance	16,122,688	58.10%
捐赠收入 Donation income	2,106,414	0.82%	State and Local Government Financial Assistance	574,921	2.07%
事业收入 Business income	7,1547,862	27.93%	Upfront Student Contributions	565,127	2.04%
学费 Tuition	27,862,999	10.88%	Fees and Charges	6,342,162	22.85%
其他教育经费 Other education funds	18,501,795	7.22%	Investment Income	1,060,803	3.82%
			Consultancy and Contracts	1,162,734	4.19%
			Other Income	1,793,668	6.46%

Source: MOE, China and Department of Education and Training, Australia



Table 6.4 International Students as a Proportion of All Onshore Students in HE, by University, 2015

University	Percentage	University	Percentage
Federation University Australia	42.50%	Griffith University	17.30%
Bond University	41.30%	Queensland University of Technology	16.80%
The University of Melbourne	31.20%	Deakin University	16.30%
The Australian National University (Multi-State)	28.00%	University of South Australia	16.10%
University of Sydney	27.00%	University of Southern Queensland	15.90%
The University of New South Wales	26.60%	The University of Western Australia	15.50%
Monash University	26.40%	Swinburne University of Technology	15.40%
University of Technology Sydney	26.30%	Charles Sturt University	14.90%
RMIT University	25.20%	Edith Cowan University	14.30%
The University of Queensland	24.90%	University of Tasmania	12.60%
The University of Adelaide	24.40%	Murdoch University	12.60%
University of Wollongong	23.70%	University of the Sunshine Coast	12.60%
Central Queensland University	23.40%	Flinders University	11.60%
Macquarie University	20.90%	Southern Cross University	11.00%
Charles Darwin University	20.70%	The University of Newcastle	10.50%
University of Canberra	20.40%	Australian Catholic University	10.20%
Victoria University	20.40%	Western Sydney University	10.10%
La Trobe University	19.50%	Torrens University Australia, Limited	9.00%
Total	19.20%	University of Divinity	7.70%
James Cook University	18.90%	The University of New England	4.80%
WA Curtin University of Technology	18.60%	The University of Notre Dame Australia	2.10%

Source: *The Department of Education and Training, HE Student Statistics Full Year 2015*

Dobbins et al. (2011) designed a set of analytical frameworks for cross-country comparisons, among which they distinguished diverse HE funding mechanisms in three university governance models (state-centred model, market-oriented model and academic self-governance model). China is more closely aligned to state-centred models and Australia is more closely aligned to market-oriented models. According to Dobbins' and colleagues' argument on the funding methods (who pays, and how funds are made available), in respect of the main funding base, the state-centred model (China) is dependent upon funding derived mainly from state budgets, and university budgets are an integral part of the state, while funding from more market-oriented models (Australia) is derived from competitive and diversified sources (including tuition fees/donations/research grants/private entities/other state entities). In relation to state funding approaches, funds in state-centred models (China) are itemised and entail low budgetary discretion for universities, while market-oriented models (Australia) provide a lump sum with high budgetary discretion for university management (Dobbins et al., 2011, p. 676) and allow and enable universities to seek funding from private sources.

### **6.2.3.2 Globalization, neoliberalism and marketization.**

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Marginson (2016b) argued three trends were dominant in HE worldwide in the context of globalization: growth in participation towards mass HE; spread of research capacity within a one-world science system with English as its *lingua franca*; and restructuring and new management practices through quasi-business organizational structures and practices. These trends can be seen in most nations' HE systems, including those in Australia and China. The three tendencies have generated a series of changes and shifts, for example, marketization of HE, market-oriented and new management modes of governance, decline of the direct governance and public funding in the university sector and pursuit of WCUs. As Yang (2006) noted, the principle that globalization is characterised by ongoing tensions between global commonalities and context-specific differences means there are complex and even contradictory national and local mediations of global policy trends. One of the contradictions is the paradoxical mixture of deregulation and regulation of HE that is advocated by neoliberal policies, and these tensions have raised questions about the autonomy of universities and academics (Ordorika, 2003). For example, Yang, Vidovich, and Currie (2007) used the metaphor "dancing in a cage" to express the "regulated autonomy" in China's HE governance.

In Australia, marketization and commercialization of HE have come since the introduction of full fee paying overseas students from the early 1990s (Mazzarol & Hosie, 1996). Marginson (2002) concluded that Australian public universities have faced three crises in the context of globalization since the end of 1980s, namely a crisis of global position and global strategy, crisis of government commitment in terms of public funding, and crisis of academic identity. These three crises suggested the effects and results of globalization and neoliberalism on the public university sector. Australian universities always had strong international connections, but globalization has deepened and strengthened such engagement. As a nation on the American periphery, it calls for a new and specialized global strategy to compete in the globalizing HE market to respond to the first crisis. The second crisis is partially due to the new managerialism now dominant in university governance, the neoliberal reduction of public funding in the university sector (move to more user-pays), as well as the marketization of HE since the mid-1980s, which together have challenged academic freedom (Marginson, 1997). The third crisis lies at the institutional level. External marketization has resulted in the internal corporatisation of the university system and cultures. Commercial operations and business forms of organization

have spread rapidly in Australian universities. Set against that context, Marginson argues that, “[a]cademic identity must be at the heart of any strategy for handling the global environment” (Marginson, 2002, p. 423). However, the tensions between academic cultures and corporate management cultures has weakened or challenged academic identity and thus ultimately in the longer term will weaken the capacity of universities (Marginson, 2002).

#### **6.2.4 Summary comparative analysis.**

Here I summarise similarities and distinctions between the two HE systems in the two countries with a particular focus on governance. First, the HE systems in both countries are similar in definitional terms: both consist of vocational education, colleges and universities and provide bachelors, masters and doctoral degree education, as well as conducting research.

Second, the relationship between government and university is looser in Australia than in China and Australian universities enjoy more autonomy and institutional power than Chinese universities. However, changes in this respect have been different in the two nations: China has experienced decentralization and marketization in university governance and Chinese universities have gained more and more freedom and autonomy, while Australia has experienced increased intervention and regulations in university governance, which has seen Australia university governance transfer from a self-governance mode to more of a government steering at a distance approach.

Third, as to university internal governance, Australian universities use more business-oriented management mechanisms. Also, although state governments are represented on university councils, they are not in a dominant position. They are just members of university councils and have equal rights and obligations with other members such as student representatives and academic representatives. Decision-making is based on democratic discussion and negotiation. It can be described as a self-governance model with corporate managerialism. In contrast, China has relatively strict political and ideological control in relation to internal university governance and thus broad policy settings are laid down and legitimated external to the university. The party committee of CCP is in charge in Chinese universities and monitors the day-to-day affairs of the academy. Political and administrative factors dominate in university governance. Chinese universities have limited academic freedom and autonomy, which can be seen as reflective of a more semi-independence model and of the nature of the broader single

party political regime. Chinese universities have greater procedural autonomy, but narrow substantive autonomy, while Australian universities have both greater procedural autonomy and substantive autonomy.

Fourth, with the increase in the participation in HE since the late 1980s in both nations, a fee-sharing HE funding system was (re)introduced, and has increased in significance. The resources of HE funding have become increasingly diverse in the two nations. Specifically, the full-fee paying international HE is an important source of revenue for universities in Australia. Given ongoing government funding pressures on universities across recent years in Australia, funding associated with full fee-paying international students has become very important for Australian HE. Internationalization is situated very differently in the Chinese HE context, where government funding has been increasing and where funds from international students play a minimal financial role.

The identified different characteristics in HE governance in the two nations can be regarded as the background and context for policy making and practice. Under the broad context of globalization, the common world trends and these characteristics are factors that affect each nation and they react in both similar and different ways in dealing with IHE.

Next, I will move to a comparative analysis in respect of the three types of policies in accord with the approach used in the previous two chapters. First, national rationales, objectives and strategic priorities are stated in meta-policies, which are the macro lens and give a general and broader image about how governments have acted in relation to the IHE in the form of policy. Second, the meso-lens of IHE in institutional level policies about how universities construct competition and conduct cooperation across nations under the globalization context are compared between Australia and China. Third, the micro-lens of IHE, at the personal level, policies on two-way people mobility – outflow and inflow – incoming international students and students learning abroad, are compared between the two countries.

### **6.3 Macro-Lens: National Rationales, Objectives and Strategic Priorities.**

Overarching meta-policy refers to the central policy that offers guidelines, targets and orientation for specific policies at lower levels of governance. This particularly applies in the Chinese context. In the Australian political context, meta-policies are the broader strategic policies for higher education set by the federal government. In the Australian context there is a very limited role for state and territory governments in higher education

policy. This has been the case since 1974, when the Whitlam federal government (1972-1975) took over funding of the universities from the states and territories.

### 6.3.1 Overview of the two nations' overarching meta-policies.

From the selected meta-policies, it is clear that it is common for nations to adopt short-term, mid-term and long-term policies based on different issues<sup>33</sup>. The different timeframes of policies can help governments deal with dynamic developments and progressive realization of goals. In the previous two chapters (Chapter 4 and Chapter 5), I introduced and analysed the selected meta-policies in the two nations separately. Here, comparison is made in relation to each of these three categories with six selected meta-policies in each nation.

### 6.3.2 Rationales, objectives and strategic priorities.

Policy is normally regarded, within rationalist traditions, as the statement of government intentions about an imagined future so such a rationale can be clearly identified in each of the meta-policies. As well, expected objectives are normally explained in each policy document. Strategic priorities, which mean the strategic focus in a given period, are seen in policies as specific targets, especially in short-term policies.

The selected six meta-policies (see Table 6.5), classified into long-term (*National Strategy for International Education 2015-2025* and *Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan 2010-2020*), mid-term (*National Educational Development: Twelfth Five-year Plan* and *Australia – Educating Globally*) and short-term (*The Review of Australian Higher Education 2008* and *Priority Work of the MOE 2013*) categories, state the discourses of rationale, objectives and main tasks separately which are emphasized in different dimensions.

Table 6.5 The Collection of Six Selected Meta-Policies

Acronym	Year	Nation	Term	Full name
ONMLERDP	2011	China	long	Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)
NSIE	2016	Australia	long	National Strategy for International Education
NEDTFP	2012	China	mid	National Educational Development: Twelfth Five-year Plan
AEG	2013	Australia	mid	Australia – Educating Globally
PWME	2013	China	short	Priority Work of the MOE 2013
RAHE	2008	Australia	short	The Review of Australian Higher Education 2008

Next I will draw upon an NVivo analysis of the above policies. This NVivo approach has been outlined in the methodology chapter (Chapter 3). The numbers in Table 6.6 below refer to the number of times specific content (rationale, objectives and main tasks) appear

<sup>33</sup> Short term policy refers to 1-year policy, mid-term policy refers to 4 to 5-year policy and long term policy refers to 10-year policy.

in the above policy documents. Within NVivo, these are called Reference Numbers. In the table below, the frequency of the key terms is greater in short-term policies (25) than in long-term (9) and mid-term policies (8). It shows short-term policies in both countries focus much more on implementation and set more specific tasks than do mid- and long-term policies. Overall references across the three categories – rationales, objectives and main tasks – are much greater in Australian policy texts (6, 16, and 37) than in Chinese policy texts (3, 8, and 5). A possible explanation of this situation in relation to China is that meta-policies at the national level tend to be quite abstract and general so as to allow space for implementation at the provincial and institutional levels. In respect of rationale, economic words or sentences (10) are more frequently used than other types in Australian policy texts, while there are more social words and sentences (8) used in the Chinese texts. The table reveals the different foci and rationales in the two countries. Economic dimensions are dominant in all types of Australia meta-policies but are less evident in Chinese meta-policies.

Table 6.6 Reference Number of Rationale, Objectives and Main Tasks in Meta-Policies, By Period and By Nation

	Long term policy	Mid-term policy	Short term policy	Chinese policy	Australian policy
<b>Rationale</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
Social	3	6	2	8	3
Political	1	2	1	1	3
Economic	2	8	4	4	10
Cultural	0	1	2	1	2
<b>Objectives</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>16</b>
Social	2	1	2	3	2
Political	2	0	6	3	5
Economic	5	5	4	2	12
Cultural	0	3	2	3	2
<b>Main tasks</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>37</b>
Social	2	5	5	4	8
Political	9	11	16	17	19
Economic	8	9	11	5	23
Cultural	7	5	7	8	11

Source: Generated by NVivo.

From the NVivo analysis, several key concepts and thematic distinctions are evident in the meta-policies of the two countries. The analysis below indicates significant themes within the data. Each of the terms refers to the dominant theme in each national context. The most dominant discourse or the most frequently used words in the Chinese context pertain to “openness”; in Australia, the most dominant term is “sustainability”. Furthermore, two

additional sets of themes are evident within the data. In Australia, the second relates to Australia as a “competitor” in the international student HE market; in the Chinese context, the notion of “reference societies” is clearly noticeable. Finally, a third set of themes is evident; in China, the notion of “soft power” is a key theme, while notions of Australia as occupying a “leading position” in a global HE market are important. Each of these comparative themes will be dealt with in the following sections.

### **6.3.2.1 Openness versus sustainability.**

Openness dominates the Chinese rationale in internationalization policies, evident in calls to “raise the level of educational openness” (提高教育开放水平), to “become more open” (更加开放) and “Expanding educational openness” (扩大教育开放) (ONMLERDP, 2011).

Openness has been a central concept in China since the time of Deng Xiao Ping in terms of politics and China’s place in the world. It thus has been a political concept or discourse. In relation to university policy, openness refers to the necessity to make linkages between Chinese universities and their research and teaching with such research going on outside China, and also encouraging the outflow of Chinese students and researchers to universities for research and study external to China, and of an inflow of researchers and students to China. It implies that there is limited openness in current Chinese HE and China as being in transition to more global engagement aimed at enhancing its influence and power worldwide.

Sustainability/sustainable development and growth in HE is the key issue in Australian policy documents. This pertains to sustainability of the HE international market share. As discussed in Chapter 5 and earlier in this chapter, the tuition fees from international students are vital constituent parts of Australian universities’ revenue, and their rising importance is set against the relative decline of public funding for universities.

### **6.3.2.2 Reference society versus competitor.**

There are important differences in the nature of discourses pertaining to attitudes towards other nations in the HE policies of China and Australia. Australia regards other nations as competitors in the market and states the necessity to know about them. For example, it is expressed in the *National strategy for international education* that “we must be conscious of what our competitors are doing, particularly what they are doing better than us” (NSIE, 2016). In the Chinese case, reference is made to learning from other nations’ advanced and successful experience and ideas. For example, in the *Outline of the National Medium*

*and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan*, there is support for “drawing on international advanced educational concepts and educational experience” (借鉴国际上先进的教育理念和教育经验) (ONMLERDP, 2011). There is also an emphasis upon the need to provide international aid for developing countries. For example, “We will increase international aid for education and train special personnel for developing countries” (加大教育国际援助力度, 为发展中国家培养培训专门人才) (ONMLERDP, 2011). This is a soft power approach. These differences of approaches between the two nations also reflect the different stages of development of the IHE in the two.

### **6.3.2.3 Soft power versus leading position in the global market.**

Relevant Chinese policies also focus upon the soft power and influence of Chinese culture. This is evident, for example, in an emphasis upon “enhancing the cultural soft power and the influence of Chinese culture” (增强我国文化软实力和中华文化影响) (NEDTFP, 2012). The history of international education development is still relatively short in China. International education in China needs further development; it is less important as a Chinese export industry, particularly when compared with Australia. As a nation experiencing rapid development, the Chinese economy has become the second biggest economy globally since 2010. In that context, China is eager to expand its influence in other aspects, particularly its soft power through a focus on culture. Conversely, Australia aims to maintain its relatively strong position in the international HE market. There is a focus upon the need to “ensure Australia remains a leader in the provision of education services to overseas students” (NSIE, 2016). This relates to the first-mover advantage, but also the disadvantages of being in the vanguard of internationalization in the HE industry. Australia has occupied relatively more market share in the global market after a long history and development of providing international education, but policies suggest it needs to confront the challenges resulting from more and more nations seeking to expand into this arena, including China.

The NVivo analysis also allows us to determine words most frequently used in the policies. In the policy texts, some words have a particularly high frequency. In Australian policy texts, the words “market”, “supplier”, “offshore”, and “competitors” appear repeatedly. For example, it is important to “market Australia as a supplier of high quality education and continue to build its core markets ... with emerging markets and increased offshore delivery” (AEG, 2013, p. 61). These words, sentences and broader vocabulary are mostly



from the world of business, and show the influence of economic thinking, and reinforce a more commercial and market-aware orientation in IHE.

In contrast, highly frequent words appearing in relevant Chinese policy texts are “特色”(Characteristics), “人才”(talents), “水平”(level), “现代化”(modernization), “示范性”(Demonstration) and so on. These politicized terms are common among not only political documents, but also in cognate speeches of officers and politicians.

At the same time, there are some common words appearing in the two nations' documents, such as “cross cultural communication” and “跨文化交流”, and “university collaboration” and “大学合作”. These words are expressed in similar ways within the two nations' meta-policies.

### **6.3.3 Summary of comparison of overarching meta-policies.**

To sum up, in meta-policies, there are more specific main tasks stated in the short-term policies than in long-term and mid-term policies in both nations. The differences in meta-policies of the two countries in IHE are as follows:

*(1) Degree of detail of text.* In text discourse, Australian policies and documents can be seen as more detailed than Chinese ones as a whole. Looking through the content, Australian policies have more details, often including contextual information in relation to these issues, future strategies, key issues needing discussion and recommendations for future work. A lot of data and analysis on the current situation of HE or international education is provided. The lack of detail in the Chinese context is reflective of a desire to allow for situated mediation of the policies at provincial governance and institutional levels.

*(2) Importance of international (higher) education.* Three Chinese meta-policies (ONMLERDP, 2011; NEDTFP, 2011; PWME, 2013) are comprehensive, which include all levels and various issues in education. However, international HE is not central in these policies and is just one part of them. In contrast, two out of three Australian meta-policies (NSIE, 2016; AEG, 2013) are focused on international (higher) education. Even as comprehensive meta-policies, the content of international HE is also one important theme in the *Review of Australian Higher Education* (RAHE, 2008). The other two meta-policies (AEG, 2013; NSIE, 2016) focus exclusively on international (higher) education. This situation indicates the different degree of importance of international (higher) education in the two nations.

(3) *Degree of democratic consultation.* Unlike Chinese documents and policies, Australian documents indicate multiple producers of policies. In China, the Department of Education, sometimes allied with other government departments, is responsible for the policymaking in international HE. The three Chinese meta-policies selected here have been produced separately by the State Council and Department of Education, which is under the leadership of the State Council (mid-term and short-term policies). However, in the processes of policymaking, there are also diverse forms of public opinion-seeking entities, both online and via physical forums. The three Australian meta-policies are made by different entities (Commonwealth, State and Territory Governments, International Education Advisory Council and Universities Australia), which involve not only the government departments, but also independent HE industry organizations like Universities Australia.

(4) *Different focus and rationale.* Economic dimensions dominate in all types of Australian meta-policies, but are less evident in Chinese meta-policies. For example, as to the content of rationales in these policies, economic words or sentences are most evident in Australian policy texts, while more social words and sentences are more evident in Chinese meta-policy texts.

#### **6.4 Meso-Level Policies: Collaboration and Competition in Universities**

This section provides a policy comparison in relation to IHE in meso-level policies, namely the comparison of policies at an institutional level. Thus, the section does not deal with researcher to researcher collaborations. The Table 6.7 below lists the four policies to be analysed. The two main aspects of response to IHE at the institutional level are cooperation with international universities and competition between international universities.

Table 6.7 List of Four Selected Institution Focused Policies

<b>Acronym</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Nation</b>	<b>Full name</b>
CDWUFDOP	2015	China	Coordinate Development of World Class Universities and First-Class Disciplines Overall Program
UR	2014	Australia	University Research: Policy Considerations to Drive Australia's Competitiveness
RCFCRS	2003	China	Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools
ANQSATET	2005	Australia	A National Quality Strategy for Australian Transnational Education and Training

#### 6.4.1 Collaboration in “running” universities.

Collaboration is addressed in both nations’ policy texts in relation to the purposes of internationalizing HE. There are various forms of collaboration, including collaboration in running universities. In the Chinese context, “running” is used to refer to cooperation and collaboration between Chinese and non-Chinese universities, most typically at the program and degree level, rather than administration of the entire university.

Usually, this kind of collaboration is called cooperation in running schools (of various types and at various levels) in China, while in Australia, one main form of this kind of collaboration in international education is Australian universities’ offshore programs or forms of transnational HE provision. In China’s case, Chinese-Foreign cooperation in running schools (CFCRS) refers to cooperation between foreign educational institutions and Chinese educational institutions in establishing educational institutions within Chinese territory to provide education services mainly to Chinese citizens (Article 2, RCFCRS, 2003), for example, through joint programs. The case I discuss here is limited to HE, so “schools” here refers to universities and colleges. Transnational HE refers to the provision of HE to international students by Australian institutions offshore. For example, an Australian university may have campuses in one or more countries outside Australia, or offer courses via distance education, online learning or correspondence. International students may be enrolled at a campus located outside Australia for the entire duration of their qualification, or for just a part (e.g., a semester or less) (DET, 2016). Transnational HE involves all sectors of education through the international branch campus, transnational joint ventures (partnership with local providers) and twinning programs<sup>34</sup> (ANQSATET, 2005).

There are several differences between the two nations in relation to collaboration as follows:

*Purposes and interests.* The reasons for cooperation in running universities/transnational HE in the two nations are different. Chinese cooperation in running universities with foreign countries is adopted for the public interest, while Australian transnational HE is often expressed as part of the export industry of international education, and mainly pursued for economic benefits.

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<sup>34</sup> Twinning programs refer to spending partial years of the whole qualification studying at home and in the overseas institutions separately to gain a degree.

To be specific, CFCRS is conceptualized as a component of public welfare and is regarded as a part of Chinese education activity. It is not for profit. In the regulation, it is clearly stated that “Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools is an undertaking beneficial to the public interest and forms a component of China's educational cause” (Article 3, RCFCRS, 2003). It aims to bring more high quality education resources into China, strengthen international exchange and cooperation in education, and benefit individual students and community, as well as the Chinese HE system. Moreover, according to “Implementation Methods for Regulations of the People’s Republic of China on Sino–Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools (hereafter referred as the ‘Implementation Methods’),” the detailed objectives of CFCRS include to cooperate with prestigious foreign HEIs that have high quality resources and excellent academic capabilities in newly emerging subjects and sectors in urgent need in China’s western provinces and remote underdeveloped regions (Qin, 2009). In the Australian case, there is an emphasis upon the economic aspect of transnational HE contributions to the Australia economy, even as there is also mention of the social and cultural benefits. As expressed in the document *A National Quality Strategy for Australian Transnational Education and Training*, transnational HE has “individual and community benefits”; it helps to strengthen Australian “democracy and multiculturalism” and “relationships with other countries” and enhances international recognition and reputation of Australia as a high quality education provider (ANQSATET, 2005).

Education in China is still regarded as a public good or quasi-public good, and differs from the concept of HE thought of simply as a “market product and trade service” as conceptualized in Western developed nations, including Australia, where neoliberalism has had more powerful effects to date. These differing perceptions relate to the degree of marketization of HE in the two countries. The public university sector in Australia is highly marketized (see 6.2.3), while the degree of marketization of Chinese public universities is relatively low. China has experienced an “institutional transition” which, in this context, refers to the transition from a highly centralized planning economic system to a more (socialist) market economy (P. Li, 1997). Chinese education has not yet fully adopted a market-oriented approach, though China has become aware that the introduction of marketization mechanisms into the university sector could be a way to improve its efficiency and effectiveness, as understood within increasing trends towards marketization of HE around the globe. This situation implies potential ideological conflict between socialism and a market economy in the Chinese context (K. H. Mok, 2000a). The

requirement of “non-profit making” is one manifestation of this kind of conflict (K. H. Mok & Chan, 1996). As K. H. Mok (2000a) puts it, “trying to uphold the socialist ideal in order that the legitimacy of the CCP would be maintained, the CCP has tried very hard to protect this last ‘battle-field’ of socialism—public education” (p. 123). So how to balance the interests between China and foreign countries becomes an issue. In relation to collaborative processes, it is probably not practical to ask the cooperative foreign HEIs to pursue the public interest of China, which may be contrary to their own values (Iftekhar & Kayombo, 2016). The majority of HE nation-state providers, such as Australia, come to the Chinese market to expand their domestic HE markets; in this scenario, cosponsored programs become part of the educational trade services provided in the pursuit of profit-making (Zhang, 2009).

*Roles and status.* Regarding co-sponsored education resources and programs, China is largely an education importing country and Australia is an education exporting country. The CFCRS is operated within Chinese territory. By 2013, there were 450,000 students in HE and more than 1,500,000 graduates from CFCRS (JSJ, 2013). By May 2015, there were nearly 600 Chinese colleges and universities working with more than 400 foreign HEIs from 25 countries and regions, and a total of 2,058 joint programs and joint institutes (DET, 2015a). While Australia is a leader in the international HE market, it is also a “mature party” in delivering transnational HE and training services overseas. There were 363,298 international students studying in Australian HEIs in 2015 and just over a quarter of these were enrolled in offshore programs, and a further 13,537 were offshore distance education students ((DET, 2016). In first half of 2017, the number of international students studying in Australia hit 685,000 (Hare, 2017). In 2014, there were 821 offshore programs offered by Australian universities, with programs offered for between six months and five years. The vast majority of these providers function under partnerships with international HEIs and there are 31 offshore Australian university campuses (Universities Australia, 2014a).

*Content and degree.* China’s CFCRS have more degrees and subjects involved than Australian transnational HE programs. Australian offshore programs are focused on undergraduate courses and there are also some postgraduate coursework options (Universities Australia, 2014a). In 2015, these Australian offshore programs included Bachelor’s programs (66.9%) and Master’s coursework programs (20.1%), but no PhD programs. Among international students, the most popular fields were Management and Commerce (58.5%), Engineering and Related Technologies (8.9%), Society and Culture

(7.8%), Information Technology (6.4%) and Health (5.3%) (DET, 2016). The majority of CFCRS programs in 2015 were undergraduate courses (2000), although Master's programs (40), as well as some PhD programs (8), were also offered. This included 200 courses across 12 major disciplines, including science, engineering, agriculture, medicine, as well as humanities and social sciences (DET, 2015a).

*Focus on regulations.* In both countries, there are rules and regulations for recipients and deliverers of HE. However, the policies in each country have different foci. Australia has an integrated quality system; one of its four principles in its relevant policy document is to “ensure that Australia’s quality assurance framework is well understood and well regarded within Australia and internationally” (ANQSATET, 2005). The foci lie in two key areas, namely improving communication and promotion of the Australian Quality Framework (AQF) to all Australian and international stakeholders, and strengthening the national quality framework including regulatory and non-regulatory activities (ANQSATET, 2005). The quality assurance system is consistent nationally and internationally in Australia, including both onshore and offshore. The AQF is applied throughout Australia and also to transnational education. As for the onshore HE programs, the offshore programs also have strict accreditation requirements at the stage of establishment, and continuous audit and reports on quality assurance by the Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA) – an independent, not-for-profit national agency that reports on a five-yearly cycle. AUQA audits are seen as important tools for public confidence in Australian HE: “AUQA audits provide public assurance of the quality of providers and encourage a culture of quality and continuous improvement. All audit reports are made publicly available on the AUQA website” (ANQSATET, 2005, p. 37).

China’s quality assurance system in transnational HE is separated from quality processes for domestic HE. First, there are special procedures required for appraisal and approval for the CFCRS institutions and programs. Additionally, there are several strict requirements in Chinese policies regarding cooperation in running universities. In respect of program content, such partnerships cannot offer compulsory education services or special education services like military, police and political education services (Article 6, RCFCRS, 2003), and religious education (Article 7, RCFCRS, 2003). Second, there are four “One Third” rules (refer to 4.4.1), which offer a kind of regulatory regime, required in the operation and management of foreign HE providers. These demand at least one-third of the course content be developed explicitly by the international providers. Third, in relation to organizational management, the Chinese partner should be dominant in leadership and

is required to ensure “the composition of Chinese personnel in the board of directors or the joint management committee shall be not less than half” (理事会、董事会或者联合管理委员会的中方组成人员不得少于二分之一) (Article 21, RCFCRS, 2003). Moreover, the programs and institutions need to be approved by the Ministry of Education (MOE) before their establishment. Although it states in Implementation Methods that “foreign education institutions and their Chinese partners in cosponsored programs shall submit an Annual School Administration Report no later than the end of March to the department in charge of examination and approval, and the report should include key information about students, course schedules, instructor qualifications, quality guarantees, and financial data” (Article 52 and 53, RCFCRS, 2003), there is no effective operation management of CFCRS and their quality assurance throughout the duration of courses (Iftekhhar & Kayombo, 2016). So it can be seen that Australian transnational HE quality control functions more effectively and holistically throughout the whole process as indicated above, while CFCRS quality control in China focuses on the approval and establishment stage of the programs and institutions.

*Language issues.* The language issue exists because the official Chinese language is not English and the government rules that the basic teaching language in universities should be Chinese. For example, in *Regulations of the People’s Republic of China on Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools*, it is noted that “A Chinese-foreign cooperatively-run school may, if necessary, use foreign languages in teaching, but shall use the standard Chinese language and standard Chinese characters as the basic teaching language” (Article 31, RCFCRS, 2003). However, it is ambiguous and paradoxical for foreign universities’ partners to provide international courses in Mandarin. Indeed, in partnership arrangements, often English is the language of instruction.

Australia is one of the leading cooperative program providers in China. According to the official website of Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools<sup>35</sup>, there are 150 MOE approved joint programs at the degree and above level (113 at Bachelor level and 37 at Master’s level) and 6 MOE approved joint institutions, ranking Australia third amongst all foreign provider nations (behind USA’s 244 joint programs and 19 joint institutions, and UK’s 253 joint programs and 20 joint institutions) (JSJ, 2017 ). According to a survey of Australian universities’ offshore programs in 2014, mainland China is one of the top five

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<sup>35</sup> [www.crs.jsj.edu.cn](http://www.crs.jsj.edu.cn)

source countries and regions; 11% of Australia's offshore programs were delivered in China, behind Malaysia (24%) and Singapore (20%) (Universities Australia, 2014a).

#### **6.4.2 Competitiveness and the construction of WCUs.**

The other side of cooperation and collaboration is competition. In the knowledge economy era, research and innovation are seen to be core drivers of economic growth and development. They are beneficial not only to economic growth, but also to social development, as well as human wellbeing. Universities are the main sites where research and innovation are carried out and produced. So, there is increased focus and attention within nations worldwide to invest and strengthen the global research competitiveness of their universities. However, there are different ways to achieve this goal.

First, China has adopted a more focused strategy, emphasizing selected individual institutions over others, while Australia seeks to strengthen the overall HE sector. There are many more universities in China than in Australia, which makes it difficult for China to promote every Chinese university to be a World Class university (concept refers to 4.4.2) as its primary focus. So the strategy adopted by China is to focus resources and funding to construct a specific number of World Class universities. This concept of WCUs has been deconstructed in Chapter 4. In Chapter 4, the detailed projects (*Project 211 and Project 985, Double First-Rate*) were also introduced. Notions of World Class in Australian policy documents are more typically applied to the sector as a whole, even as a highly competitive institutional model in Australia ensures individual institutions are exhorted to be world-class. Unlike China, the concept mostly relates to the HE system, training and research sector as a whole in Australia. At the same time, individual institutions in the Australian HE system aspire to be world-class, and employ this discourse in much of their advertising material. The possible reason for this phenomenon is that Australia already has many WCUs (relative to the size of the sector as a whole). According to the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU), half of Australian public universities are ranked in the top 500 in the world (Hare, 2015).

Second, China has dedicated a large amount of special funds for this purpose of creating WCUs, while Australia's real public funding toward universities remains at relatively similar levels to that of five years ago, and has been cut in relative terms as the size of the sector has increased (Figure 6.4). Federal budgets in Australia since 2014 have actually sought to reduce funding to the university sector. Special funding is injected into Chinese top-tier universities under the *Project 211* and *Project 985*. *Project 985* special funding includes

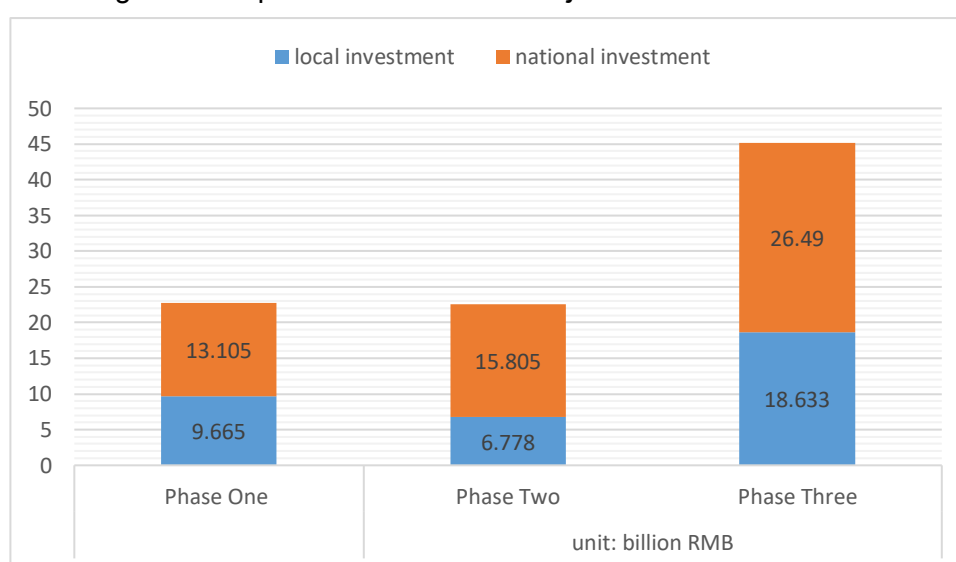


central government special funds, local governments' joint building funds, project universities' departments joint building funds, and project universities' self-financing funds (Article 2, *Special Funds Management Methods for Project 985*). The *Project 211* construction funds are raised jointly by central government, the State Department in charge (MOE), and the local governments and universities. Other, lower-tier universities and colleges not listed in *Project 985* and *Project 211* need to raise most of the funds for scientific research by themselves. During the five years from 2008 to 2013, the research funding of the national HEIs supported by the central government reached 264.769 billion yuan, but 72% of these funds were distributed to universities in *Project 211* and *Project 985*, leaving more than 2,000 colleges and universities to share the remaining 70 billion yuan (环球网, 2014). Taking *Project 985* as an example, the special funding in three phases is shown in the Table 6.8 and Figure 6.3. Also, as to entering the *Double First-Rate* stage (refer to 4.4.2), including media reports, there were more than 20 provinces and autonomous regions that have developed their own *Double First-Rate* construction action plan and the total budget for the construction is more than 100 billion CNY (别敦荣, 2017). So we can see that from *Project 211*, *Project 985* to the new *Double First-Rate*, the construction of WCUs is supported strongly at both national and provincial levels.

Table 6.8 Special Funds for the *Project 985* in Three Phases.

<i>Project 985</i> key joint construction (billion CNY) 1 CNY ≈ 0.15 USD (2017)			
	Phase One	Phase Two	Phase Three
<b>University number</b>	27	15	32
<b>Local investment</b>	9.665	6.778	18.633
<b>National investment</b>	13.105	15.805	26.49
<b>Total input</b>	22.77	22.583	45.123

Figure 6.3 Special Funds for the *Project 985* in Three Phases



Source: <http://news.sciencenet.cn/htmlnews/2012/12/273374.shtm>

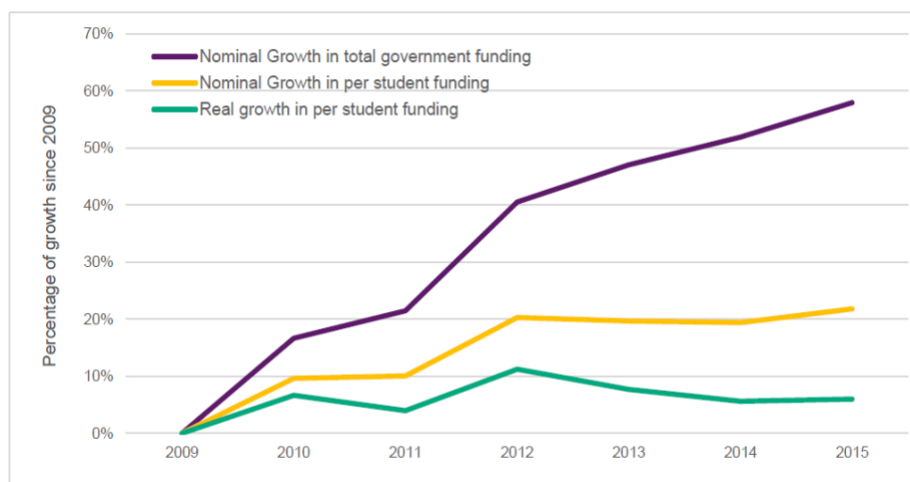
Achievement as a result of this investment is also obvious. For example, the number and proportion of Chinese universities improving their positions in world university rankings is increasing quickly. According to the ARWU, the number of Chinese universities that entered the top 500 universities worldwide has increased from 8 in 2004 to 31 in 2014 (refer to 4.4.2). According to the *Chinese Science and Technology Papers statistical results in 2017*, the Science Citation Index (SCI) included 324,200 Chinese Science and Technology papers, ranking second in the world behind the USA for eight consecutive years, accounting for 17.1% of the world's share (ISTIC, 2017).

In Australia, while overall public funding toward universities has increased, relative to the size of the sector (number of students), funding has been stagnant (see Figure 6.4). There are also special research funding arrangements for universities in Australia which are classified into two systems: competitive research grants and research block grants. Funding of the competitive grant programs is distributed to research teams through merit-based, peer-determined processes, and block grants are performance-related and allocated to institutions. The research block had six programs<sup>36</sup> in two aspects, namely, awards and scholarships and support for research. In January 2017, this was replaced by the Research Training Program (RTP) and the Research Support Program (RSP). Competitive research grants from the Australian Research Council (ARC), and National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) are awarded to academics in universities to carry out specific research projects, but they do not cover all project costs (not covering “indirect costs” such as principal researchers’ salaries, power and water, insurance, infrastructure and capital equipment, etc.). They are also very competitive with approximately 20% success rate. There is a gap between the grants and the real costs, and universities have to find additional income to fund research. Universities Australia estimated that universities had to fill a gap of \$1 billion to conduct research in 2014 (Universities Australia, 2017c).

Figure 6.4 Growth in Government Funding in Australia since 2009

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<sup>36</sup> The six programs are Australian Postgraduate Awards (APA) (1996-2016), International Postgraduate Research Scholarships (IPRS) (1990-2016), Research Infrastructure Block Grants (RIBG) (1975-2016), Joint Research Engagement (JRE) (2010-2016), Sustainable Research Excellence (SRE) (2010-2016) and Research Training Scheme (RTS) (2001-2016).



Source: *Universities Australia, 2017. The Facts on University Funding.*

Third, issues of global competitiveness are also foregrounded in both countries, as are problems of quality of research and the size of the sector. The pursuit of WCUs has been a hot topic for decades and more and more so-called WCUs have appeared in China. However, this hides the actual quality of HE more broadly in China, which still falls below that of developed nations more generally.

Still, there exist several aspects in common across both nations in dealing with the competitiveness of universities. First, both countries recognize and emphasize the importance of universities. “Australia’s universities are fundamental to our research effort”, they provide “skilled graduates and a wellspring of new ideas we need” (UR, 2014b). In *Coordinate Development of World Class Universities and First-Class Disciplines Overall Program*, it stated that

...the construction of the world first-class university and the first-class discipline, is a major strategic decision of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, which has very important significance for the promotion of China's education development level, enhancing the core competitiveness of the country, laying the foundation for long-term development (建设世界一流大学和一流学科, 是党中央、国务院作出的重大战略决策, 对于提升我国教育发展水平、增强国家核心竞争力、奠定长远发展基础, 具有十分重要的意义)(CDWUFDOP, 2015).

Meanwhile, both countries make efforts to raise the international competitiveness of their universities, and care about international rankings and the global reputations of universities. Competitiveness of universities involves status competition in HE, which is a component of competition among universities as producers of knowledge, and a component of competition between students as consumers (Marginson, 2004). University education is a “positional good” (Marginson, 2006), which means that it bestows advantages upon those who hold it in relation to labour market participation, career

prospects and life-time earnings. The reputations of universities are constituted partly by their position in global league tables, thereby legitimating global university rankings. The varying reputational capital of universities also functions in respect of HE as a positional good for graduates of these universities. Positions in rankings directly “show” the reputation and prestige of institutions to stakeholders outside of the university, such as families, students and potential employers. High-ranking universities compete for competitive students, and vice versa.

Fourth, the focus on the translation and application of research results is common in both countries. One of the eight tasks stated in *Coordinate Development of World Class Universities and First-Class Disciplines Overall Program* is to enhance “efforts to promote the transformation of achievement” (着力推进成果转化) and to emphasize

...deepening the integration of production and education, relating the World Class universities and disciplines construction closely with promoting social and economic development, and striving to improve the contribution of universities to the transformation and upgrading of industry, and becoming the catalyst and base for accelerated industrial technological changes and driving innovation (深化产教融合, 将一流大学和一流学科建设与推动经济社会发展紧密结合, 着力提高高校对产业转型升级的贡献率, 努力成为催化产业技术变革、加速创新驱动的策源地) (CDWUFDOP, 2015).

In Australia’s documents, there is a call for changing the current view of university–industry collaboration in order to “deliver the deep and productive relationships required to improve the translation of research” (UR, 2014b).

Finally, there are segments in both nations’ universities that are presented as the most prestigious universities – C9 League (C9) in China and the Group of Eight (G8) in Australia. Chinese universities can be classified as C9, universities in *Project 985* (excluding C9), universities in *Project 211* (excluding universities in *Project 985*) and non-*Project 985* and non-*Project 211* universities. In the Australian public university sector, differentiation in the sector is demonstrated in the sociological categories of the G8 (Sandstones), Gumtrees (second generation or later universities established before 1987), Unitechs (large institutes of technology that became universities from vocational institutions after 1987), New Universities (other institutions that achieved university status after 1987) (Marginson, 2004). C9 and G8 represent the most established universities in each country, with the most dominant track records for research intensity (measured in relation to a variety of metrics, including citations, quantum of prestigious publications as recognized by scholarly communities, and success in attaining research-oriented funding).

### 6.4.3 The Confucius Institute project

Different from Australia, China has a unique measure to promote its national influence and soft power in the global world, namely Confucius Institutes (CIs). Yang (2010a) regards the Confucius Institute Project as the “new distinctive model of international exchange and cooperation in higher education” (p. 235). Through these institutes, Chinese language and culture are taught and spread throughout the world. By December 31, 2016, there were 512 CIs and Confucius classrooms running in 140 countries (regions) (Hanban, 2017).

Since their initial establishment, CIs have received constant criticism internally and externally: insiders have practical concerns about finance, academic viability, legal issues and relations with Chinese partner universities, and outsiders have ideological concerns about harming academic freedom and about the surveillance of Chinese abroad (Starr, 2009). Maybe in order to ameliorate these criticisms, China downplays the projection of its soft power through the CIs (Yang, 2010a). According to the *Constitution and By-Laws of the Confucius Institutes*, CIs are non-profit educational institutions and their aims are to “satisfy the demands of people from different countries and regions in the world who learn the Chinese language, to enhance understanding of the Chinese language and culture by these peoples, to strengthen educational and cultural exchange and cooperation between China and other countries, to deepen friendly relationships with other nations, to promote the development of multi-culturalism, and to construct a harmonious world” (Article 1, Hanban, 2007). It is said that “China just hopes to be truly understood by the rest of the world. CIs are designed to be an important platform to promote Chinese culture and teach Chinese language” (Yang, 2010a, p. 238). However, the soft power concept has been used enthusiastically by the Chinese government (Starr, 2009). Soft power has been mentioned frequently in many official or informal speeches, such as the speech of Chinese President Hu Jintao in 17th National Congress of Communist Party in 2007.

Due to rapid economic growth and rising influence in global politics across several decades, China has gained more and more attention from the West. Over time, it has been suggested that China has been portrayed using stereotypes, exaggerations and extremes resulting in swings in recognizing China as friend or foe, often without careful analysis (Sutter, 2003). Language is a basic element for understanding a nation’s culture. So using CIs to teach Chinese language and culture is seen as a way for more and more people to know and learn about the culture and tradition, in order to understand the values and motives of China. Moreover, Yang (2007) regarded CIs as Beijing endeavouring to create a favourable paradigm for China under globalization and imagining China as the world

leader, in order to better position itself in the multipolar, post-Cold War environment. Yang also pointed out that the more successful the CIs, the greater the potential for them to be agents of Beijing's foreign policy in the future (Yang, 2007).

In contrast, Australian universities' reputation and influence are promoted in the process of transnational HE delivery and skill recruitment and through publicity. Australia has a comparatively high quality HE sector and prestigious universities, which already have good reputations in the world (particularly in relation to research), and it promotes these as such, so that it can attract international students. Australia, as the figures demonstrate, is one of the "traditional" and most popular overseas education destinations. Besides, based on the research and reports identifying the "halo effect" of offshore programs to onshore programs, R. Phillips and Burgess (2016) suggest the need to explore the possibility of that effect in Australia. They concluded there is anecdotal evidence showing students who have had some connection, for example, through a TNE program or through an offshore program, will have a greater desire to have an onshore study experience. Australian transnational HE delivery may also contribute to international student flows to Australia.

#### **6.4.4 Summary of institution focused policies.**

Collaboration is expressed differently in each of the two HE systems. As an education exporting nation, Australia is an international HE provider and offers offshore education. As an education importing nation, China is attempting to introduce high quality HE resources and advanced education experiences by running cooperative joint programs and institutions with foreign countries. They both engage in transnational HE, but in different ways. As expected, high quality education resources, teaching methods and materials and advanced schooling and management experiences flow from foreign developed countries (i.e., Australia) to developing countries (i.e., China) and in return, foreign developed countries like Australia experience an economic gain, as well as increasing their universities' reputations and popularity. There is a broad consensus that transnational HE, as one important content of IHE, is a mutually beneficial win-win activity for both parties under globalization (Marginson, 2004; Teichler, 2004).

However, concern about quality has been increasing with irresponsible activities and even illegal operations by some transnational HE providers and agencies. Indeed, both China and Australia attach great importance to HE quality control in their own ways. China has strict examinations on the development of CFCRS at the stage of establishment, but lacks a process of ongoing supervision (Iftekhhar & Kayombo, 2016; Zhang, 2009). Australia has

a systematic quality assurance system, called Australian Quality Framework (AQF), which is applied in Australia and also applied to transnational education.

The connection of international HE institutions, construction of WCUs and spread of Confucius Institutes, are all seen as the tools of soft power through HE in China.

## 6.5 Micro-Lens: Inflow and Outflow Mobility of People

People mobility, as suggested in earlier sections, is the micro-level of internationalization. The two sides of such mobility, policies of inflow and outflow, reflect the two governments' intentions and how they think about these groups of people. Table 6.8 lists the four selected people focused policies that are analysed in this section.

Table 6.9 List of Four Selected People Focused Policies

Acronym	Time	Nation	Full name
ISSA	2010	Australia	International Students Strategy for Australia
PSC	2010	China	Plan for Study in China
SRSVP	2011	Australia	Strategic Review of the Student Visa Program
RPGE	2008	China	The Recruitment Program of Global Experts (1000 Plan)
NCP	2014	Australia	New Colombo Plan
RSSPSAP	2007	China	Regulations of State-Sponsored Postgraduate Study Abroad Program

### 6.5.1 Inflow – Foreign / International students' policy.

The term “foreign students” is mostly used in China, while the term “international students” is most commonly used in Australia. The two words, *foreign* and *international* imply different perspectives on how governments perceive international students. In China, the notion of international students as foreign positions these students as “other”. In Australia, international signifies an engagement between students and the host institutions and an attempt to value the relationships thereby formed.

According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics' (UIS) *Global Education Digest* (2006), an international student is defined as a person who has left his or her country, or territory of origin, and moved to another country or territory with the singular objective of studying. Moreover, the OECD's *Education at a Glance* (2006) made an important distinction between “international students” and “foreign students” in defining terms for the cross-border-mobility data comparison: international student referred to students crossing borders for the purpose of studying, while foreign student refers to non-citizens who are enrolled at an institution of education outside their home country. However, due to different

criteria used by countries to count the number of foreign or international students, this results in overestimating the numbers of foreign students in countries with comparatively low rates of naturalization of their immigrant populations, as the OECD points out. Since 2006, the OECD has sought to clarify this situation by defining international students on the basis of whether they are permanent residents, and the place in which they received their initial/prior education. Students are considered internationally mobile if they are not permanent residents of the host country, and students are considered internationally mobile if they obtained the entry qualification to their current level of study in another country (N. Clark, 2009; Ischinger, 2006). In this study, I use the OECD definition.

When referring to foreign/international students, in the two previous chapters (Chapter 4 and Chapter 5), I introduced the inflow policies – *Plan for Study in China* and *International Students Strategy for Australia* separately. Considering them comparatively, some differences can be identified in the rationales behind the policies, the positioning of international students, recruitment strategies, target setting, as well as language requirements for international students.

(1) *Different rationales.* The rationale for Australia's policy is largely economic, but also has cultural and geo-political components. For example, in the policy *International Student Strategy for Australia*, it is observed that, "International students enrich Australian communities, bringing energy, diversity and new ways of seeing things. They expand Australia's global networks and link us to the world. Their high-quality life experiences in Australia contribute to our regional and global standing"; "the international education sector is also very important economically" (ISSA, 2010, p. 2). Chinese policy is mainly oriented towards enhancing social cohesion, and cultivating particular political viewpoints; for example, in the Recruitment Program of Global Experts, it is stated that

...we will strengthen educational exchanges and cooperation between China and foreign countries, promote the sustained and healthy development of overseas studies in China, and raise the international level of education in China. Create an international brand of Chinese Education (加强中外教育交流与合作, 推动来华留学事业持续健康发展, 提高我国教育国际化水平, 打造中国教育的国际品牌)(PSC, 2010).

(2) *Revenue significance of international students in host country.* It can be said that international students are regarded more importantly in economic terms in Australia than in China because international education is the third largest export industry in Australia and represents vital revenue for many Australian universities, as well as being very important



for the Australian economy. In contrast, in China, the proportion of foreign students is quite small and their fees are relatively insignificant in universities' overall revenue.

(3) *Attitude towards international students.* In Chinese documents, there is a focus upon establishing more government scholarships to attract more international students to study in China. There is also an emphasis especially on providing aid to developing countries. For example, it stated in *Plan for Study in China*, "in accordance with national strategy and development needs, China will gradually increase the number of Chinese government scholarships" (根据国家战略和发展需要, 逐步增加中国政府奖学金名额) (PSC, 2010). The government scholarships can be applied for by students from both developed countries and developing countries. Australia also provides scholarships for international students, but mainly targets higher degree research students. For example, in *Australia – Educating Globally*, it was suggested more international higher degree research students would help to "grow excellence in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) capacity and increase education quality through targeting and providing further incentives for top international academics and PhD students" (AEG, 2013, p. 43).

(4) *Recruitment strategy.* Australia adopts more market promotion mechanisms, and regards international HE as an industry. Although Australia also provides government scholarships, the majority of them are targeted to research higher degree students. In respect of China, generous scholarships are offered to attract foreign students to study in China and various informal and formalized channels are used to propagandize studying in China. For example, in Chinese policy discourse it is stated that

Energetically strengthen publicity and promotion study in China. Integration of domestic and foreign resources, and give full play of the propaganda of the relevant domestic institutions and overseas embassies, Confucius Institute (Confucius classroom) on China to study. Strengthen the "studying abroad China website" and the construction of foreign language websites for educational institutions studying in China (大力加强来华留学宣传和推介力度。整合国内国外各方资源, 充分发挥国内有关机构和我驻外使(领)馆、海外孔子学院(孔子课堂)等在来华留学宣传方面的作用。加强“留学中国网”及各来华留学教育机构外文网站建设) (PSC, 2010).

(5) *Targets.* China aims to become the largest overseas destination for international HE students in the Asian region. For example, in *Plan for Study in China*, the goal is,

by 2020, China would be the largest destination for studying abroad in Asia' (到 2020 年, 使我国成为亚洲最大的留学目的地国家)<sup>37</sup>. To 2020, reach 500 thousand people in

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<sup>37</sup> We note here that although Australia locates itself in the Asian region, in most Asian countries' discourse (including China), they don't include Australia in Asian region. The same situation happens here.

the mainland universities and primary and secondary schools of foreign students, including students receiving HE degree reached 150 thousand; resource nations and levels are more balanced and reasonable (到 2020 年, 全年在内地高校及中小学校就读的外国留学人员达到 50 万人次, 其中接受高等学历教育的留学生达到 15 万人, 来华留学人员生源国别和层次类别更加均衡合理) (PSC, 2010).

Australia regards Asia as the main region to source international students from and is also expecting to recruit more students from emerging regions like Latin America. For example, in *Australia – Education Globally* “with 80 per cent of international students in Australia coming from Asia, it is important to develop links with the merging regions of Latin America, the Middle East and Africa” (AEG, 2013, p. 63).

(6) *Language issues*. The two nations have different language requirements. For example, there is a minimum International English Language Testing System (IELTS) test score requirement when HE students apply for enrolment in Australian universities; this excludes some students. In Australia, this “require(s) providers to establish processes that ensure international students maintain adequate English language proficiency throughout the duration of study to prepare graduates for work experience and employment opportunities” (AEG, 2013, p. 43). In contrast, China sets easier language requirements (for example, China provides courses for those students who do not satisfy language requirements) and provides subjects and lectures that are taught in English. “Increasing the subjects that are taught in foreign language in Colleges and Universities” (增加高等学校外语授课的学科专业) (ONMLERDP, 2011), “open a certain number of English teaching degree courses” (开设一定数量的英语授课学位课程) (PSC, 2010). Language issues set a threshold for recruiting students. However, the language requirement is also part of ensuring quality education, which helps international students have a more positive study and work experience, and enables enhanced cross-cultural understanding.

In fact, the position of international students in the host country, for example, whether international students are valued as fee-paying contributing to the financial viability of the HE sector or as an element of the cultivation of the nation’s soft power, affects the attitudes towards these students. Like the Confucius Institutes, hosting international students is also an initiative of the planned soft power policy for China (Yang, 2007). China employs measures to promote international student recruitment, like setting up various government scholarships, aid programs and so on. Australian universities have unquestionably gained a reputation for actively, even aggressively, recruiting international

students since the full fees policy introduced by the Commonwealth government in 1985 (Burn, 2015).

Both China and Australia hope to recruit more and more international students. However, concerns are also rising about how the policies are carried out. There are different problems faced by China and Australia in this respect. China is concerned about the insufficient inflow of international students, while Australia is concerned about universities' over-reliance on international student fees.

There are several media reports criticizing Australia for this reliance of HEIs on international students' fees. Birrell (2017), president of the Australian Population Research Institute, argued that "overseas student fees provide an even greater share of Australia's top universities' revenue" because international students normally are charged relatively higher fees than domestic students. He takes the University of Sydney as the example; in 2015, the fee revenue from international students was worth AU\$479 million, compared with AU\$172 million fees from domestic students. In 2005, foreign students brought nearly AU\$19 billion into the country, when 28% of all university commencements were overseas students. However, the percentage varies across different universities in Australia (see Table 6.4). The Federation University Australia has the highest percentage of international students, 42.5%, nearly half of all enrolled students. The average percentage is 19.2% and the percentage in seven of the G8 universities are higher than the average number (except The University of Western Australia, 15.5%). These fees are used to cross-subsidise university expenditure on educating domestic students and research (Birrell, 2017). In the Bradley Review 2008, concerns were expressed about the relatively high proportion of universities' revenue sourced from international students and warned about the risks of any downturn or changes in students' choice and preferences. Marginson (2015a) also demonstrated the concern Australia's over-dependence on international student tuition fees. One of the reasons behind this phenomenon is the reduction in public funding from the Commonwealth government, which pushes universities to look for alternative funds and thus recruit more overseas full fee students.

In fact, Marginson (2015b) cited the analysis of *Education at a Glance* by the OECD in 2014 and figured out that between 1995 and 2005, Australia was the only nation that reduced total public spending on tertiary education, with a decrease of 28 percent in public funding per student in real terms. Due to this underfunding situation and growing funding gap between public revenues and the costs of domestic students and research, HEIs are

strongly encouraged or forced to enrol more international students each year. The situation, according to Marginson (2015a), “stymie(s) the potential for a cosmopolitan education that would benefit all” (p. 5). Along with the heavy reliance on international student fees, another concern is the potential deterioration in the quality of university instruction. As more international students are inclined to enrol in less demanding and less expensive courses like business courses, teaching methods may have to be modified considering the large number of international students in the class.

In China’s case, there is concern about the gap between the numbers of outflow and inflow students. According to the Chinese study abroad development report (2016), the number of Chinese students studying abroad was more than 1.26 million in 2015, compared with more than 398,000 of all kinds of foreign students in China in the same year (王辉耀 et al., 2016). While continuing to consolidate its status as the world’s largest international student source nation, China has maintained a large deficit in international student inflow. Based on MOE statistics, there was a total of 377,000 foreign students in China in 2014. Among them, only 164,394 people were studying for degrees, while a large number of other people studying in China were only there to learn language and culture. In 2013, among all the international students in China, about 60% were undertaking short-term language training and the remaining 40% were degree students. Among the 40% degree students, more than 74% of students studied for a Bachelor’s degree, with fewer than 20% studying for a Master’s degree, and fewer than 6% for a Doctoral degree (苗绿 & 王辉耀, 2014). In contrast to the massive outflow of science and engineering personnel in China (there were 42.1% of Chinese overseas students studying STEM<sup>38</sup> in Bachelor degrees in 2015), the majority of international students studying in China are majoring in liberal arts. About 80% of them study Chinese, Chinese medicine, law, and economics and so on. More than half of them are primarily learning Chinese. That is, there is a dramatically larger proportion of Chinese students studying the “hard sciences” (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) internationally than the humanities and social sciences; in contrast, most of the international students who study in China study the Chinese language and other aspects of cultural practice (economics, law, Chinese medicine etc.). Additionally, according to OECD statistics, international students in China accounted for only 0.46% of the total number of HE students in China, while the proportion was 17.97% in Australia and 17.46% in the UK (王辉耀 et al., 2016) . That means the international level of education in Chinese universities needs to be further strengthened.

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<sup>38</sup> STEM refers to science, technology, engineering and mathematics

Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) have studied the push-pull factors influencing international student choice of destination, and pointed out that attention needs to be paid to reducing push factors with the improvement of Asian universities and HE systems. There are more and more Asian universities (particularly Chinese universities) appearing in the Top 500 world university rankings, which could attract more and more overseas students to the Asian region. Under that condition, pull factors, like high quality, good reputation, and famous alumni, are increasingly depended upon by popular countries to continuously attract substantial numbers of international students (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002).

### **6.5.2 Inflow – global talents recruitment policy.**

Another important component of people inflow is global talent recruitment. Talents are commonly regarded as important capital in the contemporary knowledge economy era. The notion of talents implies highly skilled or knowledgeable citizens in a particular domain, but also possessing leadership capacity or potential. Global competition for highly skilled manpower has also become a strong pull driver to international student mobility (De Wit & Adams, 2010). Globalization has brought about the restructuring of production, cross-border infiltration of industries and transnational migration of population, which has led to the redistribution of global labour and rights. International population migration has become the symbol of globalization as well as the product of the processes of globalization. The mobility of the global population mainly flows from developing countries to developed countries (Tannock & Brown, 2009). However, under the impact of globalization, with the rapid development of some emerging industrial countries and their strategic attraction policies and endeavours to recruit global talents, cross-border populations have started to flow from developed countries to developing countries as well. The current research is tending to emphasise a move from “brain drain/gain” to “brain circulation”, which is more practical and realistic in today’s world. Shin and Choi (2015) proposed a new model of recruiting skilled foreigners in the global economy that only admits the human capital of skilled foreigners, but also acknowledges their social capital, which highlights the “bidirectional ‘brain circulation’ rather than a zero-sum brain drain” (p. 6). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that, with the higher participation in HE, this results in large numbers of the workforce with college or university education, which is leading to the depreciation of the value of credentials in human capital and their worth in salary terms. The same, of course, applies in terms of the value of an international higher degree when more people possess them. The relationship between credentials and performance has been doubted. Guided by principles of talent management since 1980s, companies are

trying to reduce labour costs and attract and retain top talents at the same time (Brown, Lauder, & Ashton, 2010). As a consequence, the “war for top talent” has become more and more intense, while there are more high-skill but low-wage workers in the globalized society (Brown et al., 2010).

Australia and China both emphasize the importance and contribution of talents to their economic growth and social development. For instance, “In the current climate of globalisation, it is imperative for Australia’s long term prosperity to maintain a competitive advantage in identifying, attracting and retaining overseas skilled workers” (DIBP, 2014b, p. 3). Additionally, the focus on cultivating talent in the Chinese context, and the highly skilled in Australia, are both evident, particularly in priority areas, and based on the two nations’ economies and societies, and in relation to specific national strategies and agendas. This is evident, for example in China, in the *Recruitment Program of Global Experts*, with advocacy “around the urgent need for national economic and social development to carry out talent introduction, focusing on the introduction of World Class high-level innovative, entrepreneurial talent and team” (围绕国民经济和社会发展的急需紧缺开展人才引进工作, 重点引进具有世界一流水平的高层次创新创业人才及团队)(RPGE, 2008). However, there is a sense in which the cultivation of talents also addresses the need to attract those Chinese students who have secured external, international experience and knowledge. In contrast, the focus on skills development in the Australian context also refers to ways of retaining international students who have studied in Australia as a means of further developing a skilled and educated populace, and workforce, in Australia. Changes in migration, visa and residency requirements also have effects in this regard (Hamilton, 2017).

Although there exist global trends regarding the competition for talents, there exist “well-educated but low-cost workers as well” (Brown et al., 2010). Brown et al. (2010) pointed out that the growth of a highly skilled low-waged workforce has been witnessed in all affluent nations, but its extent would vary due to different national contexts. Large expansion in HE enrolment lowers the value of degrees obtained from universities in the job market. The relationship between learning and earning is becoming more disparate. This problem would be more obvious in affluent nations like Australia than in emerging nations like China. Nonetheless, there are issues here in respect to the return on investment for Chinese students studying abroad. The numbers doing so, and the improving status globally of a number of Chinese universities, are important in this respect.

Facing the same global trends of competing for talents, China and Australia choose different pathways. There are several differences between Australia and China dealing with global talents:

(1) *Different name and nuanced meanings.* China calls international skilled personnel “talent”. In the Chinese context, talents (人才) refer to people who have certain professional knowledge or skills, engage in creative work, and contribute to society (ONMLERDP, 2011). They are workers with higher abilities and qualities in human resources. In China, “Strengthening the Nation on Talent” (人才强国) is an important national strategy. Australia refers to people with desirable knowledge and abilities as highly skilled labour or highly skilled workers. Highly skilled labour refers to those who have special skills, training, knowledge, and ability in their work. In some ways, talents can equate to highly skilled works, but there are still differences between these two concepts, which further highlights differences between the two countries. Talent is a commendatory term while skilled is a more neutral term. Talent shows welcome and respect to some degree, while the highly skilled is a more instrumentalist term, associated with human capital and implies the need to address a country’s own skills shortages, perhaps because of an ageing population. Literally, talent refers to a person whose ability is innate, inherent or gained naturally, without prior practice or experience, while highly skilled refers to a person whose ability is acquired through hard effort and extra time with huge practice and exercise. It implies the scarcity of talents since only some people could have the innate abilities but through much effort and time most people could be highly skilled. It indicates talents are more precious than highly skilled workers to a certain extent.

(2) *Different attitude.* China regards talents as the first resource to develop the national society and economy (ONMLERDP, 2011), while Australia regards people with desired attributes as skilled labour. China has conducted strategic and continuous endeavours and measures to attract global talents and that intention is expressed publicly. Influenced by Chinese traditional culture and values, such as “seek talent with eagerness” (求贤若渴) and “treat talent with courtesy” (礼贤下士), China always shows great respect and admiration to talents, especially high-end, outstanding talents. Australia also welcomes the inward skilled personnel, but the migration visa regulations have tightened up the migration numbers more recently (Hamilton, 2017). The focus of Australia's immigration program has changed accordingly so as to meet the nation’s economic and political priorities, including to build Australia's manufacturing industries, to address social matters

(family reunification), humanitarian (including refugee) concerns, as well as attracting highly skilled migrants to meet Australia's labour needs (J. Phillips & Simon-Davies, 2016) (for more details refer to Chapter 5).

Lately, a new report, *Australia's Diaspora Advantage: Realising the Potential for Building Transnational Business Network with Asia*, regards the Australia Asian diaspora who are "new migrants, Australian-born descendants, those of mixed-parentage and temporary residents in Australia for work or study" as an under-utilised "rich source of innovation, enterprise and entrepreneurialism" (Rizvi, Louie, & Evans, 2016, p. 1). They can maintain long-term connections with Australia and strengthen the relationship between Australia and Asia. This way of thinking provides a new way of viewing the Asian diaspora and migration. Compared with previous policies on attracting global highly skilled migrants/talents, the diaspora logic focuses on brain circulation rather than brain drain or brain gain, which is a more accurate description for today's multiple and fluid mobility of knowledge, ideas and people.

(3) *Attraction methods*. Naturalization and the issuing of permanent residence status are the main means of attracting high-end talents in the world, especially in developed countries. Australia also uses this mechanism, particularly the skilled migration visa and permanent residence programs (refer to 5.5.2). As a result of the skilled migration policies, people who can speak fluent English, aged between 18 and 45 years, have some work experience and expertise, and can adapt to the technical personnel needs of Australia in high demand skill areas, Australian international students are especially recruited in Australia. Meanwhile, as was argued in Chapter 5, the difficulty of pathways for international students to permanent residency and proposed changes in Australian visa regulations both influenced the number of incoming international students (refer to 5.5.2 and Hamilton (2017)).

In contrast, as a traditional talent exporting country and non-immigrant country, China has used large amounts of research funding and favourable policies to attract global talents, especially returning Chinese talents, e.g., *Recruitment Program of Global Experts* (1000 Plan) (refer to 4.5.3). *Recruitment Program of Global Experts*, characterizes

the introduced overseas high-level scientific and technological innovation and management talents, as distinguished experts, ... [who] can enjoy the corresponding working conditions and provided special life treatment (Article 5, RPGE, 2008).



Furthermore, “the relevant departments make special policies in residence and immigration, settlement, financing, compensation, medical care, insurance, housing, tax, spouse placement, children’s schooling and other aspects and properly solve the difficulties and problems of the introduced talents in their life” (Article 18, RPGE, 2008). Also, human resources and social security departments will establish special service windows for the special policies for introduced talents to implement the residence and immigration, health care, insurance, housing, children’s schooling, spouse placement etc. (Article 23, RPGE, 2008). Besides the 1000 Plan, there are various types of talent introduction plans at both national and provincial level (refer to programs list Table 4.6 in Chapter 4). At present, various programs have been designed to attract a range of talents covering different areas of expertise, different ages and different levels (refer to 4.5.3). Moreover, China has developed into an increasingly attractive environment, which has attracted more and more returning overseas students. In 2015, the number of returning students reached 409,100, an increase of 44,300, or 12.14% compared with 2014 (王耀耀 et al., 2016).

It is notable here that Chinese permanent residence is not as attractive as Australian permanent residency and the application for that is strictly controlled. In fact, in the ten years since the implementation of a permanent residence permit system in 2004 to 2013, the total number of Chinese permanent residents was 7356, compared to about 700,000 foreigners living in China (王耀耀, 2015). However, the difficulty in gaining Chinese permanent residence is decreasing. In 2016, the Ministry of Public Security approved 1576 foreigners’ permanent residence in China, an increase of 163% over the previous year (Guanchacn, 2017)<sup>39</sup>.

*(4) Different groups.* The main element of the global talents in China is the returning Chinese who have studied and gained higher research degrees overseas. By 2015, there were a total of 11 batches of 5208 high-level overseas talents returning (coming) to China for work. The majority of them are Chinese or Chinese-born. The main components of Australian global skilled labour include foreign migrants and former international students who studied in Australia, rather than Australians returning home. However, it should be noted that some ARC Fellowship are targeted at bringing “home” star Australian researchers (e.g., Laureate Fellowships).

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<sup>39</sup> [http://news.china.com/domestic/945/20170208/30238679\\_all.html](http://news.china.com/domestic/945/20170208/30238679_all.html)

Table 6.10 Migration Program Visa Grants 2008-2015

Year	Family	Skill	Special Eligibility	Total
2008–09	56 366	114 777	175	171 318
2009–10	60 254	107 868	501	168 623
2010–11	54 543	113 725	417	168 685
2011–12	58 604	125 755	639	184 998
2012–13	60 185	128 973	842	190 000
2013–14	61 112	128 550	338	190 000
2014–15	61 085	127 774	238	189 097

Source: J. Phillips and Simon-Davies (2016).

Among the skilled category, in 2006-07, there were 22,858 onshore permanent residence visas granted to skilled students, accounting for 23% of the total number (97,920) (DIAC, 2007). In 2007-08, there were 21,421 permanent visas granted to overseas students, accounting for 20% of the total number (108,540) (DIAC, 2008). By 2012-13, the proportion had grown even higher, with about 57% of permanent skilled migration visas granted to onshore applicants (DIBP, 2014a).

In short, Australia uses permanent residence visas to attract foreign skilled migrants, while China uses abundant funding and special policy support to attract global talents and returning Chinese. Facing the same global trends of competing for talents, China and Australia choose different pathways. This relates to the different circumstances for the two countries. China has the largest population in the world so it prioritizes Chinese talents and implements strict permanent residence policy and naturalization systems. Australia is a nation with a large land area but small population, and a low birth rate. As a traditional nation of immigrants, migrants expand its population via birth-rates, and later skilled migrants are helpful to solve the problems of an aging society and skilled labour shortages.

### 6.5.3 Outflow – Learning abroad.

Outflow of people is the other side of in-flow international mobility. There are numerous types and forms of learning abroad, long term or short term, degree or non-degree. In this study, the two programs, State-Sponsored Postgraduate Study Abroad Program (SSPSAP) and New Colombo Plan (NCP), are sponsored by the Chinese and Australian governments respectively. Governments provide funding and other support conditions to encourage students to study abroad and gain international experience. NCP is a flagship initiative of the Australian Government. Chinese SSPSAP is undertaken by the China

Scholarship Council (CSC), a non-profit institution with legal person status affiliated with the MOE<sup>40</sup> (refer to Chapter 4).

### **6.5.3.1 Types, period and study level.**

There are various types of programs within SSPSAP, including initiatives for advanced scholars (three to six months), visiting scholars (three to twelve months), Post-Doctoral scholars (six to 24 months), Doctoral degree students (36 to 48 months), joint training Doctoral students (six to 24 months), Master degree students (12 to 24 months), joint training Master students (three to 12 months), Bachelor degree students (36 to 60 months) and undergraduate students for short periods (three to 12 months). Australia's NCP is mainly targeted towards undergraduate students aged 18 to 28 studying at Australian universities for up to one-year internships, mentorships or study exchanges. The maximum duration of a Scholarship Program is 17 months. There are three types of programs in NCP, namely New Colombo Plan Scholarship Program (involving undertaking one or two semesters of study in the Indo-Pacific region), New Colombo Plan Mobility Program (involving undertaking a range of flexible study options in the Indo-Pacific region) and Business Engagement (Internship/Mentorship) (Australian Government, 2015). So SSPSAP is more comprehensive in program design, and more diverse in study duration and level than NCP.

### **6.5.3.2 Rationale.**

In the Australian case, the purpose is to exchange knowledge and improve two-way mobility and deepen people-to-people relationships in the Indo-Pacific region, individually and institutionally (NCP, 2017). NCP is regarded as a component of the Australian government's public diplomacy to increase Australia's standing and influence within the Indo-Pacific region and also aligned to advancing its economic diplomacy agenda. Further, it contributes to increasing the soft power of Australia (Byrne, 2016; Lowe, 2015). In the case of China, it aims to educate its citizens with advanced knowledge, science and technology in order to foster more talents who can contribute to the national economy and society after they return to their nation. It emphasizes the contribution and benefits of educated skilled personnel to the country. In Regulations of SSPSAP, it showed that "in order to implement the strategy of invigorating the country through science and education and strengthening the country with talents, we should speed up the training of high-level

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<sup>40</sup> <http://en.csc.edu.cn/About/c309df7fb3fa40b3a179a7ad93f11988.shtml>

talents” (为实施国家科教兴国和人才强国战略, 加快高层次人才培养)(RSSPSAP, 2007). In fact, the two programs are beneficial at individual, national and global levels.

#### **6.5.3.3 Time period.**

There are both short-term programs (e.g., joint programs) and long term programs (Master degree programs and PhD degree programs) in SSPSAP. Thus, the period of SSPSAP programs may vary from three months to four years. The NCP is for short term exchange. It is said the maximum duration of a Scholarship Program in the Australian case is 17 months (Australian Government, 2015).

#### **6.5.3.4 Study region.**

SSPSAP has no limitations regarding study countries, but is practically focused on prestigious universities in the developed nations. In *Regulations of State-Sponsored Study Abroad Programs*, it stipulated that the program is required to “contact with foreign prestigious universities” (联系国外高水平学校) (RSSPSAP, 2007). NCP is limited in universities of the Indo-Pacific region.

#### **6.5.3.5 Enterprise connection.**

The NCP encourages connections with enterprises and sets up specially designed NCP internship and mentorship networks. In contrast, the targets of SSPSAP focus on studying or attaining a degree.

These two programs both show the importance the two respective governments attach to cultivating human capital and global engagement capacity of their citizens. Both governments support and invest large amounts of funding in these programs. According to its official website<sup>41</sup>, in its first year, NCP supported 40 scholars and more than 1,300 mobility students across 4 locations. In 2015, the number increased to 69 scholarships and more than 3,100 mobility students and in 2016, it supported more than 5,450 mobility students and 100 scholars. In 2017, the NCP is supporting around 7,400 mobility students and 105 scholarship recipients<sup>42</sup> and it's said that this will bring the total number to around 17,500 in the first four years of the program (NCP, 2017). Australian Government (2015) outlined the budget for NCP in four years.

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<sup>41</sup> [www.dfat.gov.au/people-to-people/new-colombo-plan](http://www.dfat.gov.au/people-to-people/new-colombo-plan)

<sup>42</sup> <http://dfat.gov.au/people-to-people/new-colombo-plan/about/Pages/about.aspx>

Table 6.11 New Colombo Plan budget

2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18
\$5,372,000	\$10,958,000	\$19,577,000	\$19,625,000	\$42,768,000

Source: Australian Government (2015).

In 2010, CSC recruited a total of 13,038 candidates for all types of SSPSAP, amongst which 5,960 were for PhD and joint PhD programs, accounting for 45.71% of the total sponsorship. There were 5,677 visiting scholars and senior research scholars, accounting for 43.54%, and 1,401 were designated for other categories (Masters, short-term scholars and undergraduates). The main target countries are USA, UK, Germany, Japan, Canada, Australia, France and the Netherlands (CSC, 2010)<sup>43</sup>. The CSC scholarship (living subsidy) includes meals, accommodation, registration fees, transportation fees, telephone fees, books, information, medical insurance, social expenses, one-time placement fees, visa extension fees, petty fees and academic activities, grants and so on. The amount of scholarship (living subsidy) differs based on countries and region. For example, it is 1,700 AUD per month per person for graduate students and 1,600 AUD for undergraduate students in Australia.

#### 6.5.4 Summary of people focused policies.

IHE at the individual level is focused on people mobility. The mobility comprises inflow and outflow. Promoting two-way flow of people is supported by both countries. In the inflow component, there is a common trend to attract more international students in the context of globalization. It is seen as beneficial to recruit international students not only in economic terms, but also to develop social connections, cross cultural communication, as well as enhance international reputation. The focus, however, differs in Australia and China. To Australia, international students bring additional revenue that can subsidise university funding in the context of relative reductions in federal government funding (see Table 6.4). For China, it helps to build the brand of Chinese HE and promote soft power and influence in the international community.

In the outflow component, the governments of China and Australia are both heavily involved in launching programs, and encouraging and promoting their students to study abroad. This is because of the obvious benefits it would bring. To China, students who learn the advanced knowledge, skills and technology from prestigious universities in developed countries, are construed as making a contribution to China's national

<sup>43</sup> The latest updated annual report in CSC website is 2010 at the access data on 13/08/2017.

construction after they come back, which is in line with the national strategy to “develop the country through science and education” (科教兴国) and “strengthening the country through talents” (人才强国). For Australia, promoting the outflow of students is a significant component of public diplomacy, and helps to deepen people-to-people relationships and strengthen soft power in the Indo-Pacific, especially related to the coming Asian Century.

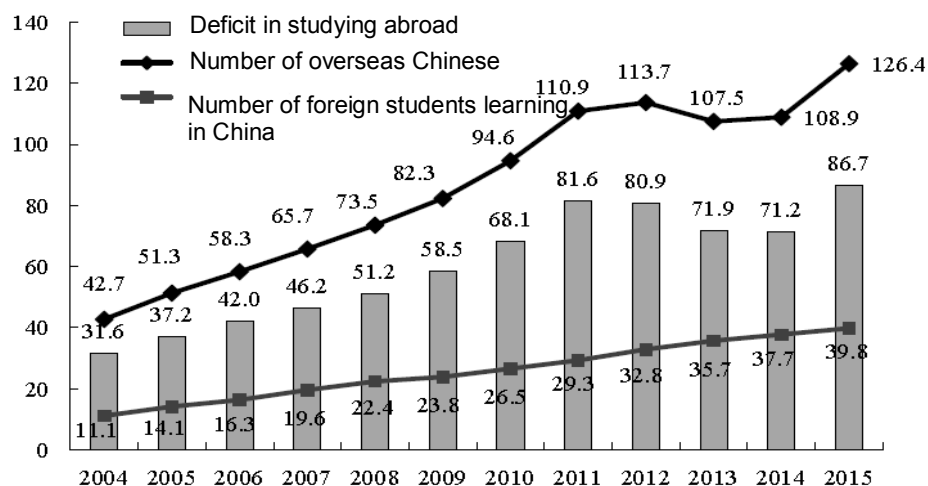
In summary, the two-way flow of people benefits both sides of the flow not only at individual and institutional levels, both also at national and international levels. However, problems still exist. For China, the number of outflow overseas students is larger than incoming international students and the number of outflow overseas students is also larger than returning students. The former issue is reflective of the deficit between studying abroad and learning in China, and the latter issue is reflective of brain drain. The situation has improved over time, but these issues still exist (see Table 6.12 and Figure 6.5).

Table 6.12 Cumulative Number of Students Studying Abroad and Returned Students 2008-2015 (Unit: 10,000)

Year	Number of students studying abroad in that year	Cumulative number of students studying abroad	Number of returned students in the same year	Cumulative number of Returned Students
2008	17.98	139.0	6.93	39.0
2009	22.93	162.0	10.83	49.7
2010	28.47	190.5	13.48	63.22
2011	33.97	224.5	18.62	81.84
2012	39.96	264.46	27.29	109.13
2013	41.39	305.86	35.35	144.48
2014	45.98	351.84	36.48	180.96
2015	52.37	404.21	40.91	221.86

Source: China Statistical Yearbook in 2010, and data from the MOE

Figure 6.5 Differences between numbers of Chinese students study abroad and number of foreign students studying in China 2004-2015. (Unit: 10,000)



Source: 王辉耀 et al. (2016).

For Australia, as shown in Table 6.13 below, the proportion of international students is higher than for the other seven main destination countries for international students. This high proportion of international students potentially could affect the capacity to receive more international students. Moreover, the sensitivity of international student numbers to changing PR policy, increases the unpredictability of job prospects, and has the potential to affect the number of international students (refer to Chapter 5.6.4).

Table 6.13 Proportion of International Students at Different Levels in the Eight Main Destination Countries of Studying Abroad in 2014 (%)

Country	International students at all levels	Vocational education	Bachelor degree	Master degree	PhD degree
Australia	17.97	13.3	13.1	40	34
UK	17.46	5.5	13.7	37	42
France	9.78	4.4	7.3	13	40
Canada	8.98	9.0	8.1	14	27
Germany	7.07	0.0	4.4	12	7
USA	3.87	2.0	3.5	9	35
Japan	3.52	3.4	2.5	8	19
China	0.46		0.36	2.3	3.9

Source: 王辉耀 *et al.* (2016).

## 6.6 Conclusion

From the relevant HE policies and associated documents, we can see the starting point or the rationale for the policies in the two countries being studied differ a lot. In the Chinese case, the intention is to expand its influence within the world. No matter its way of recruiting international students, its aim is to build more World Class Universities and more Confucian Institutes, as well as to aid developing countries, and to be involved as an active participant in international collaborations and involvement with global HE issues. These intentions can be identified as building soft power through HE and strengthening China's place in the world. This is a broad foreign policy goal. In the Australian case, the nature of the vocabulary within key policy documents reveals a considerable focus on marketing and economic pursuits. In the context of increasing budgetary restrictions, the primary purpose of recruiting international students and providing transnational HE seems to be for economic gain, namely more funding into universities under pressure from reduced real term government funding.

Other funding is attracting international students as part of the Chinese soft power policy agenda, while sending Australian students for exchanges in the Asian region is one of the soft power (Joseph S Nye, 2009) measures of Australia. No matter what the reason, two-

way flow internationalization is increasingly evident, and seen as desirable, rather than single one-way flow in relation to each country.

In fact, as the measures to enhance globalization in HE, the three aspects focused on in this analysis, namely, policies in respect of national objectives (macro), institutional (meso), and flows of people (micro) are related to each other. Talents/skills introduction can build the economic capacity of the nation so that increasing direct or indirect funding in various ways would be injected into universities. Through abundant funding, more research output would be generated, which would not only promote further economic development of the country, but also enhance the competitiveness of the universities and enhance their reputations and standing in the world. With good reputation and strong competitiveness, universities can gain more cross-border cooperation. Cooperation between universities is beneficial to strengthen the competitiveness of both sides. University education is a positional good, and education in more prestigious universities further distinguishes students. Thus, the more high status universities a nation has, the more attractive HE in that nation becomes for international students seeking distinction. International students bring economic income (Australia's case), long lasting and enhanced relations (both), as well as soft power (China's case). They also comprise skilled labour for the host countries if they stay or the original countries if they return.

At national, institutional, and individual levels, IHE effects are evident in various forms. There are similarities as well as differences in the policies and actions in the two countries in the trend towards IHE in the context of globalization.

Similarities, such as promoting and deepening IHE as one important agenda in national policies, promoting transnational cooperation in providing HE, as well as increasing international student numbers and encouraging an outflow of student learning and exchanges, all show policy convergence to some degree. These practices represent responses to the common problems faced by nation-states, and similar agendas set by governments, as they respond and react to the pressures of globalization in the HE sector.

Differences reflect the effects of path dependence. These include: China's soft power initiatives and Australia's appeal for sustainability of international HE as a national priority in the area of IHE; the focus on World Class university construction in China and strengthening the overall HE system in Australia; and different issues in people mobility – specifically, outflow of students and skills in China and over reliance on international students financially in Australia. Due to special national characteristics combined with their



own history, tradition and culture, as well as the different HE systems, the two nations chose different paths to respond to the common trends; what we see in each case are vernacular versions of each trend in transnational HE (cf Appadurai, 1996). As Simola et al. (2013) argued, path dependence and convergence can be regarded as dual pressures and tensions within all comparative studies. The former refers to major national specificities, while the latter refers to international tendencies. Eriksson et al. (2000) argued the need to integrate these two dimensions, path dependence and contingency (no matter out of free will or coincident), to conduct reflexive and sophisticated comparative studies (Peck & Zhang, 2013, p. 209). Concluding insights into these similarities due to policy convergence and differences due to path dependence will be elaborated further in the next, and final chapter of this thesis.

# Chapter 7: Conclusion

## 7.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter will provide a summative account of the research findings of this doctoral study. In doing so, it will provide data-based responses to the research questions that guided the study. In providing this summative account of the research findings, the chapter will succinctly draw together the findings outlined in the three data analysis chapters and also outline the contribution to knowledge of this research.

Dealing with the policies of IHE, this comparative study has compared the ways Australia and China have conducted their IHE in the period 2008-2015. This has entailed consideration of relevant policies in the two nations at macro, meso and micro levels. Differences and similarities in the policies of the two nation-states have been identified, but set against what might be seen as some very broad global converging trends in HE policy (Marginson, 2016b). Facing these common global trends in IHE, the ways these are played out in specific path dependent ways in the two nations for the period of this research have been documented in the previous data analysis chapters and compared in Chapter 6. The analysis chapters also proffered reasons for the different manifestations of the IHE policies in the two nations. This concluding chapter will also comment on the perceived shortcomings of the research and make some recommendations for future research.

In globalized society, time and space (spatio-temporalities) have been compressed (Harvey, 1990). The world has become, what McLuhan referred to more than fifty years ago, as a “global village” (McLuhan & Powers, 1989). Cross national and real-time communication and interactions are more and more common and frequent between national citizens within and beyond nation-states. Cross-border communications of all kinds have been accelerated by new communication technologies, and these have increased awareness of what other nations are doing in the HE policy space. Policy ideas now flow around the globe at a more rapid pace - policyscapes. Some convergence has been seen at least in policy discourses, if not so much in policy practices, for example in HE policy, as demonstrated in this research. However, national characteristics cannot be ignored and erased when considering the specificities of IHE. The two nations of Australia and China have unique national characteristics. National characteristics are shaped by

many factors such as geographic location, changing global geo-political positioning, demography, history, political regime, culture, and other traditions. On the latter, the role of changing Confucianism in China and in Australia classic Enlightenment values (namely liberty, equality and fraternity, foregrounded in the national political revolutions in Europe in the late eighteenth century) remain prescient, and the ways the two nations have responded to the globalization of the economy in the post-Cold War era; China has embraced market socialism, often encouraging market competition between state owned enterprises, while Australia has adopted a different version of neoliberalism. Both responses build in path dependent ways on what has gone before. Even though superficially there appears to be some policy convergence, divergence still exists because of national path dependent factors that always mediate to varying degrees global homogenizing pressures, as research in the field of comparative education has demonstrated (e.g., Mundy, Green, Lingard & Verger, 2016). This thesis research has shown how the similarities between the two sets of policies being researched in the two nations link in some ways to global converging pressures, while at the same time the differences link to path dependent specificities of the two nations. This is Appadurai (1996) concept of “vernacular globalization”.

As simultaneously a response to an expression of globalization, IHE policy has been discussed and studied across the last three decades and continues to be researched. Despite numerous research works on the topic, there is a relatively limited amount of research work focused on comparison of IHE policies of different nations. Australia, re-positioning itself in the Indo-Pacific region, has placed more and more emphasis on IHE for largely economic and funding reasons, but with a soft power emphasis as well, especially via the New Colombo Plan (refer to Chapter 5). Given China is an important nation in the Asia-Pacific region, the relationship between Australia and China is crucial in the development of the region, economically, politically and culturally. A high proportion of international students in Australian universities are from China. China’s IHE policies are focused much more on soft power goals.

This research study then is an attempt to fill a gap in the research literature on comparative study of HE policies with a focus on internationalization. The study has also sought to figure out the interactive relationships between global, national and local pressures and factors in HE policy on internationalization in China and Australia for the period 2008-2015. Additionally, the research has provided critical policy analyses of IHE

policies in both Australia and China for the period, 2008-2015. These have been provided in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

The next section (7.2) of this concluding chapter then provides answers to the first two research questions that framed the study: what were the policies of IHE in China and in Australia from 2008 to 2015 and what were the purposes of these; what were the similarities and differences in relation to the policies on IHE in the two countries? The subsequent section (7.3) provides answers to the third and fourth research questions: How were these policies linked to the contexts of contemporary globalization and the politics and policy making approaches in each country? What were the differences in relation to the IHE in the two countries, and what did these differences tell us about the impact of globalization on HE policy, and about path dependence in HE politics and policy making in each country?

After the research questions have been summatively answered, the contribution to knowledge of the research is then outlined, followed by brief consideration of the limitations of the study, and suggestions for future research. The chapter concludes with a final summative statement.

## **7.2 Policies of IHE in China and Australia, 2008-2015: Policy Convergence and Divergence**

In the context of globalization, nation-states inevitably have carried out policies and strategies for internationalizing their HE, either actively or passively. China and Australia are not exceptions. Beginning in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, IHE has accelerated in China since the implementation of the opening up policy and related economic reforms instigated from the late 1970s from the time of Deng. The priorities and content of IHE policy in China have changed over time in respect of the foci on different aspects in different phases. Briefly, from 1978 Chinese IHE policy was initially focused on activities related to the traditional outflows of scholars and students and the likelihood or otherwise of their return to China. More recently, the focus has been on the development of transnational HE and the pursuit of soft power and China's influence in the global community (Huang, 2003). This research has explored China's HE policies concerning internationalization for the more recent period of 2008-2015. The focus has been on three levels and categories of policies, namely: overarching meta-policies at the macro level that sketch a national agenda and priorities, such as pursuing soft power in and through IHE strategies; institution focused policies at the meso level, which encourage cooperation in

transnational HE operation and the establishment of Confucius Institutes, and creation of more WCUs; and people focused policies at the micro level that send personnel abroad, encourage people mobility, promote foreign student recruitment and attracting back returning talents with international experience.

Before the Second World War, Australian IHE was limited to unilateral flows outward – graduates went abroad to gain research higher degrees. The policy and practice of internationalization of Australian HE have subsequently moved through three phases: first, from a foreign aid, soft power approach, which offered aid-based scholarships for overseas students (especially from British Commonwealth nations) from the Asia-Pacific region from the 1950s, especially through the original Colombo Plan; second, to an export industry which was linked to the introduction and expansion of full-fee international students from the early 1990s at a time of expanded national provision of HE and tightened government funding; and third, internationalization from the early 1990s, which aimed to further expand the activities of internationalization of Australian HE worldwide, including mobility of international students, transnational mobility of Australian staff and academics, internationalization of curriculum, and international cooperation and alliances between governments/institutions. Australia's IHE policy has also been explored at three levels and categories for the period 2008 to 2015, including: overarching meta-policies that sketch the national agenda and priorities, seeking to further expand Australian HE worldwide and enhance the sustainable development of international HE; institution focused policies which aim at further expanding transnational HE business, insisting on high quality control and enhancing Australian universities' global competitiveness; and people focused policies, which consist of strategies for recruiting more international students and arrangements of international students' visas and linkages with highly skilled migration policies, and the New Colombo Plan to promote Australian students' exchange and mobility as a soft power strategy.

In particular, there are several common trends in the HE sector developments around the world under the conditions of globalization: the move to mass provision; the spread of the concept of WCUs and a one-world science system, and the marketization of HE and New Public Management and business approaches applied in university governance (Marginson, 2016b). These common global trends have shaped HE in each country and resulted in policy convergence in some areas, discursively at least. In the cases of Australia and China, as identified in previous chapters, these trends have generated similar reactions and measures in the two nations, such as neoliberalism and

marketization of HE, restructuring of HE, embracing internationalization, advocating student and staff mobility, exchange and collaboration and pursuing high status positions in the worldwide global HE community. This research, though, has also demonstrated the ways these developments are manifested in path dependent ways in the two nations.

Australia, as noted earlier in this thesis, was an early adopter of the internationalization of higher education, while in comparison China has been late adopter. Many of the similarities and differences between the IHE policies in the two nations are reflective of this different development status. These also reflect the fact that Australia's more recent emphasis on IHE from the early 1990s came at a time of expanded provision of HE and reduced government expenditure and that China's more recent interest in IHE has occurred simultaneously with the rise of China geo-politically and economically and with increased targeted government funding on the small group of elite universities.

In sum, there exist similarities and differences in the policies of IHE in the two nations. Similarities include promoting and deepening IHE as one important agenda in national policies, promoting transnational cooperation in providing HE, as well as increasing international student numbers and encouraging an outflow of student learning and exchanges; all show policy convergence to some degree. These practices represent responses to the common problems faced by nation-states and their HE systems, and similar agendas set by governments, as they respond and react to globalization in the HE sector. The distinctions in the policies between the two nations include China's soft power initiatives and Australia's appeal for sustainability of international HE as a national priority in the area of IHE; the focus on World Class university construction in China and strengthening the overall HE system in Australia; and different issues in people mobility – specifically, outflow of students and skills in China and over reliance on international students financially in Australia. A major point of differences is the stress on the financial significance to the HE sector and individual universities in Australia of international student fees.

### **7.3 Similar Global Trends but Different Responses: Internationalizing HE with National Characteristics**

Global and local dimensions of IHE have been studied extensively. Due to the special national characteristics, such as history, tradition and culture, as well as the different HE systems, nation-states have chosen different paths to respond to the common global trends in the HE sector and to the pressures that flow from globalization. Although

internationalizing HE is a strategy and target carried out by most nation-states, they still have their own path dependent ways of doing this. This path dependence manifests in different ways in the two nations. Path dependence is strong in China (see p.81) while in Australia, path dependence is less evident and reflects changing conceptions of the role of HE over time, in that country. In other words, nation-states hybridize convergence pressures in their HE policies, resulting in internationalization with national characteristics. This is path dependence.

As reviewed in Chapter 3, the literature on path dependence suggests different strengths of this factor in framing contemporary policies in varying national contexts (Roe, 1996). The analysis provided in the research suggests that path dependence in IHE policies in China is stronger than for these policies in Australian HE. This possibly reflects the longer history of China and its centralised and single party mode of governance. Only quite recently has internationalisation become heavily focused on the economic benefits to HE and HE institutions in Australia. To understand path dependence, one needs to conduct empirical research on specific cases of policy, as has been done in the doctoral research presented here.

Compared with Australia and other Western developed countries, Chinese “national character and identity have always been strongly maintained and protected through government legislation” (Huang, 2003, p. 238). Chinese national character or “Chinese characteristics” is a complex concept and difficult to define. The concept includes Chinese culture and philosophies, which have been shaped by its long history, socio-political and economic development, traditional values, as well as impacts from other countries. Confucian philosophy and the ideology of socialism are two core elements dominant in this concept of “Chinese characteristics” (refer to 4.6.2). It should also be noted that socialism in China is socialism with Chinese characteristics, a sort of Maoist version, but one that continues to change and develop over time. One notable character of the Confucian education model is the strong state control of HE policies and universities. This is readily apparent in Chinese universities’ governing bodies, where the Secretary of the CCP and President are in charge together (Jokila, 2015) (cf. the Senate in the Australian context). The ideology of socialism was once the main obstacle for China to communicate with the outside world. After the opening up policy and market economy reforms, driven in the first instance by Deng Xi Peng from the late 1970s, this obstacle has been weakened. Nevertheless, under socialism, the non-profitability of HE has been emphasized, for example, in the regulations of transnational HE with a focus on the public good. Non-

profitability here means that HE is still conceptualized in policy terms as state funded, managed, directed and as a public good. Many universities from capitalist nations come to China to extend their internationalization, but do so most often in relation to financial motivations and benefits. China's focus, in contrast, is on other sorts of benefits. The conflict of benefits can be a problem for China (Yang, 2002). This is a public good/private good tension.

Australia is a capitalist and migration country with a dominant Anglo-Saxon-Celtic culture. It emphasizes the free market economy, democracy and the value of equality and individual freedom, as well as supporting multiculturalism. Different from other western developed countries, its unique geographic location encourages substantive and continuing connections with Asian countries, especially Asian developing countries. Given that, Australia has transformed its strategic and economic foci from Western countries to the Indo-Pacific region. The main motivation for Australia's rapid move into this region is an economic one. Given the so-called Asian century, Australia sees its economic future as inextricably tied to Asia, and in particular to China. It needs to be noted again here that Chinese students dominate the international student market in Australian universities, particularly in the elite, Group of Eight universities.

Appadurai's (1996) cultural dimensions of globalization and concept of vernacular globalization, and Marginson's (2004) glocal agency analysis, are used widely to explain the heterogeneity of globalization effects on the national and/or local level, as well as in relation to the interactions and relationships between the global, national and local dimensions of change. The role of the nation-state is crucial in the policy processes of IHE. Although national character is not fixed, but rather changes over time under various internal and external pressures, including those resulting from globalization, path dependence still plays a significant role, ensuring there exists a degree of continuity in national character. As Appadurai's ideoscape analysis implies, national leaders and government policy makers are "imagining globalization", and this imagined globalization is affected by individual nation-states' historical, linguistic and political situatedness, as well as through other pre-existing ideas and concepts (N. Knight, 2003).

The main political difference between China and Australia is in the different framing ideologies of the two nations, namely, capitalism and socialism. Under the logic of capitalism, there is emphasis on economic benefits directly. In contrast, though giving way to the market, socialism limits profitmaking and a direct financial focus in HE. An obvious



example is transnational HE, where Australia clearly regards it as a business, while China strictly stipulates the non-profitability of transitional HE programs and organizations. There is also another significant and relevant difference between the two nations: Australia is a liberal democracy, while China is a one-party state.

Specific national characteristics affect national priorities in HE policies. Driven by economic interests, international HE is regarded as the fastest growing export industry in Australia. With a high proportion of international students in the HE sector, Australia's main propriety interest is to realize sustainable development of international HE, which means continuing to put effort into expanding the international HE market. As an emerging nation, China's huge investment in the HE sector has achieved initial success and Chinese universities' performance has been increasingly enhanced with more Chinese institutions appearing in international rankings. With the support from the booming economy, China has turned to exert its influence via culture, within the global community. In China, soft power is obvious at the institutional level, as in the creation of some WCUs and CIs, as well as in the goal to attract more international students.

In sum, the reasons for the two nations choosing different responses in relation to global trends in HE are the continuing mediating effects of national characteristics and path dependence, which are manifested in the different policies for internationalizing HE in the two respective national contexts. Driven by the logics of capitalism, Australian actions obviously tend to economic rationales and economic interests, while under a more socialist logic, China emphasizes non-profitability and soft power in HE. The IHE as a common pursuit in the two nations has different purposes: Australia expects to expand its education industry and gain economic benefits for both the universities and the nation, while China expects to learn advanced technology and knowledge to strengthen its national development and to exert its influences and enhance its soft power worldwide; this is not to deny that there are some soft power goals in Australian IHE, but merely to flag that these pale in significance when compared with more economic logics.

#### **7.4 Contribution of this Study**

This study has provided critical analyses of IHE policies in both Australia and China for the period, 2008-2015. The study has also provided a comparison of these policies, as well as situating them against the multiple effects of globalization and global trends in HE. On the latter, the study has untangled the interweaving of these global effects and trends with path dependent factors in the IHE policies in both nations. The research has suggested

that these global trends have manifested with national characteristics in each of the two nations.

In relation to further contributions of the research: first, this study contributes to assisting the two nations to better understand their own national contexts, but also those of each other, and to facilitate future collaboration and engagement in the Asia-Pacific region, particularly in higher education. There is a relatively short history from the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, but rapid development of engagement and connections between China and Australia in HE. A speech by Professor Margaret Gardner, Vice-Chancellor of Monash University, to Universities Australia's Australia-China HE Forum in Beijing on 21 October 2016, reiterated the importance of the engagement between China and Australia, which will develop and deepen further in the future given its current trajectory (Gardner, 2016). Within that context, to explore the IHE strategies with national characteristics in two nations can help both understand each other better, and on that basis, the factors that could further enhance and facilitate future engagement and collaboration in the HE sector.

Second, as noted in Chapter 2, there has been little research to date conducted on the comparison of HE policies in Australia and China, and much less attention paid to the comparison of IHE policies in the two nations. So, this study fills this research gap by foregrounding the similarities and differences in policies on IHE in Austria and China in three key categories: overarching meta-policies; institution focused policies; and people focused policies – and respectively representing the situation at the macro, meso and micro levels of policy.

Third, this study helps in understanding the interactive relationships between global and national pressures in policy formation by comparing the international HE policies of the two countries, set against global pressure and national policy path dependencies. Such comparison facilitates better understanding of how globalization has impacted and been responded to in IHE policies through a focus on two specific national policy contexts. Thus, it provides comparative references on related HE policy making for other countries worldwide. Global trends could be construed to result in policy convergence, leading to nations seeming to adopt a common agenda and similar strategies, yet as this research has clearly demonstrated these are played out in path dependent or vernacular ways.

## **7.5 Limitations of the Study**

The research was based upon documents and document analysis of the relevant policies in the two nations. A myriad of research literature has documented the gap between policy texts and policy as implemented or enacted. It must be acknowledged, then, that this study is a study of policy documents, not a study of the full policy cycle, or policy as implemented (more accurately, enacted) in practice (e.g., Ball, 2005; Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012; Cohen & Ball, 1990). This is a limitation of this research and implies an area for future research on policy implementation and practice. This would of necessity entail the collection of other kinds of data, especially through research interviews.

Furthermore, due to my own positionality as a researcher – a Chinese national undertaking research into HE in Australia – in understanding both sets of policies in their contexts, related to their history, tradition, political regimes and status quo, it may be easier for me to situate Chinese policies in their path dependent contexts than to do the same with the Australian policies. I also recognize that as a Chinese researcher situated in an Australian university, I occupy something of an “outsider” positionality in relation to the Australian context, at the same time as my research, informed by western epistemologies and insights, might also be construed as being situated “outside” the realm of dominant knowledge epistemologies from a Confucian and Chinese context more broadly. Yet, at the same time, as an “international student” studying in Australia, I embody some of the very tensions, challenges and opportunities engagement in HE in international and transnational contexts affords. In acknowledging these limitations resulting from my researcher positionality, I am accepting that there is no possibility of a stance of “epistemological innocence” in social science research (Bourdieu, 1999). I also acknowledge the difficulties experienced at times in carrying out this research in translating Chinese policy documents into English prior to doing policy analysis.

## **7.6 Future Research**

The empirical research on actual policy enactment would be a good direction for future research to identify the gaps between the policy texts, as presented, and actual policy “implementation” or enactment (Ball et al., 2012). The multifarious nature of such enactment processes accords such research a primacy that should not be ignored. This requires ethnographies at various sites and also research interviews.

Research on the different impacts of China’s focus on creating special policies and targeted funding towards a number of WCUs, and Australia’s goal of having all its

universities operating at a World Class standard, could also be conducted in future research. As well, research on the different impacts of increased HE funding in China as opposed to stagnant funding of Australia's universities, including consideration of the public/private contributions to university funding, would also be an important research topic for future study.

Additionally, the distinctions between the use of the concept of talents in China and that of human capital in Australian policy discourse is another interesting area for further research. The way internationalization of higher education is implicated in such practices are very interesting, and worthy of further inquiry. Australia uses permanent residence visas to attract foreign skilled migrants, while China uses abundant funding and special policy supports to attract global talents, and returning Chinese. Facing the same global trends of competing for talents, China and Australia have chosen different pathways. Of particular note, the different terms and concepts, talents and human capital, are used in Chinese and Australian discourses and policies, and relate to their distinctive national characteristics and path dependence. It is interesting to contemplate whether or not the usage of talents in the Chinese political context is "human capital with Chinese characteristics", or something else. Further research would also be very helpful in relation to the links between IHE policies in China and the ambitions of the *One Belt and One Road* initiative, which is also *inter alia* concerned with the development of talents.

## **7.7 Concluding Comments**

As outlined at the beginning of this chapter and as outlined by Marginson (2016), the three common global trends in the world in respect of HE are the move to mass provision, the spread of the concept of WCUs and a "one-world science system", and the use in HE of business models of organization and functioning. We can see the different reactions by Australia and China to these common trends. First, facing the expansion in HE participation worldwide, Australia has taken efforts to attract international students and expand international markets, while the Chinese trend is for more students to study abroad to obtain better education. In one word, Australia has actively developed its education export industry, while China has actively introduced and imported foreign education sources. Second, facing the hot pursuit of constructing WCUs, China has invested and injected large special funds in selected top universities, while Australia emphasizes the overall strength and competitiveness of the HE system as a whole. Third, in the fashion of quasi-business or business model of HE worldwide, Australia has welcomed the trend towards more business-oriented logics in HE, and was one of the early adopters, while in

China, even with increased awareness of the business model of HE and the idea of new managerialism introduced in universities, the majority of HEIs are regulated as non-profit institutions and cannot be operated for profit.

There is a strict hierarchy in Chinese universities and the number of elite universities (e.g., C9) is limited. With the increasing middle class population and families' desire for good education, more and more Asian students are sent overseas for a better education, thereby promoting the rapid development of the overseas study market. As an education exporting country, Australia absorbs large numbers of overseas students and attempts to attract more international students as additional income to support universities' operations in the context of reduced federal funding relative to the size of the sector. As the third largest export market, sustainable development of international HE (offshore and onshore programs) is vital to Australia, especially in the context of continuing and rising competition from USA, UK and China (NSIE, 2016). For example, China, a traditional education importing country, has strengthened its universities' performance and competitiveness, and upgraded the local supply of education at all levels; as a result push factors are weakened and reduced (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002). Consequently, pull factors, like quality, reputation, and positive study experience, need to be taken seriously in Australia if it is to remain a destination of choice for international students (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002).

The notion of WCUs is popular with the government in China<sup>44</sup>. China has invested large funds in building WCUs in the last two decades and has realized considerable achievement (CDWUFDOP, 2015). Nevertheless, including criticism from Chinese scholars regarding the partiality and accuracy of these world university rankings, this focus also results in a significant imbalance in development between Chinese universities. The gap between universities involved in *Project 985* and *Project 211*, and universities that are not in these projects, has become larger and larger. In contrast, as Australia has a small number of universities and half of them are already among the "best" universities in the world according to established ranking systems, there is less impetus for it to pursue a WCUs strategy. Nonetheless, the concept still has salience in Australia, often in relation to quality issues and research output, yet Australia emphasizes the overall strength and competitiveness of the HE system as a whole.

It is obvious Australia welcomed the trend towards more business-oriented logics in HE, and was one of the early adopters. Providing cross-border or transnational HE, marketing

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<sup>44</sup> This is a concept that needs deconstruction and further research.

international HE, recruiting international education, are all part of these business logics in Australian HE. However, in China, although there are continuing debates about the nature of education, HE is still regarded as a public or quasi-public good. The majority of HEIs are regulated as non-profit institutions and cannot be operated for profit; this is also the case in relation to CFCRS, recruitment of foreign students and SSPSAP. Universities in both nations have in their own path dependent ways taken on new management approaches to running universities.

At national, institutional, and individual levels, IHE effects are evident in various forms. There are similarities as well as differences in the policies and actions in the two countries; these are manifestations of global trends in HE and path dependence and their entanglement in policy practices. In this study, I compared the policies of IHE in Australia and China, in three categories: overarching meta-policies at the macro level; institution focused policies at the meso level; and people focused policies at the micro level. Similarities and distinctions were identified. Similarities, such as promoting and deepening IHE as one important agenda in national policies at the macro level, promoting transnational cooperation in providing HE at the meso level, as well as increasing international student numbers and encouraging an outflow of student learning and exchanges at the micro level, all show policy convergence to some degree. Differences include: China's soft power initiatives and Australia's appeal for sustainability of international HE as a national priority in the area of IHE; the focus on World Class university creation in China and strengthening the overall HE system in Australia; and different issues in people mobility – specifically, outflow of students and skills in China and over reliance on international students financially in Australia at the micro level. Related, Australia is currently seeking to enhance the numbers of national HE students spending time abroad during their degrees. The new Colombo Plan is important here. China wishes to increase the numbers of incoming international students and the numbers of degree taking students.

Policy convergence and divergence have been shown to exist at the same time. Due to the global trends and common challenges, nations have set similar agendas and employed similar strategies. At the same time, the interaction between global factors and national factors are playing an important role in determining the specific vernacular development directions of each nation's HE sector. Path dependence and national character have been shaped by each country's unique history, cultural values, tradition,

political regime, economic development stage as well as geographic location, which make it distinct in choosing different priorities, targets and approaches in IHE policies.

Driven by the logics of capitalism, Australian internationalization policies tend to stress economic rationales and economic interests; that is, there is heavy focus on the funding benefits to the nation and to universities from full fee-paying international students. In contrast, within the logics of socialism, China does not emphasize this more economic aspect, and internationalization is related more to a soft power strategy, and policy is much more government directed and controlled. This difference also reflects the different stages of development of internationalization policies in the two nations, with internationalization in Australian HE being more developed.

The starting point or the rationale for the policies in the two countries being studied differ to a considerable extent. In the Chinese case, the intention is to expand its influence within the world. No matter its way of recruiting international students, its aim is to build more World Class Universities and more Confucian Institutes, as well as to aid developing countries, and to be involved as an active participant in international collaborations and involvement with global HE issues. These intentions can be identified as building soft power through HE and strengthening China's place in the world. This is a broad foreign policy goal. It is the case, however, that this soft power approach builds on and reflects China's growing geo-political and economic power globally. In the Australian case, the nature of the vocabulary within key policy documents reveals a considerable focus on marketing and economic pursuits. In the context of increasing budgetary restrictions, the primary purpose of recruiting international students and providing transnational HE seems to be for economic gain, namely more funding into universities under pressure from reduced real term government funding. There are, of course, dangers in this strategy if there is a downturn in international student numbers.

Both nations have different purposes for internationalization. Australia expects to expand its international education industry (i.e., developing transnational HE), develop its long-term economy (i.e., by gaining skilled migrants to accumulate human capital) and gain more immediate economic benefits (i.e., by fostering the engagement of more international students on its HE campuses, and living in various Australian urban communities). However, China expects to introduce advanced technology and knowledge (i.e., by sending students abroad to study, attracting returning talents, encouraging cooperation in running universities with foreigner partners), to strength national development and to exert

its influence and enhance its soft power worldwide (i.e., by constructing World Class Universities, attracting international students, and building more Confucius Institutes). Better understanding such motivations, the affordances and challenges they present, including in relation to broader geo-political, economic and cultural relations, is essential for both nations as they work towards addressing the shared and particular goals, challenges and opportunities that characterize the HE space more broadly, and their own national and regional circumstances.



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# Appendices

## Appendix 1 Translation of the content related to other two categories of policies in Chinese meta-policies

### 1.1 Discourse and translation of “Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Universities” in meta-policies

Policy name	Content	Translation
The Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)	引进优质教育资源。吸引境外知名学校、教育和科研机构以及企业，合作设立教育教学、实训、研究机构或项目。鼓励各级各类学校开展多种形式的国际交流与合作，办好若干所示范性中外合作学校和一批中外合作办学项目。探索多种方式利用国外优质教育资源。	Introduce high quality education resources. Attract overseas well-known schools, education and scientific research institutions and enterprises, to cooperate in setting up the education teaching, training and research organization or project. Encourage schools at various levels and of various kinds to carry out international exchanges and cooperation, do a good job in a number of demonstration Chinese-foreign cooperation schools and a batch of Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools projects. Explore a variety of ways using foreign high-quality education resources.
National Educational Development “Eleventh Five-year Plan”	推动中外合作办学。	Promote the Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools.
	全面落实《中华人民共和国中外合作办学条例》，积极引进国外优质教育资源。加强管理与引导，办好若干具有示范作用的中外合作办学机构和办学项目。推动我国高校与世界知名大学和科研机构进行“强强合作”和“强项合作”。	Full implement the regulations of the People's Republic of China's Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools, actively introduce foreign high-quality education resources. Strengthen the management and guidance, do a good job in number of a Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools and educational projects with exemplary role. Promote Chinese universities and world famous universities and research institutions to carry out "partnerships" and "strong cooperation".
National Educational Development “Twelfth Five-year Plan” (2011-2015)	积极引进优质教育资源。鼓励各级各类学校和教育机构开展多种形式的国际交流与合作。重点支持一批示范性中外合作教育项目或机构。积极探索中外合作办学新模式。完善中外合作办学质量保障、办学评估、财务监控、信息披露和学生投诉等机制。有计划地引进世界一流的专家学者和学术团队，引进境外优秀教材。研究制定外籍教师聘任和管理办法，支持高等学校聘任外籍教师。	Actively introduce high quality education resources. Encourage schools and education institutions at various levels and of various kinds to carry out various kinds of international exchanges and cooperation. Key support a number of demonstration Chinese-foreign cooperative education institutions or projects. Actively explore new mode of Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools. Improve the quality assurance of Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools, educational evaluation, financial supervision, and information disclosure and student complaints mechanism. Introduce the world first-class experts and scholars and academic team in a planned way, introduce excellent teaching material. Study and make foreign teachers employment and management measures, and support HEIs to hire foreign teachers.
Priority Work of the MOE 2009	完善跨境教育质量保障机制，健全教育涉外法规体系，加强对教育涉外活动的监管和引导。	Improve the quality assurance mechanism of cross-border education, perfect the system of foreign-related education laws and regulations, and strengthen the supervision and guidance of education activities concerning foreign affairs.
Priority Work of the MOE 2010	积极引进海外优质教育资源，办好示范性中外合作办学机构和项目，开展评估试点。	Actively introduce foreign high-quality education resources, do a good job in demonstration Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools and programs, and carry out trial evaluation.
Priority Work of the MOE 2011	成立教育部中外合作办学领导小组和全国中外合作办学专家评议委员会，多种形式推进中外合作办学，引进优质教育资源。建立中外合作办学质量保障机制。	Set up a leading group for Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools and the Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools expert assessment committee in MOE, promote the Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools in a variety of forms. Introduce high-quality education resources. Establish quality assurance mechanism of Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools.
Priority Work of the MOE 2012	制定推进中外合作办学的政策措施，引进一批国际知名高校来华合作办学。加强行业自律，建立和完善质量保障制度，开展评估和质量认证。	Formulate policies and measures to promote the Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools, introduce a number of international well-known universities to cooperate in running schools in China. Strengthen industry self-discipline, establish and perfect quality assurance system, and carry out the assessment and quality certification.
Priority Work of the MOE 2013	引进一批境外高水平大学来华合作办学。	Introduce a batch of overseas high-level universities for cooperation in running schools in China.
Priority Work of the MOE 2014	优化中外合作办学类别、学科结构和地区布局。	Optimize the categories, subject structure and area layout of Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools.

	修订《高等学校境外办学暂行管理办法》，支持国内高水平教育机构走出去办学。	Revise the <i>interim measures for the administration of HEIs running schools abroad</i> , and support domestic high level education organizations to go abroad and run schools.
Priority Work of the MOE 2015	加强中外合作办学和自费出国留学中介服务机构的监管。稳步推进境外办学。	Strengthen the supervision on Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools and self-funded studying abroad intermediary service institutions. Steadily promote running schools abroad.

## 1.2 Discourse and translation of “Confucius Institutes project” in meta-policies

Policy	content	Translation
The Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)	推动我国高水平教育机构海外办学，加强教育国际交流，广泛开展国际合作和教育服务。支持国际汉语教育。提高孔子学院办学质量和水平。加大教育国际援助力度，为发展中国家培养培训专门人才。拓宽渠道和领域，建立高等学校毕业生海外志愿者服务机制。	Promote higher level education institutions running school abroad, strengthen the education international communication, carrying out international cooperation and education services. Support the international Chinese language education. Improve the quality and level of the Confucius Institute in running schools. Intensify education international aid for developing countries and train specialized personnel for developing countries. Broaden the channels and areas, establish the overseas volunteer service mechanism for the graduates of HE institutions.
National Educational Development “Eleventh Five-year Plan”	加强汉语国际推广工作。完善汉语国际推广的统筹协调机构，加快建设汉语国际推广基地和网络平台。加快推进孔子学院建设，规范管理、提高教学质量。适应多样化的需求，加强汉语国际推广教材的开发和应用，做好汉语国际推广教师的培训和选拔工作，改进汉语水平考试及其管理模式。加强汉语国际推广的研究工作。	Strengthen the Chinese international promotion. Improve the overall coordination agency of Chinese international promotion, accelerate the development of Chinese international promotion base and network platform. Speed up the establishment of a Confucius Institutes, standardize management, and improve the quality of teaching. Meet the diverse needs, strengthen the development and application of Chinese international promotion materials, do a good job of training and selection of Chinese international promotion teachers, improve the HSK and its management mode. Strengthen the research of Chinese international promotion work.
National Educational Development “Twelfth Five-year Plan” (2011-2015)	积极参与文化走出去工程。支持国际汉语教育。完善孔子学院发展机制，加强国际汉语师资队伍建设，探索建立高等学校毕业生海外志愿者服务机制，推动汉语国际地位提升。组织对外翻译优秀学术成果和文化精品，建立面向外国青年的文化交流机制。向世界宣传我国教育改革的成就和经验。	Actively participate in cultural go out project. Support the international Chinese language education. Improve the mechanism of the development of Confucius Institutes, strengthen the construction of international Chinese language teachers, explore overseas volunteer service mechanism for graduates of HE institutions, and promote international status of Chinese. Organize translation of outstanding academic achievements and cultural products, set up foreign youth oriented culture exchange mechanism. Propagandize to the world the achievements and experience of the education reform and development in our country.
Priority Work of the MOE 2008	做好以孔子学院为龙头的汉语国际推广工作。继续加强孔子学院建设和布局，强化管理，切实抓好师资、教材、管理等方面的基础建设，全面带动国外大中小学汉语教学，提高汉语国际推广质量。充分利用 2008 年北京奥运会等，进一步兴起汉语国际推广的新高潮。制定《汉语国际推广 2008-2012 年规划》。	Be ready to do the Chinese international promotion by Confucius Institute. Continue to strengthen the construction and layout of the Confucius Institute, strengthen management on the teachers, teaching materials, management earnestly infrastructure and so on, comprehensively promote overseas Chinese teaching of primary and secondary schools, improve the quality of Chinese international promotion. Make full use of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games and so on to further the rise of Chinese international promotion. Make the <i>Chinese international promotion plan 2008-2012</i> .
Priority Work of the MOE 2009	制定《汉语国际推广中长期规划》，统筹规划全球孔子学院布局，注重提高质量，鼓励探索创新，促进平等合作。加强汉语学习读物和文化产品开发，创新汉语教学资源推广模式。设立孔子学院奖学金。举办汉语夏令营和汉语桥世界大学生中文比赛。加强汉语国际推广教师和志愿者队伍建设，进一步加大国外本土汉语教师培养培训力度。	Make the <i>medium and long-term planning of Chinese international promotion</i> , overall plan the global layout of the Confucius Institute, pay attention to improve the quality, encourage the exploration innovation, and promote equal cooperation. Strengthen product development, Chinese learning books and culture promotion mode innovation of Chinese teaching resources. Set up Confucius Institute scholarship. Hold Chinese summer camp and Chinese bridge competition. Strengthen the construction of Chinese international promotion of teachers and volunteers, and further increase the intensity of local Chinese language teacher training.
Priority Work of the MOE 2010	加快汉语国际推广，抓好汉语教师培训和教材建设，办好孔子学院。	Speed up the Chinese international promotion, pay special attention to the Chinese teacher training and teaching material construction, do a good job in the Confucius Institute.
Priority Work of the MOE 2011	制定汉语国际教育发展规划。完善孔子学院发展机制，抓好教师选	Formulate plans for the development of Chinese international education. Improve the development mechanism of the Confucius Institute, pay special attention to the teacher selection, volunteer

	派、志愿者招聘、教材推广和常规管理, 建立有利于孔子学院健康发展的质量评估体系。	recruitment, promotion of teaching materials and the routine management, establish a quality evaluation system that is conducive to the healthy development of the Confucius Institute.
Priority Work of the MOE 2012	发布孔子学院十年规划和“十二五”规划, 办好网络孔子学院, 支持孔子学院全面提高办学质量。	Issue the Confucius Institutes' ten year plan and the "twelfth five-year" plan, do a good job in the network of Confucius Institute, support the Confucius Institute to improve teaching quality in an all-round way.
Priority Work of the MOE 2013	实施“走出去”战略, 全面实施《孔子学院发展规划(2012-2020年)》, 研究制订高校赴境外办学的指导意见。	Implement the strategy of "going out", full implement the <i>Confucius Institute development planning (2012-2020)</i> , and formulate guidance in running schools abroad.
Priority Work of the MOE 2014	鼓励社会组织和机构积极参与孔子学院建设。	Encourage social organizations and institutions to actively participate in construction of the Confucius Institute.
Priority Work of the MOE 2015	加强示范孔子学院和网络孔子学院建设。	Strengthen the construction of Confucius institute as the demonstration role and the network of Confucius Institute.

### 1.3 Discourse and translation of “construction of World Class University” in meta-policies

Policy	content	translation
The Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)	加快建设一流大学和一流学科。以重点学科建设为基础, 继续实施“985工程”和优势学科创新平台建设, 继续实施“211工程”和启动特色重点学科项目。改进管理模式, 引入竞争机制, 实行绩效评估, 进行动态管理。鼓励学校优势学科面向世界, 支持参与和设立国际学术合作组织、国际科学计划, 支持与境外高水平教育、科研机构建立联合研发基地。加快创建世界一流大学和高水平大学的步伐, 培养一批拔尖创新人才, 形成一批世界一流学科, 产生一批国际领先的原创性成果, 为提升我国综合国力贡献力量。	Accelerate the development of first-class universities and the first-class disciplines. Based on the construction of key disciplines, continue to implement the “ <i>project 985</i> ” and the superiority discipline innovation platform construction, and continue to implement the “ <i>project 211</i> ” and start key disciplines project. Improve the management pattern, introduce competition mechanism, implement performance evaluation, and make dynamic management. Encourage schools with advantage subjects facing the world, support the creation of international academic cooperation organization, the international participation and scientific plan, support to set up joint research and development base with overseas high level education and scientific research institutions. Speed up the pace to create world-class universities and high level universities, cultivate a group of top creative talents, form a group of world first-class disciplines, produce a series of international leading original achievements, and make contributions to enhance China's comprehensive national strength.
National Educational Development “Eleventh Five-year Plan”	继续实施“211工程”和“985工程”, 推进一流大学和高水平大学建设, 尽快使若干所大学和一批重点学科达到或接近世界先进水平, 努力造就大批杰出人才, 成为建设创新型国家的重要力量。	Continue to implement the <i>Project 211</i> and <i>Project 985</i> , push forward the construction of the first-class university and high level university, make a number of universities and a group of key disciplines at or near the world's advanced level as soon as possible, make efforts to create a large number of outstanding talents that will become an important force in building an innovative country.
National Educational Development “Twelfth Five-year Plan” (2011-2015)	将高等教育作为科技第一生产力和人才第一资源的重要结合点, 加快建设一流大学和一流学科。	Take HE as the first productive force of science and technology and talent the first resources as the important juncture, speed up the construction of first-class universities and first-class disciplines.
Priority Work of the MOE 2008	26.继续推进高水平大学和重点学科建设, 提高我国高等教育水平和竞争力。全面实施“211工程”三期建设, 完成“985工程”二期建设, 启动“985工程”三期建设, 实施优势学科创新平台计划。	Continue to push forward high-level university and key discipline construction, improve our country's higher education level and competitiveness. Full implement third phase of <i>Project 211</i> construction, complete the phase ii of <i>Project 985</i> construction, start the third phase of <i>Project 985</i> construction, implement advantage discipline innovation platform scheme.
Priority Work of the MOE 2009	加快创建高水平大学步伐, 提高我国高等教育竞争力。坚持以重点学科建设为核心, 实施“211工程”三期建设, 使更多的学科达到国际先进水平。启动“985工程”三期建设, 支持优势学科创新平台建设, 增强为建设创新型国家服务的能力。	Speed up the pace to create a high-level university, enhance the competitiveness of China's higher education. Insist on key discipline construction as the core, implement the third phase of <i>Project 211</i> construction, and make more subjects to reach the international advanced level. Start the third phase of <i>Project 985</i> construction, support advantage discipline innovation platform construction, and enhance the ability of service for constructing a creative country.
Priority Work of the MOE 2011	办好清华大学 100 周年校庆, 加快世界一流大学建设步伐。	Do a good job in Tsinghua university's 100 anniversary, speed up the pace of building world-class university

Priority Work of the MOE 2013	加强对“985工程”、“211工程”建设的分类管理和指导，继续推进优势学科创新平台和特色重点学科项目建设，加快建设一流大学和重点学科。	Strengthen the classification management and guidance of <i>Project 985</i> and <i>Project 211</i> construction, continue to promote advantage discipline innovation platform and key discipline construction, speed up the construction of first-class universities and key disciplines.
Priority Work of the MOE 2014	促进高校办出特色争创一流。加快建设一流大学和一流学科。	Promote the universities to show characteristic and achieve first-class. Accelerate the development of first-class university and the first-class discipline.
Priority Work of the MOE 2015	坚持中国特色、一流标准，统筹推进世界一流大学和一流学科建设的组织实施。	Stick to Chinese characteristic and first-class standard, push forward the world first-class university and the first-class discipline construction organization implementation.

#### 1.4 Discourse and translation of “Study in China” in meta-policies

Policy name	content	translation
The Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)	进一步扩大外国留学生规模。增加中国政府奖学金数量，重点资助发展中国家学生，优化来华留学人员结构。实施来华留学预备教育，增加高等学校外语授课的学科专业，不断提高来华留学教育质量。	To further expand the scale of foreign students studying in China. Increase the number of Chinese government scholarship, key support students in developing countries, optimize the structure of foreign students studying in China. Implement preparatory education for studying in China, increase professional disciplines taught in foreign language in the HE institutions, and improve the education quality of studying in China.
National Educational Development “Eleventh Five-year Plan”	不断扩大来华留学教育规模，建立和完善来华留学教育工作的管理机制和模式，逐步提高来华留学的层次。	Continually expand the scale of foreign students studying in China, establish and perfect the management mechanism and model of study in China, gradually increase the level of study in China
National Educational Development ‘Twelfth Five-year Plan’ (2011-2015)	实施留学中国计划。到2015年全年来华留学人员达到36万人次，逐步扩大政府来华奖学金规模，重点资助发展中国家优秀学生。	Implement the <i>Plan for study in China</i> . The number of foreign students studying in China can reach 360,000 by the end of 2015, gradually expand the scale of government scholarship for study in China, key support outstanding students from developing countries.
Priority Work of the MOE 2008	积极发展来华留学事业，进一步扩大中国政府奖学金规模，进一步提高来华留学教育质量。	Develop actively the work of study in China, further expand the scale of Chinese government scholarship, and further improve the education quality of study in China.
Priority Work of the MOE 2009	积极发展来华留学事业 扩大中国政府奖学金规模，提高来华留学教育质量。	Develop actively the work of study in China Expand the scale of Chinese government scholarship, and further improve the education quality of study in China.
Priority Work of the MOE 2010	实施“留学中国计划”，扩大来华留学规模。研究制定和启动实施接收美国10万名学生来华留学方案。	Implement the <i>Plan for study in China</i> , expand the scale of foreign students studying in China. Explore, make and launch the program of receiving 100,000 students from the United States to study in China.
Priority Work of the MOE 2011	全面实施《留学中国计划》。扩大政府来华奖学金规模，设立首批来华留学示范基地。	Full implement the <i>Plan for study in China</i> . Expand the scale of government scholarship for study in China, set up the first demonstration base of study in China.
Priority Work of the MOE 2012	全面实施《留学中国计划》。制定《国际学生招收和管理规定》。	Full implement the <i>Plan for study in China</i> . Make the regulations for the international student recruitment and management.
Priority Work of the MOE 2013	采取措施吸引境外学生来华留学，扩大来华留学规模。	Take measures to attract foreign students to study in China, and expand the scale of foreign students studying in China.
Priority Work of the MOE 2014	出台《学校招收和培养国际学生规定》《高校国际学生勤工助学管理暂行办法》。不断提高来华留学质量，成立全国留华毕业生工作组织。	Carry out the <i>Regulations for schools recruitment and cultivation international students, interim measures for university international student’s work-study management</i> . Constantly improve the quality of the foreign students studying in China, and set up the national graduates of studying in China work organization.
Priority Work of the MOE 2015	启动来华留学质量认证体系建设。	Start the quality certification system of study in China.

## 1.5 Discourse and translation of “Chinese studying abroad” in meta-policies

Policy name	content	translation
The Outline of the National Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020)	创新和完善公派出国留学机制，在全国公开选拔优秀学生进入国外高水平大学和研究机构学习。加强对自费出国留学的政策引导，加大对优秀自费留学生资助和奖励力度。坚持“支持留学、鼓励回国、来去自由”的方针，提高对留学人员的服务和管理水平。	Innovate and improve the mechanism of government sponsored study abroad, select outstanding students in the nationwide scope publicly to study in foreign high level universities and research institutions. Strengthen the policy guidance of self-funded students studying abroad, increase the funding and reward outstanding self-funded overseas students. Adhere to the guideline of ‘supporting to study abroad, encouraging return, coming and going freedom’, improve the level of service and management of students studying abroad.
National Educational Development “Eleventh Five-year Plan”	继续坚持“支持留学、鼓励回国、来去自由”的方针。改革和完善国家公派出国留学选派和管理制度，加大高层次人才选派力度，为我国重大科研攻关和重点学科建设服务。	Continue adhering to the guideline of ‘supporting to study abroad, encouraging return, coming and going freedom’. Reform and improve the government-funded study abroad selection and management system, increase the intensity of selection and sending of high-level personnel, services to major scientific research and the key subject construction in China.
Priority Work of the MOE 2008	认真实施“国家建设高水平大学公派研究生项目”，加大对博士生的选派工作力度，特别要加强联合学位项目和联合培养项目的工作力度。支持有条件的高校开展国际间高水平科研合作和联合培养高层次人才，促进高校参与欧盟第七框架计划。	Conscientiously implement the “national construction high-level university government-sponsored graduate student program”, intensify of selection and sending of doctoral students, especially strengthen the joint degree programs and joint training programs. Support conditional universities carrying out international high-level scientific research cooperation and joint training high-level talents, promote the universities to participate in the EU's seventh framework programme.
Priority Work of the MOE 2009	进一步加强和改进出国留学工作	further strengthen and improve the work of Studying abroad
	深入推进国家建设高水平大学公派研究生项目，改进和完善公派出国留学机制，进一步加强高层次创新人才的培养。	Deeply promote national construction high-level university government-sponsored graduate student program, improve and perfect the mechanism of government sponsored study abroad, further strengthen the cultivation of high-level innovative talents.
	支持公民自费出国留学。	Support Chinese citizens to study abroad at their own expenses.
Priority Work of the MOE 2010	完善公派出国留学政策，提高公派出国留学效益。	Improve government sponsored study abroad policy, and improve the efficiency of the government sponsored study abroad.
Priority Work of the MOE 2011	扩大公派出国留学规模，试行以科研项目 and 课题研究为为依托的选拔和管理新办法，提高国家公派留学质量效益。	Expand the scale of government sponsored study abroad, carry out new methods of selection and management on a trial basis, which is based on scientific research projects and research, and improve the efficiency of the government sponsored study abroad.
Priority Work of the MOE 2012	进一步加强在外留学人员的服务与管理。	Further strengthen the service and management of students studying abroad.
Priority Work of the MOE 2013	提高公派出国留学质量与效益，加强自费出国留学服务管理。	Improve the quality and efficiency of studying abroad, strengthen the services and management of self-funded overseas students.
Priority Work of the MOE 2014	召开全国留学工作会议。	Hold a national work conference on studying abroad.
Priority Work of the MOE 2015	贯彻全国留学工作会议精神，制订《国家公派出国留学管理规定》。	Implement the spirit of the national work conference on studying abroad, formulate regulation on the national government sponsored study abroad.

## 1.6 Discourse and translation of “attracting overseas talents and returning talents” in meta-policies

Policy name	content	translation
National Educational Development “Eleventh Five-year Plan”	采取切实措施，大力吸引海外优秀人才回国工作，鼓励他们以多种形式为国服务。	Attract more World Class experts and scholars engaged in teaching, scientific research and management work in China, introduce overseas high-level talents and academic team in a planned way. Introduce excellent foreign teaching material, increase the proportion of hiring foreign teachers in HE institutions. Attract overseas outstanding talents to return to serve for China.
Priority Work of the MOE 2008	鼓励和引导出国留学人员回国工作和为国服务，进一步落实和完善引进海外优秀留学人才的政策措施。	Take concrete measures to attract overseas talents to work in China and encourage them in a variety of forms to serve for China.
Priority Work of the MOE 2009	加大引进海外优秀留学人才的力度。	Encourage and guide the overseas personnel to return and serve to their country, further implement and improve the introduction policies and measures of overseas outstanding talents.

Priority Work of the MOE 2011	做好外籍教师管理制度调研工作。	Take More efforts to introduce overseas outstanding talents
Priority Work of the MOE 2012	鼓励高校吸引更多世界一流专家学者来华工作。	Do a good research on foreign teacher management system
Priority Work of the MOE 2013	加大引进国外专家工作力度。	Encourage universities to attract more world-class experts and scholars to work in China.
Priority Work of the MOE 2014	推进外籍教师聘任管理制度和信息化服务平台建设。	Increase the intensity of work of inviting foreign experts.
Priority Work of the MOE 2015	探索完善外籍教师服务和管理机制。	Promote the foreign teachers employment management system and information service platform construction.